HOUSE AND HOME IN VANCOUVER
The Emergence of a West Coast Urban Landscape
1886-1929

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the making of the Vancouver residential landscape during the first fifty years after the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway. A city of uncommon attractiveness set next to sea and mountain, Vancouver offered unusual residential opportunities within a rapidly expanding commercial and industrial city. High wages and cheap land made accessible by the streetcar enabled even very ordinary people to buy or build houses on lots up to eight miles from their place of work. Vancouverites admired the resulting suburban landscape, set away from industry and commerce and providing open space, gardens, and rural flavour. Land and home ownership, and thereby control over the domestic environment, were important to them; Suburban Vancouver reflected imported values and local opportunities, and both were orchestrated by a property market that was dominated by speculation. These relationships are considered in the first three chapters of the thesis.

The next three chapters deal with house styles in Vancouver, as influenced by builders, pattern books, and architects. Three broad styles are recognized. The first, in the period from 1886 to 1910, were late Victorian designs used for a range of cabins, cottages, frame two-storey houses and mansions. Gingerbread trim, turrets or elaborate porches, mostly acquired from factory or mill along with other building elements, suggest the industrial and American pedigree of houses on the downtown peninsula and proximate suburbs.

A second style, strongly influenced by the Arts and Crafts movement in California, apparently rejected earlier standardized industrial products. The California Bungalow, popular from about 1910 to the mid-1920s, was a simple
and open house that emphasized the texture of shingle, rafter, brick and stone. These bungalows were available in one- and two-storey versions and were associated with innovative marketing strategies in California. Mimicking both California styles and real estate practices, Vancouver building contractors added a strongly West Coast element to the city's streetscapes after 1910.

A third style, an explicitly English pre-industrial revival, was a variant of Arts and Crafts influence inspired by English Tudor Cottages and thatched farmhouses. For the city's largely anglo-saxon elite, Tudor mansions were popular; their expansive form and historical detail had been interpreted in North American taste-making centres such as Philadelphia. The same Tudor and thatched cottage motifs, along with other revivalist styles, served smaller houses in the largely middle class suburbs of Point Grey and thereby hinted at estate living, albeit on a small lot.

The significance of these landscape elements is discussed from the perspective of technological change, social values, class relations, and regional distinctiveness. While Vancouver houses were the product of an industrial system, the high level of home-ownership and the successful separation of home and work mark an important stage in the evolution of urban form beyond that of the typical industrial city. The city-as-suburban-landscape, generically available elsewhere on the continent, came to Vancouver with a unique mix of elements that reflect the region's migration patterns, social aspirations and economy. As an exercise in urban historical geography, the thesis also offers a concrete perspective on issues of identity and meaning that are of concern in contemporary human geography.
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An Architectural Tragedy

I met a melancholy snail
  Zigzagging on the walk
He cried, "I wish to ease my soul!
  Do listen while I talk.

I lived in comfortable ease
  Till I grew rich, Alack!
My wife then started to improve
  The house upon my back."

She said, "This house is out of style
  Call in the architect;
It ought to have some wings and be
  Renaissance in effect."

Her mother wanted gables built
  To make me more Queen Anne;
Her sister thought Colonial
  Would be the proper plan.

The others wished a bungalow
  But now that it is done
You see the sole result attained
  A bughouse built for one!

from British Columbia Magazine,
January 1914, (Vol.X, No.1), p.1
Early in the twentieth century Vancouver had an industrial base in a boom-and-bust resource economy, a largely immigrant and working class society, and a landscape of homes. The residential landscape—detached houses, family gardens, and acres of neighbourhood parkland—contradicted the city's plebian stock. In very few areas could be found the terraces and tenements of most industrial cities. Homes beside the sea and against a backdrop of forest and mountains made a place that visitors and Vancouverites considered to be special. Most residents could own a house that was more spacious and comfortable than they had known before. Relatively, land was available and wages were good. To be sure, other cities on the West Coast of North America offered attractive possibilities for land and house ownership, but in this largest Canadian city on the Pacific, the residential landscape soon differed markedly from any to the south. The aim here is to describe and explain this landscape of uncommon character.

A thesis that concentrates on houses is an entrée to broader areas of inquiry. The aspirations and achievements of an immigrant society emerge through an assessment of its shelter. The house also reflects the role of designers and contractors in translating wider notions of home, technology and taste for a mass market. Those ideas, like the people themselves, were for the most part external to the city and the region, and so this study necessitates some consideration of the geography of British and Eastern North American society at the beginning of this century. However,
while a study of Vancouver has to look beyond the city, a straightforward adoption of the concepts of diffusion, cultural hearths and cultural change as used in cultural geography, is not appropriate. Studies by Evans in Ireland, Brunskill in England, Glassie in Virginia, Manion and Mills in Newfoundland, as well as many others working on pre-industrial societies have successfully used vernacular housing to establish regional boundaries and to demonstrate patterns of diffusion from cultural hearths. For the most part, however, a literature that deals with saddle-bag cabins, massive central chimneys, a variety of log notches and the like, is of little use to a study of housing in Vancouver. Vancouverites rarely built their own houses. They bought houses from builders and carpenters who used materials that were pre-cut and pre-assembled from factory outlets and that conformed to design criteria drawn from plans made in Chicago, New York or Los Angeles. These plans had been mailed out, published in magazines or collected in pattern books. Such a process of planning and building has little connection with the oral folk vernacular of the Kentucky dog-trot house or the Galacian thatched cottage. If you will, Vancouver's houses reflected an industrial vernacular and drew on a potentially universal set of styles and materials. Yet Vancouverites preferred just a few styles and their mix was not repeated in other cities. Even neighbouring Seattle was strikingly different. To explain this distinctiveness is to shed light on the uniqueness of Vancouver within the broadly familiar practices of an industrializing North America.

For this study of Vancouver's ordinary housing, the literature in architectural history has been frustratingly irrelevant. There are several broad guides to styles, such as Whiffen's popular Guide to American Architecture Since 1780, but they stress buildings that have been designed by
architects for individual clients. In most studies of the buildings of a particular city, architects and their clients are emphasized at the expense of ordinary anonymous architecture. In British Columbia both Martin Segger's study of the architecture of Victoria and Harold Kalman's useful guide to Vancouver reflect this bias; neither considers even architects and their clients within a broader social and institutional context. But most Vancouver houses had far more to do with building permits, land taxes, civic bylaws, factory-built parts and pattern books than with architects. In this study, I have retained formal stylistic labels when discussing architect-designed houses built for the more well-to-do, but not when dealing with structures that are the product of a different process. Just as the language of the builders' pattern book reveals the house, so does the rhetoric surrounding its sale. Realtors played a significant role in transmitting and defining images of home. Their advertising and their strategies for marketing land and houses need examination as much as any stylistic canons. Builders, realtors and manufacturers all contributed to packaging the aspirations of home-ownership into a marketable reality. Beyond such agents was the consumer of housing, that largely immigrant society living in Vancouver.

This thesis deals with the meaning of landscape. If such a perspective has re-emerged in geography in response to the more statistical and geometrical models that have been constructed to explain urban patterns and processes, it embodies traditional geographical interest in the quality of place. Surprisingly, the urban house as a social or cultural artifact has received little attention within human geography, except through the literature on aggregate housing starts and residential search behaviour. House as home has been discussed briefly by Yi-fu Tuan in Topophilia, and
by Clare Cooper in a work influenced by Gaston Bachelard's *The Poetics of Space*. Most of the writing on home in humanistic geography has been frustratingly abstract, and rarely rooted in any regional or temporal context. The complex philosophical points raised by Bachelard and others have not been translated into specific studies that move beyond clichés.

The morphological literature on cities also is barren ground for material on the house as home. Indeed Brian Robson in a review of social urban geography comments that British geographers have only recently discovered that cities are inhabited by people. Urban historical geographies often treat people in abstract aggregate. Peter Goheen's *Victorian Toronto* rarely suggests the peopled reality of a "British town on American soil", and the recent experiments with quantification in British historical geography present a depressingly passionless perspective on the English city. Even Michael Conzen's review of geographical approaches to the study of urban landscape offers few points of connection with the existential realities of home.

Any study that attempts to link people and artifacts tends either to highlight idiosyncratic cases or to deal with agglomerations that in some way deny individuality. The word "home" has intensely personal connotations, and yet in any study of ordinary housing, links between houses and individuals have to be generalized. If architectural historians tend to dwell on specific personalities, they rarely offer a perspective on ordinary houses. In urban histories a few prominent people are often emphasized. Yet while Planning Commissioner Frank Buck was important in planning the landscape of Point Grey, the middle class landscape that was early Point Grey reflected thousands of individuals who were all different from Frank Buck. How far can we generalize from leading figures, or from all-embracing class or ideological labels?
The pendulum seems to swing between the individual and the mass. In focussing on individuals regarded as Vancouver's central figures, Donald Gutstein probably overstates the personalities of power in his polemical attempt to account for the city's present economic and social profile. James Lorimer follows a similar route to describe the leading Canadian developers in the land industry. Ignoring context and complexity, neither work is quite credible. Yet there are studies that capture the rich social landscape of home. Richard Hoggart and Robert Roberts provide two British examples, and Osbert Lancaster's cartoon sketches of house types support some very perceptive observations about British homes. Through his work on suburbia and his editorship of The Victorian City, Jim Dyos suggested a perspective that includes people and places, landscapes and personalities. Possibly the best North American model is Rayner Banham's study of Los Angeles, an intensely visual, historical analysis of the landscape of this quintessentially twentieth century city. Sam Warner has achieved the same balance in his work on nineteenth century Boston and Philadelphia. In a broader study of Western urban conditions Richard Sennett's discussion of private and public man raises themes that can be borrowed for the study of particular places. In essence, all these studies use traditional historical approaches to sift evidence and argue forceful interpretations.

This thesis attempts to explore the social meaning of housing within a concrete rather than a philosophical setting—a city's residential landscape in its social and institutional context. The first chapter introduces Vancouver's houses and residential areas in a deliberately impressionistic manner. Individuals and their houses and some parts of their lifeworks are described. Some of these people and houses were well known locally. Others were virtually anonymous. In sum these vignettes introduce
the themes examined in subsequent sections. Vancouverites' prior worlds are explored in Chapter 2. The value and meaning of home away from work and of home ownership are treated as roots of a broad perception of 'ideal' urban settings in a mobile, industrializing society. The nature of access to land in Vancouver is examined in Chapter 3. The contributions of surveyors, land owners and real estate agents to the creation of land use patterns is assessed as a prelude to understanding the landscape of home. Many successful urban geographies have treated land and land prices in a more abstract fashion; here the terms of access to land are seen as a factor in the evolution of an urban cultural landscape.

Following these chapters in which ingredients of home are explored, the study turns to the dominant house styles and typical neighbourhoods in Vancouver. Chapter 4 considers the late Victorian period when architects and pattern books replicated eastern Canadian and American styles in Vancouver. As the local economy matured, Vancouver factories generated variants on these eastern plans. Chapter 5 examines Californian influences that brought bungalows, 'craftsman' architectural ideas and new real estate practices to Vancouver. While California became the source for working class and middle class house styles in the streetcar suburbs that developed after 1910, the city's elite opted for an English variant of craftsman homes, and it is described in Chapter 6. Large Tudor Revival homes were set in pastoral surroundings away from the city, or in exclusive Canadian Pacific Railway subdivisions. In the 1920's and 30's these revivalist styles filtered down to middle class housing.

Often the house styles that are the subject of these three chapters were juxtaposed on the same street. These variegated Vancouver streetscapes comprise a landscape type that seems distinctive to Vancouver. The
house styles themselves and the streetcar suburbs are found elsewhere; but the Vancouver housescapes, built of wood and surrounded by trees and gardens, reflect a unique and fascinating mix of British and Californian influences. While many dismiss the 'placeless' suburbs, this thesis offers an analysis of the appearance and meaning of suburban Vancouver, and suggests the need for an understanding of the forces that lay behind a landscape of considerable meaning. In exploring the emergence of a west coast urban landscape, it treats the British and California influences that help create a Canadian place.

The following acknowledgements are an integral component of the work that follows:

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Though there are indeed rewards for persevering with the hard slog of graduate school, it can also be a draining experience. For helping me cope with the dark moments, my warm and eternal thanks go to Meg.
CHAPTER ONE
VANCOUVER, THE CITY OF HOMES

While the fine business section is steadily improving and building up, the excellent streetcar system is assisting in a rapid suburban expansion. The trolley line to Steveston, for instance, shows the battle that is being waged against forests and stumps by the makers of homes. On one lot will be seen a neat frame cottage, with a bit of lawn, a profusion of flowers, and a kitchen garden, while adjoining it the once fire-swept forest awaiting the more complete subjugation at the handle of man. More room, more homes for more people is the cry of Vancouver, and the homes of the new city are models of architectural style, all embowered with a wealth of flowers and vines.

Such descriptions were common throughout Vancouver's first half-century. Their images were applied with equal conviction to the city in the 1880's, to that of the great pre-world war boom, or even to that of the depression of the 1930's. They described locations between six hundred yards and six miles from the city's original mill-town focus, and in any landward direction. Cabin and mansion were 'cottages' (cottage being a broad term warmly associated with 'home'); 25-feet lots and ten-acre estates provided 'lawns'. Gradually, in a succession of booms, the stump-filled spaces between the cottages were built upon, the earlier homes were joined by buildings of different styles, and street frontages were linked up into a contiguous, if somewhat variegated, whole.

The emerging residential environment confirmed early Vancouverites in the conviction that they were part of a unique urban landscape, one strongly defined by land and home. Unique it was by the standards of
the day and the experience of urban life in the British Isles and Eastern North America. For most segments of Vancouver's society, home-ownership levels were high, and urban residential densities were low. By 1929, 72% of the houses in the City of Vancouver were single-family, detached homes; in the Municipality of South Vancouver the single-family house comprised 75% of all residential accommodation, and 84% of these houses were owner-occupied. When Vancouver was being touted as the "Glasgow of the North West", over 60% of Glasgow's population lived in one or two tenement rooms. When Vancouver was a town of 25,000 and giddily looking forward to outstripping New York and the other great port cities of the eastern seaboard, Robert Hunter's seminal survey of poverty revealed that in the largest city in the land of universal opportunity, 94% of the population were renters. Building on Jacob Riis' journalistic description of the New York tenements, and on the equally influential investigations by Charles Booth in London's East End and by Seebohm Rowntree in provincial York, these turn-of-the-century reports were part of a widespread and anxious assessment of urban residential conditions in industrial society.

At every turn, the Vancouver experience seemed a departure from old ways. Destined for 'metropolitan greatness' as the "new Liverpool of the Pacific", early Vancouver was defined by internal greenery and flowers as much by its frame of sea and mountains. The "models of architectural style", almost entirely single-family detached homes, were the converse of the apartments, tenements, courts and row housing in other industrial cities. If the consequences of rapid urbanization and industrialization were being realized in older cities, Vancouverites, alert to their unique opportunity for a fresh start, rarely failed to appreciate the distinctive nature of their emerging city.
While the boosters' statistical exuberances drew attention to the city's size and scale ("she has over one-hundred miles of cement sidewalks, the largest area of any city in Canada, the birth rate is higher than any city in the continent...") most residents emphasized the individual opportunity for acquiring land and shelter. For most, the opportunity Vancouver presented was expressed by a family house surrounded by its garden and fences, as Fig. 1.1 so vividly portrays. The same image dominated recollections of an East End childhood in the 1890's:

Up Powell St., about 2 houses from where we lived, stood a small and very white cottage behind a snowy white picket fence. Flowers grew in the front yard and green shrubbery banked the fence from the inside. A broad flight of steps, four or five in number led from the garden wall to the verandah of the cottage whose front door was often left open... (and, on her own house)...

A picket fence ran around the whole from the backyard and separated it from a half-vacant lot on the other side. Through the fence one could see blackberry vines growing on the lot and one could hear birds chirping in the morning sunshine.

Small cottages and cabins were common, gardens and picket fences enclosing the domestic worlds of Vancouverites. Simple houses, one-storey high, one-room deep and balanced symmetrically around a central doorway, they presented a folk classicism as elegant as far more expensive structures elsewhere in the city. The surroundings may have been chaotic, but the stumps testified to clearing done. Inside the picket fence was 'home', the pivotal space of the family, regardless of its social or occupational position.

Early snapshots of this low-density city reveal many such small cottages, and some larger houses, set within the cleared bush. (Fig. 1.2)
Fig. 1.1 "Be it ever so humble, there's no place like home" (1); the Daniel McPhalen house, 209 Harris Street (later E. Georgia), 1891 (VCA)

Fig. 1.2 View of Vancouver from Mount Pleasant, 1893
As early as 1891, a new residential area just south of False Creek (Mount Pleasant) was described thus:

Upon the beautiful heights that overlook the busy lower city, all among those forest trees, are homes in which comfort and refinement are ever blended. Village lanes or country homes would hardly know greater peace and security; they are at present 'far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife' in the city below.

At this date, Vancouver was a small town of fewer than 14,000 people and was only five years old. The 'madding crowd's ignoble strife' seemed relatively absent in this new, low-density city. Perhaps the observer was reacting to city life elsewhere. Though there were some congested groups of shacks and cabins near to the saw mills and railroad round house, Vancouver had no close counterpart of St. Henri in Montreal, of the back-to-back housing that were still being built in Britain, or even of the reformers' model tenements that could be eight stories high, dark, and gardenless. What was a dream in older cities could be a reality in 'fresh' Vancouver with its quantities of available space.

This process of defining a "private space", whether cottage or mansion, continued well through the 1920's and 30's, as the illustration of Kitsilano in Fig. 1.3 suggests. Here, some thirty years after the first European settlement in this area three miles west of the city centre, stumps were still common, and small unpretentious houses, not unlike the cottages on Powell Street in the 1890's, were still being built. These new houses, advertised as 'bungalows' and inspired by pattern books written in California, offered working-class housing at accessible prices on cheap land. "Further out", up the hillside in West Point Grey, new residential streets were being delineated in the scrub, their presence insuring the slow transformation of vacant lots in existing built-up areas.
Fig. 1.3 Kitsilano in 1929, looking west from the southeast corner of 12th Avenue and Trafalgar. Tree stumps and vacant lots surround the small bungalows and cottages built in the early 1920s. Further west, up the hill in West Point Grey, more land was available for suburban house builders. Trafalgar St. was the western boundary of the Canadian Pacific Railway land grant. Notice the different street alignment, the sidewalk and the trees east of Trafalgar.
Land was available and houses were cheap. Balloon frame construction was relatively simple, especially with factory-made components at hand. Although most houses were built by speculative builders, there were some owner-built cottages. For the enterprising person, the low cost of land and building material together with high wages meant that a house often could be acquired rapidly. Henry Boam's booster journalism reported that:

A carpenter landed in B.C. in March 1911 with the sum of $200 in his possession, was hired by a firm at the customary salary of from $4.25 to $5 per day. During the weekend and in his spare time, occasionally with the assistance of hired labour, he set about the construction of a house. Within nine months the residence was completed, and save for a debt of $200 on the site the carpenter in question was the owner of a property valued at $2000. During the intervening time he had, of course, kept himself and his wife, and in addition saved a certain amount of money.14

Such an opportunity contrasts vividly with the plight of a railway clerk in Edwardian London who, according to Alan Jackson's analysis, was advised to be earning £90 a year before he contemplated marriage. He could then afford to rent a two-bedroom cottage or half-house at between 7s 6d and 9 shillings a week.15 A family man seeking 4 bedrooms needed a salary of £150 before newly-constructed rental property was within reach. At that time, a clerk or shop assistant rarely received £120 - £130 a year, and a skilled worker no more than £110 - £120. So critical was the wage level to housing access that "a difference of a shilling or two in a white collar workers weekly outgoings really mattered."16 For British clerks or artisans, home-ownership was almost out of the question. Only long-term membership in a building society, backed by secure employment and sound domestic management could make the prospect of independence
from landlords even a remote possibility. For the majority, a suburban alternative to terraces or tenements materialized only as local governments intervened to purchase land and construct estates.  

Like other developing cities in the North American West at the turn of the century, suburban growth onto fringe land was not constrained by rural land uses that acted as barriers to expansion. The newly-developed mass transportation systems of Interurban Railway and electric streetcar systems came into Vancouver almost from the outset. Combined with a broad swath of cheap land to the south and east of the early core that provided a considerable area for expansion, relatively good wages enabled widespread access to suburban homes. These factors helped differentiate Vancouver and a few other western cities from the layouts of most eastern North American and British cities; the historical sequences of zonal expansion that often define those places were less clearly evident in Vancouver. This was partly because people travelled out to the end of the streetcar line, and would walk further until they reached their own piece of the world, a suburban lot at a price they could afford:

It is a trait noticeable in the people of Vancouver that the homemaker would rather live in a large comfortable residence a few miles out of town than exist in a shack in the heart of the city. The best, even if he has to go to some daily trouble to get it, is an aim characteristic of the Vancouverite. This idea he carries out in his everyday insistence on the best in the way of homes that has brought about the rapid upbuilding of the suburban districts tributary to Vancouver.

Most parts of the Burrad Peninsula became effective residential space as an early Belt Line railway across False Creek, and interurban transit lines to New Westminster and Steveston were supplemented by a network of streetcar lines. The relationship between streetcar access and suburban growth
is clearly shown by Fig. 1.4. As late as 1929 (when the total population of the three municipalities was 250,000), few residential concentrations were more than a quarter mile from a streetcar line. The extent of suburban growth can be seen in the distribution of housing in 1916 (fig. 1.5). A central area of relatively dense housing reflected thirty years of building close to central commerce and to waterside and rail-related industries. Most of the housing away from this central area belonged to working people. The areas of upper middle class housing in the West End, Kitsilano, Fairview, and Shaughnessy were close in. Working class housing in the East End and in South Vancouver districts such as Cedar Cottage and Collingwood spread up to 8 miles from the core.

The distinction between residential densities in Vancouver and in other industrial cities was recognized, valued and defended:

> There will be no slums in South Vancouver, no tenement district, and the living factories that grace themselves with the name of apartment houses dare not enter where there is room for neat cottages and gardens and chicken yards; where the working man may bring his family up in the fresh air; and the rays from the sun in Heaven may enter without restraint.²¹

Here in the Vancouver World of 1912 was a residential image that had characterized Vancouver for more than twenty years — gardens for fruit, vegetables and poultry, detached homes in healthy, virtually rural settings. Throughout South Vancouver as a whole in 1929 there were 9 people per acre,²² and there were many parts of South Vancouver with far lower densities. In Grimmett (Fig. 1.6), at the southern end of Main Street, the density was one person per acre.²³ Most of the occupants of these isolated houses were unskilled labourers or unskilled artisans — mainly carpenters, sawmill workers and teamsters. They were thirty minutes from downtown
Fig. 1.4 Car Lines, Area Served and Population, Greater Vancouver 1929 (from Bartholomew Report)
Fig. 1.5 Residential Buildings Erected Prior to 1916
employment by streetcar, and as close to sawmills at Eburne and New Westminster via the Interurban that ran along the alluvial flats to the south. Here, at a time when English experiments with Garden City alternatives to high density working class housing were in their infancy, was a residential environment that fitted South Vancouver's confident boast that it was the "Garden Suburb of the West."  

For the most part, the people of Grimmett are anonymous. No personal histories survive, no great achievements come from their stay in Vancouver. Their homes were simple, yet their experience shaped much of Vancouver's residential landscape. It was an experience of mobility and advancement, facilitated by the constantly expanding city. A revealing example comes to light in an eye-catching entry in the Street Directory of 1913 which lists nine males surnamed Enefer, all living within nine blocks of each other in five different houses (Table 1). The Enefer history in Vancouver can be traced back to 1908, when Jesse Enefer lived in rooms on Prior Street while working as a labourer for McDonald Marpole Coal (the C.P.R. coal agent). He moved half a block to a house on Gore Avenue two years later, working again as a labourer, digging pipe-lines for a plumbing contractor. There, Jesse, now joined by Sidney Enefer, was part of a pool of unskilled labour in the East End close to the waterfront.

By 1910 Jesse Enefer had moved 3½ miles south (East 48th Avenue) to take advantage of cheap land at the end of the Main and Fraser car lines in South Vancouver. Three years later he had moved eleven blocks further south. Joining him in the new "South Hill" or "Grimmett" area were five other house-owning Enefers all living in separate houses. All were listed as labourers, including Alf, Jack and Lawrence, the three sons of Joseph
### TABLE 1: The ENEFER 'Clan': Residential and Occupational Mobility

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>Jesse</td>
<td>rooms 407 Prior</td>
<td>lab, McDonald-Marpole Coal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>Jesse</td>
<td>lives 831 Gore</td>
<td>digger Murray Plumbers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sydney</td>
<td>h 831 Gore</td>
<td>labourer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>Jesse</td>
<td>h 132 W.59th</td>
<td>labourer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sydney</td>
<td>h 38 E.57th</td>
<td>labourer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alfred</td>
<td>h 354 W.65th</td>
<td>labourer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fredk</td>
<td>h 245 E.51st</td>
<td>labourer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Luke</td>
<td>h 141 E.57th</td>
<td>labourer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Joseph</td>
<td>h 455 E.56th</td>
<td>labourer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alf</td>
<td>r 455 E.56th</td>
<td>labourer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jack</td>
<td>r 455 E.56th</td>
<td>labourer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lawrence</td>
<td>r 455 E.56th</td>
<td>labourer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>Jesse</td>
<td>h 172 W.63rd</td>
<td>teamster, City of Van</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sydney</td>
<td>h 38 E.57th</td>
<td>driver, Eburne Gravel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alf</td>
<td>h 150 Goodmurphy</td>
<td>labourer, South Van Munic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(77th/Hudson)</td>
<td></td>
<td>chauffeur, Hodgson Lumber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alfred</td>
<td>h 561 E.54th</td>
<td>yardman, S.Van Munic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fredk</td>
<td>h 3849 Commercial</td>
<td>constable, S.Van Munic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Luke</td>
<td>r Municipal Yard</td>
<td>janitor Mobely School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bert</td>
<td>h 6250 Windsor</td>
<td>labourer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Joseph</td>
<td>h 325 E.47th</td>
<td>labourer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Joseph</td>
<td>h 455 E.56th</td>
<td>labourer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* Jack</td>
<td>r 455 E.56th</td>
<td>labourer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* Regd</td>
<td>r 455 E.56th</td>
<td>labourer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* Miss A</td>
<td>r 455 E.56th</td>
<td>labourer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mary E</td>
<td>r 431 E.Georgia</td>
<td>emp., Royal Crown Soap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>emp., Royal Crown Soap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>Alfred</td>
<td>h 565 E.55th</td>
<td>fireman, Van City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bert</td>
<td>h 639 1st St., New West</td>
<td>Instructo, BC Penetentiary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elijah</td>
<td>h 776 E.22nd</td>
<td>helper, Van City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ellen</td>
<td>r 4750 Angus</td>
<td>housekeeper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mark</td>
<td>h 7803 Cartier</td>
<td>driver, BCER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* Percy</td>
<td>r 7803 Cartier</td>
<td>plumber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fredk B</td>
<td>h 3849 Commercial</td>
<td>driver, Hodgson Lumber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* Celine</td>
<td>r 3849 Commercial</td>
<td>benchman Robertson Sash &amp; Door</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* Edward</td>
<td>r 3849 Commercial</td>
<td>saleswoman Spencer Dept. Store</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* Maud P</td>
<td>r 3849 Commercial</td>
<td>saleswoman W. Bennie Seeds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jack</td>
<td>h 586 E.50th</td>
<td>longshoreman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jos L</td>
<td>h 525 E.45th</td>
<td>school janitor Van City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jes M</td>
<td>h 665 E.50th</td>
<td>helper B.C.Box</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reg</td>
<td>r 665 E.54th</td>
<td>labourer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sidney C</td>
<td>h 1310 E.24th</td>
<td>labourer, Vancouver &amp; District Sewage</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Fig. 1.6 Grimmett (or South Hill)**

Working-class housing at low densities, connected to central area workplaces by the Main St. and Fraser St. car lines. Smoke from False Creek sawmills mask the downtown area and most of the North Shore mountains. The undeveloped south-east portion of the C.P.R. Land Grant lies to the left of Ontario St.
Enefer. The 1922 directory reveals further residential mobility — one had moved to Cedar Cottage, another to Eburne, and only two of the nine were at their 1916 address — but no occupational movement. All still had unskilled jobs. The pattern continued into the Depression.

Instability also seemed characteristic of the middle class as well, who tended to live west of Grimmett in the municipality of Point Grey. In Point Grey in 1916 (see Fig. 1.5) a thin scatter of settlement followed one streetcar line north west from the interurban at 41st in Kerrisdale. Shaughnessy Heights, in the north east corner of the municipality, was the only residential concentration, but its density was far lower than Fig. 1.5 indicates (occupied acre-lots were shaded in). Shaughnessy, the C.P.R.'s exclusive subdivision, attracted the wealthy from their earlier homes in the West End. Many of these people had moved from the West End, through two or three homes in Shaughnessy, and on to Marine Drive, drawn by the residential and speculative opportunity presented by large lots in exclusive neighbourhoods. In Shaughnessy as in Grimmett society tended to be homogeneous; the Shaughnessy mix was flavoured by barristers, company directors, public service professionals and wholesale merchants.27

If Shaughnessy was economically homogeneous, it was architecturally varied, at least on the surface. The dominant house style echoed English late medieval manors. Substantially built with a ground floor of rough local stone, and a second storey that was both half-timbered and shingled, the overall facade was broken up with projecting bays or end-wings, and often appeared to have been constructed over a number of generations. The home of prominent barrister A.E. Tulk is a good example of this Tudor Revival style in Vancouver, (Fig. 1.7). With several apparent ages of construction — a Jacobean stone archway and smaller wing added to an
Fig. 1.7 The Tulk mansion. First Shaughnessy

Fig. 1.8 A thatched cottage for a Boston merchant, Third Shaughnessy
earlier 'Elizabethan' house -- the appearance belied its newness, but provided a sophisticated and "rooted" setting for a family to enjoy its new position in society and city. Such 'English manor houses', with their rural outbuildings or shingle-thatched coachhouses gave the stamp of distinctiveness to the city's elite suburb. Few were identical in design, and they joined a varied streetscape that might also include revivalist interpretations of rough stuccoed English farmhouses, smooth-stuccoed and red-tiled Spanish Mission, gambrelled-roof Dutch Colonial farmhouses or even flamboyantly-porticoed colonial mansions of the American South. Such structures were built in Shaughnessy for over twenty years as the area infilled to the south. One of the most impressive half-timbered houses from the 1920's was the residence of Alvah Hager, an American from Boston who came west, built up a fortune and then enjoyed it in one of the most emphatically English houses anywhere in the city (Fig. 1.8). What does it mean that an American from Boston lived in Shaughnessy in an imitation thatched cottage costing $30,000, that the school superintendent for the City lived in a Dutch colonial house, or that the Vice President of an import grocery concern lived in an English stucco farmhouse? Even more fascinating perhaps is the frequency with which these successful men changed residence, many of them having at least two distinguished addresses within a decade. What restlessness lay behind such seeming rootlessness? What kind of 'city of homes' was represented by such mobility?

Grimmett and Shaughnessy, two homogeneous but socio-economically distinct residential areas, reveal a striking segregation of Vancouver's suburban population. The distinction between east-side and west-side Vancouver, noted as early as 1891 ("the West End is the home of the merchant and professional, the East that of the lumber king and mechanic")

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is clearly demonstrated by maps of residential locations by occupations (Fig. 1.9). Houses of the city's barristers (9a) and those of the city's streetcar motormen and conductors (9b) illustrate two worlds of early Vancouverites. Barristers occupied the west side of the city, the motormen the east. There was little overlap. Such patterns are indicative of the spatial sorting that developed as suburban sites became available. E.P. Davis, a prominent lawyer who made the move from the West End to a house at the tip of the Point Grey peninsula, is an interesting example at the upper end of the social scale. In 1922 the West End clearly retained its image as a prestige location, but the pressures of change had begun to erode its earlier exclusiveness. Davis had lived on Seaton Street, very close to the waterfront. Originally part of the area of CPR executives' homes, Seaton Street in 1905 could boast besides Davis, another barrister, F.C. Wade (who became proprietor of The Sun newspaper), Ed Mahon and W. Nichols (two of the city's leading real estate figures), Townley (a past mayor) and several bankers and merchants. Yet by 1908 the street included a brewery, and in 1912 a large private house had been replaced by the 10-suite "Seaton Apartments". Expansion of port and rail facilities beneath the Seaton Street bluff had interrupted the view over Coal Harbour to the mountains. Davis moved to a location with an even more dramatic view, the tip of Point Grey peninsula where he built a half-timbered mansion set in 1 1/2 acres of garden and overlooking Howe Sound and the Coast Mountains. Others of his profession and class also moved out of the West End, usually to Shaughnessy or Kitsilano. BCER motormen, on the other hand, were less flexible in their choice of suburban land; most of them occupied modest homes in South Vancouver.
FIGURE 1.9. RESIDENTIAL LOCATION, 1922 BY SELECTED OCCUPATIONS
Yet the city was not totally compartmentalized on rigid class or occupational lines. In Kitsilano and Grandview particularly, socio-economic strata overlapped. Building contractors were spread throughout the City, and only a small percentage lived in South Vancouver and Point Grey. Some of the Grandview contractors would move to Point Grey as their businesses developed. Many C.P.R. workmen lived north of False Creek in Yaletown, the site of the C.P.R. Roundhouse and Repair yards, but many also lived in Kitsilano (in areas also occupied by barristers) and others lived alongside the streetcar motormen in South Vancouver.

The juxtaposition of people of different economic circumstances was nowhere clearer than in Grandview in Vancouver's East End. The north-south Victoria Drive was a street flanked, in the space of a few blocks, by impressive Queen Anne turreted houses and by plain cabins (Fig. 1.10). Two Victoria Drive residents built impressive homes, and also apartment buildings or real estate offices at the other end of the same block. The owner of the largest turreted house on Victoria (Fig. 1.10b), W.H. Copp, was an English master mariner who had sailed into Burrard Inlet one summer in the 1880's to collect a load of timber for the Australian market. Told to report to Customs in Vancouver, he was walking up Hamilton Street when he met Francis W. Rounsefell, one of the city's leading real estate promoters and they renewed an acquaintance they had begun while they worked for the same shipping firm in London, England. On Rounsefell's advice, Copp bought land in Hastings Townside and some 18 acres of land in Grandview, where he would eventually build a house. Copp bought more land on subsequent trips to Vancouver, eventually settled in the city and began his own shipyard in False Creek. After unsuccessful adventures in the Bering Sea seal trade, he had to go to sea again, this time as a master employed by a Glasgow
Fig. 1.10 Grandview: the mix of houses. a to e, clockwise from top left, mansions, cabins and bungalows
steamship line. His travels involved him in the Argentinian meat trade between the River Plate and Liverpool, in work as a Japanese troop carrier during the Russian-Japanese war, and in countless other journeys on orders from his Glasgow employers. He had been an independent entrepreneur in the older days of sail, and the land business particularly in the booming speculative days of early Vancouver, had some of the older associations of individual risk and opportunity. When he finally retired from the sea, Copp set up in real estate and in 1910 built his house on Victoria Drive. Two years later, he built an apartment block at the southern end of the 1200 block Victoria Drive, not fifty yards from his house.

Near Copp there were ten more master mariners, perhaps not surprising given Grandview's proximity of the Burrard Inlet dock areas. There were also some twenty policemen, most of them from Scotland or Ulster, apparently a concentration not found in other areas of the city. Six members of the Odlum family lived in the area. The Odlums were a pioneer family in Vancouver with distinguished members in both military and educational pursuits. One of the Odlums had a fine Queen Anne mansion set within ample grounds, but another lived more modestly in a prefabricated cottage -- a house commonly associated with working class owners. In short, Grandview contained a wide mixture of social and landscape groups. There were dairies on Semlin Street, a Danish smith called Goodrup on Victoria Drive who maintained the milk wagons, a sheet metal works on Venables, and six or seven apartment blocks by 1913. In an area overwhelmingly working class, with typical workplaces at the Hastings Mill, Rogers Sugar Refinery or the Iron Foundry (all dockside), there was a ribbon of distinct and expensive houses along Victoria Drive and adjacent streets.
Perhaps the leading member of the Grandview elite was an Irishman, George McSpadden. He was the building inspector for the City of Vancouver from 1900 to 1907, and then went into private practice as a real estate agent, making Grandview the focus of his activities. As his biographer noted:

> When he first established himself there he found only a few crude shacks east of Campbell Avenue, and he immediately began the exploitation of this section, the possibilities of which he saw with a keen business eye. Nine years ago, he built his own beautiful residence on Commercial Drive and Charles Street, this being one of the first attractive houses in Grandview, and he watched the development of this beautiful locality, his work forming one of the greatest single forces in its growth.

With a background as Building Inspector, Building Contractor and City Assessor, and later six years as Alderman for that Ward of the City, he was, as his own advertisements claimed, "well qualified to advise upon the purchase or sale of any description of Real Estate." Like Copp, home and work were comfortable neighbours for McSpadden, for his real estate office was located at 1201 Park Drive and his house at the other end of the block. Through his agency, the shacks that first typified the area gave way to far more solid homes. Not all were mansions. More were one or two-storeyed bungalows and frame houses (Fig. 10e). Then, nine years after McSpadden settled in Grandview, he moved to suburban Point Grey. Within a decade he had lived in three imposing houses. The more ordinary people of Grandview were also mobile; only 25% of the people sampled in the area lived in the same house over the six year period from 1916-1922.

The earlier "shacks" are themselves revealing. The 1894 directory listed eight people living in Grandview as follows:
Here was a working-class "rural" outlier from the main sawmill-oriented residential area of the old East End of Vancouver. John Mason, whose house is shown in Fig. 1.11, was the first of these Grandview residents. Built in 1892 at what became 1617 Gravely Street, his house is a good example of the common folk cabin in early Vancouver -- a simple, one-storey house, rectangular, with a central doorway and balanced windows on either side. The only departure from its classicism appears in the jigsawed decorative brackets around the porch shelter. When this porch was replaced the following year by a verandah across the entire front, again the eye-catching detail was the Victorian bracketting. Like so many photos of such housing in the City Archives, the total grouping of simple house, picket fence and proudly-posed family group underscored the rhetoric of those who extolled the distinctive residential opportunity in Vancouver.

In sum, early Vancouver contained many residential landscapes. Some can easily be described as 'working class' or 'upper class', but Vancouver was not a city of rows and rows of densely-packed workers housing, surrounded by a solid belt of low-density, middle-class housing. On the contrary, Grimmett was working class and thoroughly suburban whereas the lower managerial and professional groups who lived in Kitsilano, Fairview and the West End occupied relatively dense rows of (detached) 2½ storey houses.

Overall, there was not the extreme residential sorting that

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grand View</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lot 264a, Block 63</td>
<td>Lot 264b, Block 137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williams, G.H.</td>
<td>Cronk, B.M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mason, John</td>
<td>carpenter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shunn, Franklin</td>
<td>Smith, J.W.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raine, N.</td>
<td>carpenter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burns, Chas.</td>
<td>Hastings Mill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamilton, J.B.</td>
<td>Hastings Mill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hastings Mill</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foreman, Royal City Mill</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

...
Fig. 1.11 The first house in Grandview, 1617 Graveley Street; built for Mr & Mrs John Mason, by L.T. Sankey
characterized eastern and British cities at the same time. In Grandview, rich and poor continued to invest in homes over several decades. Three residences, all within Grandview and Cedar Cottage, are shown in Fig. 1.12. One, an eight-unit tenement, occupied its entire lot right up to the sidewalk, an isolated example in a set of adjacent cabins and cottages. Another, an Italianate country house, was set amidst ample lawns. A third example was a common workers home, reminiscent of those in the coal mining towns of Ladysmith and Cumberland on Vancouver Island. Other photos in the series illustrate asymmetrical Ontario-style farmhouses, with gingerbread eaves and porches.

How are we to account for such varied expressions of home, such varied use of land, within the same area at the same time-period? Some descriptions of the early city would suggest that this variety was present from the start. In the West End

The finest residential portion of the city crowns the summit which overlooks English Bay, and this is decorated with some of the finest palatial residences to be found in British Columbia. Here are found buildings at which rustics and Eastern tender feet gaze with equal wonder and amazement. Mingling with these are the cottages, which are the abodes of happy families, the heads of which find remunerative employment in Morse's large lumber mill and Heaps furniture manufacturing establishment. If the West End had cottages of the working classes, the East End was equally mixed:

Somewhat unsightly are some parts of this East End--huge lumber mills, etc.; more inviting are the blocks of wooden homes, the comfortable abode of hundreds of operatives. And occasionally we have blocks of handsome dwellings, approaching in grandeur and elegance some of the homes of our aristocrats of the West End.

As Shaughnessy and to some extent Kitsilano developed into solidly homogeneous neighbourhoods, much of this variety diminished, but mild mixture
Fig. 1.12 Grandview: three styles of housing
rather than harsh segregation still characterized much of the Vancouver residential landscape on the eve of World War I.

1(ii) **Views from Outside**

Although a new and distinctive city, Vancouver developed in response to urban images that had been framed elsewhere. Most Vancouverites were critical of the congestion of the industrial city -- people "living in factories that grace themselves with the name of apartment houses" -- and, in a sense, Vancouver developed in reaction to other urban environments. A transplanted criticism of high density urban life is crucial to any understanding of the evolution of a Vancouver landscape which grew out of experiences that pre-date Vancouver. These experiences were of other places and other times, and the sense that here was a world apart came not just from the boosterism of the place itself, but more strikingly from the common appreciation of the distinctive opportunities in Vancouver.

One piece of evidence for such urban comparisons is provided by the published diary of J.J. Miller, Grandview resident and real estate agent. An Australian of Devon parents, Miller arrived in Vancouver in 1905 on his way to establish himself in the Winnipeg wheat business. Attracted by the opportunities in Vancouver, he stayed, prospered, and by 1912 was rich enough to embark on a four-month trip to London to attend the coronation of George V. Travelling through Canada and the United States before sailing on the Lusitania from New York and carrying an image of Vancouver as home ("snow was falling on April 8, between Winnipeg and Ft. William, and we thought of our beautiful daffodils and hyacinths and green lawns at Grandview, and the lively spring weather there"), Miller captured the
difference between his West and the urban East. Of Toronto, he observed:

For miles and miles of suburbs nothing but substantial brick houses greets the eye. The only objectionable feature is the sameness of architecture. Evidently brick construction does not lend itself to the adoption of attractive architecture so well as the wooden buildings of Vancouver. 43

The contrast between Vancouver and eastern cities comes out even more strongly in his description of New York:

The main part of the city extends for miles upon miles of four and five storey brick buildings. The life of the people is essentially a city life. Nowhere within easy reach of the city can be seen the beautiful bungalows or private residences with flower gardens and lawns such as may be seen at Vancouver. 44

When Miller had pulled out of the C.P.R. station in Vancouver and passed through Port Moody and into the Fraser Valley he had noted the homes of Vancouver workers intermingled with orchards and cows.

Even when Miller reached Britain, his diary casts light on Vancouver. In every place he visited, he had a contact from business acquaintances in Vancouver. At an Oddfellows Convention in Brighton, Miller brought greetings from the brethren of B.C., and was then immediately surrounded by 'brethren' who had relatives or friends in Canada:

One brother from Maidstone had a friend, Charlie Williams, at Mt. Pleasant. Another from Shipley knows Miss Ella Gilbert in Vancouver. Another from Southampton had a friend in Mr. W. Hays in Vancouver. Bro. Rapley of Steyning had a friend, Bro. T.H. Brown, of the United Services Club, Vancouver. Bro. Wilkin of Liverpool had an old chum Sheelshear, at Mt. Pleasant. 45

Miller assured his readers that several conversations he had had would likely result in some emigration to this wonderful part of the world. A further Vancouver-England link is shown when Miller attempted to get into the House of Commons. Challenged by a constable at the door to identify
his member, Miller replied, "Sir Joseph Martin". Martin was at the time  
member for East St. Pancras in London, but Miller and other Vancouver East  
residents remembered him as the stormy Attorney General and briefly Premier  
of British Columbia, and M.L.A. for Vancouver East at the turn of the  
46 century. Voted out in 1903, he went to England, and in his wake a large  
area of Grandview was sold as the Martin Estate. So even in London, the  
links to B.C. could be established. The "community" that was present in  
the Oddfellows of the Manchester Unity bridged the ocean. As a businessman,  
Miller could walk the streets of London and bump into Premier McBride out-  
side the B.C. trade offices. As a fervent imperialist, he could ask to  
see 'his' M.P. on "colonial business". And, as a colonialist, he could go  
on a pilgrimage to his father's village in search of his ancestors:  

To the colonial generation it was impressively romantic  
and sublime to be standing around the bones of our ancestors  
in this quiet corner of the Old World, reading their names  
and inscriptions. There is no one of the name and no relatives  
now in the place, which for centuries had been the home of the  
Millers. In a few years time, there will be no citizen left  
who has any personal recollection of the family; the old tombs  
will remain only as a reminder that they once lived; and those  
of the same name who live in Canada and Australia are left for  
history to repeat itself in a new land, under perhaps happier  
and better conditions.47

The powerful solemnity of the setting for these thoughts checked Miller's  
otherwise unbridled enthusiasm for Vancouver: perhaps conditions were  
happier and better. But for a great army of emigrants coming out of older  
rural and urban worlds, the 'perhaps' was a clear challenge in the face of  
a known present, a present that was often a stagnant world, with opportu-  
nity denied by poverty or class.48 It was a world that enticed newcomers  
and turned them into confident boosters of their new settings.

Harry Archibald, a civil engineer who had come to Vancouver from
Truro, Nova Scotia, sent regular letters back to his father in Musquodoboit, where the Archibald family had lived and worked since arriving as Loyalists a century and a quarter earlier. From the perspective of someone from rural Nova Scotia, Vancouver contained many surprises:

This Vancouver is full of Socialists. A peculiar thing is that the Socialists are nearly always foreigners -- Englanders, Germans, Americans, etc. They have meetings nearly every evening and on Sundays. Their big meeting is on Sunday evening. Was there once, but do not think I will join for awhile at least. Their ways are not my ways, and at present we have nothing in common. But nearly every evening at the street-corners once can see a crowd of them holding forth. Many of them remind me of the great unwashed.

One of the drawbacks to this place is the Englander, or as he is more familiarly known, the Remittance Man. Some of the Eastern papers call Vancouver "The Remittance Man's Clearing". He knows it all, and we sometimes have quite a lot of trouble to beat it into his head that he is not "it". After a while they take a tumble that they are not the "whole cheese", and after that they are not too bad. The C.P.R. is very strong here, and one finds them engaged in various lines of business under other names. Every one, or nearly so, thinks this is the only place, and that helps a lot to push a town ahead.49

Socialists, the Remittance Man, the C.P.R.; add to them other alien elements --- mild climates, mountains, Chinese and Japanese workers-- and Archibald's letters reveal as much about the Maritimes as about Vancouver. Some of his responses were cautious and tentative; the priorities of Socialists were certainly unfamiliar and, to him, somewhat un-Canadian. Yet Archibald too, for all his observations of unfamiliar activities and people, was a booster: "the Land of Evangeline is a good country, but this is a long way ahead of it".50 He was fascinated by the pace of change, and from his stable, rural background could not help but observe:
Everything is raw, crude, and unfinished, as the work is still under progress. It is a very expensive operation—as stumps here cannot be pulled out with a yoke of oxen as back East. What do you think of clearing trees four feet in diameter and one hundred feet high off land to make room for a city residence?\(^5\)

Archibald, Miller, Copp, McSpadden, Enefer, Davis and Hager reveal something of the specific links between Vancouver and a prior world. Emotionally and experientially, the reference points were largely Eastern Canadian, British or Imperial. Often such experience had been modified in other parts of the New World, and had been further modified by the New World pace and economy of Vancouver itself. But however modified, Vancouverites stamped positive and negative associations with another home on this newly-built environment. They looked back to other, remembered places, and saw a measure of themselves. They looked at the landscape of Vancouver, and enlarged their vision of what was possible in a city. The detached single family house as home -- an external object set within a Garden World and an internal space where family developed -- was at the heart of that vision, as it was in the psyche of Vancouverites.

Home may well be where the heart is, but home was also where profit lay. The concept of home-ownership lay behind much of the demand for land. Real estate interests in the city skilfully promoted the importance of home-ownership. Rent had a set of specific associations and memories; 'home' evoked another set of dreams. A house owned was the safest form of security. So argued the industry. Under a sketch of a mother kneeling beside her baby's crib, one advertisement for suburban land suggested:

Try and figure out what the land values of Point Grey will be when your boy or girl becomes of age. Do you not think a piece of property in this beautiful locality would lighten their path along life's highway?
Such advertising appealed through the children and played on the guilt of omission. In a city where 'the future was guaranteed' (as every booster maintained), a purchase when the opportunity was 'right' guaranteed security later on as the city filled up and its land became more expensive. In this case, Highbury Park was available. There, a lot could be purchased, a house built, and a home begun. As an article entitled, "Vancouver, a City of Beautiful Homes" suggested:

The measure of a city's stability, financial soundness and attractiveness to the newcomer is not to be found in its palatial hotels, skyscraper office buildings and apartment houses. The dweller in flats is an uncertain and unsettled quantity. The man in an office may be a foot-loose adventurer. Homes alone indicate the extent and quality of citizenship. It is in them that patriotism is developed and cherished. The home is the heart, the life and the index of a city. Vancouver may well be proud of her beautiful homes, and of her great industries that are directly concerned with the promotion of home-building—sawmills, sash and door factories, and home-building companies. Among those who have come here from the great schools of older lands and from the great republic to the south of us are many brilliant young architects who have brought to us their genius, unfettered by effete convention and worn-out tradition. They have evolved new and attractive types of bungalows and mansions that are a revelation to the town dweller from the east or from overseas, where they are familiar with terraced rows of cottages that seem to have been made by the gross to one dreary pattern. The immigrant has brought with him a deeply implanted love of home life.

The authors of this paean to house ownership were directors of a house-building company, Vancouver Free Homes, that specialized in building and selling California Bungalows. This house type — with broad verandahs, brick porch supports, a pronounced eave, and shingled sides — was popular in most parts of the city, in working class and elite districts alike, and for the two boom periods on either side of World War I. Though a city with many English hues, and with home aspirations often stoked by English experiences, house styles were often inspired by Californian models.
In 1929, the City of Vancouver amalgamated with its two suburban municipalities, South Vancouver and Point Grey, to confirm legally a spatial reality that had existed for the previous quarter century. This period had seen the skeleton of the modern metropolis laid out, neighbourhoods defined and stabilized and social gradients developed. Throughout this process, there had been little reform rhetoric. In the minds of civic leaders and embryonic planners, there were few tenements and few areas of abject poverty, overcrowding or disease. For nearly all men and women, the city seemed to offer adequate shelter and the hint of further affluence. Little reformist planning was thought to be needed, because the collective vision of the appropriate future for Vancouver found in the attitudes of landowner/developer and immigrant alike seemed already to be realized in the landscape.

To a large extent, this optimism was justified. Vancouver on the eve of the Depression was emphatically suburban, even though the city's economic base lay in a railroad terminal, a deep-sea port, and saw-milling. There was not a dense concentration of workers' housing on expensive inner city land next to the workplace. There was little uniform working class housing. There were not the images of alienation associated with Homestead in Pittsburgh, nor memories of a community violently divided on class lines as in Winnipeg. Equally, there was not a uniform suburbia, but there was a city of single family homes peacefully situated on a peninsula on the edge of the Pacific and at the foot of coastal mountains. And there was the conviction that Vancouver provided a unique urban opportunity for, in a magnificent natural setting, a verdant landscape of parks, treed streets and 'urban wilderness' framed and united a city of family houses.
CHAPTER TWO

CHANGING PRIORITIES IN AN INDUSTRIAL WORLD:

THE IMPORTANCE OF HOUSE AND HOME FOR VANCOUVERITES

It is only by going into the country
that sufficient land for a simple house with
yard in front and garden in the rear -- the
ideal English house -- can be had

Ellen H. Richards,
The Cost of Shelter, 1913

Early Vancouver was an immigrant society, largely drawn from the
British Isles. Tables 2 and 3, derived from work by Norbert MacDonald,
show a city where more than 30% of the population were British born in both
the 1911 and 1921 censuses; this group comprised 54% of all foreign born in
1911 and 62% of foreign-born by 1921. Calculated in actual numbers, (for a
city that grew from 25,000 in 1901 through 100,000 in 1911 and to 165,000 by
1921), the contribution of a few dominant migration hearths is even clearer.
From England and Wales, some 15,000 people joined the Vancouver census rolls
between 1901 and 1911, and a further 14,000 between 1911 and 1921. From
Scotland, the numbers for the same time-intervals were 9,000 and 5,000.
These census periods possibly blur the concentration of immigration from
the British Isles, since much of Vancouver's growth came in the 1909 to
1913 pre-war boom, across the 1911 census year. The second largest group
of immigrants were Ontario-born, 12,000 from 1901 to 1911 and 5,000 from
1911 to 1921, followed by 9,000 Americans in the period from 1901-11. It
is impossible to tell whether or not the British-born came direct, or
### TABLE 2
**BIRTHPLACE OF VANCOUVER'S NATIVE-BORN POPULATION, 1891-1931**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1891</th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1911</th>
<th>1921</th>
<th>1931</th>
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<td>1,460</td>
<td>5,698</td>
<td>6,900</td>
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<tr>
<td>Quebec</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>640</td>
<td>2,170</td>
<td>3,000</td>
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<td>Ontario</td>
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<td>3,950</td>
<td>16,663</td>
<td>21,200</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prairies</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>530</td>
<td>3,925</td>
<td>9,100</td>
<td>21,763</td>
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<tr>
<td>British Columbia</td>
<td>4,572</td>
<td>9,968</td>
<td>39,720</td>
<td>71,141</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total Native-Born</td>
<td>8,552</td>
<td>16,548</td>
<td>43,978</td>
<td>79,920</td>
<td>128,396</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: N. MacDonald, 1970)

### TABLE 3
**BIRTHPLACE OF VANCOUVER'S FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION, 1891-1931**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1891</th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1911</th>
<th>1921</th>
<th>1931</th>
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<td>18,414</td>
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<td>910</td>
<td>9,650</td>
<td>14,900</td>
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<td>Ireland</td>
<td>412</td>
<td>512</td>
<td>2,625</td>
<td>4,260</td>
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<td>Norway</td>
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<td>333</td>
<td>952</td>
<td>920</td>
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<td>Sweden</td>
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<td>48</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>379</td>
<td>441</td>
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<td>Germany</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>733</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>893</td>
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<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>664</td>
<td>0.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Austria &amp; Hungary</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>606</td>
<td>772</td>
<td>1,429</td>
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<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>606</td>
<td>772</td>
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<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>1,922</td>
<td>1,110</td>
<td>1,478</td>
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<td>Greece</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>226</td>
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<td>United States</td>
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<td>1,840</td>
<td>10,401</td>
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<td>China</td>
<td>1,065</td>
<td>1,800</td>
<td>3,364</td>
<td>8,100</td>
<td>11,533</td>
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<td>Japan</td>
<td>1,010</td>
<td>1,841</td>
<td>3,861</td>
<td>4,133</td>
<td>5,983</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>854</td>
<td>3,987</td>
<td>5,983</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Foreign-Born</td>
<td>5,157</td>
<td>10,642</td>
<td>56,423</td>
<td>83,300</td>
<td>118,197</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Total Population | 13,709|27,010|163,220|246,593| (Source: N. MacDonald, 1970)
through Ontario, or whether the "Ontario-born" were migrants who came directly from that province or who had spent some years on the Prairie. Biographies of the entrepreneurial group in the city often indicate a prairie sojourn en route from the East, but the migration histories of the majority are difficult to reconstruct. Further, it is not clear whether the migrations were predominantly rural to urban, or urban to urban. Some would argue that in either case, by the beginning of the twentieth century, most facets of British society, urban and rural, were affected by the dominant urban industrial economy. The same argument would hold for Central and Eastern Canada.

2(i) The British Industrial City

The negative images of urban Britain used by Vancouver realtors focussed on the 19th century industrial city. Though the cotton towns of Lancashire, the woollen towns of Yorkshire and the coal and steel towns of Northumbria and South Wales differed in detail, a common element was the concentration of unskilled or semi-skilled rural migrants in squalid housing close to the source of production. Wealth was concentrated in the hands of a few industrialists, and the gradients of wealth that had typified peasant-landlord relations a century earlier were replaced by similar distances between proletariat and capitalists.

Oldham, a cotton centre in Lancashire, was typical. Some 60,000 people in the 1840's, living in unsewered slums with no access to land for gardens, were surrounded by some fifty employer mansions at the edge of the town. This latter group, 1% of the population, received 50% of the community income.
independent spinners had been overwhelmed, large cotton mills employed over
half the labour force (14,000 out of 25,000). Most housing was shared by
different families. A contemporary report painted an often-repeated
picture:

The general appearance of the operatives' housing
is filthy and smouldering. Airless little backstreets
and nasty courts are common; pieces of dismal waste-
ground—all covered with wreaths of mud and piles of
blackened brick—separate the mills.7

Such a world was the quintessence of industrial society in all its rawness,
a society whose personal and built landscape Charles Dickens described in
*Hard Times*. Against a background of mill machinery, Coketown

contained several large streets all like one another,
and many small streets still more like one another,
inhabited by people equally like one another, who all
went in and out at the same hours, with the same sound
upon the same pavements, to do the same work, and to
whom every day was the same as yesterday and tomorrow,
and every year the counterpart of the last and the next... 8

Oldham, and the other Lancashire mill towns, were satellites of Manchester,
the ultimate symbol of the new relations between man, and between man and
machines. Alexis Toqueville's description of the misery around the Irwell,
several years before Engels' portrait of the same area, describes the
conditions of 300,000 people:

*It is the Styx of this new Hades. Look up and all
around this place you will see the huge palaces of
industry. These vast structures keep air and light
out of the human habitations which they dominate; they
envelope them in perpetual fog; here is the slave, there
the master; there is the wealth of some, here the poverty
of most; there the organized efforts of thousands produce,
to the profit of one man, what society has not yet learnt
to give. Here the weakness of the individual seems more
feeble and helpless even than in the middle of a wilderness.* 9

To this Engels added evidence of the crumbling courts of houses, built to
last only to the end of a 20 or 30 year land lease, and not repaired by
the landlord. And to the condition of the working class he added the
spatial separation of classes, the well-to-do going to their healthy sub­
urban locations oblivious of the despair behind the road-side shopfronts. 10

While the excesses of the period were perhaps greatest in new cities
such as Oldham, Manchester and Middlesborough, they were repeated in York,
Northampton and the capital, London; indeed anywhere that the new relation­
ship between capital and labour was being worked out. Northampton, an
aristocratic market town amidst a rich, farming area, quickly became a
centre for cheap factory-made shoes as manufacturers sought cheap labour
outside London. Wages paid were insufficient for a single man to survive,
and women and children were quickly involved in one of the worst of the
sweated trades. Northampton, as much as Oldham and Manchester, was a city
of migrants who comprised 72% of the population in 1851; culturally it was
a rural labour force, quickly transformed into an urban proletariat.
Finishing once done in the villages outside the town, became part of the
factory process, forcing rural dwellers to become a casual labour force
close to the factories. By the 1840's, "medieval streets were slum streets,
and the freeman's common a breeding ground for cholera." 11

And yet, given this massive coming together of a labour force, and
a strongly hierarchical relationship between the many and the few, there is
little evidence of class-solidarity, particularly a sense of class reflect­
ed in homogeneous residential areas. The acres of back-to-backs and slums,
identical at a distance, (Fig. 2.1), contained their own social geographies.
Interspersed occupational and ethnic groups remained different worlds that
had not dissolved through common experience into a class-based uniformity. 12

In York, an ancient religious and administrative city transformed
Fig. 2.1 Working-class residential landscapes in the English industrial city; the numbing sameness masked complex social geographies. This is a view of Leicester, a textile town in the East Midlands.
into a railway centre in the 1840's, discrete clusters of working class populations were present from the start of industrial expansion. Whole streets of Northumberland and Durham-born railway workers -- the elite of labour drawn from the earlier coalfield railways -- provided a clear contrast to clusters of unskilled Irish labourers who lived across town in unsanitary swampy sites near the river. The relative prosperity of the Northern labour aristocracy also kept them distinct from the local rural immigrants who swelled walled York into a terraced industrial city based on employment in railroad and chocolate manufacture. In both Alan Armstrong's study of mid-century York and Seebohm Rowntree's exhaustive survey at the turn of the century, clear social distinctions can be discerned even though the majority lived close to poverty.

Even into the twentieth century, something of the village mentality survived. Perhaps the best example is provided by Robert Roberts' glimpse of life in Edwardian Salford, the place Engels defined as the 'Classic Slum':

Every industrial city folds within itself a cluster of loosely defined overlapping villages. Those in the Great Britain of seventy years ago were almost self-contained communities. Our own consisted of some thirty streets and alleys locked along the north and south by two railway systems a furlong apart. About twice that distance to the east lay another slum which turned on its farther side into a land of bonded warehouses and the city proper. West of us, well beyond the tramlines, lay the middle classes, bay-windowed and begardened. We knew them not.

The world was defined, its services internal to the community, and access to credit at the local stores was the basis of social status (as was the slight variation in rent on the railway company's housing):
Our villagers, about three thousand in all, patronized fifteen beer houses, a hotel and two off-licenses, nine grocery and general shops, three green grocers, two tripe shops, three barbers, three cloggers, two workshops, one fish and chip shop, and old clothes store, a couple of pawn-brokers and two loan offices.\textsuperscript{15}

This was a contained world, with all the facilities to support the family in that brief time away from work. The world beyond -- the 'begardened and bay-windowed' middle class -- was a foreign country, as much \textit{terra incognitae} for the working class as the innumerable 'East Ends' of the British industrial city were to the middle and upper classes.\textsuperscript{16} For both sides, these worlds were undimensional from the outside, and richly complex from within.\textsuperscript{17}

If country people were thrown together in industrial slums, the journey to respectability was usually individual. Self help, with its collective side through friendly societies (insurance against sickness, old age, and burial fees), was more common than collective political action. Though Samuel Smiles' preaching on Thrift and Self Help was a middle-class view of what ought to be rather than what could be, the tremendous energy that friendly societies, building societies and the like directed towards individual family saving for house ownership reveals a common aspiration.\textsuperscript{18} Priming the spirit of independence among the slum dweller, self-help taught that material prosperity was the reward of virtue. As Enid Gauldie observed in her study of 19th century British housing conditions,

\begin{quote}
Divine justice raised him (the property owner) to his comfortable status just as divine justice ensured that the shiftless and undeserving should remain poor and without property. This view was supported quite as much by the artisan who had just attained the status of owning his own tools and workshop as it was by the owners of vast estates. So long as there existed a possibility of a poor man becoming a property owner in however small a way, he would support the rights of private property.\textsuperscript{19}
\end{quote}
And yet, for the most part, the path from slum tenement to house-ownership was several generations long. When Vancouver was in its infancy the overwhelming majority of urban Britons rented meagre accommodation. The continued alienation of land to a small group of property owners, the cost of building, and the ratio of wages to housing costs, meant that the realistic achievement of most was, at best, a rented terraced-dwelling of increasing quality over a lifespan.

In the industrial city, workers' homes were concentrated close to factory, dockyard or other centres of employment. Such locations reflected the sheer economic reality of casually organized work and daily or weeklyhirings. A high degree of immobility was reinforced by lower rents in crowded quarters, compensated for only by the lack of transportation costs. Once there, established credit at the corner store or pub, and a sense of community, solidified working class residential areas. Even when the worst slums were upgraded, people did not move far. Indeed, as Young and Willmott's classic study revealed, as late as 1953, a twenty mile move to municipal housing estates was the first substantial move for many Bethnal Green residents in the East End of London:

> When a woman who has lived all her life in 'buildings', or in three cramped rooms in a grubby terraced cottage is proudly shown around 'my sisters lovely new house with a garden out in Hainault' it is small wonder that admiration is somehow tinged with envy.  

Similar limited aspirations for more room are found in Roberts' descriptions of Salford. His family finally escaped from the heart of the slum after the first World War:

> (His mothers) yearning, long cherished, to get us out of Zinc Street seemed at long last on the edge of fulfilment ....we knew her 'dream' house of course - near a park it had
to be, and a good library; quiet - with a parlour and a back garden: not much, but that was all she wanted. 21

The attack on the worst excesses of unsanitary housing began in the 1860's through acts of Parliament. With the Cross and Torrens Acts of the 1880's, demolitions were linked to a state responsibility for rehousing workers - yet the resulting problems simply demonstrated that the costs of building decent accommodation on inner city land was prohibitive for those who needed it most. 22 Philanthropists like Octavia Hill 23 and municipal governments such as Liverpool’s, 24 built model dwellings for the poor, often with 5% profit margins, to try to point the way for private investment. Yet this cost was beyond the reach of most of the poor and even these structures were tenements which in turn would be criticized by later reformers for their deficiencies in fresh air, light and sanitation.

The answer to high land costs in the inner city lay in the development of cheaper peripheral sites, but if working men were to live there, cheap transport was essential. The city of London, through the Cheap Trains Act of 1883, required private railways to provide workmen’s specials; in other cities, a network of trams helped loosen ties to the factory gate. Speculative builders could then erect rows of terraced cottages on cheaper land. In London, there were 26,000 workmen’s cheap tickets a day in 1883, and more than 326,000 by 1902. 25 The turn of the century suburb was by no means a middle-class retreat; in 1912 40% of all commuters within 8 miles of London were working class travellers. 26 English working men still faced a dilemma of costs and quality. Whether they lived in high density tenements on expensive inner city land, or in poorly-built terraces in the suburbs, they rented rather than owned. As the social surveys by Booth and Rowntree had shown, 27 poverty was the root of the housing crisis, and
it was clear that neither Smilesian self-help nor free-market capitalism could solve the problem.

Recognizing that an economic return on costs was impossible, state intervention became more common, with local government as builder and landlord. Even so, the problem had to be addressed in a total sense -- not just housing, but rent controls, minimum wage, pension and insurance schemes. This points towards the twentieth century welfare state in Britain, a consequence of the fact that a system based on the private control and development of land was simply not tackling the human problems of labour beyond its usefulness to industry.

Looking back to a rural way of life and to a different relationship between land and labour, some philanthropic capitalists, particularly Rowntree, Cadbury and Lever, moved their workers' housing into the countryside. These early experiments in residential community depended on cheap land provided by the industrialist, and/or relatively high wages (in the broadest sense of labour welfare through pensions and the provision of community services). Architect/planners such as Raymond Unwin contrasted the moral and physical health of village life with that in the endless by-law housing. In his Garden Cities of Tomorrow, a work that synthesized much of the longing for a rural dimension to urban life, Ebenezer Howard provided the broad philosophical basis for marrying rural and urban life. The middle class suburbs had hankered after such rurality, yet attained it in token amounts -- a stamp-size garden in front of a semi-attached villa or a terraced row, a treed or flower-named street (Fig. 2.2). Constantly, the reality of land economics and ownership denied the easy implementation of these suburban or garden-city plans.
Lucas was one of the architects who most carefully studied old English cottage styles, particularly those of the Cotswold district, which Unwin also considered the best of the traditional.

Fig. 2.2 English suburban landscapes: Edwardian middle class terraces (above, from Jackson, 1973) and early garden city vistas (below, from Creese, 1966).
Letchworth, the first Garden City, attracted a middle-class clientele. It was the increasing concern of the Labour Movement with housing reform that was to translate the Unwin/Howard/Rowntree experiments into a broadly available reality. The labour movement wholeheartedly adopted the idea of the suburban house and garden. The Tudor Walters Report of 1926 gave official approval to house type, density and layout, and ensured that the garden suburb became the dominant building form for municipalities between the wars.\(^{31}\) One aspect of the desire for home and property — a decent suburban environment in which small clusters of terraced rows were cast in a more verdant environment — was partially fulfilled through municipal socialism. Ownership was another matter. After a generation of government legislation, accommodation was undoubtedly more sanitary and safe, yet it was still mostly rented.

The social gradients through a suburb could be defined into distinct streets, where a shilling a week difference in rent meant the difference between a clerk and a skilled tradesman's residence. In the background still lay the spectre of poverty. As Peter Laslett concluded, the world of the working class in twentieth century Britain was the "inheritance from the traditional world of peasant, craftsman and pauper."\(^{32}\) Popular opinion might argue that this working class population had become more independent, that there was more comfort in their life within the industrial city as the twentieth century had progressed, and even, because of this, that the label 'working class' had less relevance. Laslett, however, emphasizes continuity: "To call the prosperous working family of the later twentieth century simply bourgeois or middle-class is a superficial historical misconception. It is rather the working family of the 1900's, of the 1920's or 1930's, with some of the horror of poverty removed."\(^{33}\)
According to Jim Dyos, there had been considerable change and improvement in the end-of-the-century Victorian city since the days of Engels' Salford or Foster's Oldham. He describes change as a process of spatial and social sorting. Relocations helped define peoples' identity as individuals rather than gross slum groups. For the most part, such definition was still fugitive, "not only for the middle classes retreating to their laburnum groves, but for the masses following behind in workmens' trains or making for the emigrant ships instead." And, having seen that the move to suburb might still be to a rented terraced cottage, some sixteen feet of frontage with shared walls on both sides, it is appropriate to turn to the urban alternatives beyond British industrial society.

2(ii) The North American Parallels

Briefly, 19th century cities on both sides of the Atlantic had much in common. The urban face of industrial capitalism was generally similar. Pittsburgh, with subworlds like Homestead clustered around Carnegie's steel mills, could provide as grim a social picture as any from Engels. Hamilton, Ontario in the mid-nineteenth century exhibited dimensions of inequality similar to those that Forster describes in the English industrial city. One-quarter of the population of Hamilton owned all the property in the city, three-quarters rented. The most affluent 10% held 88% of the wealth, the poorest 40% received some 1% of the city's income. In Montreal, "the city above the hill is the home of the classes....the city below the hill is the dwelling place of the masses", and in Winnipeg by 1914, it was very much a city divided; divided into areas of work and residence, rich and poor, Anglo-Saxon and foreigner. Income
and ethnic segregation held conflicting groups apart. Each district had a neighbourhood homogeneity that gave a sense of place and community." 38

Artibise's description of Winnipeg conjures worlds similar to those described by Roberts' Salford at the same time. Worlds apart, yet a fundamental similarity because of the dominant economy.

And yet, the North American city was different from its British counterpart. There was far greater social and spatial mobility, within and between cities. A larger percentage of the urban population were property owners. A series of letters that Charlotte Erickson assembled from British emigrants to North America through the nineteenth century reveals the wide attraction of the ownership of house and garden. 39 Some 30% of the unskilled Irish migrants at the bottom of the economic scale in Hamilton owned property. 40 Michael Katz attributes this to the particularly strong meaning of land for the Irish, driven off the land by English landlords. In general, North American wages were somewhat higher and urban land costs somewhat lower than in Europe, and this opportunity gave a more tangible outlet to aspirations for home ownership and privacy. To be sure, for many, the same dilemma of transport costs and density remained. In New York, threshold wage limits for marriage were similar to those described by Jackson for Edwardian London. 41 Still, new mass transportation technology, aggressively implemented, and less restricted expansion at the city's edge, enabled the spread of classes over a broader North American suburbia than in Britain at the same time. 42

Private family space was the clear goal of such relocation. Images of house ownership and of the ideal home were closely intertwined in the nineteenth century. "Home" was a particularly Victorian sentiment, common to both the poor in their slums and the middle classes in the suburbs.
The literature on the evolution of the rhetoric of home is large and significant, and is closely related to the many recent studies of the family in industrial society. For many, the sentiments of family and home were keys to survival in a changing and hostile world. For the poor home was the one private domain in a world of uncontrollable forces; for the middle class secure and protected families were havens from the antagonisms of city life. Most of the attempts to ameliorate the slums of inner city life sought to create healthy home environments. Ames noted with relief that the Montreal poor were not living in the crowded tenements characteristic of New York or Philadelphia, for "dwelling in a small building tends to make (the slum dweller) independent and self-reliant, preserving as it does all that pertains to separate family life." Smaller tenements were better than large, but home ownership was ideal. It gave control over shelter even in times of illness or unemployment; it provided a secure basis for the family. The pursuit of independent family life, away from the dense inner city, led by the 1930's to the increasingly private world of suburbia, a world that many urban critics thought was soulless and without identity. For most people this private world was a cherished goal, an autonomous place for self and family within an increasingly organized and impersonal world.

Relatively cheap land in western North American cities in the early part of the twentieth century appeared to offer an opportunity for independent family life. In Vancouver, the sentiments of home and family coloured many real estate promotions. Home was equated with land ownership, and in so doing played on sentiments that had been nurtured in the Old Country. Advertisements, and many visiting speakers to the Canadian Club, contrasted municipal intervention in the tenement problem in England and private opportunity in Vancouver. Promoting a South Vancouver suburb called
Kensington, one realtor stated:

The London County Council is putting up houses for thousands of families -- not in London, but outside, in the suburbs, where people can have fresh air and yards for the children to play in and gardens -- same as here in Kensington -- and when the great London County Council appointed by Parliament does things as that at an expense of millions, it shows how important this thing is -- how vitally necessary it is for us to solve the living problem.

And it is easy to solve, here in Vancouver, now that Kensington has been opened up and cheap land made available for homeowners -- placed on the market at $10 down and then ten dollars a month -- figures within the reach of every industrious mechanic and clerk.48

Such statements were made under the banner headline "Own Your Own Home. Every Argument Favours the Man Who Does Not Pay Rent. Be Independent and Happy -- Buy and Build in Kensington."

For a generation of migrants, the opportunity to own a home was a powerful attraction. When the Vancouver Real Estate Exchange ran a contest in 1920 on the subject "The Advantage of Owning Your Own Home", the essays submitted by housewives and other working people reiterated the real estate industry's advertising. Chas Clemons, a bakery clerk renting on Lansdowne (a street on the False Creek slopes), used experiences in other countries to define the value of home ownership:

Citizens who own their own homes today have the natural pride of possession, a sure safeguard against the uncertainties of the future, a refuge for old age, and an inheritance for the children. Those of us who came from crowded cities know from bitter experience the dread of the sheriff in times of unemployment, and the horror of the poor house manifested by the old folk. From my experience in France and England, while overseas, and seeing how the working classes live, I am glad that I am living in such a country as Canada. Here we have every opportunity of owning our homes, and the industrious worker can insure his family's future.49

Mrs. Auld, of Vancouver Heights in the East End, described the stabilising influence that ownership brought to the working class: "When they are
industrious, thrifty and contented, isn't the country or community prosperous? Unrest arises from discontent and dissatisfaction, and is not this the feeling of the average tenant? All the essays offered plain, simple definitions of the value of home, and all revolved fundamentally around the ownership of land.

Consumer aspirations and market packaging found many associations. One of the most striking advertisements in this vein offered land for $375 on the New Westminster Interurban, at Alta Vista near Royal Oak Station 'where $12 down and $12 a month secures you a homesite'. The land was promoted under the headline 'The Magic Word "HOME"':

There is a wonderful magical power in the simple word "home". What a world of fond associations and dear memories is conjured up by those four letters, "H-o-m-e". How it makes us think of domestic joy, a warm fire before the hearth, and warmed hearts to welcome us when the day's work is over; better still, how it makes us think of sturdy independence, freedom from care and worry and increasing prosperity. The house you live in is not "home!" if you don't own it. If you are paying rent you are living in somebody else's home, not your own home.

The text goes on to point out that while a person used to have to save a thousand dollars to buy land, it was now possible to make small monthly payments. The land would be paid for in less than three years. Alta Vista development offered a few three-room houses for sale at $185. "The houses are not elaborate, but they are convenient, comfortable and 'homey'". Such sentiments connected with the very special meaning of home in working class life. As Richard Hoggart summarized this sentiment, 'where almost everything else is ruled from outside, is chancey and likely to knock you down when you least expect it, the home is still yours and real: the warmest welcome is still 'Mek y'self at 'ome.' The fireplace, the hearth, and the family sitting around in safe comfort was a theme used in many house
Are you looking for a home?

We are looking for homeseekers.

Call on us and we will endeavor to give you what you are looking for, and if you are satisfied we will be gratified, and if you are gratified we will be satisfied.

We have inquiries daily for residential property, and will be glad to have many more modern houses on our list. West End and Mount Pleasant are especially in demand.

NATIONAL FINANCE CO., LTD.

Telephone 814 412 Hastings St. W.
advertisements. The National Finance Company, offering mortgage money for potential purchasers of Prudential Builders houses, cleverly used the symbolic sketch shown in Fig. 2.3. Two small houses are placed on top of a Victorian mantel-piece clock. The two Staffordshire china dogs are absent (!) but here are the innermost parts of the house-as-hearth intertwined with the house exteriors.

The Victorian popularity of "Home Sweet Home" and "East West, Home's Best" translated into different realities on either side of the Atlantic. For many in Britain, the sentiment often remained as a needlepoint design framed on the bedroom wall; in North America it more often found expression in physical form. An important element in that realization was the considerable volume of Victorian literature proselytizing ideal home life and an innovative economy that could accommodate the suggestions. Many of these books included house designs and floor plans and therefore were influential sources in the dissemination of industrial vernacular housing. They are also valuable sources of the home-rhetoric that fueled their popularity.

Several authors have documented the major technological transformations of American life as the nation came to terms with the new industrial age; they include John Kouwenhoven's treatment of the impact of new materials and methods on house design, Russell Lynes' analysis of the powerful magazine 'tastemakers', and Nathan Rosenberg's examination of the pace of technological innovation in mid-century. All recognise the increasing compartmentalisation of the building and design process, and discuss the broader compartmentalisation that was occurring in society at that time. David Handlin has described the progression of a 19th century view of the single-family detached house as the ideal setting for American domestic life. Building on the ideas of Phillipe Ariès he views the compartment-
alisation of home-space and the ritualising of family relations as an outcome of a changing concept of family. There had been a shift from the medieval definition of family based on moral and social relationships through to an industrial era's separation of home and work -- thereby sentimentalizing the home as domesticity and private space. House planning became important and necessary, since there was an intention on the part of many architects and moralists to create "an organized environment that would be conducive both to physical health and the spiritual well-being of the family". As early as 1842 Catherine Beecher wrote a Treatise on Domestic Economy, and in 1862 she published, with Harriet Beecher Stowe, The American Woman's Home or Principles of Domestic Science; being a guide to the formation and maintenance of economical, healthful, beautiful and Christian homes. A later example of this genre was Laura Holloway's 1886 volume, The Hearthstone, or a Manual for Home Life. It began

Home is the central point of all happiness, the pivot upon which depends the weal or woe of families and communities. What then so important as the right building of our earthly homes in all spiritual and practical ways? What subject is so fraught with great consequence as the Hearthstone?

In addition to instructions on how to do the laundry, decorate the house, answer invitations correctly, be good parents, and use some 146 pages of cookery recipes; there were 25 pages of text and diagrams on house designs. There were many similar volumes on home-making. It was within this medium of home advice that some of Andrew Jackson Downing's very influential ideas on the value of Gothic architecture were disseminated. Initially he published designs and articles in rural magazines such as The Horticulturalist, but then later in collected books such as Cottage Residences. Equally influential, for a later and more suburban audience, was Edward Bok, the publisher
of *Ladies Home Journal*. In 1905 he published two floor plans for cheap housing by Frank Lloyd Wright, but more importantly he has been credited with removing the formal and largely underused parlour from American homes.

Many of the featured structures in these pattern books were often well beyond the financial capacities of most workers, but they were present as a goal to be striven for. In many cases, the 'workingmans cottage' included in most pattern books had some elements of the more attractive and opulent designs (Fig. 2.4). Acquisition of properties that were so vehemently identified with correct and healthy home life was an indication of successful social mobility; Stephen Thernstrom has discussed the importance of property ownership for workers in late 19th century Newburyport.

Social critics such as Engels regretted the working class housing developments on the fringe of American cities as diffusing the possibility for revolution. As Handlin concludes, however, there was considerable appeal in the goods and objects for those who had not previously known them:

> The house was the biggest and most important object that the average wage earner might acquire. Ultimately, because it was a physically perceivable entity, the detached house had an alluring appeal, no matter what style it was in or how small it was, that made it desirable. It was precisely this quality, a tangible presence that went beyond questions of utility or money value, that enabled so many people at whatever level of consciousness to see the issue of housing more in the terms of a Downing than an Engels.

Without detailed case histories of individual migrants to Vancouver, it is difficult to summarize their priorities with regard to housing. Harry Archibald, the engineer from the Annapolis Valley, might have been puzzled at the tree-clearing in Vancouver only for a 'city residence'. People from the industrial part of his province, from the coal and steel
Full and complete working plans and specifications of this house will be furnished for $5.00. Cost of house is from $1,050 to $1,150, according to the locality in which it is built.

Floor Plan of "The Flora"

Full and complete working plans and specifications of this house will be furnished for $5.00. Cost of house is from $2,500 to $2,700, according to the locality in which it is built.

Floor Plan of "The Brookdale"

Full and complete working plans and specifications of this house will be furnished for $5.00. Cost of house is from $400 to $500, according to the locality in which it is built.

Floor Plan of "The Workingman"

Fig. 2.4 Pattern book designs, from Hodgson's Low Cost American Homes, (1909)
towns of Cape Breton, likely had a different attitude to such clearing. For them the mean company houses that stretched beyond the colliery pithead were a constant reminder of their limited economic freedom; most of their meagre wages went to pay the rent on the company house and to pay for provisions at the company store. Sales of these houses to tenants was one of the main recommendations of the Royal Commission that investigated the cause of the bitter Cape Breton coal strikes of the 1920's. For rural Ontarians, poor land on the edge of the Shield, migration to urban employment, or movement outside the province were the prospects at the end of the 19th century. Several articles compared the backbreaking task of clearing land in Southern Ontario with the comparative ease of beginning a berryfarm or small dairy operation in Burnaby, New Westminster or other communities close to Vancouver. Not all the alternatives were urban, to be sure, since there was a considerable amount of land available in the Prairie provinces. But for those in urban settings, or facing the prospect of a move to a city, home as private space, and home as owned rather than rented property, featured large in their aspirations. Those who chose to migrate to Vancouver were met by a real estate industry that tapped such aspirations. Reviewing the "Potential Suburbs of Vancouver" in Man to Man Magazine (a forerunner to British Columbia Magazine), one booster stated the land question in terms of home and slums:

...the question of an outlet for the surplus population ... is one of the very greatest importance to (the average Vancouver resident) and the whole community of which he is a representative constituent: it means all the difference between social freedom and oppressive congestion. The latter is invariably the advance guard or onerous herald of the Kingdom of Slumdom, and all the horrifying associations incidental to its regime. This being the case, the question of the city having a series of suitable tributaries into which the overplus may emerge without losing touch with the metropolis becomes of great importance.
Aesthetics might realistically become a minor consideration compared to other meanings of shelter. Calvert Vaux, an architectural contemporary of Downing, criticized the square boxes springing up in the western cities, but explained them as the "natural result of the migratory independent spirit pervading the industrious classes in America." These humble dwellings, with their defining fences, were the realization of a dream -- a detached house, a garden, a psychological space.
CHAPTER THREE

THE CIRCLE GAME: LAND FOR VANCOUVER HOUSES

It awaits the sun, the end for which Heaven made it, the blessing of civilization. Someday it will be sold in large portions, and the timber cut down and made into paper, on which shall be printed praise of prosperity; and the land itself shall be divided into town-lots and sold, and subdivided and sold again, and Boehmed and resold, and boosted and distributed to fishy young men... and given in exchange for greater sums of money to old ladies in the quieter parts of England.

The movement of peoples, technologies and ideas to Vancouver in the late nineteenth century did not occur on a neutral base of virgin land. Land was a prime element in the reworking of social and economic aspirations, and it was in the hands of the few before it came into the hands of the many. Two attitudes towards land dominated: land as home, and land as economic asset. Within the growing power of the middle class, and particularly with industrialization, the latter view had asserted itself strongly during the nineteenth century. But both had a long co-existence, and both came to Vancouver.

Venture capital reached into British Columbia, and land was an attractive asset. In the Vancouver area, capitalists first invested in forests, but soon in real estate. Companies and individuals treated land as a marketable commodity. In a new place without traditional attachment to land and with a burgeoning population, land as asset was particularly accessible and attractive. But economic attraction frequently depended on
the land's potential as a home-site and so, to realize its economic value, it often had to be marketed as home. The rhetoric of home was primed and encouraged by the realtors and certain qualities of land as home were emphasized in their promotion.

With this study focusing largely on landscape and housestyles, newspaper real estate advertisements have been examined in order to better understand various land speculator strategies, and for the rhetoric that accompanied the sale of land. Detailed information on the block by block variations in land costs and of the extended sequences of sales prior to house construction have not been gathered to this point. Consequently, whether land owners were essentially enhancing or constraining the individual's access to land and home remains unanswered. That there were few tenements and many homes suggests they were enhancing peoples' opportunities. Within the city's boom and bust economy, speculators might well have been greater casualties than the family man aspiring to own and then stay put on a single lot. From most advertisements for land, as for later housing installment payments spread over two or three years were offered as the alternative to cash sales. While land costs in say Toronto or Saint John might not be fairly compared to Vancouver, the comparison of average earnings for selected skills in these three cities (Table 4) does suggest that in the period of main migration to Vancouver, a Vancouver worker was in a far stronger position to avail himself of the opportunities for land.

The workings of the real estate market as it applies to home purchase will be examined in subsequent chapters. Here the intent is to discuss the key actors and practices in land manipulation, both public and private, corporate and individual, as they shed light on the broader urban cultural
### TABLE 4

**a) AVERAGE EARNINGS, SELECTED OCCUPATIONS, 1911 & 1921**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>VANCOUVER</th>
<th>SAINT JOHN</th>
<th>TORONTO</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>1911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baker</td>
<td>927</td>
<td>1323</td>
<td>506</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bricklayer</td>
<td>973</td>
<td>1015</td>
<td>518</td>
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<td>Carpenter</td>
<td>914</td>
<td>1116</td>
<td>512</td>
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<td>Chauffeur</td>
<td>955</td>
<td>1154</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>Domestic</td>
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<tr>
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<td>566</td>
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<tr>
<td>Trainman</td>
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<td>746</td>
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<tr>
<td>Street Railway</td>
<td>895</td>
<td>1504</td>
<td>618</td>
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<tr>
<td>Salesman</td>
<td>1022</td>
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Source: Census of Canada 1911, 1921 (p.xx)

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**b) DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS OF HEAD OF FAMILY ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF PERSONS PER FAMILY SUPPORTED**

(in cities of over 30,000 people)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CITY</th>
<th>RANK</th>
<th>1911 $ per person from head</th>
<th>RANK</th>
<th>1921 $ per person from head</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VANCOUVER</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>338</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>416</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VICTORIA</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>296</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CALGARY</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WINNIPEG</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDMONTON</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REGINA</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TORONTO</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>426</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTTAWA</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WINDSOR</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>451</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAMILTON</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>388</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LONDON</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>409</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MONTREAL</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUEBEC</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAINT JOHN</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HALIFAX</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census of Canada 1911, 1921 (p.xxv)
landscape that is the central focus of this work.

3(i) The Shaping of Vancouver's Cadastre

Vancouver's cadastral pattern has components dating from the latter third of the nineteenth century, but the majority of units reflect the re-appraisal and re-evaluation of land after the arrival of the C.P.R. Throughout early Vancouver, the transformation of some 280 District Lot land parcels into home-sites and commercial or industrial uses was the consequence of actions by specific real estate companies and real estate men.

The key elements of Vancouver's pre-C.P.R. cadastre are summarized in Figure 3.1. From a New Westminster base, Colonel Moody of the Royal Engineers surveyed several naval reserves: at the tip of the Point Grey Peninsula, the broad area near Jericho Beach, and the Coal Peninsula (now Stanley Park). He also delineated a reserve that is now the heart of downtown, the Granville Townsite, six District Lots, and a 1500 acre Townsite of Hastings Suburban Lands (Fig. 1a). 'Hastings Townsite' remained outside City of Vancouver authority until annexed in 1911, but its suburban label in 1865, in a province of fewer than 9000 white people, adumbrated the eventual suburban density of the peninsula. Thereafter the first major transformation came when Captain Stamp acquired both land and timber leases to supply Hastings Mill (Fig. 3.1b). Most of some twenty parcels of land along the North Arm of the Fraser River (1c) were farms, 160 acre holdings of soldiers who retired from the Engineers or of settlers who had come to B.C. during the gold rushes.

The land grant given to the C.P.R. to encourage its extension from
Port Moody at the head of the Inlet was superimposed on this earlier cadastre (1d). The Granville Townsite became District Lot 541 and, spanning most of the Hastings Mill leases on the Peninsula, the 6000 acre District Lot 526 became the property of the C.P.R. Much of the remaining peninsula land was redivided and sold, largely in response to the new C.P.R. presence. Several syndicates emerged to take advantage of the new industrial shoreline along Burrard Inlet and False Creek. Further south, between the C.P.R.'s Lot 526 and what is now the boundary with the Municipality of Burnaby, land that had been in the Hastings Mill timber leases were bought up in Provincial government auctions, in District Lot parcels of 25 acres. To the west of the C.P.R.'s Lot 526, land under Provincial Government ownership also was auctioned off, but over a longer period. Figure 3.2 shows the boundaries and the numbers of these various District Lots.

Early speculative attention focussed on two areas, the East End and South Vancouver. The Vancouver Improvement Company, set up in 1886 by David Oppenheimer (the first mayor) and C.D. Rand

...owns the greater proportion of land lying in that section of the city between Westminster and Boundary Avenues, comprising in all about 300 acres. It is eligibly located on high ground, thickly settled, and ranks among the most desirable and valuable property in Vancouver.3

Desirable indeed, for it was close to waterfront industry and the C.P.R. facilities that would soon generate even more industry. Such a location was a prime area for selling homes to working men. While the selling of subdivided land and the building of houses was for the most part the activity of separate companies, these functions often coincided. The Vancouver Improvement Company was an early example of a firm
Fig. 3.2 Cadastral Units, City of Vancouver
engaged in erecting houses, on lots selected by purchasers, on the installment plan, the system of payment extending over a term of ten years. This system has proven a great success, not only here but in the populous cities of Eastern Canada and the States, and is looked upon as a boon by those desirous of owning homes and who, unless such an opportunity offered, would never possess one. Many residents of the city today owe their present prosperous condition to the opportunity thus given them by the system adopted by this company.⁴

The accuracy of this company's claim cannot be evaluated, but their involvement in both the selling of land and construction of housing was a practice followed by several important companies in later land booms.

Not all the land was syndicate controlled and developed, however. C.D. Rand offered extensive areas of District Lot 264a. Entire blocks were offered in 1889 at prices ranging from $200 to $700 per block, with the highest prices at $1000 per block.⁵ Many of these blocks would wait ten or fifteen years before the first tentative cabins (such as that of John Mason, see Chapter 1) would appear, and the marketed land would be defined by street lots instead of blocks; but the initial energy of speculation following the C.P.R.'s arrival rippled well beyond the small contemporary area of industry and home sites.

To the south of these syndicates, individual real estate magnates acquired significant areas close to the Interurban Railway to New Westminster. Some eighty rectangular parcels of 20-30 acres were offered by government auction. As Angus Robertson suggests in a map of South Vancouver owners of land in 1895,⁶ property was not in the hands of many people. West-End based realtors such as Horne, Douglas and Bodwell, plus foreign investment groups such as the Yorkshire Trust or the British and North American Land Company, controlled huge areas. In these early years, the distribution of land ownership in the City of Vancouver paralleled the
early industrial profiles of Hamilton, Ontario or Northampton, England. The *Vancouver World* published a list of the 139 Biggest Taxpayers in 1889 under the revealing headline "Those who own the Earth, and Supply Grease for the Wheels Accordingly", and a subheading, "Our Real Estate is Well Distributed. Only a Few Very Heavy Owners." As the analysis of this list suggests (in Table 5), some 85% of the assessed property value apparently was held by 130 people, leaving the remaining 15% to the other 10,000 people. Over 50% of the land was held by fewer than 20 owners and one owner, the Canadian Pacific Railway, accounted for 30% of it. These figures pertain to the legally incorporated City of Vancouver, which extended only as far south as 16th Avenue, so the mapped ownership of South Vancouver land is not included in these tabulations, nor indeed is the major share of the C.P.R.'s holdings in suburban Point Grey. Most of the leading names were real estate companies, or senior executives in the C.P.R. or Hastings Sawmill. Comparison of the leading 20 names for 1888 and 1889 shows some slight dispersion though again the C.P.R. maintained its 30%, as did the twenty owners who accounted for 50%. As the city grew and streetcars made more land marketable, this early concentration of land ownership diminished, but it is critical to any understanding of the early development of the city.

In Vancouver's early years, a few large firms provided access to land through aggressive marketing practices. The development of the eastern sector of the peninsula was extremely businesslike and efficient. Land was for sale, as developers sought immediate gains. Its attraction was its price and its contiguity to the eastern edge of C.P.R. land and to the key streetcar routes through South Vancouver. Announcements of 'land, now on the market, at this price, hurry' can be traced for subdivision after
TABLE 5

CONCENTRATION OF LAND OWNERSHIP, CITY OF VANCOUVER, 1889

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount of assessment ('000 dollars)</th>
<th>No. in category</th>
<th>Running Total</th>
<th>Percent of Wealth</th>
<th>No. of People</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Over one million $</td>
<td>1 (CPR)</td>
<td>1,700,000</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125 and over</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2,325,000</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 - 125</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2,525,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 - 100</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3,055,000</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 50</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3,345,000</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 - 30</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3,957,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 25</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4,140,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 - 20</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>4,317,000</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 15</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>4,929,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 10</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5,099,000</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total assessment for 1889</td>
<td></td>
<td>6,005,623</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

85% of assessed land values held by 139 owners.

15% of assessed land values held by 10,000 people.

Source: Vancouver World, 1889
subdivision through this area. Squeezed in between the C.P.R. lands and a semi-autonomous pre-emption known as D.L. 301 (Edmonds) C.S. Douglas offered D.L.'s 628 and 629 early in 1891:

The firm controls and has exclusive sale of some of the most desirable property in the city and vicinity and controls the sale of several notable additions and subdivisions, notable among which are subdivisions 628 and 629 on Mount Pleasant, beautifully located, bound on the east by Westminster Avenue, and on the west by Ontario Street.9

Eighteen years later, the firm offered its more distant South Vancouver holdings, and simply announced:

Most vacant lots are going for speculative purposes. A new subdivision in D.L. 709 put on the market today, and the sales started off at a good rate, indicating that the entire addition of 132 lots will be quickly disposed of.10

Most owners were preoccupied with opening up their own blocks rather than with more general development. Planned development might have extended existing roads, sewers and lighting efficiently. Instead, a somewhat chaotic streetscape of roads and houses evolved. Most District Lots were each internally consistent and even symmetrical in their sub-cadastre yet rarely aligned to their neighbours. One of the best examples of the consequences of this competitive approach to land development is in City Heights, (Fig. 3.3) where the interrupted north-south flow of Quebec Street and of many east-west avenues across Main Street reflects old cadastral boundaries. The 50-foot strip of land offered as house lots between John Street and Prince Edward is perhaps the clearest example of the adverse effects of independent subdivision. Note the western edge of D.L. 391 where it abuts D.L.'s 631, 632 and 633.

Each developer sought to attract settlers to his own area so that a
Fig. 3.3 Street alignments and District Lot Boundaries, City Heights
critical density would permit the profitable infilling of remaining lots. These same absentee landlords lobbied strenuously for municipal improvements, the cost of which was often beyond the capacity of the actual residents, and was to provoke a financial crisis in the municipality in 1922.

As one leading South Vancouver ratepayer put it:

South Vancouver being essentially a district of working people, and the majority of settlers being possessed of small capital, many were compelled to build their own homes and make the necessary clearing and improvements during their leisure hours. Very few could spare time from their duties, or even realized that it was necessary to record their vote of approval or disapproval of money by-laws which were placed before the electorate from time to time.

It is common knowledge, however, that the holders of vacant property held mostly for speculative purposes came from all parts of the city and surrounding municipalities to vote in favour of these by-laws, so that they would be able to advertise the facilities that would enable them to dispose of their holdings at an advanced price to incoming settlers.\(^1\)

Although it was municipal policy in South Vancouver to adopt the single tax system\(^2\) in an attempt to suppress the harmful extremes of land speculation, it should be remembered that it was the behaviour of speculative capitalists and not of the municipality and its residents that caused the rather chaotic and inefficient landscape of South Vancouver. Attempts to associate the landscape of a working class South Vancouver with anarcho-syndicalist sentiments prevalent at the time\(^3\) overlook the influence of a different form of anarchy.

Not all the land in this eastern sector was alienated in the immediate post-C.P.R. years to absentee landlords or to syndicates. Throughout the area could be found 'estates' that were acquired when the block-size parcels of land were being offered in the 1890s, and that were used for orchards, dairies, berry farms and the like.\(^4\) Many of these dairy or fruit
BALMORAL ORCHARD

on the North Arm Road, Subdivided into Large, Generous, Spacious, Commodious COUNTRY HOMESTEAD LOTS

No small 25, 33 or 50-foot lots, But Country Residence Sites.

Large enough for a fine Lawn, Large enough for spacious flower beds
Large enough for vegetable gardens to supply your family wants for all demands
Large enough for small fruits, such as raspberries, strawberries, as well as orchard trees.
Large enough for Beehives. Large enough for spacious yard room. Large enough for horse and cow stable. Large enough for chicken runs to keep hens enough to maintain a large family in eggs and groceries. Large enough for a large house.

IN SHORT

Large enough to support a family and still not so large as to be unwieldy for a man working in town. We are aware that we are filling a LONG-FELT WANT. You could not duplicate our offer as all other outlying properties are cut up into 33-foot or even 25-foot lots, so small that you always know what your neighbour has for dinner.

What we offer gives your children the immense advantages of growing up in the enjoyment of country air, and still be within EASY REACH OF TOWN about 15 minutes from the car, 20 minutes service, 5¢ carfare.

This beautiful subdivision is located on North Arm road, a little less than 1-1/4 miles from the car terminus, a sidewalk one-half of the way; a beautiful walk on the best road in the country, just are enough south to have a SOUTHERN EXPOSURE and consequently early and late vegetation. Will have an unobstructed view of the Gulf of Georgia and the Coast Range.

The PRICE for these fine homesteads will be within the reach of all, from $350 for a site, upwards. The TERMS: Terms so easy that anybody can enjoy a country home -- one-third cash, and the balance at $7.50 per month. Interest at 7%.

Every HOMESTEAD on a wide 66-foot road, which we will build and grade through the property, and for which tenders are being called for now, THE ALEXANDRA AVENUE, named after our most gracious Queen.

Of this beautiful property about five acres are absolutely clear, and a large part of it is bearing fruit trees and seeded down to clover. The rest is alder-bottom, second growth and easy to clear. On the large part of it you can commence to build, and lay out your gardens.

WE WANT HOME BUILDERS

not speculators, as

ONLY ABOUT THIRTY LOTS

are in this division, so come early and secure yours and give your youngsters the chance to have their cheeks browned by the Southern air blowing over the rippling waters of the Gulf and the Pacific Ocean, their lungs strengthened, and their eyes brightened.

THE BEST AND LARGEST SCHOOL in the district is within five minutes walk, and THE CHURCH within ten minutes walk of this property so is the POST OFFICE. The extension of the streetcar past this land is only a question of months. If the car went past today, we could not offer this property at these low prices, very much lower than a city lot can be bought for

Apply GLOBE real estate, or Vogel's Ranch, North Arm Road
(half way between Cemetery Car terminus and the Balmoral Orchard)

transcription from Province, June 2, 1906, p. 14
farms survived for just one generation, and came onto the market as building lots in the boom before the first World War. The established rural virtues of the site were strongly emphasized in the sales promotions. The Pacific Land Company, for example, offered the Moses Gibson Homestead (District Lots 747 and 749) in Cedar Cottage: "This property was crown granted to the present owner 21 years ago, which gives clear title...it has been cropped for years. Several lots are covered with thriving apple trees." The old Vogel Ranch was marketed as 'Balmoral Orchard' (see Fig. 3.4). Many of these farm subdivisions offered large lots and the promise of gardens and small orchards.

On the western flank of the C.P.R. land grant, the Provincial Government placed land on the market over a longer period of time. The value of C.P.R. land nearby is apparent in the advertisement for one early auction when, in 1886, almost 130 blocks of land in Kitsilano were put on the market (Fig. 3.5). Unlike the small-scale District Lots offered in South Vancouver, this region was pre-plotted with a central axis of Lansdowne Avenue, flanked by park reserves on Blocks 40 and 41. This north-south orientation belied the real geographical orientation, one that is seen in Auctioneer Davis's advertisement of the property as "adjacent to the land granted to the Canadian Pacific Railway for Terminal Purposes". As the advertisement emphasized, one of the important routes was "First Avenue to Connect with C.P.R. Avenue". For all the symmetry of this survey, purchasers treated lots as personal speculations. Land Registrar Townley's purchases within the area are a good example. He bid on corner lots within the area, their locations conditioned less by the government's plans for avenues and parks than by his own sense of prime sites relative to beach, C.P.R. property and city limits.
Fig. 3.5 Provincial Government Land Auction, Kitsilano, 1886
With the prior alienation of the Jericho Naval Reserve, the farm lots along the Fraser River, and, after 1909, the Endowment Lands of the University of British Columbia, land west of the C.P.R.'s grant was only really available in an L-shaped zone labelled as District Lots 540, 2027 and 137 (see Fig. 2.3, p. 65). Most of this land was auctioned off within the first decade of this century, but within pre-surveyed blocks that reinforced a uniform grid-system. Only at the boundaries between these District Lots and the C.P.R.'s D.L. 526 are there street jogs similar to those found through large areas of South Vancouver. But as in South Vancouver, a small number of real estate interests were involved.

Considerable debate was generated as to the optimal size and nature of land parcels within this western Government Reserve. Some favoured the platting into 3 to 4 acre parcels for homesteading, others insisted that as the soil was poor the land should be divided into small lots. According to one accountant, landscaping of roads and subdivisions, to take advantage of topography and views, would yield $11 million in sales. Most agreed that the development should be totally residential, its quality enhanced by the preparatory work being carried out by Public Works. The president of the Point Grey Improvement Society, C.M. Woodsworth, was gleeful about the splendid prospects for his area:

Large parcels of land are to be sold, providing large settings for homes, within one of the great parks of the continent. 4000 acres of government lands remain, these to be surveyed by the Provincial Government's landscape architect, whose specimens of work in suburbs of large cities in the east forsees beautiful driveways in the new Belgravia for Vancouver.18

This emphasis on exclusiveness through morphology excited real estate lobbyists, but saddened others. An anonymous old-time resident observed:
I am convinced there is a scheme on foot by a certain class in the city to make these lands their exclusive reserve by inducing the Government to have them placed on the market in such a way as to bar out the working class viz. 1) By having the land sold by auction for spot cash, 2) by compelling purchaser to build an expensive home on his property, and 3) by doing a lot of improvements in the neighbourhood to run the price of land beyond the reach of the average working man.19

The actual process of suburban development in Point Grey fits this cynical prophecy remarkably closely. Very high prices were paid at auctions by a select few realtors, easily outbidding individuals seeking a small amount of land for their own home.

The auction of a segment of the western half of D.S. 540 west of the Naval Reserve is a good example of the scale of activity. In one morning, property worth some $86,650 was disposed of, but not before the real estate men showed that "their heart was in the right place":

An old squatter, James S. Fraser, fourteen years ago settled on lots 7, 8, 9, & 10, block 129. He improved this property and reared a family there. His children are now attending school in Kitsilano. Was this man to be deprived of the home he had made for himself in the midst of the woods three miles distant from Kitsilano?

A sympathetic chord was struck by Mr. Bird (a lawyer who had spoken of Mr. Fraser's struggle in homebuilding and the government's inability to sell the land since it was bound to auction it) and when he begged on behalf of Fraser that the old man be allowed to bid on the property at a reasonable figure, everybody responded with cheers and applause. Not a bid was offered against Fraser, and he secured his four lots for the sum of $400 each. This property is situated along the waterfront, and lots alongside it sold for $1350.20

Part of the area (shown in Fig. 3.6) was sold as subdivided lots, but most as acreage. Blocks of land were divided into quarters, containing three acres each; sale was by the acre, not by the quarter block:
Fig. 3.6 Acreage Sales, Provincial Government Land Auction, Locarno Beach, Nov. 19, 1906

Fig. 3.7 Selected Land Holdings, Point Grey, 1912 (from Assessment Rolls)
The first quarter block to be put up was in Block 132. Immediately to the north of this block is a lot of property owned by Mr. T.C. Dunbar, and he caused cold chills to play up and down the spinal column of would-be acreage buyers, when at the outset he bid $5000 for the three acres, parcel one. Mr. Dunbar wanted to buy the three acres en bloc. Auctioneer Rankin, however would only accept bids by the acre, and thereby he saved Mr. Dunbar $500 on this parcel, and a similar amount on parcel two, consisting of three acres in the same block. Mr. Dunbar bid $1500 for these two parcels and they were knocked down to him without opposition.21

In all some $2 million of real estate was auctioned off,22 and sales were dominated by a few real estate speculators. (see Fig. 3.7). The holdings of Chas. Dunbar were dramatically concentrated in west Point Grey, while further south in D.L. 540 there appears to have been an agreement between A.E. Austin and Alvo von Alvensleben. Their holdings describe, in a checkerboard pattern, the eventual route of the Point Grey streetcar line.

To assist the various levels of real estate activity, the Point Grey Council passed a by-law23 that opened thoroughfares on a half-mile grid, so that lots would not be far from such roads. Local roads at the city-block level could then connect to these thoroughfares. The council intended to provide a rational framework for later home building within a well-managed, quality setting. Actual growth was not as rational and organized as intended, however, given the inevitable competition between speculators wishing to focus development on their land. The cadastral and street map of Point Grey in 1912 (Figure 3.8) is evidence of this tension between co-ordinated growth -- the grid of half-mile streets -- and competitive speculation. The contiguous development of the C.P.R.'s D.L. 526 clearly contrasts with the scattered clusters of developed blocks within D.L.'s 139, 540 and 2027.

This Point Grey street map also reveals the transformation of two
Fig. 3.8 Street Plan and subdivisions, Point Grey, 1912
of the old Fraser River farms -- Mole's and Magee's, in D.L.'s 314 and 194 -- into the geometry of urban real estate. They were sold as 'Westholme Heights' and 'Highbury Park', with the emphasis on site, space, and rural atmosphere. While the subdivision of old farms in the East End had appealed to working class buyers who might acquire an 'urban homestead', here the proximity of old farms and 'exclusive' new subdivisions resulted in expensive 'rural estates' occupied by many of the city's leading businessmen. Restrictive covenants and building controls reinforced the distinction. The Greater Vancouver Company's Bryn Mawr development promised "there will be no unsightly shacks in Bryn Mawr, because there is a building restriction of $2500 on each lot. This restriction is your protection and is ample assurance that your neighbours will be desirable." Further assurance came with the construction of a new Sacred Heart Academy ("$300,000 and the finest institution of its kind west of Winnipeg") and with the decision to locate the new University of B.C. at the western tip of Point Grey.

Developer and municipality consistently stressed that Point Grey was an exclusive residential area, indeed, the residential area. In his inaugural address, the first Reeve, S.L. Howe spoke of the hopes that would "Quickly convert this municipality into a thickly-settled and most beautiful residential district." Looking back over 21 years of development, Point Grey Town Planning Commissioner Frank Buck reported that "Various councils insistently held to the idea that they were put there into office to carry into effect the ideals held by the residents that Point Grey was to be developed essentially as a 'first-class residential district' ... 13 sq. miles of stumps and forest changed into what has often been described as one of the outstanding and desirable residential districts in Canada."

Point Grey's suburban image was pastoral. The distance of every
Fig. 3.9 Municipal Hall, Point Grey (above); and the view of Kerrisdale from the front steps (below)
Photographs taken 1924 (VCA Bu.N301,302)
site from the smoke and immorality of the inner city was stressed at every
turn. It was the site of "a home just far enough away from the noise and
bustle of the city for peace and contentment." Each ward, and in some
cases, specific development had its improvement Society, monitoring growth
and lobbying for parks. The pastoral images embodied in the Point Grey
Municipal Hall -- the half-timbered cottage style hall, its formal English
gardens, and the neat bungalow and cottage home-landscapes beyond (Fig. 3.9)--
all testified to the success of the transformation of provincial lands
west of the C.P.R. land grant into a quality residential suburb.

3(ii) Land as Investment; some speculative strategies

The cadastral map of the Burrard Peninsula had a north-south geometry
(Fig. 3.2). While one of the key dimensions of land value was proximity to
C.P.R. land or land-use, land was also valued in relation to its distance
from the downtown core. Many real estate maps included a series of superimposed circles, (Fig. 3.10) the bands labelled as distances from downtown
or as time travelled by streetcar to the same central point. These circles
were then used to compare land prices at roughly equivalent distances out,
though in different areas of the city. Land was 'inner' or 'outer', 'close
in' or on the edge of the built up area; and, at a certain price, therefore
a good buy. The definition of prime land often changed to reflect the
varying accessibility and marketability of the broadening zones of homesites. Status was also claimed for proximity to a nearby 'exclusive'
neighbourhood, or to property acquired by a key entrepreneur ("Mr. John
Hendry Buys Next Door to What We Offer. You") The simple logic of
distance from downtown was not in itself sufficient information to
Fig. 3.10 The Circle Game: as shown in the real estate map of Vancouver, 1912
permit wise buying or selling.

For those who viewed land as an investment, their interest was to buy cheaply and sell at a profit. Those who held the most land worked to create a boostering mentality from which they would eventually benefit. From almost the first sale of property, the mythology of gain was established, and a folklore developed. Everyone could remember the fools and the wise men, and real estate men were quick to remind clients of the chance they were about to regret. The "three greenhorns", Brighouse, Morton and Hallstone, who passed over so much of what became the elite district called the West End, were the first losers. Around the city, the local celebrities who had profited from West End land speculation were respected and envied. Everyone could remember Mr. X who had bought at $150 and could sell at $2000. One person made the headlines in 1913 by coming down from Prince Rupert for the Provincial Government Auction that put Hastings Townsite land on the market; he had regretted his caution at another auction in earlier days, and wasn't going to make the same mistake twice. The story in the papers reported: "Mr. J.C. McLennan from Prince Rupert bought nearly $10,000 worth of lots in the two districts. 'I made a mistake 28 years ago', he observed briefly but significantly."29

Land, urban land, was a continuing gold rush, almost a Monopoly game. The investor need not get his feet wet, bend his back, suffer frontier hardship — merely turn the knob of the realtor's door, or sign the outstretched draft offered at the arrival or departure platform at the C.P.R. train or boat. Occupation of the site was irrelevant; like interest on a bank deposit, profit would accrue. Anonymous blueprints, and real estate maps of the city, constantly decorated with arrows and radial lines of distance from key points, were sufficient to play the game.
A fine example of the game, as played by visiting travellers, is described by Rudyard Kipling, himself a visitor to the city in its early years. Coming north from the U.S., he provided a fascinating picture of cultural predilections towards land, fair play and trust, as he invested in Vancouver real estate:

He that sold it to me was a delightful English Boy, who, having tried for the Army and failed, had somehow meandered into a real estate office, where he was doing well. I couldn't have bought it from an American. He would have overstated the case and proved me the possessor of the original Eden. All the Boy said was: "I give you my word that it isn't on a cliff or under water, and before long the town ought to move out that way. I'd advise you to take it!" And I took it as easily as a man buys a piece of tobacco. Me voici, owner of some four hundred well-developed pines, a few thousand tons of granite at the roots of the pines, and a sprinkling of earth. That's a town lot in Vancouver. You or your agent hold to it till property rises, then sell out and buy more land further out of town and repeat the process.

I do not quite see how this sort of thing helps the growth of a town, but the English Boy says that it is the 'essence of speculation', so it must be right.30

The process Kipling summarized as the 'essence of speculation' was certainly common.

British speculators invested in the Fairview area during this period. Records of C.P.R. land sales for Fairview in 1891 point to many single-entry purchasers.31 For example, Edgar W. and Nathaniel T. Beckingsale of Surbiton, Surrey and Wellington, Somerset, purchased lots 11 & 14, Block 290, on July 31, 1890; a month later, Philip B. Cadeidu with an address of Hiogo, Japan bought two lots at $200 each. Other groups of lots were sold to English addresses: Hugh Charrington of Burton on Trent, (purchases totalling $1090) George Shearer of Hamilton, Lanarkshire, ($900) and Henry Tristram of Durham, (eight lots for $2,325). Perhaps the purchasers were agents. The most substantial presence of
British capital was in the land owned by J.F. Mahon of Ahaswagh, Galway; Fred Morley Hill of London; and Joseph Wheatley of Mirfield, Yorkshire, whose combined ownership totalled over $30,000. Their holdings were extensive, yet there is no consistent pattern that would suggest their investment strategies. Hill bought 36 lots in 27 different locations for over $13,000. James Wheatley's land is the most interesting, in that he purchased lots 8 and 31 of every block in a wide area. This may well have been faith in his "lucky" roulette numbers, or it could have been a conservative strategy of bet-hedging as to the direction of growth.

The spatial rationale of Kipling's real estate agent -- the circle game -- seems to have been commonly followed. The land picked up by Yorkshireman Wheatley and by Irishman Mahon was eventually purchased by Lord Connemara. This interweaving of local capital and European portfolios indicate a complex relationship that is only gradually being understood. The best account of it to date is provided by Donald Paterson. Utility companies were often the chief beneficiaries of European capital, but more speculative ventures involving resource extraction and urban real estate can be identified with specific groups of investors. One Vancouver land company was controlled by members of the German aristocracy. Another company, Ardath Estates (involved in land speculation and house building in the East End) contained a variety of Southern English shareholders, perhaps the little old ladies to whom Rubert Brooke referred!

Speculative purchases were based on the assumption that development would move to the area sooner or later. As the advertisement of land for Balmoral Orchard indicated (p. 72), "the extension of the streetcar past this land is only a question of months". Transportation improvements were critical, and rumours of double-tracking of lines, improved service, or new
bridges, fired enthusiasm for the most out-of-place land. Typical of many of these rumours is a passage from The Writing on The Wall, Glynn-Ward's local novel about corrupt politicians and the Oriental Question. At the start of the book, the wife of a corrupt politician and the daughter of a Delta farmer are discussing the rumours of a bridge across Burrard Inlet to the North Shore:

"Say Liz, if you take my advice you'll buy a lot on the North Shore opposite Hastings Park right this afternoon, before you go home."

"Oh I don't think I'm especially interested in real estate, and Dad wouldn't like me to." Lizzie Laidlaw placidly set her white teeth into another piece of cake.

"Well, you're losing the chance of a lifetime, that's all I can say. It's a dead thing. Gordon and I've both bought lots there and he says it's a cinch we'll make several thousands as soon as the Second Narrows Bridge goes through."

"But how do you know it's going through, Rose? They've been talking of it for years, and it isn't through yet."

"Well, it's a sure thing this time anyway," said Mrs. Morely, decisively, "and when everyone else is making fortunes, Lizzie Laidlaw will have herself to thank if she gets left out."

"If so many people are making fortunes, Rose," replied Lizzie gently, "someone must be losing them. I'd just hate to make a pile of money out of someone else's loss."33

For most, the morality of speculation was rarely questioned. Gambling and dreams were the norm -- if you were naive enough to believe everything you heard, then it was your own fault if you lost $300 on a rumour. And as the Real Estate interests behind the Grand Boulevard Addition crooned, there was always the tale of someone who had profited from a hunch:

People who invested in Vancouver five years ago are now reaping the fruits of judgment. Those who invest in North Vancouver now will in a few years profit in
the same way. Investigate this subdivision.34

Land development was at the heart of early Vancouver's boom mentality. Newspaper coverage of land sales were regular fuel for the cosy, reassuring belief that the city was progressing, and that, potentially, material gain was accessible to all. The words and opinions of the leading realtors were noted each week, and the building permit applications for that day, week or month were constantly highlighted on the front page, particularly when there were record increases over last week's, last month's, or the previous year's total. Everybody stressed that this was not an ephemeral boom -- rather it was genuine, confident progress. Los Angeles and other western cities might have their "horror stories" of embezzlement and fraud, but in Vancouver, the future was solid and concrete, not a hot air balloon. "The value of building permits granted during the past six months will constitute a record, not of a spasmodic kind, but of steady, substantial and permanent growth, supported chiefly by a well-to-do class of working men, and business men who are investing their money in view of still greater development."35

One of the best examples of the 'education' of the public to the logic and rightness of land investment is seen in the business strategies of Alvo Von Alvensleben, one of the most colourful real estate magnates of the pre-war boom. Though of aristocratic background, he arrived as a penniless migrant, and worked on the fishing boats at Steveston and in the hay fields of the Fraser Valley before making a fortune in real estate -- one of the best "Horatio Alger" stories in Vancouver history.36 After selling game birds he had shot in the Delta at the back door of the Vancouver and Terminal City clubs, he invested his money in some land and set about to sell it as the land for future. In one advertisement in 1909, Alvensleben laid out
his philosophy regarding the stages of investment potential (Figure 3.11). Acquisition of block-scale parcels in undeveloped areas comprised the first stage, then selling in lot-units within these blocks a second, with a third stage where lots were resold in a district already under development. In this case, Kitsilano was in 'stage two', and now was the time to act. His real estate advertisements of the 1907-9 period consistently drew profiles of the city's current stage of development and, having established the "inevitability" of the ripple of rising land prices, schematically isolated the strategic location of the blocks that he offered. Most of these were through the upper slopes of Kitsilano, on the outer edge of the incorporated City but confidently in the path of Point Grey development. Alvensleben invariably profited at his "third stage", though perhaps under a different disguise. A pamphlet selling Crown Height (Point Grey) land in 1911, for example, names owners who were real estate men working for Alvensleben. It is interesting to note that, knowing its ephemeral value, he never tied up his own money in real estate (other than his own home). Instead, he channeled his and the European capital he attracted into timber, mining and fishing ventures throughout the province. 37 His contacts with the aristocracy of Britain and Germany 38 and his role in funnelling money into Vancouver were appreciated locally, although his German connections eventually led to his downfall; he had to flee for his life as W.W.I broke out. After a largely British city had embraced him as one of its own, the same settler imperialism quickly excluded him; tennis courts at his Kerrisdale home were rumoured to be concrete gun emplacements, and his Wigwam Inn development up Indian Arm was associated with the Kaiser's plans to attack the city's back door.

Earlier, Alvensleben had linked his real estate dealings to local
Some seven or eight months ago we started to draw the attention of real estate speculators to the great possibilities of Kitsilano.

We published at that time our idea as to the different reasons for real estate activity and classified such activity into three distinct movements.

Our conception was that the first rise in values in business as well as in residential districts is started through speculative operations, that the second movement begins when these speculators are realizing by selling their holdings to people who actually want to utilize the land, and the third movement and consequent rise in values will set in when those people have PROVED the property to have a permanent value.

The most attractive time to speculate is, of course, just before the first movement has started, but by far the SAFEST time is just before the second movement has commenced, at which time the land is passing into the hands of home builders.

A most striking instance that residential districts move along these lines is shown by Kitsilano. Some two and a half years ago it was still in the district a great unsubdivided blocks. Speculators, forseeing actual demand for this property, bought up, subdivided and sold at a large profit. Then there followed a quiet time until this anticipated demand and actually became apparent, and now a second sudden and very decisive rise in values has just started because the desirability of this district as a residential area is being largely proved.

We offer today a block of 24 lots on 24 lots on Fifteenth and Sixteenth avenues. An open street runs to one corner so that you can see every foot of the property you are buying. This block is put on the market for the first time so that you can buy the lots at the lowest possible price.

Knowing the values at Kitsilano well and having an extensive list to choose from, we recommend these lots, particularly to the man who wants to speculate with a small amount. The announcement of the BCER that the Fourth Avenue car line will be in operation by this September will certainly help to make the movement in this district still more pronounced. We expect to sell out this particular block very quickly, and advise you to lose no time before seeing us.

The prices are only $450 per lot, double corners $100 more. Terms: One-quarter cash, balance 6, 12 and 18 months.

ALVO VON ALVENSLEBEN LIMITED
500 Hastings Street Brokers Etc.
patriotic feeling. He was a key member of the "100,000 Club" that boosted Vancouver's population growth (and hence its newcomers' demands for land), and that hung a banner across Hastings Street reminding passers-by that "Many Men Making Money Means Much for Vancouver." But often, the booster-ism and patriotism contributed to the settling of British values overseas. This is suggested in many of the speeches by visiting English dignitaries to the Canadian Club of Vancouver (where many of the speculator/boosters would be among the audience). Kipling himself helped prime the feeling:

You have a right to your pride in your city; my pride is in your destiny, because it devolves right upon you here to build up, rivet and make secure a stable Western Civilization facing the Eastern sea (Applause). The head of a great army of peace is scarcely emerging yet through the mountain passes, but in a shorter time than any dare believe, it must come through in full flood. It is you, gentlemen, who must be responsible for handling of that great army...men looking for homes for themselves and their women where they might rear up their children.

Patriotic rhetoric was often translated into action. The Vancouver Board of Trade set up an Imperial Home Reunion Association, whereby British immigrants could fund their kin to join them in Vancouver. Praised as a "humanistic and patriotic scheme", local capital provided low interest loans for passage on C.P.R. ships and trains. The applicants represented a broad range of East End and Mt. Pleasant working class Vancouverites, and by the early 1920's, many were relocated further out in South Vancouver or Cedar Cottage.

In Area Improvement Associations, realtor and consumer also converged to reinforce the value of home. Many such groups were guided by real estate interests who sought to enhance the value of their holdings by stimulating resident demand for parks or street landscaping. When the City purchased
what is now Kitsilano Park from the C.P.R., the Kitsilano Improvement Association subscribed donations to meet the additional funds needed to meet interest payments. The list of subscribers reveals many influential, city-wide real estate personalities, including Williams, Murdoff, Rear, Endecott and Heddle. Though city-wide in their activities, nearly all of these subscribers lived in the new 'C.P.R. Hill' at the then western edge of Kitsilano. The Kitsilano Improvement Association, and its Ratepayer successor were behind the improvement-oriented Kitsilano Times (letterhead "the HOME community") that celebrated, promoted and defended an ideal community of home-owners, proud of its park, beach areas and other community facilities.

When a Point Grey City Beautiful movement was proposed, the key speakers at meetings were these same real estate figures. F.N. Trites (realtor) was elected chairman, and A.E. Austin spoke in support of the intended clearing of lots and landscaping the area, since "such work would bring good return, both from the point of real estate values, and as an inducement to home builders." The intent of the association was to have streets laid out upon a uniform and tasteful style, and would make representations to the proper authorities to have avenues and boulevards opened up and planted, and in all other ways to enhance the natural attractions of the district.

Similar real estate inspired Associations were established in Fairview and in Hastings Townsite.

3(iii) Land Accessibility: the importance of corporate land strategies

a) The streetcar company

One of the keys to cheap accessible land that lay behind home
acquisition was the sprawling streetcar system that emerged in Vancouver. As Fig. 1.4 (p.10) illustrates, few residential concentrations in 1929 were more than a quarter mile from a streetcar line. The system had developed from a short Fairview Belt Line around False Creek and a long interurban to New Westminster into a tree-like network seen in Fig. 1.4. Patricia Roy has documented the business history of the British Columbia Electric Railway (B.C.E.R.) as a period in which provision of electricity and of transit service was largely tied to existing demand. When there was a clear indication of reasonable return on investment, extensions took place. Their streetcar operation in the Vancouver region was complicated by the fact that they were dealing with three different municipalities. The B.C.E.R. had franchise agreements of different time-limits with each of the City of Vancouver, South Vancouver Municipality, and after 1912, with Point Grey Municipality. This fragmentation helped the Company deflect pressures for municipal ownership of the utility. Should the City of Vancouver have attempted take-over of services that ran on its streets, suburban passengers could still be funneled downtown on the Interurbans that came under Dominion jurisdiction and which leased in one instance from the C.P.R. Such threats were rarely given more than passing discussion, since the B.C.E.R. was an influential contact with British investment portfolios adjacent to their London head-offices.

Though many an advertisement trumpeted the coming of some streetcar extension close to a certain piece of property, the B.C.E.R. was not involved in speculative ventures to the extent that other utility companies in other cities had been. In several important instances, "bonus
lands" given to the B.C.E.R. by a landowner in return for advantageous route selection did contribute to the evolving residential morphology. Accordingly, their activities as both transport utility and real estate operators are noted briefly. The B.C.E.R. implemented a rigorous set of building conditions -- the construction of a house of a certain price within a strictly-monitored time-period -- to develop their bonus lands and make them attractive for further sales (and more traffic). Free passes for one year were an incentive within these conditions. Two areas on the East side of the city were developed via the streetcar bonuses. A block of land adjacent to the Central Park Interurban to New Westminster was bonused to the B.C.E.R. in what became a considerable portion of Collingwood. Land in the 'rural areas' alongside their Burnaby Lake Interurban was promoted in the Farmer's Advocate, a Winnipeg-based magazine. Other realtors then capitalized on the "fresh country air, the sunshine and pleasure of rural life ... and all the advantages of the city ... Five Cents and a few minutes from the city".

In West Kitsilano, the C.P.R. gave the streetcar company four blocks of land as an attempt to establish the Trafalgar Street boundary of the C.P.R.'s District Lot 526 as the effective edge of the city. With B.C.E.R. holding land for sale, it was in both companies' best interest that streetcar tracks not extend to Alma Road until their real estate had matured into paying property. Strict building conditions accompanied the sale of the B.C.E.R. land. A house had to be erected within two years of purchase of the land, and built at a cost of at least $1000. Mahon, McFarland and Mahon, who acted as real estate agents for the B.C.E.R., forwarded periodic progress reports on lot sales, purchasers, and the state of improvements. In one instance, a $500 four-roomed cottage at the rear of the lot was
thought inappropriate; the owner begged one more year in which a $1000 house could be completed.\textsuperscript{52} Local B.C.E.R. manager Sperling often sternly reminded individuals that there could be no exceptions, particularly as many had built fine substantial dwellings -- and so the company had an obligation to make sure that these people had neighbours as well accommodated.\textsuperscript{53} Within the bonused land, multiple blocks of five lots, on four separate prime corners, were purchased by B.C.E.R. executives. These included J. Buntzen (the earlier General Manager) at Cornwall and Yew and First and Vine; Hope (the assistant manager) at First and Yew; and Milne (general Superintendent) at Balsam and 3rd. Other B.C.E.R. employees purchased single lots. Buntzen soon erected five B.C. Mills prefabricated cottages (see p.155-9) and an apartment block on his prime Cornwall and Yew property, using them to gain a quick rental return on his outlay of $600. The purchase of B.C.E.R. bonus land was a good investment, particularly as long as the streetcar terminus was close by. Lot 4, Block 204 (York and Yew) offered initially for $600 in October 1905 sold for $1825 in 1907 when the owner had to move to Calgary. Lot 17, Block 194, bought for $600 in 1905, sold for $1800 in August 1907.\textsuperscript{54} B.C.E.R. executive land owners subscribed to the Kitsilano Improvement Association's fund to purchase Kitsilano Park, directly opposite Cornwall from their properties.

The company's real estate holdings quickly increased in value during the pre-war boom. Sperling gleefully reported to Kidd in 1910 that "I think perhaps you might be interested to hear that Lot 27 which we purchased in the Hastings Townsite in May 1906 for $500 is valued by Mahon, McFarland and Mahon at about $10,000\textsuperscript{55}. Yet, as Patricia Roy has stated,\textsuperscript{56} there is little evidence of wholesale profiteering from streetcar land holdings. Land was acquired for right of way, and, if not needed, sold. "In the
Fig. 3.12 B.C.E.R. streetcar tracks within the C.P.R.'s District Lot 526. Lines such as 4th, 41st, and Oak were all extended further, after the 'edge of city' value of their 'pauses' had been exploited.
opinion of the officers, the 5 blocks of land which the company owns in 
Hastings Townsite will not be required for purposes of the Company, parti-
cularly since the Company has 66 acres of land in D.L. 118 Burnaby. So 
please sell the Hastings Townsite property as soon as possible."

The strongest association of extension and service tied to bonus 
lands was the agreement between the C.P.R. and the B.C.E.R. in District Lot 
526, a critically large portion of the Point Grey peninsula (Figure 3.12). 
Under a 1909 agreement, the B.C.E.R. was to build some 10 miles of streetcar 
line for which the C.P.R. would give bonus lands at the rate of 4 acres 
per mile. To open up the southern section of the land grant, 8 acres were 
offered to the B.C.E.R. in Block 998 (north of 41st, and west of Oak) in 
return for the construction of the Wilson Road (41st) line. Initially, this 
linked the Kerrisdale Interurban station through to Ontario, the eastern 
edge of the C.P.R. grant. The B.C.E.R. land went on the market as 
"Connaught Place -- near the Golf Links"59, while the C.P.R. gained accessi-
bility across its southern zone. A later Oak Street line to Park Drive at 
the lower edge of D.L. 526 again primarily serviced C.P.R. land.

By contrast, Point Grey service outside the C.P.R. land was minimal. 
Pressures for better streetcar accessibility were strong, yet the low 
density of settlement in the years following the 1908 incorporation of the 
Municipality led to protracted debate over the length and terms of a franch-
ise agreement. Eventually a single convoluted axis was built, from the 
Kerrisdale Interurban stop out towards the University site (along 41st, 
north up Dunbar to 16th Avenue, west along 16th to Crown, up to 10th, north 
on Sasamat, and eventually along 4th Avenue to Drummond Drive).60 There is 
no clear evidence of bonusing by Point Grey developers to encourage the 
specific route that was built, though the land holdings of a few developers
clearly were associated with the eventual route choice (see p.76-8)

(b) The controlled development of C.P.R. suburban lands

No analysis of Vancouver can ignore the vast power that the C.P.R.'s 6000 acre land grant gave the Company to shape the city's future. Land owners in the city prior to the railway's arrival were well aware of the C.P.R.'s reputation in towns across the Prairies. Supposedly 'ideal' sites were by-passed in favour of C.P.R.-defined cores a few miles away when the Company sensed that its operation would be hamstrung by other land owners. So in Vancouver, even though the C.P.R. came to an area already partially alienated to others, the power of the C.P.R. was respected and courted by both private and public gifts of land. It was almost true, as one perceptive observer noted in 1895, that "the C.P.R.'s the government here". The C.P.R. adopted different subdivision and development strategies within different segments of its grant. The sub-cadastre (Fig. 3.13) anticipated later housing types. Thirty-two blocks of land adjacent to False Creek mills were subdivided into 25' lots, an ideal size for densely settled millworker housing. Further west, 50' lots were to attract a wealthier clientele. In Kitsilano Point, the Company transformed a bog into a solidly middle-class community; streets were laid out and named after C.P.R. officials of the day -- Whyte, Ogden, McNichol, etc. -- and five houses were erected by the C.P.R. Land Department. On 66' lots, these houses were offered for sale at $5000 each, an attempt to induce settlement north of Cornwall St. The C.P.R. ran a spur line to Kitsilano Beach which developed as a recreation area for Vancouver citizens.

As already noted, the land west of the C.P.R. grant had been unsuccessfully placed on the market in 1886. A second auction in 1900 failed to
Fig. 3.13 Detail of north west portion of C.P.R.'s D.L.526, showing different subdivision strategies for mill-workers, executives and others.
move much of the land at profit, since most of the lots were still very inaccessible. Interest in the area significantly increased only when the C.P.R. put its own land on the market, in a 1904 auction of the parcel of land between Yew and Trafalgar Streets in the northwest corner of their grant. Prices soared from $400 to $5000 for a 50' lot; people came from the West End to see this new subdivision, bought lots, and erected many fine homes.\footnote{63}

Further south, accessibility well beyond the then-built-up-area was created by the construction in 1903 of the Vancouver and Lulu Island Railway to the fishing town of Steveston on the Fraser Delta. The Interurban that ran along this route was particularly popular near the stops at Kerrisdale (later 41st Avenue), Magee (49th) and Royal (54th). Though thinly settled, the residents of this southern area were important to the railway, and to the B.C.E.R. who ran the line after 1905. One instance is seen in a memo from Sperling to the Interurban manager:

On Thursday Feb. 4, Mrs (Mayor) Bethune and a party of friends are going out to Mrs Bowser's Ranch at Kerrisdale. They will go by regular car some time in the evening, and wish to return leaving Kerrisdale at midnight. Please arrange for a car to bring the party back to the city at that hour.\footnote{64}

For the most part, however, this southern land was in danger of being bypassed by Vancouver's eastward developments through Hastings Townsite into Burnaby. Several excellent rises offered potential view subdivisions, such as Capitol Heights and Vancouver Heights, and in the early part of the century, there were signs of movement of the elite in that direction.

The C.P.R.'s answer to this threat was to define its lands in Point Grey as the most exclusive, most prestigious and thus most desirable land in the entire city. To do this they hired the best eastern landscape firm
-- Davick -- who had also laid out the exclusive subdivision of Rockcliffe in Ottawa. \(^{65}\) In an area covering some 45 acres, the C.P.R. laid out Shaughnessy Heights just south of the City Limits and east of their Interurban Railway. The name was taken from the then President of the C.P.R., and the streets were named after leading C.P.R. officials and national politicians. As Fig. 3.13 indicates, the contrast with the regular "Philadelphia-system" grid of the rest of the city was dramatic. The curving crescents and boulevards, together with generous lots, set the area apart from the rest of the city. Here in Shaughnessy was an urban design associated originally with Frederick Law Olmstead, and employed in Mount Royal in Montreal and in Riverside outside Chicago. Offering the plan for Riverside, Olmstead recommended "the general adoption, in the design of your roads, of gracefully-curved lines, generous spaces, and the absence of sharp corners, the idea being to suggest and imply leisure, contemplativeness and happy tranquility."\(^{66}\)

The Company imposed very strict building conditions -- large minimum lot size, a minimum housing value of $6000, and strict architectural control over house style -- and they were willingly adopted by a clientele seeking guaranteed exclusiveness. At the heart of the subdivision, The Crescent was quite unlike its 18th century counterparts in Bath or Edinburgh where a park was the only open space relieving a tight circle of contiguous houses. Shaughnessy provided an extension of open space beyond the house and its spacious garden setting. Only when the initial subdivision was fully established did the Company open up a further subdivision, called Second Shaughnessy, south from 25th Avenue to 33rd Avenue; and then a Third after the first World War. In these later developments, winding streets distinguished the area from the gridded subdivisions beyond.
While this development was being instigated contiguous to the City of Vancouver, areas further south were opened up to capitalise on demand around the Kerrisdale Interurban stations. The first of these, prior to Shaughnessy, in fact, was Block 1, Lot 1, District Lot 526, which offered acreage (within conventional grid-plans) along lines that typified the company's policy of control:

"120 Acres C.P.R. Land Near Magee Station -- sold in half hour"

The land was sold in 5 acres blocks under building conditions as the C.P.R. was desirous of preventing the erection of undesirable shacks on any portion of the property. According to the conditions the purchasers of blocks must within 2 years erect residences on them which shall not cost less than $1000.67

The areas surrounding these various developments were used by the C.P.R. to enhance the exclusive, and managed, quality of the suburb. Shaughnessy and Langara Golf Courses, a large private school, the C.P.R. Gardens, and an intended site for an Anglican Cathedral clearly set the area apart from scrub sites elsewhere.

The labels of exclusiveness and wealth did not apply throughout the southeastern portion of the grant. A four-block wide strip of land administered by South Vancouver Municipality lay within the eastern edge of the C.P.R. grant. The same controlled release and management of land occurred, and contrasted with the more frenzied activities of the other South Vancouver land developers just east of Ontario Street. Some of this land was released early in a 1910 land sale.

C.P.R. TO SELL LAND

The area in question is south of 20th Avenue, west of Ontario, to King Edward and 26th Ave's. It embraces 24 blocks averaging 32 lots to the block. It is expected however that only 50% of this area, or a total of about 4000 lots selected in the various subdivisions will be offered for sale.68
A further instance of C.P.R. inventory is evident in the managed release of land in the post World War I boom:

N.J. Kerr, townsite agent for the C.P.R., took up the matter of C.P.R. lands in South Vancouver (at the council meeting), pointing out that they expected a large influx of English settlers and asked that a road be built opening up three of their blocks in Ward VI. The Company will clear the land and prepare it with the expectation of placing anywhere up to 500 settlers there. The road which the commissioner promised to open up if settlement is assured will be a continuation of 51st Ave. 69

No matter which Municipality legally controlled land owned by the C.P.R., the Company controlled the supply of land for subsequent housing development. In a period when many speculators and neighbourhoods were frantically trying to establish their land as the most desirable, the C.P.R.'s strategy was, by comparison, one of rational land planning.

3(iv) Planning responses to private land development

The gross outline of the cadastral plan for the City of Vancouver and the Lower Mainland was laid down in quick succession over twenty-five years of use by farmers, lumber men and railway companies. 70 Large portions of land were involved, and their different ownership influenced the variety of subsequent subdivision to accessible building lots. The edges of these District Lots often defined the 'grain' of the city, particularly the land belonging to the Canadian Pacific Railway. This grain was social and economic, but had a clear morphological imprint as well -- the dead-ends, jogs, and varying street widths as roads passed over cadastral boundaries. This balkanized land history was clearest in the consequences of developments by competing land owners to the east of the C.P.R., but also in the pattern of the provincial government land auctions to the west. When formal planning
came to Vancouver, through the survey commissioned by the American firm of Harland Bartholemew and Associates in 1928, the tidying-up of the street-grid was one of their main tasks. Replotted street alignments (Fig. 3.14) throughout the region were the consequence of these ownership histories. In South Vancouver, the planners identified the morphological chaos as a result of the "non-directed manner in which people were allowed to settle, according to individual whim, throughout the length and breadth of the District". Observing the consequence of a quarter century of land speculation, Bartholemew went as far as to argue:

There is probably no more striking example of the ills of uncontrolled and haphazard subdivision of land on the continent than there is here. The most appreciable consequences of this bad planning are the lack of continuity both in alignment and width of streets and the want of uniformity relative to the layout of blocks.

As has been seen, there was no 'bad' planning; there was no comprehensive planning at all. Vancouver land was transformed from forest into homesites by capital's single-minded pursuit of profit and by immigrants' pursuit of another form of happiness.

Some of the development strategies, particularly those of the C.P.R., were long term. For the most part, however, the real estate fraternity had little community perspective to counterbalance their individual haste to focus speculative interest on their own locale or own land. The loose alliances of Improvement Associations that were present in Hastings Townsite, Grandview, Kitsilano and Point Grey often used 'planning' rhetoric, particularly that of the City Beautiful Movement, to enhance their lands. But planning as a public process, in the sense that it had developed elsewhere (such as in England where there were moral undertones to the Garden City Movement), was not practiced in early Vancouver. Attempts to re-
Fig. 3.14 Realignment of streets to rectify problems caused by uncoordinated land development. This example is at the western boundary of the C.P.R.'s D.L.526 (from Bartholemew Report, 1929)
distribute an urban population at a lower density, with some element of rurality to counterbalance the ill-effects of dense proximity of home and factory, were hardly needed. Low density and rurality were always integral elements of the Vancouver real estate experience. Planning attempts elsewhere to come up with decent cheap housing for inner city dwellers were matched by affordable homes on cheap land in Vancouver. And the real estate interests primed the belief in good homes to their own ends -- the Imperial Home Re-Union Association, Home-Ownership Essays, etc. -- to proselytize the belief in single family houses as the moral basis for a good urban society. The words of Morris and Howard that triggered urban reforms in Britain and had widespread influence throughout North America were, in effect, preempted by the actions of Vancouver land-developers, who used the importance of home to sell land.

Visiting dignitaries of the new planning profession -- men like Thomas Adams, Henry Vivian and F. Mawson73 -- received enthusiastic attention, but the local audience was more eager to bask in a visitor's awe at Vancouver's natural beauty and his congratulations for Stanley Park and the elegance of Georgia Street, than they were to think through the broader implications of their own suburban activities in relation to the messages they heard.

Although the Bartholemew Report tried to rectify the inefficiencies of the private-sector transformation of land, its main planning impact was the instigation of zoning by-laws that institutionalized the land-use consequences of private land development. As John Bottomley has documented,74 the development of Point Grey land had been using 'de facto' planning rules from the outset; its planning by-law of 1926 intensified the existing norm. Ninety percent of Point Grey was zoned as one-family
dwellings districts. South Vancouver, for all its morphological quirks, was similarly a residential area. And for both suburbs as well as outer areas of the old City of Vancouver, there was already a spatial separation of home and workplace, through a wide streetcar network and land availability.

Subdivision and sale of land throughout the half-century prior to planning had been a process of incentives and restrictions by land owners and developers to create a city of homes. Building conditions were a widespread device that successfully homogenized areas into structures of similar quality and value. The map of residential structures built prior to 1916 (see Fig. 1.5, p.10) clearly shows the influence of distinct land holdings. The pattern is not altogether surprising -- only without the cadastral history would the discrepancies between various sequential growth models and the Vancouver reality be hard to reconcile. The price and size of land, the scale of real estate companies' marketing strategies, accessibility, and various restrictive building conditions associated with land development all reflect on the subsequent built landscape of homes: some plain and simple cabins surrounded by orchards in one area, a large expensive house set within a 2-acre lot in another, rows of identical bungalows or cottages in a third. We have already broached, in chapter 1, the connections between some of these structures and the individuals who occupied them. The history of a land parcel, from land owner through builder and occupier, adds to our assessment of the meaning of the eventual structure. The cadastre and real estate marketing of land are one fundamental layer of the creation of the urban cultural landscape. The above chapter has demonstrated the extent to which land for housing was manipulated before the arrival of the potential dwellers. The actions of builders, contractors, architects as well as
those of real estate agents are now examined for the layers of meaning that they add to the social as well as architectural landscape of the city.
CHAPTER FOUR

VICTORIAN IMAGES ON THE WEST COAST FRONTIER

HOUSE AND STYLE, 1886-1910

The growth of a wish of late, among the mercantile, professional and working classes, for a better architectural effect in houses designed solely for themselves, and the increased requirements of our progressive citizenship, are facts with which the architect of the present day has to reckon with...In the following pages an effort has been made to produce just such houses as well as will meet these wider and commendable aspirations of the bulk of the American people to own and live in houses that are comfortable, healthy and of the very best design commensurable with their cost.

Hodgson's Low Cost American Homes, 1905

Although the 'consumers' of house construction in Vancouver were largely of British origin, very few of the city's early houses clearly reflected that cultural hearth. Contractors built from plans taken from American pattern books, and customers chose on the basis of price, size and style with little regard to any past tradition of building. An effective oral tradition of house building had largely dissolved; many immigrants had no desire to replicate their former housing in a new setting.
4.1 Vancouver in 1888 - Social and stylistic zones in the early city

When, in 1888, the Vancouver Daily World published a year-end inventory of the city's buildings, only four houses received any stylistic description. The inventory was more concerned with the cost of new houses. Every structure valued at $200 or more was listed. However, the World calculated that one-third of the city's buildings were cabins and shacks. Anonymous in style, owner and location, they were simply aggregated as a fraction on top of the $200+ inventory, and given an approximate value of $100 each. Between these anonymous '$100' cabins and the expensive architect-designed homes on Georgia Street lay the variety of housing in early Vancouver, most of it replicated from mid-western and eastern American sources.

Within Yaletown on the north side of False Creek were cottages and cabins valued at between $300 and $500, and two-storey houses that might cost $1200. This was a working class area tributary to both the C.P.R. Roundhouse and Repair Shops and the sawmills in the Creek (Table 6).

Two basic Yaletown house types are shown in Figure 4.1. The house in the lower photo is a simple rectangular cottage with a gable roof, its front plainness relieved by a bay window and porch, and embellished with light gingerbread trim at gable peak and around the door porch. Such structures resembled the portable bunkhouses used by construction and repair crews on the C.P.R. line. The upper picture shows a group of more symmetrical cabins, each with a central door and matching windows, a hipped roof and minimal decoration other than a thin Italianate bracketing at the eaves.

Real estate agent T.H. Calland rented each of the houses for $18 a month. A C.P.R. mechanic received between $3.50 and $5.00 a day in 1890; such a
### Table 6

**HOUSE VALUES, YALETOWN, 1888 (from World survey)**

#### a) Richards Street

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Value of House</th>
<th>Occupation (from street directory)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Florent</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>fitter, C.P.R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temple</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Myers</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>wheel pressman, C.P.R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McKee</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>wheel pressman, C.P.R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macey</td>
<td>500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davie</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>C.P.R. mechanic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?? ??</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>C.P.R. mechanic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houle</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>pattern maker, C.P.R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harold</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>mechanic, C.P.R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armstrong</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>machinist, C.P.R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flet</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>machinist, C.P.R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanbury</td>
<td>250</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### b) Homer Street south of Davie

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Street address</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1205</td>
<td>Curnes, Jas</td>
<td>foreman, C.P.R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1207</td>
<td>Nesbitt, Geo</td>
<td>helper, C.P.R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nesbitt, John</td>
<td>helper, C.P.R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nesbitt, Robt</td>
<td>mill hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1209</td>
<td>Perkins</td>
<td>mechanic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1231</td>
<td>Tambour, Pietri</td>
<td>labourer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tambour, Antonia</td>
<td>labourer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Powelli, Dominic</td>
<td>labourer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Powelli, Angelo</td>
<td>labourer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lawson, John</td>
<td>carpenter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1235</td>
<td>Major, William</td>
<td>labourer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lawson, W.R.</td>
<td>stonecutter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1237</td>
<td>Clark, Mrs Edith</td>
<td>clerk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fig. 4.1 Yaletown houses. Upper photo shows cottages at northwest corner of Pacific Avenue and Hornby St; lower is of the Sheehan cottage at 1371 Seymour St. (VCA)
rental was approximately 20% of his wages. Apparently several persons often shared these cottages. Frequent doubling and tripling at a single address point to owner-plus-lodger, or shared rental. A carpenter named McLean shared a structure at 517 Pacific with his four adult sons (working as contractors); next door, two lumber merchants, Boggs and Morse, shared. It is impossible to determine the proportions of ownership. There were, however, many similar houses and cottages in the area, and this suggests speculative rental construction. Near the mills and tracks at the eastern end of Georgia Street were "Mr. Crosby's five cottages" (each costing $600), "Mr. Struther's 3 cottages costing $500 each", and on Drake Street, "10 small cottages owned by McConnell et al" valued at $3000.

Two storey houses in Yaletown typically were plain, box-like designs like the Seymour St. house shown in Figure 4.2a. Angularity and balance were highlighted by muted Italianate trim at eave and at window sills. Houses with gable ends to the street (Fig. 4.2b) were similarly plain, with upper windows punctuating horizontal siding and, occasionally, with shingle trim in the gable triangle. Several partial rows survive in the vicinity, and simplicity is their common feature. There were few tenements. Occasionally three or five cottages occupied a full lot, yet an illusion of separateness was preserved. A two-storey tenement, with 8 units, does survive on the slope between Pacific and Beach, east of Burrard Street.

At the other end of Granville Street, on the view slopes overlooking Burrard Inlet, were the executive homes of those at the opposite end of the C.P.R. employment grade. The architect-designed homes of J.M. Lefevre, (C.P.R. Medical Officer), H. Abbott (General Superintendent), ... Ferguson, (Building Contractor) and W.F. Salsbury, (Treasurer) help define the early West End component of the social geography of the company town. The jewel
of these houses was the C.P.R. Cottage, sited at the corner of Georgia and Burrard Streets (Fig. 4.3). The Canadian Pacific Railway had an earlier "cottage" in Montreal, a residence and club for C.P.R. executives. The Vancouver cottage was occupied by the C.P.R. Land Commissioner, J.M. Browning and then by four other C.P.R. officials for nineteen years before it was converted into an exclusive residential hotel (Glencoe Lodge). The label "cottage" was imported by the C.P.R. as was the style. W.M. Price, architect of this imposing building, was one of the leading New York architects of the day, and later designed the Chateau Frontenac for the C.P.R. in Quebec City. In 1885, Price had designed the "socially and sartorially innovative" suburb of Tuxedo Park, New York, widely recognized as a watershed in Eastern avant garde architecture. Price's C.P.R. Cottage in Vancouver, built at an estimated cost of $10,000 in 1886, was the most expensive building in the city and one of the four described by the World's inventory. Although a massive structure, Price maintained the illusion of a cottage by lightening the mass above the dressed stone base with a distinctive gambrel roof and horizontal bands of shingle decoration. An off-centre Jacobean projection containing bay-windows reinforced the nostalgia that was part of what Vincent Scully later called the Shingle Style. Such a building would have been avant garde in New York. In Vancouver it illustrates the replication that was possible in a town not yet cleared of stumps.

Though Price never visited Vancouver, a small group of experienced architects was present from 1886, and their names were prominently associated with most of the important buildings (see Table 7.). Thomas Sorby, for example, had worked for twenty-five years as Government architect in England, and for three years in Montreal had designed railway stations and
Fig. 4.3 The C.P.R Cottage, at Georgia and Burrard
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Architect</th>
<th>Place &amp; Year of Birth</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Vancouver discovery</th>
<th>Architectural History Prior to Vancouver</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blackmore</td>
<td>Cumberland 1832</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>1887</td>
<td>unknown, but practised in Winnipeg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown</td>
<td>Glasgow 1860</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1888</td>
<td>Glasgow Art School; Winnipeg, 1882-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalton</td>
<td>Cumberland 1854</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td>Articled 4yrs, London; Winnipeg 1887-88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eveleigh</td>
<td>Bedford 1870</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1888</td>
<td>Articled with Hoffar in Vancouver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fripp</td>
<td>Gloucester 1858</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1888</td>
<td>Articled 3 yrs London; 10 years in Australia, New Zealand, India, South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grant</td>
<td>Pictou, N.S. 1852</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td>Builder in Nova Scotia, then across with Northern Pacific - Portland, Tacoma, Victoria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoffar</td>
<td>New York 1842</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td>M.A., New York; to California 66; Utah, Nevada, Arizona; to Oregon 78; Seattle 79; Victoria 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hooper</td>
<td>Devon 1859</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td>Moved to Ontario, 71; London, Ont 75-9; work in Montreal and Winnipeg 1880-86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mallandaine</td>
<td>Singapore 1821</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>1888</td>
<td>London educated, then travelled to gold rushes in Australia and Cariboo; then prominent in Victoria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sorby</td>
<td>Wakefield 1840</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td>25 years as prominent English courts architect then 3 years for C.P.R. in Montreal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wickenden</td>
<td>Rochester (Kent) 1851</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>1888</td>
<td>Articled London, then New York, with periods in New Brunswick (76-81), Winnipeg (81-88)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some 40 architects were prominent in Vancouver before the First World War. On average, they were born in 1873, and had done 4-7 years of articling and had limited prior experience. These eleven at work in the earlier city were an older group; one average born in 1849 and with 10 or more years of practise behind them.

Source: Architectural Institute of British Columbia biographical files
buildings for the C.P.R. He designed the imposing Hotel Vancouver and provided his considerable skills for bank, courthouse and house designs. Architects such as the American N.S. Hoffar, and Englishmen Fripp, Blackmore and Mallandaine -- all variously experienced in Britain, the American west coast, and earlier boom towns in Winnipeg and Victoria -- contributed many up-to-date styles to the new city.

Blackmore's design for C.P.R. Medical Officer Lefevre (Fig. 4.4), built for $6000, was a particularly fine example of the Queen Anne style, consistent to the polychrome effect of the roof-shingles. Projecting gables on front and side were balanced by an elongated angular tower, and the whole was tied together horizontally by band-saw decorations on balconies and verandahs. Blackmore evidently had designed a popular house, for it was repeated at least three times over the next five years. In each case, the tower and almost classical pediment gables were arranged with a somewhat different combination of balconies.10

The C.P.R.'s Cottage was at the gateway to the westward extension of Georgia Street "which promises to become the most popular residential street in the city". The $9000 house of real estate capitalist C.D. Rand was almost opposite the cottage and, in contrast to other work by Blackmore, was a quintessential example of the Stick style11 (Fig. 4.5). Gingerbread hung from a multitude of gables; porches were held up by elaborate decorative bracing, and the impression of a variety of vertical surfaces was created by several balconies and verandahs. Near Rand's house were other extensive homes including those of -- Dana, hardware merchant, and B.T. Rogers, sugar refiner. The $3000 house belonging to real estate agent Ceperley was the only West End house other than Price's cottage to receive stylistic description from the World, which thought it a "handsomely turreted residence
Fig. 4.4 Residence of Dr & Mrs J.M. Lefevre
(designed by Blackmore); note similarity to other examples (Harwood St., bottom right)

Fig. 4.5 Georgia Street, showing Blackmore's design for C.D. Rand (left) and C.P.R Cottage on right.
commanding an extensive vista." But compared to Rand's home, it was box-like and elemental, the tower even cruder than Blackmore's thin versions (Fig. 4.6a). More typical of the early mansions that developed along Georgia, Haro and Bute, were the homes of William Shannon and Hope (4.6b), both real estate developers. While these houses revealed many characteristic features of Victorian eclecticism, they lack the exuberance or the sophistication of design and decoration that characterised many of the rail and mine towns to the south. Nevertheless, the Queen Anne was the area's most popular style. One or two examples of the Shingle Style cropped up, a more subtle variation of essentially the same architectural vogue. They stand comfortably alongside the 'conspicuous consumption' proudly advertised in the turreted and decorated Queen Anne and Stick Style homes.

Early West End photographs present a jolting image of Victorian exuberance amid stumps and picket fences. The photos show carefully delineated 'estates' rather than individual houses. Land to display the house was as important as the house itself. "Size of lot" and "price of house" were perhaps at the heart of the structure's meaning, rather than any stylistic label -- particularly since the style was rarely commented on. Collector of Customs J.M. Bowell acquired a 66' lot near the northwest corner of Bute and Haro for $500 from the C.P.R. He then bought the corner lot, for a further $750, which gave him a large square, 132' X 132' on which to place his $5000 house (Fig. 4.6c). Basically a 2½-storey L-shaped house, the lines are masked by the various porches, gables, balconies, carved windowsills and variegated shingles that decorate the frame and blend it into a complementary neighbourhood of similarly priced Victorian estates.

Between the Yaletown cottages and the West End mansions was a lower middle class zone that occupied the north-south streets parallel to Gran-
Fig. 4.6 West End mansions. Upper, H.T. Ceperley, Georgia St.,
lower, J.M. Bothwell, Bute and Haro.
ville, from Hastings to approximately Robson. Here was a far more uniform and solid streetscape than any in the West End or Yaletown. From the beginning, partial blocks of four or five houses in a row had been developed, and they gradually coalesced into streetscapes of uniformly gable-end 2½-storey facades. All facade decoration was concentrated on the front; the bare sides (Fig. 4.7), even when visible from adjacent empty lots, were an acknowledgement of the eventual infill. These homes had some of the features of the West End mansions, but not the space in which to display. Speculatively built, they were more standardised than the custom designed house.

Houses in this area ranged in price from $500 cottages to $5000 mansions. The majority were valued between $1500 and $2400 in the year of their construction. Occupants were often professionals, though there were also skilled artisans, petty entrepreneurs and clerks. In the 600 block Howe Street lived insurance clerks, freight agents for Eastern Canadian and British firms, plumbers, retail merchants and plasterers. On Hamilton Street, there was a $1000 house for Mr. Simon, a house at $1200 for Mr. Dimpson, "both painted up in an artistic manner and substantial and roomy", next to Mr. Franklin's "neat brick veneer cottage" for $2000. There are many references to brick veneer. One of the most intriguing is that to "Mr. Chamberlain's twelve villas on Howe from Nelson to Comox, with adjacent intermediate lots, the whole being exceptionally cosy and comfortable looking houses well put together and brick veneered in front". These houses cost $14,000 (about $1150 each), and were backed by twelve similar houses facing Hornby Street. Here is a suggestion that land sales by street blocks in the city's early years were occasionally translated into block-scale housing starts by merchant builders. Unfortunately no photographs of this example survive, nor indeed of most brick-veneered structures.
By far the majority of houses were wooden, 2 storey, gable-ended with subsidiary gables, decorated with gingerbread and patterned shingle. While the expensive homes in the West End can be attributed to specific architects, and the cottages and terraces of Yaletown to common, almost subconscious vernacular models prevalent in mining towns, these intermediate houses had other roots. The replication of a single design, in reversed mirror plan, clearly suggests pattern book origins -- even if they were later adapted by local builders into different facades. One such example of replication and standardization is shown in Fig. 4.8. A bay window in one half of the front facade is carried up through a minor gable, while the hall and doorway side has a combination porch cover and balcony that project forward to continue the common street building line. Reversing and alternating the plan produced a pleasing streetscape of decorative facade elements. As designs, they occupied a half-way position between the Boswell house in the West End (if one imagined the lateral part of the L-shape cut off) and the simple, plain-gabled houses of Yaletown. A number of basic plans were used at the same time. One relied on a bay projection to give the complex roof line decoration, another on a square second-storey facade hanging over a recessed bay and porchway.

The exact origin of the designs for houses on Seymour, Hamilton and other central area streets is unknown, yet these houses were very similar to a design for a $1000 house that in August 1889 was published with four others in the World. Designs ranged from an elaborate turreted home to a $1000 house, to two different designs for $850 houses, and to a $450 cottage. All were prize-winning designs from competitions for inexpensive structures in Michigan, and were reprinted from the Architects and Buildings
Fig. 4.9 Floor Plans published in the Vancouver World 1889, from design competitions

Fig. 4.10 House at 1037 Thurlow, one of four identical houses (now demolished) built in style of Grand Rapids Michigan prize design
Edition of *Scientific American* and the American National Building Plan Association's *Artistic Homes*. All have strands of connection to Vancouver designs of the period. Four identical houses on the 1000 block Thurlow Street (Fig. 4.10) built in 1901, were almost carbon copies of the first prize design in the magazine *Carpenter and Building'*s 16th Annual design competition. The winner was an architect in Grand Rapids, Michigan. In all these plans, the attic level, prominent in facade views to suggest a tall 2½-storey or 3-storey house, invariably was vacant or storage space, rather than additional bedrooms. There was no staircase leading up to a potential bedroom. The side dormer on this plan was a natural light source for the staircase. With the exception of the turreted example, all these plans could fit onto 25' lots; the turreted house, 45 X 27 ft. exclusive of parlour, would suit a fifty-foot, corner lot.

Precise lists of materials could be ordered by a local builder, who would not fear errors in calculating and costing. A mill could gear up to produce common dimensions and building elements. A Vancouver speculative builder with such a list of material could compare precisely the cost of different designs. A design needed 10,000 shingles, 11 windows, 14 doors, and 27 cubic feet of 2 X 4's. What would be Hastings Mill's price? Similarly, what were the labour costs of 600 yards of plaster; the quotes on 54 perch of stonework? With local mills developing catalogues of gable and porch trim, decorative scalloped shingles, and different porch columns, then the variations on a basic theme could be innumerable. The streetscapes of upper Yaletown were solidly carpenter versions of Gothic Revival domestic architecture, inspied by definite pattern book origins, and embellished by trim from the sawmills.

These north-south streets between artisan and elite housing thinned
out to the east. The narrow isthmus of land between False Creek and the Inlet was used as a rail corridor, for lumber yards and for the growing warehouse section around the old retail core. Widening out east of Westminster (Main), the fourth area of residences in the city, the East End, was a mixture of styles and classes. Focussing largely on the massive Hastings Mill, the principal employer in the area, the streets housed a variety of sawmill workers, teamsters, dockers and labourers attracted to the waterside industries -- canneries, iron works and Rogers Sugar Refinery -- that stretched east from Hastings Mill.

The pre-C.P.R. social geography of the East End is hinted at in the World's description of Alexander Street. This street originally offered a view-lot location similar to many in the West End. The most prominent building on the street was the home of H.R. Alexander, manager of Hastings Mill, after whom the street was named. His $6000 "palatial residence" was "cemented outside, three storeys high, mansard roof, beautifully furnished internally", a cement and brick imitation of Italianate stone building. Neighbouring Alexander to the east were Dr. Bell-Irving, in a $3500 house and his brother, K.O. Bell-Irving, in an almost identical L-shaped house costing $3000. Three other houses on the street were valued at more than $1500. Yet the inland landscape hardly complemented these structures (see Fig. 4.11). Away from the waterfront, the quality declined until, along False Creek, $300 cabins were characteristic. A Mr. Hemphill built a substantial brick house (on the site of the clothes-line in Fig. 4.11), but few were to match him. The most noticeable feature about several houses in this vista is the total absence of windows along the side walls, a pointer to the rows of houses on 33' lots that were to follow. There were few "estate grounds" here, and the presence of several cabins (albeit neat and decorated
Fig. 4.11 Vancouver in 1887, looking West from Jackson Ave. Alexander's house, under construction, is at right; Oppenheimer St in right foreground; Hastings street beyond left edge.
with picturesque pinnacles), points to the dominant character of the area in future years.

More than half the new houses the *World* described in the East End were cabins and cottages; seventeen were valued between four and five hundred dollars each, another eighteen between six and eight hundred dollars each. Often they were built by one builder in clusters of three or four. In some cases, the builder placed a double tenement behind a house. On Alexander, one $250 cottage was "built on account of Building conditions", a reminder of the presence of real estate syndicates eager to build to attract further sales.

The designs of the low-priced cottages at 217-221 and 225 Prior (Fig. 4.12) have a timeless quality. Symmetrical with simple windows on either side of a central doorway and a front porch, most of these cottages were occupied by labourers, many of European descent. The directory for 1892 records the following on Prior Street:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Name</th>
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<td>Ferris, Edw</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Davey, Emmanuel</td>
<td>plasterer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Salter, Lewis</td>
<td>foreman for W.L. Cook, sand and lime dealer</td>
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<tr>
<td>237</td>
<td>Green, Henry</td>
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<td>239</td>
<td>Williams, Geo</td>
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<td>Brooks, Jas</td>
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<td>Lamont, Vita</td>
<td>labourer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Patrick S</td>
<td>labourer</td>
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</table>

A Mr. J.B. Foley was listed as occupying a $800 house on Harris (E. Georgia), as well as J.B. Foley, fisherman, there were four other Foleys, all listed
Fig. 4.12 Prior Street Cottages
as fishermen at 234 Harris, and there were several other Foleys in the area:

<table>
<thead>
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<td>drayman</td>
<td>Alexander</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.F. Foley</td>
<td>millhand</td>
<td>Hastings Mill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.A. Foley</td>
<td>fish dealer</td>
<td>2 Abbott, residence Keefer St.</td>
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Here is a suggestion of the extended working class family. On the same street was Mr. Macrae, carpenter, in his folk-classic cabin that was discussed earlier (Fig. 1.2, page 4).

The larger houses in this area included Italianate styles as well as the gabled and gingerbreaded Gothic Revival buildings seen in upper Yale-town. Well-balanced and angular, structures echoed the dominant domestic styles popular in the James Bay district of Victoria in the 1880's and 1890's. Again there were few specific antecedents, yet the repetition in mirrored pairs indicate the widespread use of pattern books. Several of the houses located in the vicinity of Oppenheimer and Gore exhibited some of the finest detailing in the city. The mixture of minor managers, independent small merchants and the like, near the dominant Hastings Mill and other non-C.P.R. work-sites, created residential landscape elements that blurred the distinctions between an "East" and "West" End, between C.P.R. mansions and millworkers cottages (Fig. 4.13). Relic landscape features in this area today -- finely detailed, turreted Queen Anne houses next to a row of eight hipped-roof cabins -- reinforce the impression of complex social geographies in the early city. To be sure, the Alexanders and the Bell-Irvings soon moved out to the expanding West End. But in the early years, house value and appearance provided social signatures that were partly independent of place.

Across False Creek in the cluster of houses on the road to New Westminster, the neighbourhood of Mount Pleasant offered the most rural land-
Fig. 4.13 The juxtaposition of styles in the early city
space in Vancouver. Some thirty houses were listed in 1888. Cottages were most numerous, averaging in value $375 each, but there were some houses in the $1200-$2000 range. Many Mount Pleasant cabins were like those in the East End -- one-room deep, a central doorway and matching side windows, shiplap siding. A panorama of the area in 1901 (Fig. 4.14) reveals this rural tone, through the split-log fences, the extensive orchards, and the 'homestead' rather than urban-lot image of most of the city's buildings. In some respects, this landscape had been paralleled in the Hastings Mill area a decade earlier. House styles had not significantly changed over that time, although the 'gothic' gable and roof-line may have become more dominant while the squared lines of the hipped roof, Italianate houses were not as common in the area south of False Creek as they had been in the inner city.

In its early years, Vancouver's vacant or stump-filled lots were as noticeable as its buildings. Though the town was growing vigorously, there was little urban design. Even the attempt to suggest a template of company-town planning by the C.P.R. has a quality of a posteriori analysis. The spaces beyond the then built-up area -- the forest to be cleared and the speculative real estate to be marketed -- defined the city as much as the existing structures. Somehow, the city rarely had a coherent landscape in its first decade. There was little evidence of collective will, by leaders or populace, to create a finished place. Cabins and cottages were quickly erected to provide shelter for the job at hand, but they would be left behind as more substantial structures became available, particularly as streetcars opened up the southern lands for unskilled labour that earlier had located close to waterfront industry. Even the mansions on the bluffs seemed uneasily placed in relation to clearings that would be marketed in some
future month or year. The most positive aspect of this rather loosely
assembled collage of buildings was the relative absence of tenements. Here
and there, a speculative builder had built one, but more often than not,
three or six cottages or cabins, arranged along a lot somewhat akin to the
medieval burgage plots in European cities, were the extent of high density
residence.

Eastern North American houses — architect or pattern-book inspired
— were transplanted in Vancouver. The end product of the transplant was
partly a function of local mills' and local labour's ability to execute the
designs as intended. The more money a client had, the easier the job
became. And yet, even in the West End, there was not quite the exuberant
architecture of slightly older West Coast cities in the United States.
Perhaps this was because Vancouver's elite tended to be managers and offi­
cials of eastern industry and commerce, rather than individual, self-made
capitalists. Styles repeated familiar forms last seen in Amherst, Nova
Scotia or Kingston, Ontario. Here was a sober environment of efficient
replication rather than the heady exuberance of individual wealth. The
absence of a Carson House, as in Eureka, California, suggests the dominant
managerial mood of the West End landscape. People migrated, styles were
diffused, but in few cases were there radical departures in design. The
replication of established ways of building cheap houses suggests an
eastern economy quickly transplanted.

And yet, there are a few examples of folk housing diffused from
specific Canadian or British hearths. One Yarmouth, Nova Scotia merchant
commissioned a Nova Scotia house (but no illustrations survive to indicate
whether it was a Cape Cod design or a replica of some Boston Shingle style
home). More definite are the occasional suggestions of an Ontario
connection. The McCleery farmhouse, one of several along the Fraser River built in the 1890s, clearly echoed the familiar Ontario style. Added to over the years, its simple lines and central gable were found throughout the Fraser Valley and in various parts of the Burrard Peninsula. These forms and their rural settings quickly became exceptional as the geometry of urban industrial housing surrounded them late in the century.

A further suggestion of folk transfer is revealed in letters sent back to the brick making town of Peterborough, England by William Towler, a carpenter-builder who emigrated to Vancouver in 1889. Like Kipling, Towler was impressed with the brick and stone solidity of Granville Street. However, since brick construction had a special meaning for Towler, his confidence for the city's future prosperity was tempered somewhat.

The Canadian Pacific Railway are doing their best to make the place a permanent one. Their hotel Vancouver has taken over a million bricks and an immense quantity of stone to erect it; and they are about to build an Opera House that will require one and a half million bricks in it. But it must be added that every stone, every yard of sand and every cube of brick have to be imported into this town from a distance. The timber is close to here, and may be said to be almost on the spot, while it is sawn and worked in the town, but the stone, whether for building or for lime has to come from a distance. The sand is brought from the seashore some miles away, the brick still farther, and every barrel of cement has to be brought from England. These facts make me doubtful as to the permanency of Vancouver, or of her ability to maintain her present rate of growth for long.

While earlier British migrants replicated brick houses (e.g. the Yorkshire settlers in the Chignecto Isthmus of New Brunswick in the 1780's) the cultural baggage of the late 19th century British immigrant was not translated into an equivalent landscape. Instead, mid-west pattern books and widely available lumber and carpenters created cheap wooden houses in Victorian styles.
4(ii) **Vancouver in the next 20 years**

The population of Vancouver doubled from 13,000 in 1891 to 27,000 in 1901 and then surged forward to 115,000 in 1911. Before the massive immigration between 1909 and 1913, Vancouver essentially consolidated its residential landscape around many of the images of late Victorian architecture that had already been introduced. The streets of Yaletown and the inner city solidified into fuller rows of houses, slightly different from each other, but all from the same cast; the East End around the waterfront mills added some tenements and frame rooming houses, along with cabin clusters and 2½ storey houses as immigration created a demand for more accommodation near to central employment; and the Mount Pleasant area, in similar fashion, became more and more a centre for homes on 33' lots as adjacent False Creek industries generated a demand for housing.

The most prominent developments in the latter part of this Victorian period were the consolidation of the West End as the elite area, and the growth of suburban working class districts.

4(ii)a **The Home Landscape of Wealth**

From its earliest beginnings in the C.P.R.'s "Blueblood Alley" along Seaton Street and Hastings Street and the prestigious homes along Georgia Street, the West End quickly developed as the residential address in the city. With the exception of some English Bay frontage that was popular for summer cottages, Vancouverites identified the entire area between Burrard Street and Stanley Park, Coal Harbour and English Bay as a locale for prestigious addresses. Expansion and infilling quickly followed the extension of streetcar service to Davie and Denman Streets, and many fine
new homes began to appear on the English Bay slopes.

One of the first instances of this migration was the move in 1899 by Lacey Johnson, Chief Engineer of the C.P.R., from a site at Georgia and Seymour to Pacific and Bute, to build a substantial new house well beyond contiguous settlement. With grounds stretching from Beach to Pacific, 200 bushes and trees provided an ample setting for a house worth $10,000, with a long drawing room (16' X 32'), reception hall, library, smoking room, and seven bedrooms. Externally, it was plain compared to his previous home. Its trim was very subdued: shiplap siding, scalloped shingles in twin gables, and finial decorations at gable ends. About the same time, the sugar magnate B.T. Rogers moved from his sprawling but one-storey home on the 1200 block Georgia to a block-long setting on Davie Street. There the prominent architect Samuel Maclure designed an elaborate stone building called 'Gabriola', and it was built in 1901 from stone that had been quarried in the Gulf Island of Gabriola. Complete with a circular gazebo at one corner and an elegant glass conservatory at the other, this finely crafted house symbolised the new concentrations of wealth attracted to the English Bay slopes. Here, Rogers, and lumber men such as Hanbury on Pacific, and Hastings Mill owner John Hendry on Burnaby Street, established a prestige residential area.

In her somewhat autobiographical account of the construction of the Malkin family's home in the West End, Vancouver novelist Ethel Wilson provided a colourful picture of the evolving landscape:

Down came the forests. Chop. Chop. Chop. The blessed forests came down. The men of the chain gang were driven up in a wagon and with lumbering movements cleared away the fallen trees while their guard stood near, and interested passers-by watched and then speculated on their past and their future. The forest vanished and up went the city.
Aunt Topaz's nephew Stephen soon began to build a large house halfway between the town and English Bay. This was very pioneering of him, as there was yet no streetcar near there. ... Stephen's house was painted red. It was with a dolls house kind of pleasure that Topaz, fresh from bricky England, saw painters painting little wooden houses red, white, green and even yellow among the standing cedars, fir trees and maples. The houses all had wooden trimmings and verandahs, and on the verandah steps when day was done the families came and sat and talked and counted the box pleats of the backs of fashionable girls' skirts as they went by, and visitors came and sat and talked, and idly watched the people too, and watched the mountains grow dark, and the stars come out above the mountains. And then they all went in and made a cup of cocoa.

Wealth in Vancouver quickly replicated accepted canons of taste and of class. The promenade along English Bay, the Band Stand in Alexandria Park at the end of David Street, and, indeed, the sun over English Bay, all had their metropolitan connections. Few might be as gushing as Frank Leslie, but his sentiments seem eminently compatible with many of the images of Victorian society captured in West End landscape photos:

I had been out to English Bay one night, where the wash of the Pacific comes right into the Strait of Georgia; standing on its white sands beloved of the bathers of Vancouver, and watching the sun set over its waters, and the long line of forest primeval on the left, I had said to myself, "Here am I on the last mainland of the British Empire, at the western end of the English world on which the sun never sets."

Cricket clubs, rowing regattas, tennis clubs, and private schools reinforced the English connections. Yet the built environment of houses was soundly North American.

The doll house strangeness of painted, wooden houses, though a surprise to an English immigrant, were designs that were totally familiar to Victorian middle class families. The internal arrangement of rooms provided for a variety of social and family needs, and the exterior designs provided
appropriate symbolic content. While the exuberances of some of the earlier houses were rarely repeated as the West End spread, the turret remained popular. Blackmore's Lefevre design was repeated in several variations. Perhaps the most popular designer of such homes was the firm of Parr and Fee, architects who were associated with many of the city's prominent buildings during the decade of growth prior to the First World War. Like Sorby, Hoffar and Blackmore before them, the patronage of the business elite for both commercial and residential structures gave Parr and Fee a reputation, and a volume of work, that allowed them to develop a characteristic design. Though the bell-cast roof, interrupted with dormer windows in similar bell-cast silhouette, was found in McClure's design for Gabriola and in many pattern books imported from the mid-west, Parr and Fee adapted it as one of their favourite features. Large corner turrets, capped with either a conical bell-cast roof or squat domes, were also popular components of their designs (Fig. 4.15). Fee's own house, with an elaborate stone turret, was one of the better examples. Architect Ross Lort commented on these distinctive designs.

In at least one office, an architect managed to achieve a resemblance to himself in his buildings. Here and there in Vancouver, there are one or two rather overembellished houses, of average looks for their time, but each house has on one corner a rather chunky circular tower topped off with a circular shaped roof that bears some resemblance to a bowler hat or a bald head; and when this particular architect walked along the street, either with his bowler hat or his very bald head rising above a large white beard which in turn rose above his very large circumference, it was for all the world as if one of his towers had decided to go for a walk.25

A cartoon of Fee, plump and bowlered, standing in front of a perspective view of his buildings, confirms the point. Parr and Fee were particularly
Fig. 4.15 The domed and turreted houses of the West End
indicative of the mood of the construction industry, and of the city, during these years:

Messrs Parr and Fee have built up their connection upon a strictly commercial basis, and while they welcome any incident that gives expression or beauty to their work, their chief endeavour is the production of buildings that will pay. "Utilitas" is their motto and revenue their aim: a large number of their buildings have been erected from their designs than from the designs of any other single firm of architects in the Province.26

Parr and Fee's turreted houses in the West End can be included under the motto 'Utilitas'; the turret seems to be a shorthand symbol of the home environment of the captains of industry, yet it had meaning beyond its catching exterior. Another rich passage in Wilson's novel, The Innocent Traveller, indicates their social importance.

The house in which Grandmother now lived had a bastard architectural excrescence at its corner which resembled both a Norman turret and a pepper pot but was neither. Although from the outside the pepper-pot was a nasty bit of work, from the inside it provided many windows and much light, and a pleasant more-than-semi circular window seat in the Grandmother's bedroom. This window seat was the perfect place for a household of women to gather in, and read their letters to each other, drink tea, sew, mend, and turn sheets side-to-middles. And below the Grandmother's bedroom was a similar curve and similar windows, which changed an uninteresting small drawing room to a room of considerable charm, in which, on the first and third Thursdays the Grandmother's At Home days were printed out.27

At Home days strictly controlled social intercourse within a neighbourhood, and were an integral part of upper-middle class society in late Victorian years.28 Such ritual underlined the social meaning of landscape elements, in this case a turret, but also of the house and of the entire series of streetscapes that comprised the West End. In the middle class suburbs
people were isolated from casual contacts with the wrong sort of people, and such isolation was reinforced visually and socially as well as spatially. People looked out to the world from detached houses, located behind a front fence or hedge; and social distancing was further defined by servants who answered the front door, by tradespeople who were sent to the back, and even by social equals who respected many rules of defined sociability. Socially homogeneous populations were desirable, and as Leonora Davidoff has observed, "the physical setting for the rituals of calls, At Homes, teas, dinners and balls were extremely important". By mixing only with their own kind, the middle class could insert certainty and confidence into an uncertain world of fluid class contact. Strictly enforced social rules helped protect the home and to shield the middle class from other elements of the population.

Middle class suburbs at the end of the 19th century, of which the West End was one, controlled the social and physical landscape. Rules of etiquette structured social contacts and the making of acquaintances in the anonymous atmosphere of the new city. Newcomers could be monitored and, when accepted, became part of a defined social rhythm. The West End had its own Elite Directory, in which the names of prominent families were identified by their At Home Day.

Davidoff's review of Society in English suburbia sheds light on the importance of the At Home in Ethel Wilson's West End:

A wife from the smaller houses in the area might be invited to the larger houses, but she would not be honoured by an invitation to the At Home Day, which might be the Tuesday, first Wednesday or third Thursday of the month. Not that invitations were issued for such functions. Friends knew that was the day on which the lady of the house was officially at home and it was therefore good form to call. She would inform new acquaintances whom she considered worthy, what her 'Day' was. It was also engraved on her visiting cards—and
visiting cards were essential then. Knowing the day and being sure you would be welcome or at least expected, you called as if duty bound. The residents of the lesser roads knew all about these days, they had their own—but never called then. They knew that they were not in the inner circle. When they called it was on an 'off' day and by appointment. They had tea downstairs from an earthenware teapot, not in the drawing room from the silver teapot.\textsuperscript{31}

This description is extremely illuminating not simply of the controlled social and visual spaces of suburban life, but also of a pattern that was so clearly replicated in Vancouver. A further passage from Wilson describes how this Staffordshire family participated in the West End social ritual:

By this time, the Grandmother and her family were established with At Home days, like all the other people who knew what was what. Aunty derived a great deal of pleasure from dressing herself with unusual care and paying and returning calls, but most of all she loved the first and third Tuesdays. There was a fearful pleasure in considering whether no one would call, and they would have to sit alone with the best tea things all afternoon, or whether the room would be proudly overflowing. It was found best to have something or somebody in the kitty, and most ladies took the precaution of asking a trusted friend or two to come in as a nucleus to save face if necessary on their At Home days.\textsuperscript{32}

Vancouver's rule book of social etiquette, \textit{The Elite Directory}, can be used to delineate the subworlds of the West End. Clear worlds, surprisingly distinct, can be defined by mapping addresses of persons who were having their "At Home" rituals on specific days of the week (Fig.4.16). As Angus Robertson has shown,\textsuperscript{33} the Friday group, along Melville Street in the north east, was clearly the early core of C.P.R. executives who maintained an enclave along the bluffs overlooking Coal Harbour. South of Davie Street, the Tuesday group included many leading industrialists, such as B.T. Rogers, John Hendry, and shipping magnate George Coleman. West of Denman to Stanley Park, clustered a larger group of lesser figures in real estate and insurance. Georgia Street also
Fig. 4.15. At Home days and the social geography of the West End, 1908.

had its own day.

The meaning of home in this area of the city is vividly clear. A smart exterior was presented to a conforming streetscape, while the house itself was an umbrella for a private world of family life beyond the business of profit and public service with which the whole neighbourhood concerned itself. Such a private world was breached only on strict rules: the home of family friendship became the monitored venue of public friendship, with codified rules for 'home' behaviour. Such metropolitan values instilled in a frontier city parallel the equally external inspirations for the house styles. Together they symbolized progress, development, and the sophisticated use of acquired wealth. The At Homes were a social glue that helped cement the West End as did the gradual infilling of the stump-surrounded estates of the early 1890's. At both ends of the period, connections to a confident industrial world were being made.

Not all West End houses were estates, nor were all of them turreted and galleried. Between the houses of the wealthy, valued at $6-10,000, some entire blocks were filled, over several years, with 2½-storey frame houses priced between $1000-$3000. These were built by small-scale contractors, usually one or two houses at a time, and were sold before the contractor proceeded to further building. Such practices appalled architects whose experience was largely European. In a series of columns in the Canadian Architect and Builder, R. Mackay Fripp criticised the primitiveness of the city's architecture. In some respects, he thought, poor architecture was hardly the citizen's fault:

It must be borne in mind that this is the West, and that there has not been sufficient time to evolve a standard in matters of taste. There are no established interests, no cultivated leisure class...no museums,
much less a gallery of arts. Every man is fully occupied with making a way for himself, and until he decided to buy a lot and build a house, probably never gave two thoughts to building.\textsuperscript{34}

When he did turn to building, he usually thought of a contractor, who came armed with the various designs that the pattern books offered:

His idea of what constitutes the calling of an architect is a beautifully mixed one, and consequently, in his utter ignorance, he turns to what he is pleased to call a practical man, with the hapless results that defy criticism. That bogey the practical man, is ever the most hopeless, unpractical—his designing is not less ridiculous than his planning or more feeble than his drawing; his vaunted practical knowledge is invariably confined to the one trade he followed before he started speculative building operations on his own account.\textsuperscript{35}

The practical men in question were contractors like Gillott, Hunter and Matheson, whose names appeared as builder, owner and architect in Building Permit records (see Table 3). Their work, such as the houses on 1100 block Comox or the 1000 block Pacific (Fig. 4.17) reflected the use of a limited number of stock plans, mirrored or reversed to create some sense of variety. A book prepared by the Cooperative Plan Association, \textit{How To Build, Furnish and Decorate}, (1900) is known to have furnished plans for a house on Nelson Street.\textsuperscript{36} Established in 1877, this New York group claimed to have been responsible for over 17,000 residences in 23 years, becoming the "oldest, largest and leading architectural association in the United States". As the Association explained:

many people think it an unnecessary expense to invest in working plans, that their builders can draw up plans or follow rough sketches of their own. This is a great error. It would be true economy to pay even five times as much as our charges for proper drawings. Without them mistakes are sure to occur, and to rectify a simple mistake costs much more than the costs of the plans\textsuperscript{37}
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Source: Building Permits, City of Vancouver
Fig. 4.17 Contractor-carpenter houses, 1000 block Pacific
This was certainly the case, but the cooperative pattern book tended to create a uniform architecture that, to some eyes, was a grave error. To the trained and educated mind of R. Mackay Fripp, an architect well travelled through the colonies and recipient of important commissions in London, Vancouver was an exasperating city. Rather than adopting a terraced solution to the restrictions of a 25' or 33' lot, most lot owners pursued the ideal of a detached house, selected a pattern and produced, in Fripp's eyes, a tawdry result.

The type of dwelling most favoured in the West End is a two-storied weather-boarded structure, with eaves projecting as much as three or even four feet from the wall line. The shingled roofs are usually gabled. The design is based upon the American Colonial, with the exaggerations of the style intensified, and its many elegancies and possibilities in refinement pretty completely lost. Cheap expedience is writ very large in some, and vulgar ostentation in others...The meagre size of the building lots positively bars any building in the broad, spreading manner characteristic of much fine modern work. Such sites as these are, indeed, (more) suited to downright street architecture than to the semi-rustic timber houses which are crowded into them. It is no uncommon thing to see a house, which having scarcely passage room around it has nonetheless a piazza eight or ten feet wide within a few feet of the sidewalk.38

Fripp's own early work in Vancouver -- several designs featuring half-timber trim in the West End, a 2nd place competition design for Government House in Victoria, the Provincial Sanatorium in Tranquille (near Kamloops) clearly illustrates that he was marching to a different drummer. He had an extensive architectural library, including histories of old, country cottages in England, he subscribed to the leading West Coast craft magazines,39 and he read and spread the word of William Morris. His affinity to the Arts and Craft Movement, his published work on Maori art in New Zealand, and his expeditions with local Indian chiefs to the headwaters of the Capilano40
were indicative of attitudes towards nature and to industrial design that did not correspond to the dominant, assertive and — to him — hollow forms of many Vancouver houses. What he saw would not stand, he thought, the test of time.

Were the civilization of this country now to be abruptly terminated, in what estimation would the antiquarians of succeeding ages hold the "dominant traits, the temperament, the conditions of this people", as evidenced by their archeological remains? In spite of systems of electric trolley cars, of electric lighting, and of telephone communication (with their attendant forest of hideous poles), our "handsome" — "solid", even "magnificent" blocks, as the ubiquitous reporter very modestly describes them, our "splendid" galvanized iron statuary, our tons of "beautiful" metal cornices, our sham Gothic churches ... all of these not withstanding, it is greatly to be feared our learned critics would not place us high on the scale of past civilizations.41

Fripp formed an Arts and Crafts Society in Vancouver, to provide a forum where craftsmanship could flourish, and artists could exhibit their work. His idealism contrasted with the more successfully utilitarian and ostentatious designs of the kind promoted by Parr and Fee, who could be said to be giving their clients what they wanted. A telling commentary on the priorities of the city came after a disappointing second Annual Exhibition of the Arts and Crafts group in 1901:

... so little interest was taken in the show by the public that it was, financially, a complete failure. In a town of 25,000 inhabitants, a collection... remaining open to the public for seven days, attracted an average attendance of 30 per diem. A nigger minstrel show would have drawn 500.42

Fripp was not alone of course. Emily Carr's attempts to establish a painting class in Vancouver met a similar response from the West End matrons who were her students. For a time, both Fripp and Carr left Vancouver; it
would be some years before they would find any Vancouver audience for their views of art and society.

4(ii)b The Start of the Suburbs

The West End provided Vancouverites their dominant local images of house and home after the turn of the century. Within the West End, mansions continued to be built until 1908, and satellite extensions of turreted and decorated houses in Kitsilano, Fairview and Grandview reflected a city growing in all possible directions as streetcar tracks extended and as Klondike and Panama Canal booms fueled speculative real estate boilers. The Copp, Miller and McSpadden houses along Victoria Drive gave Grandview its miniature West End; the small At Home cluster on 7th and 8th Avenues were Fairview's local finery, distinct from the mills below; and in Kitsilano, the new C.P.R. Hill near Trafalgar grew more and more like the old West End. While Kitsilano also attracted densely packed frame houses and many cottages for lumber mill workers, the West End landscape was replicated close to Trafalgar Street. Some of these homes were quite luxurious, set in 75' or 100' lots and with a magnificent view over the city.

Kitsilano between Granville and Trafalgar received most of the middle class growth of the city during the first decade of the century. Reviewing the essential trends of that decade, Norbert MacDonald notes that each of the east-west avenues in Kitsilano received between 20 and 45 houses in 1906; in the same year, Comox, Robson, Nelson and Barclay Streets in the West End, were still receiving about 20 new houses each. The streetscapes of Comox and Nelson were little different from a block such as the 2100 block W. 3rd in Kitsilano (Fig. 4.18); the most flamboyant house on this
Fig. 4.18  2100 block West 3rd in Kitsilano; a modest version of the West End in C.P.R. Hill
block, a turreted Queen Anne house, was the home of a local druggist. Several other houses in the block were occupied by independent small retail merchants who were interspersed between more prominent real estate men and merchants, as had been the case earlier in the West End. Fripp’s criticisms about the amount of space between the neighbouring houses still held true; home owners still aspired to the same social and landscape symbols.

Yet another prominent force was increasingly at work in the city’s real estate market. Northern Securities offered for sale “Five Acres with House”, for only $2000. This property was “five minutes walk from Jubilee Station on the Westminster Car Line; part of it is cleared and fenced, and a comfortable house, good spring water”. Invariably the houses on these extensive garden plots differed in size and quality from those examined so far. The trade-off of accessibility and price contrasted a $2500 house, merchant built, on a 33 ft. lot in Mount Pleasant, with up to five acres and a rude cabin somewhere along the streetcar tracks stretching south and east. Some of these early pioneer homes were built around massive tree stumps -- almost a British Columbia equivalent to the sod house on the Prairies. There were several tree-stump houses in Hyde Park, a 60-acre portion of Hastings Townsite, and several more in Mount Pleasant. More conventional pioneer buildings beyond the continuous built-up area were cabins such as John Mason’s home in then outer Grandview, the cluster of a dozen C.P.R. workers’ cabins in East Kitsilano near the Lulu Island Railway, or the two dozen in Kitsilano beyond Trafalgar. Set at the rear of a lot, with vegetable gardens or orchards in front, such cabins are sharply distinguished from the contractor-built bungalows and cottages that were to follow.

As this chapter has argued, the majority of houses in the early city did not reflect oral traditions or regional cultural origins. At one extreme
were a few houses designed by an architect; at the other, simple cabins. Most homes were the product of vernacular taste that was pattern book inspired, of decoration and detail that was factory milled, and of construction by speculative carpenter-builders. Occasionally, as in the Grimmett house on 64th Avenue (Fig. 4.19a), the styles were as expansive and Victorian as the West End. There were also examples of the Queen Anne style scaled down into smaller cottages, as at Prince Albert and 47th (Fig. 4.19b). For the most part, however, the spread south and east was an extension of the industrial city both physically and symbolically. Cabins were trimmed with gingerbread when possible. The cabins and cottages, self- or carpenter-built, were, in a sense, one form of everyman's frontier abode. Perhaps if Fripp had not been the product of a society that found civilization in a leisure class and tradition, he might have been impressed with the efforts of everyman to articulate his surroundings through his simple shelter. As countless portraits of family standing in front of 'home' reveal, Vancouverites were proud of such beginnings. The city was even prouder of the sophisticated mill-made cabins and cottages that the B.C. Mills Timber and Trading Company created in 1904. Indeed, at Vancouver's twentieth anniversary parade (1906), the Royal City Planing Mill's float, contrasting pioneer cabin and the prefabricated house, suggested that the ready-made house was a good example of the "highly developed stage of civilisation" as exhibited in building (see transcript, Fig. 4.20). Though Fripp might have dismissed the account as one more exaggeration of Vancouver boosterism, these houses can be regarded as the first real candidates for a Vancouver vernacular.

Prefabricated houses were built throughout the city, including the
Fig. 4.19 The Grimmett house on 64th Avenue (above); a Queen Anne cottage on Prince Albert and 47th (below).
West End, and were used speculatively to generate speedy income on real estate, and also as a means for working class people to acquire inexpensive homes. The system depended on a patented wall-section that used short ends from the Hastings Mills, and that could be assembled, using a moulded and bolted joint, into walls of varying length. The mill already made window sashes, doors, porches, eaves and trim; now its prefabricated wall section by-passed the time-consuming work of framing walls and ceilings. A ready-made house was possible. In one form or another, prefabricated buildings had been a common feature of frontier life. The Hastings Mill prefab was intended principally to serve the prairie market. After experimenting with prototype two-storey houses near the mill, a range of simple, one-storey cottages was developed for display at Agricultural Exhibitions in Winnipeg and New Westminster. They were an instant success. The bell-cast roof silhouette was inspired by buildings by Maclure and Parr & Fee in Vancouver, and the artistic elements of roof line, porch trim and bay windows offered a contrast to the ruder pioneer shelter. An urban market developed, and the factory rapidly retooled to produce a range of town-houses. These include 3 bedroom, 2½ storey gambrelled roof models, as well as a variety of 1½ storey, gabled and hipped roof cottages. (Fig. 4.21).

The sections were bolted together and the system was described in a simple manual. An unskilled purchaser could erect his own house. Costs were some 30-40% lower than contractor built houses, and the product was an artistic cottage. A B.C.E.R. timekeeper in Collingwood wrote a testimonial to the system's success:

The Ready Made House Design '0' which you supplied to me is now finished and I am well satisfied with it. I have kept a careful account of all expenses in connection with putting the house together, and find that the total cost of this and the house together
20th Anniversary Parade Most Successful in City’s History

Royal City Planning Mills Branch. The first float was a neat old time log cabin, just such a snug home as a man, handy with the axe, used to build in the early days of pioneering the forest parts of Canada. Many of the thousands who watched this log cabin pass along Vancouver streets recalled the days of their own experience when they too used to clink the cracks with green moss to keep out the wind and cold of winter.

How suggestive the split cedar shakes of the roof, the batten door and the wooden latch with the string outside to welcome the visitor!

The second float was a splendid illustration of the present highly developed state of civilization as exhibited in house building. It consisted of a large and beautiful model of a ‘ready-made house’ such as the Royal City Mills is already famed for turning out.

When one compares the ease and speed of construction of these patented homes with those of the earlier days, he grows amazed; and his wonder increases as he compares the comfort of these modern structures with that of their predecessors. This splended model (although large enough for a bachelors cabin) was indeed one of the most attractive and pleasing features of Vancouver’s greatest holiday procession. Its evident solidity, symmetric proportions, neatness of finish, and chaste beauty, gave much pleasure to the 30,000 happy spectators who for miles lined the streets from Davie to Keefer on Westminster Avenue.

Of the many competitors who bid to purchase this lovely little domestic abode, Mr. J. J. Weart of the successful firm of Martin, Weart and McQuarrie of Vancouver was the winner. He intends to remove it at once to his splendid fruit farm in Central Park.

Vancouver Province, April 7, 1906, p. 6.
is considerably less than the estimates I got for building a house of the same size in the ordinary way. I am convinced your method of house building has given me a better and cheaper house than any other method would have done.48

One J.J. Hanna reported that he had been asked by an up-country friend to secure some revenue for several vacant lots in Vancouver, and, perceiving that cottages were always in demand and easier than two storey buildings to dispose of, he had ordered two prefab cottages. So impressed was he by their cost that Hanna intended to purchase several for himself, for similar revenue purposes. Clusters of up to 7 prefabs, in Yaletown, Kitsilano and East Hastings, suggest that this practice was widespread.

A one-room bachelor cabin cost $100, and a 3-room 16 X 20 cottage cost $200. The townhouses, ranging from 4-room 21 X 29-ft. cottages to 4-bedroom 1½-2 storey houses, cost between $400 and $785. By comparison, a conventional on-site frame construction of a 26 X 26 ft. cottage built in 1904 for a Mr. Gross in North Vancouver cost $900, and took one month to complete.49 In 1907, the B.C. Mills produced another catalogue of house designs. This time it stressed a simpler 2 storey house, a response to criticism that the gambrel roof, although attractive, was an uneconomical waste of potential upper storey space. The new line, ranging from $900 to $1400, was still significantly cheaper than comparable buildings built by contractors.

Several companies marketed prefabricated buildings in Vancouver,50 but the scale economies generated by the massive B.C. Mills conglomerate made it the leader of the industry. B.C. Mills sold the patent in 1910 to Prudential Builders when its president John Hendry became more interested in rail and real estate speculation. Prudential Builders capitalized on "seven
years of proven prefabricated systems" to promote a wide range of summer cottages, frontier houses and more sophisticated urban residences. Based on a factory on the south shore of False Creek, they claimed to be the largest builder of homes in Western Canada. While earlier pattern books assigned designs with eastern names, Prudential offered styles named Dawson, Lethbridge, Victoria and Vancouver.

Here, in a Vancouver-invented prefab system, was the culmination of a phase of Vancouver's landscape development. Imported styles and techniques were superseded temporarily by a local industry and soon influenced a wide hinterland of its own. Vancouver was becoming a point of diffusion, rather than simply a colonized outpost for style and technique.

The city that spread beyond the first concentration around False Creek was an industrial city. As suburban lands were quickly transformed — by electric streetcars, by prefabricated houses, by speculative subdivisions — the industrial quality became overwhelming. The inner city, once a diverse mixture of cabins, mansions and vacant lots between partially developed commercial streets, solidified by the addition of substantial office towers and retail department stores. Related to this central employment concentration, apartments in the West End particularly along streetcar routes served the increasing clerical and service sector of the emerging metropolis. In the East End and near False Creek, tenements close to docks, mills and foundries were additions to the landscape. Most were three storey wooden walk-ups, and a lot less substantial in size or construction than the apartment additions to the West End. The tenements in East Kitsilano, providing accommodation for Sikh and Japanese labour in the False Creek sawmills, were to become a problem in the 1950's when pressure for slum clearance began." Increasingly, but not exclusively associated with these
tenement additions, the street directory listings for Strathcona and other inner city addresses listed 'Japanese', 'Foreigners' or 'Italians'.

Even with these incipient problems of potential slum conditions, a problem that was not seen for some time due to the bias towards non-Europeans at the time, Vancouver hardly received attention from the early Canadian surveys of social problems. To large extent this was due to the access to some form of suburban living. At the same time as tenements and apartments were being built, communities on the Central Park Line such as Collingwood and Cedar Cottage had directory listings for 'rancher' and 'carpenter'. South Vancouver clusters such as Grimmett were predominantly teamsters, B.C.E.R. workers, dockers and mill workers -- many who had previously lived in Yaletown or Strathcona. These suburbanites were still clearly part of the industrial city, but the appearance of these outer areas contradicted the landscape images that in other turn-of-the-century industrial cities would be associated with such occupational profiles.
CHAPTER FIVE

THE WEST COAST ALTERNATIVE: THE IMPACT OF THE CALIFORNIA BUNGALOW

The selective effect of the boundary upon immigration is demonstrated by the fact that one in four in British Columbia is British, and one in forty in Washington. The result is a Canadian culture not greatly different from that of the United States but with a stronger British influence. This fusion is typified by the common appearance, in British Columbia of English-style hedges surrounding California-style bungalows, a combination rarely seen south of the border.

When Vancouver was transformed from a lumber camp to a railroad terminal city, the dominant architectural influences were from the American east coast and mid-west. Gothic Revival images dominated, and they came to Vancouver in pattern-book inspired houses, in architect-designed mansions, and in small cabins. All shared similar decorative motifs. As Vancouver grew, the mill and railway-town spread south of False Creek and broadly repeated its earlier architecture. The outer edges of Kitsilano and Grandview reproduced West End styles; areas closer to the mills and Creek-side industry filled in with frame houses and cottages like those in Yaletown and the early east side. The outer scatter of cabins and cottages offered the closest candidates for a local Vancouver vernacular, yet these buildings, too, were local interpretations of standard forms. Some préfabricated cottages represented a local industrial vernacular. But gradually, in the years between 1909 and 1913, the dominant style of architecture for new house construction changed, turning more and more to horizontal and open forms, as the impact of another external style became more prevalent.
A different source for pattern books

Between 1900 and 1910, the dominant urban, architectural images shifted away from the conspicuous architecture of high Victorian materialism. The Boston and New York elite turned to Shingle Style forms (seen already locally in Price's C.P.R. Cottage), and they were copied in the pattern books. Eastern architects and clients assessed, then revived, their colonial vernacular past, and also began to be attracted to an English heritage of Elizabethan and Jacobean styles. The "taste" of wealth began to be more subtly expressed than in the earlier size and conspicuousness of a Vanderbilt, or in such Western expressions as the Carson house in Eureka. Gustav Stickley and his New York-based "Craftsman" movement emerged as a leading turn-of-the-century critic of the insensitive use of gothic decoration for industrial society, and became a proselytizer of a new set of fashions. Here was the American counterpart of the Arts and Crafts movement developing in England under William Morris.

In the boom city of Los Angeles, the new preference for simpler forms evolved within the expansive space and benevolent climate of Southern California. A Californian style emerged that was publicized in the East and in Craftsman, and modified for suburban, East Coast life. The new forms, derived from critiques of industrial production and industrial society. Nevertheless they were marketed vigorously as commodities by that same system -- standardized in pattern books and promoted by high pressure advertising. Some of the pattern books that reached into Vancouver were from Philadelphia or Chicago, but most were from Los Angeles. Both the styles and techniques of Southern California home-selling came into Vancouver, and because they came at the time of the greatest suburban expansion, in the
boom periods either side of World War One, they had a decisive impact on the city's landscape.

Evidence of the shift in taste can be traced in the series of Home Beautiful designs published in 1912 by the Vancouver Sun. Like the World of 1889, which reprinted Michigan designs, the Sun was offering its readers the latest home fashions. Some of its 1912 styles, such as the almost cubical 2½ storey, bell-cast roofed style that was still popular in Grandview (Fig.5.1) represented a continuation of Eastern American forms. But more and more houses in the series were characterized by a broad, deep porch, a low form, a shingled surface and by stone and brick support work. These designs were now for bungalows (Fig.5.2), and the pattern books were disseminating California preferences. The emphasis was now on 'comfortable and cosy' homes. Accompanying Design No. 27 in the Sun series was this comment:

The one storey bungalow is in demand, especially if adapted to the cooler climate of the north west. Realizing that a popular demand is being felt for this class of home, we are showing today a cosy five-room bungalow with bath and having all the convenience of a larger house. For a small family this makes an ideal home. People today are demanding "Pretty Homes".

'Cosy' and 'pretty', these houses were quite different from the more assertive and dominant vertical styles. Three weeks later, Design No.32 confirmed the new trend:

The approval accorded our previous bungalow designs warrants a continuation of the artistic little homes. We congratulate ourselves in securing for our readers some very distinctive designs prepared for this climate. And we are pleased to promise our readers a series of illustrations of the very best and latest in modern home architecture. We will also feature a storey and a half bungalow and two-storey houses. It is immaterial what kind of home you contemplate building -- by watching this feature every Tuesday and Friday you will receive pointers and suggestions that will be of great value.
Fig. 5.1 1912 pattern book houses in Grandview: the last of the Eastern American styles

Bungalow Design No. 3021
Cost of this bungalow is from $900 to $1,200, according to the locality in which it is built.

Floor Plan of No. 3021
Size:
Width, 21 feet 6 inches
Length, 41 feet

Blue prints consist of foundation plan, floor and roof plans, four elevations and complete typewritten specifications.

Bungalow Design No. 3007
Cost of this bungalow is from $1,200 to $2,000, according to the locality in which it is built.

Floor Plans of No. 3007
Size:
Width, 21 feet 6 inches
Length, 41 feet

Blue prints consist of foundation plan, floor and roof plans, four elevations and complete typewritten specifications.

Fig. 5.2 Pattern books added 'bungalows' to their listings. These two are from Hodgson's Practical Bungalows and Cottages for Town and Country, (1912)
Fig. 5.2b Bungalow trim. Although many of the pattern book models were built in the city, a considerable component of the style's impact came in the form of porch, verandah and eave trim. These more arts and crafts elements replaced the gingerbread decoration of an earlier age.
The design shown in this feature is one which appeals to the artistic and makes a home that will always look fresh and modern. The features of plainness, the simplicity of the designs and the utility of the arrangements make it especially desirable.5

Many of the Sun's designs can be matched to those in a pattern book called Jud Yoho's Craftsman Bungalows, published in Seattle. The Sun Design No. 32 was actually "Floor Plan No. 209", another was "No. 422", and a third was "courtesy Craftsman Bungalow". Yoho's book was itself an attempt to modify the California Bungalow to the "cooler climate of the North West." This phrase appeared in many of the Sun's descriptions, and echoed Yoho's introduction:

Many residents of the temperate zone look with envious eyes upon the cosy bungalows of California, while they bemoan the apparent fact that such a type of house would be anything but homelike in cooler climates, with no basement for heating plants or any other features of primary importance in a locality where the winters are cold or wet, as in the North West or East. To show them that the bungalow type may be adapted to any climate I have taken the latest designs and arranged the plans for this climate so they will give the greatest degree of satisfaction to the bungalow owner.6

The Sun's columns were actually part of Jud Yoho's northern filtering of California design, even though the newspaper articles were written as if the Sun had interpreted local needs.

Prominently located alongside these home designs for bungalows were advertisements for the Bungalow Finance and Building Company, under the heading, "Would You Be Happier in a Home of Your Own?":

Would it mean anything to you to have that old dread of rent day removed for one and all. To be able to put that rent money into your own little home instead of into your landlord's pockets. We make this possible
for you, on terms that are so easy. Only $350 cash payments and four years in which to pay the balance. And when you buy from us, or let us build for you, you are getting the best. Come and see us, and get our terms. This is an opportunity you cannot afford to overlook.  

In these advertisements there were few specific references to actual bungalow design -- the Sun descriptions provided the visual reminder of what that happy home might look like. "Bungalow" was synonymous with small and cosy and simple -- all of which were facets of home that appealed to most Vancouver home buyers. Indeed, very substantial houses could be advertised in the Yoho/Sun manner. Priest Home Builders advertised one $7200 house in Kitsilano, pointing out that "there is a certain charm about a nice bungalow which always appeals to those who prefer a compact or convenient Home", and advertised another house for $8000 with a "very cosy inglenook". Your own little home, or 'a nice little bungalow' could appeal to a streetcar motorman in Grimmett or to a merchant in Kitsilano. With a freer floor plan, and a simple interior, the bungalow contrasted with a late Victorian house that seemed more cluttered, contrived and convoluted.  

Perhaps the Vancouver Sun considered that its Home Beautiful series provided Vancouver with a mirror of itself -- "today we present a typical Vancouver home designed especially for this climate" -- but the bungalow style came from Southern California. The Home Beautiful series was one powerful vehicle for that transfer of design innovation. Another was the array of builders and contractors who took one or more of the designs from the Sun or from a pattern book and built them repeatedly during the pre-war immigration boom. Yet another clear strand of this diffusion from California was the whole system of land development and home building.  

The Los Angeles development model was frequently quoted as the
touchstone of local success. The Bungalow Finance and Construction Company, interested in land development as much as in the bungalow building industry, included in its prospectus an analysis of the similarities of Vancouver and Los Angeles. It was due to

an accumulative earning process that the Los Angeles Investment Company, of Los Angeles, California, owes its remarkable success. From 1895 to 1912, this company has paid 62.7% in cash dividends to its stockholders. $100 invested in this Company, December 20, 1895, and allowed to remain and accumulate with profits and compound interest, had earned $16,171.20.

Greater Vancouver is more than twice the size of what Los Angeles was when the Los Angeles Investment Company commenced business, and is expanding much faster than Los Angeles did. The Los Angeles Investment Company did well. The Bungalow Finance and Building Company of Vancouver, British Columbia has even greater potential. 9

The Los Angeles Investment Company's performance was the model for several Vancouver operations that transplanted both the bungalow and the bungalow subdivision into Vancouver.

6(ii) The Bungalow in California

Los Angeles and Vancouver shared the common advantage of extensive tracts of virgin land, accessible by streetcar, at the very time when the notion of "garden suburbs" separated from central workplaces was being seriously explored. Suburban sprawl was a virtue to be extolled. As William Smythe would have it: "In order to accommodate a great population such cities as Los Angeles will naturally spread out over a vast area -- the vaster the better. They should spread until they meet the country, and until beautiful forms of urban life blend almost imperceptibly into beautiful forms of rural life." 10 As Fogelson, McWilliams and others have
argued, the dominant attraction of Los Angeles was neither the employment of industrial urban life, nor the land-use qualities of agrarian life. For both urban and rural migrant, an easier way of life, tied to environment and climate, attracted people to Los Angeles -- and this long before the more recent interpretation of Southern California as fantasy land.

The first advertising intended to attract midwesterners to the Los Angeles area stressed crop yields, water supplies and other comparisons with farming conditions east of the Rockies. However, like the migrants to California from eastern cities, these immigrants were less interested in material gain than in some of the enjoyments that had been denied by years of toil. "In revolt against a way of life and a means of livelihood, midwesterners saw southern California as a terrestrial paradise. While their more ambitious friends departed from Chicago and other mid-western cities, they decided to resettle in Los Angeles." When the Los Angeles promoters realized that people were migrating for non-economic reasons, their emphasis changed to stress such comforts as a warm, dry climate and exotic landscapes. Carey McWilliam's Island in the Land embraces this interpretation, and distinguishes between pioneers roughing it in the gold fields or migrating in prairie schooners into San Francisco and, some thirty years later, the more urban migrants coming with money by Pullman rail, and with set ideas about lifestyle on the West Coast.

The railroads did much to bolster the image of the good life in Southern California. Southern Pacific's Passenger Department published a journal, Sunset Magazine, that highlighted current taste in food, decorating, design, and tourism. An article in 1908 described "Winter's Outdoor Land: The fishing, motoring, roses, oranges, golf links, big hotels and snug homes found today in the South California Country". Sunset Magazine
regularly ran features for prospective migrants describing the costs and the comforts of a California suburban life. House descriptions were prominent in these scenarios. In an article titled "Where a Little Income Means Luxury", a $300 house, on a $350 lot is described in detail, after the author contrasts the marble-chilling winters of eastern and mid-western life (for rich and poor) with the ease and comfort of California:

Would you like to retire from the great industrial army—from the workaday life, with its rasping cares, its worry, and nag, and the toiling and moiling and the striving and straining. Would you like to live out your remaining life-span where the sun shines winter and summer, where there are no blizzards and no snowstorms; where the seasons blend into each other so that it takes an almanac to tell them apart; where you can own your own home, and have orange trees and fig-trees in your backyard and magnolias in your front yard and never again know the necessity which compels you to spring to the toot of a whistle, or leap to action when the alarm clock clangs? Of course you would. But it takes money to retire. How much? Oh, from $500 to $600 a year in California.  

To drive home the contrasts between life elsewhere and in California, the ingredients of a bungalow were itemized:

You do not have to build a house with a cellar to keep your furnace in, and a stone foundation to keep the frost out, and coats of plaster to keep the cold out, and deep trenches to bury the water pipes so they will not burst when the thermometer drops to zero. When you cut out these items, you can build a house very cheaply.

The style of houses that we like best out here are the cozy little nests all on one floor, with the convenience of a city flat and the luxury of verandas and gardens and lawns.

You need not have a cellar, because your vegetables come fresh from your garden every day, and you can leave your furnace back home. You need not plaster your house, because beautifully tinted burlap fastened to the siding make a more handsome finish. Forget about keeping out the cold when you plan a California house. Your plumbing can all be on the outside and above ground. Many houses are built of
rough hemlock and battened. Stain them green or brown, or some other color that blends in nicely with your vines and flowers and your house will look as if it cost many times as much.\^16

Preference for a simpler life, and the environmental freedom to indulge this preference had created a distinctive house. The existence of a "California bungalow" was clearly recognized: "the climate necessarily has brought about a somewhat different mode of life -- a life which the bungalow is in a manner a true expression."\^17 The label "bungalow" derives from British India where it was associated with a house with deep verandahs for shade and breeze in a hot climate and, usually, with a temporary residence.\^18 While the stylistic and semantic diffusion from Bombay to Los Angeles is complex\^19 many wealthy easterners occupying simple redwood homes in Southern California did regard them as temporary winter shelter, away from their main home.\^20

The California Bungalow can be generically defined as a craftsman house, and, as such, was part of a nation-wide emphasis on simplicity and craftsmanship in design. Yet, in California this emphasis was translated into a regional idiom. An observer of Los Angeles in 1907 introduced many of her impressions by musing about what, ideally, Morris and Ruskin would have wished for man and his environment:

William Morris taught that it is the business of each of us to build and adorn a house for our own physical and social comfort and our artistic joy. In Southern California as nowhere else are found the conditions making this easy of accomplishment. Here much thought and attention are given to home building, and the leading architects of the city are giving of their best efforts to the production of charming houses. Here are to be seen wide overhanging eaves and cornices, with patios and loggias; back yards, beautifully decorated with flowers and vines, so as to constitute the real outdoor living rooms.\^21
As well as the wealthy and the retired, Southern California attracted a broad group of artists and architects who flourished in the new opportunities to create distinctive forms and images. One such group was the Arroyo Guild of Craftsmen, and their use of redwoods in the spirit of Craftsman-ship led to a regional artistic quality that had widespread impact on taste in the area. Craftsman magazine published California houses more than those of any other area; California houses by these Guild members were at once expressions of the simple needs of the area, yet also exquisite examples of craftsmanship. The finest examples are undoubtedly by the Pasadena architects Greene and Greene, whose Gamble and Blacker houses (Fig. 5.3) have been described by every commentator on California design. Their use of wood can be seen in many of the simpler Pattern Book imitations that were to follow. Greene and Greene architecture, growing out of an extensive study of the use of wood in Japanese and Swiss building reflected:

a love of nature and natural materials; and it was expressed in the bold use of heavy timbers, projecting rafters, broad sloping roof lines and overhanging eaves, extensive masonry walls, stained board and batten siding, and the incorporation of the garden into the total design.

Such "monuments to the Craftsman aesthetic" clearly were radical departures from the Newsom design for the Carson house in Eureka less than thirty years earlier. The Bay Area had its own colony of skilful artists and architects who translated the Arroyo aesthetic into the slightly wetter and cooler environment of the Berkeley Hills. The Hillside Club, whose influence has been traced by Freudenheim, were equally adept at 'building with nature' on the West Coast, and Greene and Greene's Thorsen house in Berkeley ranks with their work farther south.

Just as the Eureka mansion had its $1000 imitators, so the best
Fig. 5.3 The origins of the bungalow in California: Greene and Greene's designs for Pasadena homes
Greene and Greene houses found their imitators in inexpensive bungalows. With simplicity the dominant consideration, this transaction was easily accomplished. Simplicity lent itself to inexpensiveness. Previously, builders had tried to make a cheap house look more important than it was. Now, the working man could have a simple, quality home. Although its walls might be only the thickness of a one inch board, "yet covered with flowers and vines, it equals in comfort an eastern palace." One book used in Vancouver, Stilwell's *Representative California Homes*, defined a bungalow:

> In its very simplest form, the true bungalow contains no more than an absolute necessary number of rooms, has no attic, or second storey, and no cellar. Its characteristics are simple horizontal lines, wide projecting roofs, numerous windows, one or two large porches, and wood work of the plainest kind.

The bungalow was not merely a house type. As was the case with late 19th century domestic manuals, a good house design was often presented as the venue for ideal home life. Restating the sentiments for twentieth century suburban settings, the bungalow as 'home' is suggested by a verse included in Stilwell's pattern book. Its sentiments seemed as appropriate for residents of Grimmett as for those of sunnier Pasadena:

> There's a little side street at the edge of the town
> That sloped from the brow of the hill
> Where the shadows lie deep from the sun going down
> And the harsh city noises are still
> The white wings of peace seem to brood in the air
> Of this little side street that I know
> And Phyllis so fair is awaiting me there
> In our own little Bungalow

> The stern wheel of toil—let it drive as it may
> At even its driving is done
> And my cares fall away at the close of the day
> As the morning mist melts in the sun
> In the quaint inglenook, with my pipe and my book
> I sit by the firelight's glow
> With Phyllis so fair, with the light on her hair
> In our own little Bungalow.
Pattern books and magazines disseminated this Californian house type all over the continent. One of the most influential books -- The Bungalow Book, a Short Sketch of the Evolution of the Bungalow from its Primitive Crudeness to its Present State of Artistic Beauty and Cozy Convenience -- was by Henry L. Wilson, the "Bungalow Man". He followed this book with a Bungalow Magazine, published first in Los Angeles and then in Seattle. Patterns could be ordered for $5. Items from his book and magazine were reprinted in local newspapers; one of his articles on the proper fireplace appeared in The Point Grey Gazette in 1913.

Not all the influences were directly from the West Coast. In addition to Stickley's Craftsman Magazine, which was published in New York, and the Philadelphia-based Indoors and Out (which devoted entire issues to the emergence of the California Bungalow), the earlier design centres such as Chicago printed Bungalow Book updates of their earlier style ranges (Fig. 5.4). This multitude of designs and styles offered from around the country weakened the regional and environmental base of the California vernacular, yet provided a popular suburban form in keeping with current garden city and craftsman sentiments. The Jud Yoho modifications for the North West recognized that in cooler climates basements were needed for furnaces, that rooms had to be less open, and that stone foundations were necessary. This higher-off-the-ground version of the California bungalow is, therefore, a considerable modification of the California model, but nevertheless a clear part of a West Coast, craftsman vernacular.

The bungalow was also the vehicle for a massive scale of suburban real estate in and around Los Angeles. A single subdivision could shuffle twenty or thirty plans from one of the pattern books and create an illusion of individuality and uniqueness; limited variation of porch orientation and
No. 195. Nothing is more offensive to good taste in architecture than too much "gingerbread" trimming, but the artistic introduction of heavy roof brackets, flower boxes and overhanging shed-roofs greatly enhance the attractiveness of this beautiful and very popular home.

A pleasing effect is produced by the irregular boulders in the exposed brick chimney. Note the convenient, roomy interior, the abundance of closets, the open fireplace, with book shelves on each side, etc. Instead of a conventional buffet, the dining room has a china closet each side of window ledge. This house is 24 feet front by 41 feet deep, and with hardwood floors and beam ceilings in hall, dining and living rooms, has been built for $2,500.00.

Plans and specifications, $10.00.

Fig. 5.4 More pattern book examples: Wilson Bungalow Book (left), showing a "Swiss Chalet"; Hodgson's Practical Bungalows, via Chicago
rafter exposure could customize what was essentially the same floor plan.

6(iii) The Vancouver Replication

Many of the Arts and Crafts sentiments expressed by Stickley's Craftsman movement in New York, or by the Arroyo Guild in Los Angeles, or even by Morris & Howard in England, were also known to Vancouver architects. The *Canadian Architect and Builder* published articles on stained glass, on old buildings in Britain, and of course, R. Mackay Fripp, in his British Columbia column, tried valiantly to proselytise the ways of William Morris. His Arts and Crafts Society at the turn of the century had been intended as a Vancouver equivalent of the many arts and crafts societies that were flourishing elsewhere in the continent. "Based upon similar lines to the now famous Arts and Crafts Society of London, founded by the late Mr. William Morris", he hoped it would improve architectural conditions in the city.

Had the craftsmen to whom our details had been entrusted for execution enjoyed the opportunities for study and comparison which a properly constituted Arts and Crafts Society affords, we should be spared many of the errors in elementary good taste and in the proper fitness of things one so frequently meets with: even when the architect provides carefully studied details, which is far less frequently the case than should be, they are often misrepresented in execution by thoughtless artificers who put but little life or pride into their work.... The fault, too, lies heavy at the door of the every day architect, who takes about as much interest in the higher teaching of his vocation as does the man who tends the planing machine: with the former, commission is the first aim, with the latter, wages: in no true sense is one better than the other. Not long ago the architectural world in England was much exercised over the question of "Architecture a Profession or an Art?". Here it might be transposed, "Architecture, a Business or a Trade!". 32
Fripp's Society had little success, as we have seen, and he left the city to return to England, the home of his arts and crafts sentiments, and to a milieu more in keeping with his tastes. Eventually his footloose ways took him to Pasadena, California, where he practised from 1907 to 1910. There the sentiments he had missed in Vancouver were ascendant, and he no-doubt practised at last in the Craftsman vogue. The collection of *Indoors and Out* now in the UBC Fine Arts Library was Fripp's own subscription, and in one essay on California bungalows in the Greene and Greene style, a photo of an elaborate porchway has been signed underneath by Fripp -- whether as idle whimsy or 'for the record' it is impossible to say. But certainly the closest example of a Greene and Greene Craftsman home in Vancouver is that designed by Fripp in Kitsilano Point for a building contractor, S.B. Snider, after Fripp returned for a third time to Vancouver when the Craftsman philosophy was becoming popular. His Snider house (Fig. 5.5) at once summarizes the differences between Pasadena and Kitsilano. The need to incorporate an unexcavated basement for a furnace, meant that the house appears more as a 2½ storey Chalet than as the lower, horizontal form it would otherwise have been. Distinguishing the house is a series of heavy beams, supported by solid wood pillars on top of stone supports, that carry the roof line forward to create a wide porch on two sides of the house. They also support a sleeping porch above -- an integral element of the Pasadena houses. The projecting rafters and exposed timber work became something of a signature for Fripp, and were repeated in two houses in Kitsilano at 1st Avenue and MacDonald. (Fig. 5.5a).

While the massing and detail is clearly California craftsman, these houses hardly exhibit the degree of "craftsmanship" that Fripp's earlier sermons had demanded, or that he would have been able to achieve in Pasadena.
Fig. 5.5 R. Mackay Fripp's interpretation of Greene and Greene; the Snider house in Kitsilano Point (above), and on 1st and MacDonald (below)
The forms are rougher and cruder than in the better Californian examples. This perhaps is a measure of the continuing priorities of trades and millwork in Vancouver, of the absence of a real craft sensibility in Vancouver, and of the dominance of industrial building. Even though the Snider/Fripp house was architect-designed, the fact that Snider was Building Inspector for the National Finance Company suggests that the 'industrial' connection was not far away. National Finance was an arm of the Prudential Investment Company, a million dollar syndicate established in Vancouver to deal in land and homes within Western Canada. At the heart of their organization was Prudential Builders, "probably the largest home builders under the British flag," which obtained the prefabricated patent system from BC Mills when E.C. Mahoney became their manager. Prudential Builders offered a broad range of cottages and bungalows, both one and two storeyed, and the National Finance Company handled the mortgages and the land acquisitions. "Part of the funds of the Company is now being used in the laying out of tracts of land within the City limits of Vancouver on which we are erecting modern homes for sale."35

The Snider home in Kitsilano Point was in the area that the C.P.R. began to develop as a middle class suburb with the construction of five Swiss Chalet houses. Several prefabricated Prudential Builders houses, almost identical in size and design to the C.P.R. houses, infilled the vacant lots. Prudential Builder's "Vancouver" model (Fig. 5.6) is the basic silhouette of the 2-storey, 1912 house in the city. With such a prefabricated shell (note that the advertisements acknowledge seven years proven use of the system, without mentioning BC Mills), a variety of surfaces, brick and stone trim, and bracketing could be added to vary the appearance. Talton Place, a complete subdivision developed by Prudential Builders adjacent to the Lulu
Do You Intend to Build?

Then Investigate the Patented Sectional Houses of

Prudential Builders Ltd.  Cor. Dufferin and Manitoba Sts.

This system of house construction is not new—seven years in use. All the component parts of a house are manufactured and ready to be set up before leaving the factory. All materials and workmanship are of the best. As all sectional parts are stocked, orders are filled very quickly.

We Guarantee Satisfaction. For Prices and Full Particulars See

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Fig. 5.6 Prudential Builders' Vancouver model, a prefabricated Swiss Chalet
Island Interurban, just north of the City Limits, was intended to express variety in this way. Prudential purchased a nine block area from the C.P.R., at approximately $1500 per 50' lot, and planned a totally landscaped and controlled suburb of houses, gardens and street trees. Prudential president Thomas Talton Langlois had visited Los Angeles and had been impressed with the Los Angeles Investment Company; returning to Vancouver he intended to replicate its success. Once again, as with Bungalow Finance and Construction, the prospectus informed potential investors of the soundness of the southern model: "A similar company operating on the Pacific Coast during the past fourteen years has paid an average dividend of 40% per annum, besides accumulating large reserves".36

In a prominent series of advertisements, Talton Place, "the coming residential district", was described in the Vancouver Province. Four completed two storey bungalows were shown, each different in dormer arrangement but all meeting the following description:

Notice the large roomy verandah with its fine appearing columns running completely across the front. Consisting of eight well arranged rooms, this beautiful home is bound to please anyone, as it has been richly furnished throughout.

Second floor contains four bedrooms, two of which open on front balcony. Also four clothes closets, linen closets, separate bath and toilet, wide hall and back balcony from which you get an unobstructed view of mountains and water.

Dining room and hall are panelled, while hall and living rooms have beamed ceilings. There are built-in seats on either side of a beautiful pressed brick fireplace in the living room and magnificent built-in buffet in the dining room. Pantry contains cold air chamber.37

Equally pre-developed were the grounds -- "every lot is graded and seeded, and even the fence is painted. Everything is completed before the house is sold." To emphasize the total control over the development, "our building
Fig. 5.7 Prudential Builders' Talton Place subdivision: pre-made house and garden
restrictions will protect you from homes of inferior appearance, apartment houses or stores. Every house is distinctive". As the subdivision evolved and attracted more clients to a prestigious subdivision that was next door to Shaughnessy, the cost of new homes in Talton Place increased.

The factory system proved to be awkward for these homes, or perhaps too 'cheap' in appearance, and conventional on-site construction was adopted, in some cases by private architect and builder rather than by the Prudential Builder, F.W. Mellish. Fripp's name crops up again as an architect, designing a house at 3136 Cypress for a H.L. Rademacher, who worked as a real estate agent selling houses in the same subdivision. The horizontality achieved in the heavy-beamed Snider house was absent here, the craftsmanship being concentrated in the treatment of verandah supports and in the heavy bracketing. Here, then, the Los Angeles connection is confirmed through architect, developer and subdivision model.

Berlin's Unter-den-Linden also inspired Langlois's layout of the subdivision. An avenue of trees became a reality, as any of the east-west streets in the area testify today. The four rows of trees between road and house on 15th Avenue -- weeping birches, chamaecyparis, spruce and cedars -- are the best example. Many of the yews and cypresses on 14th Avenue were cut down after an invasion of starlings, yet the lindens and cedars still provide a coherent frame for a fascinating set of California houses.

They were two storey buildings with wide verandahs and big beautiful cement basements. The wide overhang of the roof was supported by artistically designed corbels, and to make them ornate, timbers were arranged in various patterns within the gables. Everything was done up in grand style. The parlour and the dining room had beamed ceilings; the beams of native fir were cut to show the natural grain of the wood. The dining room had its built-in buffet, and beneath this room was the den with its fireplace.
Fig. 5.8  Mayor J.S. Baxter's house, Mount Pleasant
A solidly managerial and entrepreneurial class occupied the Talton Place bungalows -- bank managers, lumber mill presidents, barristers, a Supreme Court judge, and the Secretary of the Vancouver Board of Trade. As the next chapter will show, when the City's elite relocated from the West End into Shaughnessy, they tended to turn to pastoral images for their architect-designed homes. Wealth or "taste" in Vancouver was rarely expressed in California craftsmanship equal to Greene and Greene's Pasadena designs. Fripp's Snider house was an anomaly, as was the house of Vancouver mayor J.S. Baxter at 10th and Yukon in Mount Pleasant. The Baxter house is almost the only other building of the pre-war era in Vancouver to exhibit striking architectural connections to Greene and Greene facades (Fig. 5.8). This comparison is achieved primarily through the rich expanse of textured brick work that comprises the first floor walls; added to the elaborate fieldstone piers and the designs of the eave and balcony brackets, this house is clearly in keeping with the California arts and crafts architectural tradition.

Though the elite avoided the 'cream' of California arts and crafts, most of the houses built in Vancouver's pre-war boom reflect the pattern-book strain of California design, and range from $8000 houses in western Kitsilano to $300 houses in Hastings Townsite. As indicated by the mapped distribution of house building permits for the City of Vancouver in 1912, (Figs. 5.9 & 5.10) there is an almost equal proportion of entries recording houses that were company-built in multiples or four or six, and houses that were built one-at-a-time. The degree of standardization is far higher than these figures might suggest, however, since all examples are derived from a relatively limited number of styles. The houses designed by Wilson, Stilwell, Ye Planry, and Yoho might seem different, yet their differences were superficial. The distinction between the two-storey bungalow, known as the Swiss Chalet, and the single storey variety, is basically a difference
Fig. 5.9 HOUSES BUILT, CITY OF VANCOUVER, 1912, BY VALUE
showing proportion of houses built under one permit

Note: If Bentley and Wear, contractors, took out a permit to build a single house, then that house is included in the taller column; if they took out a permit to build 4 houses, at $4500 each, under one permit, then this portion of the building activity is included in the lower, shaded column.
FIGURE 5.10  HOUSES BUILT, CITY OF VANCOUVER, 1912, BY DISTRICT LOT & VALUE
in size and cost. The following pages point out the broad comparisons.

While typically the California Bungalow was low and single storeyed, the label was also applied to some two-storey houses whose upper balconies and greater surface for fine wood detailing echoed "Swiss Chalet" images. Accordingly they were described as such in most pattern books. Wherever possible, the sloping roof faced the street, punctuated by a dormer of some sort, and the overall impression was still that of a one or one-and-a-half storey house. This was the most popular house throughout the westward extension of the Kitsilano district of the City of Vancouver, when the 4th Avenue streetcar finally extended west to the city limits at Alma Road. Though hardly the cosy little home that Phyllis lived in, such houses were at the edge of the town, and the rural edge was present in the richness of stone and shingle decoration. On fifty-foot lots, Alma, Collingwood and Dunbar Streets became the site of some exquisitely detailed Swiss Chalets, many built by S.W. Hooper and sold for $5000 - $7000. Few were identical. All exhibited variations in the twin-peaked dormer windows, the delicate eave treatment in a multitude of rafter terminations, and in strong stone-work beneath the porches (Fig. 5.11).

Within this western zone of Vancouver City, the area closest to the earlier C.P.R. and streetcar 'boundary', rows of $4500 houses, built in multiple units of three or six at a time, quickly transformed the MacDonald St. area into one of the densest streetscapes in the city. Bentley and Wear were prominent builders, and their stock house was very similar to the Prudential Builder's "Vancouver" model. Its distinctive feature was an indented arch above the porchway (Fig. 5.12). Bentley and Wear built clusters in Kitsilano Point, and in various locations in Kitsilano -- 6 for $4500 each on 5th Ave. and MacDonald, 3 on 2800 block W. 2nd, 3 on 2600
Fig. 5.11 Upper Middle Class homes in West Kitsilano: Swiss Chalets near the end of the streetcar route
Fig. 5.12 Bentley and Wear's variant on the "Vancouver" model; houses in Kitsilano for $4500 in 1912
W. 3rd. Other builders included Vernon Bros., Vancouver Home Builders, Nixon Brothers, and Canadian Development. As individual builders rarely built more than four houses on one street, there is variety within the apparent dense uniformity. Oriented with gable peak to the road, the 2½-storey facades are composed of a broad array of king and queen beam brackets under the eaves, exposed rafters at porch and balcony level, and small windowlets in upstairs rooms to compensate aesthetically for the underlying sameness (Fig. 5.13). Just as Talton Place took Shaughnessy as its reference point, many of these rows of densely packed houses can be seen as paler imitations of more expensive houses just to the east, in Kitsilano's 'new west end' of C.P.R. Hill.

Between the houses on 50' lots at Alma and the denser rows west of Trafalgar, the infilling of West Kitsilano began. Multiple building permits for clusters of three or four two-storey bungalows, all within the $4000 - $5500 range, were issued for many east-west streets. In most cases, they formed embryonic rows, three or four almost identical houses together at the end of a block, rather than distinctly separate houses spaced along the block. If the boom had continued, the MacDonald streetscapes would have been replicated over the entire area. Builders such as Priest Home Builders, Jones and Aspell, Harvey Dargavel Home Builders, and J.S. McLeod, all were using the same pattern book, Swiss Chalet, designs for a middle class market. The myriad of builder-developers who began projects in the pre-war boom give Kitsilano a variegated appearance, and this landscape effect was enhanced by the variety of styles used in subsequent building periods when intervening spaces between these 'Swiss Chalets' were built on.

Small contractors also built the more typical one-storey bungalow in singles or in multiples of three or four. However, several large companies
Fig. 5.13 Swiss Chalet bungalows in Kitsilano: porch and eave brackets suggest a greater variety of housing style than is revealed by floor plans.
were important in developing the style locally. Like Prudential Builders, the Bungalow Finance and Building Company and Vancouver Free Homes used the Los Angeles Investment Company as a model. Both operated particularly in south Vancouver and Grandview, selling houses in the $1000 - $2500 range.

The Bungalow Finance and Building Company was developed by a Nova Scotian, William Killam, who arrived in Vancouver after 6 years in Boston as a plumber and builder, and three years in Grand Forks and Kenmare, North Dakota, as a carpenter and real estate agent. With some experience in real estate in the Okanagan, he set himself up in Grandview as the Bungalow Construction Association, "in which connection he handled real estate and built attractive modern bungalows." His early work was on Woodland Drive in Grandview, and then in South Granville near Talton Place. He sold his first three bungalows before any were finished, and used his experience in real estate financing with limited capital to acquire materials and land for further development. By the end of 1911, he had a contract to build 184 bungalows in a subdivision in South Vancouver, and renamed his operation the Bungalow Finance and Building Company. He sold on the deferred payment plan to people who could not otherwise have purchased bungalows (Fig. 5.14). The secret of Killam's success was his ability to buy lots at acreage prices, therefore gaining an immediate advantage over competitors who were buying singly at higher prices.

Being the owner of the ground the Company may secure a mortgage-loan sufficient to cover the cost of building. The purchaser of one of these lots with a home ready for occupation assumes the mortgage, usually for three years--pays the Company the greater part of the balance of the purchase price in cash, and the rest in monthly instalments with interest until paid in full. Thus the company is continually receiving back a large amount of its capital, which together with the profit thereon, is immediately reinvested.
Fig. 5.14 Examples of Frank Killam's bungalows; The Bungalow Building and Finance Co.,
(Boam, 1912, p. 194)

Fig. 5.15 Cottages with bungalow porches and eaves
Killam was able to achieve scale economies in his purchases of materials as well, and by using a large department of draftsmen through which the design and building process could be monitored and manipulated to provide an apparent variety of forms. Keeping house and land costs to a minimum, Killam was able "to erect houses and sell them on easy terms, the monthly payments of which amount to about the same as rent. This plan encourages people to buy homes for themselves."  

According to Killam's biography, "the operations of the company have consisted principally in the erection of bungalows ranging in price from $1500 to as many thousands, depending entirely on location, size, style, and finish of the buildings". The South Vancouver contract, in "AlphaFraser" or "RiverCrest" at 51st and Ross (Fig. 5.15) illustrates the cheaper variety of bungalow. They are almost cottage-like -- indeed, not too different from the Mason cabin in Grandview built twenty years earlier. Now the features were stained glass windows, disappearing beds, shingled effects on the sides, and some exposed rafter work instead of gingerbread. A pair of such houses in Fairview, at 1573 and 1578 W. 11th, sold for $800 and $450 respectively; a Swiss Chalet model at 3442 W. 8th sold for $3400.

The letterhead of Vancouver Freehomes Ltd. announced the company as "Designers and Builders of Homes. We Build Homes and sell them with small cash payments and balance as rent on our own subdivisions or on deed holders own property." Again the model was the Los Angeles Investment Company, again the style of building was the bungalow. In a lavish prospectus, the Freehomes company argued the merits of ownership and of the need to achieve scale economies that would result in cheap, artistic homes. Its strategy was to acquire a 40-acre subdivision, grade, clear, and subdivide it, and then build on every fifth lot. This would then elevate the price and attrac-
...tion of the four lots in between. As "proof" of their system, the company documented the exploits of a predecessor, the Vancouver Housebuilding and Investment Syndicate. This company had made a 100% profit on actual capital invested in the first 7 months, and it "could have been made in 2 if they had more carpenters." V.H.I.S. purchased a block of land with three street frontages and re-subdivided into 88 building lots, each costing $614. Twenty houses were built and the syndicate made $100-150 profit on each house. Photos in the prospectus show rows of one and one-and-a-half storey gambrel roof houses matching those to be found in District Lot 301 at 21st and Fraser.

The success of this strategy prompted the Freehomes idea, whereby shareholders would invest small sums of money that would yield homes as dividends (along the lines of terminating building societies in England) -- hence the "freehomes". An article in BC Magazine described the intent of the company, and claimed that it introduced the co-operative principle into Vancouver, for its workmen were all holders of shares in the company:

The Free Home system...has been especially designed to enable the people to become home-owners in the easiest and most equitable way. ...Attracted by some "why pay rent?" proposition, home-seekers have often heretofore been grievously disappointed to find it is based upon a loan at high interest, or that the proposition has attached to it some wearisome system of payments that offers no relief to the wage-earner. The Free Home plan enables the home buyer to invest his money in small sums in shares that pay big dividends. This stock is accepted as collateral security in lieu of cash deposits on his home. His dividends are then applied to reduce or meet his payments. In fact his home may be wholly paid for in this manner. To do this it is evident that the business must be highly profitable. The actual experience, extended over many years, of the Los Angeles Investment Company shows that it is....

A list of the common shareholders of the company, filed in 1912, shows a large number of artisans and clerks, located throughout the city. The
following year several of them were listed at different addresses in Cedar Cottage and South Vancouver, suggesting a possible move to a "Free Home". Permit records indicate several for the Collingwood area as well.

California Bungalows dominated the company's prospectus. Although the company claimed to produce a new design for every purchaser, again the styles were pattern book bungalows, and the variations were minor. In keeping with the co-operative sentiment, the houses suggest the arts and crafts' dictum that "Good workmanship and art must go together. Our free Western taste demands that even a chimney must be a thing of beauty, an ornament to be displayed, and not an unsightly gaunt stack of bricks to be hidden away in the rear".50

While each of these company prospectuses, by themselves, seem impressively honest and innovative, the repetition of the same Los Angeles model of successful development, and the same homilies about home-ownership and about artistic brickwork, reflected an astute commercial sense and the almost total denial of any of the social sentiments underlying William Morris' ideas. Rarely was the individual involved in building. As was the case with ordinary housing from the earlier period of Vancouver growth, the bungalow was one further example of the creeping standardization that typifies so much of home architecture in the 20th century. Standardized and factorized as the style was, however, the contrast with terraced rows or tenement blocks is clear. And, as Robert Winter has observed for Southern California, "While craftsman William Morris, a socialist, might have been appalled at the ugliness of a great many of these buildings, he would certainly have applauded the ideal of a style for the proletariat."51 The broad penetration of the California bungalow into Vancouver provided comfortable and stylish surroundings for people with modest incomes and realized the visions of house and

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home so central to the immigrant experience. Although the impressive Company and Syndicate developments were ephemeral (Vancouver Freehomes was wound up in late 1912, Bungalow Finance a year later), California Bungalows were built on thousands of lots by builders constructing 2, 6 or 8 at a time, and by individual carpenter builders who entered the pattern book number under the column heading 'architect' in the Building Permit Registers. Jud Yoho's designs, translated by the Sun in their Home Beautiful series, were also advertised in the bookstores.

Craftsman Bungalows: the latest out, published July 1st 1911. The book of the Real Bungalows, giving size of rooms, floor plans. The Cream of 1000 Beautiful Designs. If you are going to build, send for Craftsman Bungalows, which also includes hints on Bungalow Building, valuable pointers and suggestions written by an expert, worth many times its cost to any builders. Price 50¢ post paid.52

Yoho advertised his designs in the Sun and Province, and added suggestions about the 'artistic correctness' of some of their ingredients. Design 312, reproduced in Fig. 5.16, was the subject of an advertisement in the Province during July 1911.

In every way this is a characteristic bungalow and a long search will fail to reveal a more attractive exterior than the one shown in the illustration, with shingles and vari-coloured clinker brick for the large chimney. There was a time when clinker bricks, which are the misshapen, overburnt bricks thrown out as culls, could be had for almost nothing at the brickyards. In fact, this is still the case in many towns where the artistic use of clinker brick has not been demonstrated, but let the value and rugged beauty of this construction get to be known in a town and the price of the once despised clinker soars to double the price of good solid, well-shaped and regularly burnt brick.

No attempt should be made to make a smooth or regular-surfaced wall beyond the demand of strength and solidarity. If points stick out, or if the pointing lines, either vertical or horizontal, waver like a snake, and if broken ends show, it is all better, from the
312—An attractive design worthy to be set upon a hill is this home of six rooms. Resawed siding with vari-colored brick for the large chimney, cream or white trimmings on a dark background of roof and house give the most effective appearance. The porch, protected by the gable roof, extends across the entire width of the house, with the door in the center leading into the living room. This is a comfortable place, with wide opening into the dining room, which has a beam ceiling supplementing that of the living room. The kitchen has a large screen porch adjoining, with stairway leading to the cellar. The bedroom arrangement is unique, but eminently satisfactory. A small hall, provided by putting the bath room out a few feet, gives access to dining room, kitchen and two bed rooms. The third bed room may be used as a library or den, or if preferred, the removal of the partition will convert the living room into a great hall 24 feet long and 12 feet wide.
Such detail could be found throughout the city in houses costing $1000 or $8000. Together with exposed rafters, heavy bracketing, and shingle siding, the materials of a bungalow help define a 'bungaloid' appearance even if the deep Californian porches and low form were not totally replicated. A Crafts­man Bungalow on 300 Block Lakewood, Fig. 5.17, is as good an example of the style in the East End before the war. Occasionally, developments aimed at a wealthier clientele reflected a close attention to craftsmanship and detail. In the C.P.R. development of Strathcona Place in Point Grey, several houses displayed smoothed pebble pillar supports and chimneys, plus deep chocolate-stained shakes. Like the Snider house, they were certainly California in Vancouver.

After the first world war, the suburban boom continued into the twenties and, for many, the California Bungalow was still the most popular form of house. Very few two-storey Swiss Chalet bungalows were built after the first World War. Changing family size, the lack of servants and more efficient use of space with increasing availability of domestic appliances, all contributed to a shrinking of most homes. The one/two storey distinction between east side and west side homes disappeared, but clear distinctions in quality were still to be found.

The better California Bungalows were still built in Kitsilano. Many blocks on which three to six Swiss Chalets had been built before the war were infilled in the 1920s with one-storey bungalows in the $3000-3500 price range. Builder J.E. Bergman, who was responsible for the entire block of almost identical bungalows on 2900 block West 5th (Fig. 5.18) (though they were built in series of 4 and 6 at a time), built clusters throughout the
Fig. 5.17 Craftsman Bungalow on 300 block Lakewood, East End

Fig. 5.18 A row of bungalows built in 1921, West 5th Avenue, Kitsilano
area, as did Fred Melton. The 2900 block of West 5th Avenue attracted residents who had previously lived in Cedar Cottage, East Hastings, Mount Pleasant, and further east in Kitsilano. By and large, they held white collar and managerial positions. More successful managers were relocating further out, in Kerrisdale and West Point Grey bungalows. Shaughnessy Park, developed between 21st and 24th Avenues just west of the interurban (and thus just west of 2nd Shaughnessy), by Artistic Bungalow Constructors (Ltd), attracted a solid range of management and professional clients. But not all the west side developments of the 1920's can be characterized as "artistic" or indeed as "white-collar middle class". The piecemeal development of West Point Grey alongside the 10th Ave. section of the car line contains, to this day, as many small cabins and cottages as it does fine bungalows. Here there was certainly no clear banding of social or landscape groups. There was still a general tendency for carpenters and mechanics to live on the slopes rising west up 10th Avenue, with the blocks closer to the outer edge of Point Grey Municipality containing more managed equality developments -- of 8 to 10 houses being developed on the block by one builder. In Dunbar Heights, the Dunbar Building Company filled several streets with almost identical bungalows. With minimal bracket work, only a deep porch and an overhanging roof carried by exaggeratedly pyramidal pillars connected these simple buildings with the intent of the form.

Similar houses were erected in the eastern extension of the city into Hastings Townsite and South Vancouver. The wood trim was thin, the decorative, patterned shingling minimal. As the 20's progressed, the siding began to be stucco, introduced, again, from California. The California Stucco Company of British Columbia on Granville Island offered:
California Stucco, exterior finish, gives the beauty of coloured walls plus the strength of Portland Cement, with the finest waterproofing to meet all weather conditions.

The simplification of form and covering continued into the 1930's; simple shingle-covered cottages, or stucco-covered bungalows represented a utilitarian end to a West Coast phase of suburban landscape development in Vancouver. Artistry and craftsmanship had been coopted in the pursuit of profit, but then they were in many places, most of all in Los Angeles, Pasadena, and San Jose. Only the cream of Califormian craftsmanship was missing, because the Vancouver elite and their architects chose to pursue an alternative arts and crafts expression. Yet most houses built in Vancouver in the two major boom periods on either side of World War I were California Bungalows. They were merchant built, with veneers of mass-produced "craftsman" elements; they had a simple, inexpensive elegance, and a lightness even if two-and-a-half storeys high.
CHAPTER SIX

OLD WORLD STYLES IN SUBURBIA

THE ENGLISH CONNECTION, 1910-30

The English still seem to want to live in the structures of the pre-industrial world, prizing the thatched cottage and the half-timber house as the proper place for the proper Englishman to dwell in.

Peter Laslett, *The World We Have Lost*¹

As prosperous Vancouverites moved into new homes after 1910, their house styles drew on many of the same roots that had inspired the California Bungalow. As part of the craftsman revival throughout North America, architects reinterpreted Spanish adobe huts, Cape Cod cottages, Colonial Dutch houses, Norman baronial homes and other pre-industrial forms in which sensitivity to materials and craftsmanship was emphasized. Yet, with a range of revivalist styles to choose from, Vancouver clients, architects and builders showed a strong preference for English Tudor forms.

There was English 'trim' in Vancouver from the outset. Architect R.M. Fripp's house, in the midst of cleared bush near Coal Harbour, had black and white half-timbered decorative elements on its gable ends. In this as in so many other ways, Fripp was far ahead of the popular taste, and few explicitly Tudor styled houses were built in Vancouver until the suburban boom just before W.W.I. Although many of the most expensive houses carried English stylistic labels, and in some cases were closely inspired by
Fig. 6.1 Builders Tudor, 1911. This 'industrial vernacular' version of the custom designed Tudor Revival mansions, although available in 1911, tended to be popular in Vancouver during the 1920s and 30s.
specific English structures, the broader development of the style in Vancouver again depended on an 'American' translation, both by architects and pattern books (Fig.6.1). By the mid-20s a broad set of revivalist styles were available to local contractors, who built scaled-down versions on thirty-three foot lots. 'Rural English' styling predominated. This chapter addresses itself to the external links that brought such styles from Britain and America. The important architects who adopted these styles for Vancouver clients are examined, as are the broad range of contractor examples of Tudor and cottage architecture that stand alongside California Bungalows (and sometimes interwoven on the same structure) to shape the typical forms of Vancouver's suburban landscape.

6(i) The North American Popularity of Tudor

Just as the Arts and Crafts movement in England began with William Morris's Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings -- a reaction against the scale and pace of the industrial change -- so in New England certain artists and architects were attracted to the textures and images of a pre-industrial world: This retrospection had two thrusts. One was to look back to colonial New England -- to its Cape Cod houses, massive chimneys, shingled walls and simple silhouettes -- and would generate a Victorian imitation known as 'Shingle Style'. The other would look back, in a more formal academic way, to the roots of that architecture in England, and would be inspired by several British architects (notably Norman Shaw) who were attempting to create another Victorian version of old silhouettes and textures. This would be known broadly as the Tudor Revival.

Influential examples of Tudor styling in North America were the three
half-timbered structures comprising the British Pavilion at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876\(^4\) (Fig. 6.2). The label 'Queen Anne' was attached to this late medieval and Jacobean architecture. As eclectic Victorian taste transformed elements of historic sources into a kaleidoscope of often clashing surfaces and lines, Queen Anne became known predominantly for its exuberant turreted and gabled silhouettes (e.g. the Carson house in Eureka). The more specifically colonial and medieval elements were lost in the conspicuous styles of Victorian display. Modified versions of this style appeared during the 1890s in Vancouver's West End. Price's C.P.R. Cottage, a good example of Shingle Style; several other mansions; and Fripp's attempts to articulate the formal English Tudor Revival in the 1890's (his 2nd prize competition design for the Lieutenant-Governor's Residence in Victoria in 1900 is a good example\(^5\)) were all seeds of a style that became more broadly popular in Vancouver in the period from 1910-20.

Tudor Revival, as with other craftsman styles, was spawned by criticism of industrial standardization and by romantic visions of pre-industrial life.\(^6\) For Morris and others in England, the Arts and Crafts Movement had serious social and political overtones; craft guilds attempted to give the labourer more dignity and pride in his product.\(^7\) Although parallel American attempts can be found, notably Stickley's Craftsman Movement and the various California guilds, most American replications of the style simply copied facade treatment and ignored the underlying social point. A variety of revivalist styles became available for families of taste. McBride, Nast and Co. published The Country House Series that included Reclaiming the Old House, The Dutch Colonial House, and The Colonial House.\(^8\) One of these, by A.W. Jackson, focussed on The Half Timber House. Writing in an American urban setting, Jackson noted that:
Fig. 6.2  English Tudor imagery at the Philadelphia Exhibition, 1876; often seen as the American 'origin' of Queen Anne (Scully, 1971, fig. 14)

Fig. 6.3  An example of the Philadelphia Tudor, by Wilson Eyre (Scully, 1971, figs. 95 & 96)
The result in England, the home of this work and where it is seen at its best, is those soft, beautiful houses which affect us by their perfect repose and harmony, their feeling of rest and simplicity -- no stress or striving here, only peace and quiet.9

Although the American versions were to be reproduced in stud-frame and veneer, the value of the original mood was appreciated:

These houses take their place in the landscape more like some work of Nature than of man, more as if they had grown than if they were made, nestling among the trees and verdure like the flower of some larger plant. These buildings have no acquaintance with the paint shop or the planing-mill: they are offsprings of the soil, with their brick and mortar from the fields, and rough hewn timbers dragged from the forest10

Jackson dedicated the volume "to all those who own castles in Spain"! In some sixty-six illustrations and plans and 115 pages of text, the modern American needs for efficient floor-plan and construction were fitted to English timber buildings. Many of the English examples were taken from current issues of Country Life magazine, and while Jackson used many of his own Boston examples of half-timbering, he included others from Philadelphia and New York.

Philadelphia in particular was an important source of the Vancouver version of North American tudor. Several Vancouver architects who worked in Tudor images received their training in Philadelphia, where the work of Wilson Eyre was especially prominent (Fig. 6.3). Vincent Scully11 has examined several of Eyre's houses built in Chestnut Hill near Philadelphia in 1881, and argues that Eyre was skilfully using half-timber, tiles and shingles as historic skins for a well-organised axial floor plan. Such a plan was to be a feature of Frank Lloyd Wright's later houses; certainly it is important to see these North American 'tudor' styles as emphatically
modern organisations of rooms.

6(ii) **Architect-Designed Tudor Revival in Vancouver**

In Vancouver the designs of Samuel Maclure, a New Westminster-born but Philadelphia-trained architect, contributed significantly to the popularity of Tudor homes. External characteristics of Maclure's work include a bell-cast roof, a field stone veneer for the ground floor, and either shingled or half-timber second floors. His interiors were perhaps as important diagnostically. Leonard Eaton has argued that there is a strong link between Maclure's internal compositions, (wings joined by a broad hallway) and Wright's work in Chicago. The two architects corresponded over several years. Such links are for the architectural historian to untangle; more important here, Maclure's houses readily fitted the public and private worlds of Vancouver's elite and, as they became popular when Shaughnessy was replacing the West End as the elite residential area, the style was powerfully stamped on the city.

Maclure had developed an important clientele in Victoria, where leading personalities in government and industry enjoyed houses that enabled them to entertain lavishly. With Victoria's more direct links to British Society, the Tudor style was especially appropriate, and Maclure was able to provide the best of stylish contemporary design. A good example of the direct connection with the British 'hearth' of Arts and Crafts is found in Maclure's plans and description for the Martin house. Published in the Canadian Architect and Builder (1906) as 'A Charming Western Home' and reprinted in Gustav Stickley's *Craftsman Magazine* in 1908 as 'A House in Vancouver that shows English traditions blended with the frank expression of
Western life", the Martin house was introduced as:

> An unusually interesting example of a house that is built of local materials and is absolutely suited to its environment, but which yet shows decided evidence of the tastes and traditions of another country. 

In most rooms described in the article, Craftsman furniture was mentioned, along with carpeting and objects designed by M.H. Baillie Scott, one of the leading English Arts and Crafts practitioners of the day. Both the external silhouette and the internal plan display the fusion of English and New World elements. This is seen externally in the considerable porch-verandah and rough stone work juxtaposed to the half-timber facade, and internally in the central hall/gallery and the tight composition of rooms. These cross-fertilizations are underlined in Maclure's conclusion:

> The blending of English taste with that which is characteristic of the architecture of our own Pacific coast has an effect of quiet sumptuousness, combined with straightforward utility, that gives one the impression of a house that is to be lived in for generations and will remain as it is -- a home for the children's children of the present owners.

Just as Martin's house in Victoria overlooked the splendid seascape of the Juan de Fuca Strait to the Olympic Mountains beyond, so many of the Tudor Revival houses of pre-war-1 Vancouver occupied view lots and were able to create an image of rural timelessness.

Built throughout the Point Grey peninsula, from the Point Grey Cliffs east through to Vancouver Heights and Burnaby, these Tudor homes had their greatest concentration within the pastoral setting of the C.P.R.'s Shaughnessy Heights subdivision. Here many of the city's social and economic elite relocated from the West End. Angus Robertson has suggested that key families from each of the West End's social zones, the cream of the elite in other
Fig. 6.4 The Maclure floor plan.

top, Tulk house, Shaughnessy
middle, Peter house, (Overlynn), Vancouver Heights
bottom, Marpole house, Shaughnessy
words, moved south. Accordingly, lumber magnate John Hendry, leading C.P.R. officials, important barrister and real estate figures moved from their turreted Queen Anne houses to expansive Tudor homes set amidst considerable garden surrounds.

The formal 'At Homes' continued. Now the venue included large drawing rooms and hallways, broad terraces and large gardens. Maclure's designs for a Victoria elite were easily transferred to Vancouver. Typically his design featured a dining room and parlour flanking a substantial hallway that was open the height of the house. From a galleried second floor, a winding and often open staircase swept down to the hallway, where a deep inglenook fireplace provided focus. Maclure repeated his internal floor plans and his half-timbered exteriors for many clients. His designs for barrister-developer A.E. Tulk on Selkirk Street in Shaughnessy (illustrated in Fig. 1.8), for real estate developer Rear in Locarno, and lawyer E.P. Davis on Point Grey's cliffs all had common floor plans (Fig. 6.4) and similar external appearance. Such houses, like the elite's West End houses before them, presented carefully delineated public and private spaces. Generous grounds surrounded these expansive houses. Maclure's design for newspaper publisher Nichol on The Crescent offered perhaps the best English garden setting of all the Shaughnessy Tudor houses (Fig. 6.5). Maclure commissioned a landscape architect to provide the appropriate gardens for his houses. Possibly the clearest example of Maclure's success with the English Tudor idiom is to be found in his design for the very large complex of buildings that comprise Western Residential Schools, a private Methodist Boys School that was built in the heart of the C.P.R.'s D.L. 526, Bell cast roof and dormers capped a very manorial Tudor building. Such structures, as well as golf courses and gardens, reinforced the pastoral
Fig. 6.5 Maclure's design for W.C Nichol on The Crescent

Fig. 6.6 Shaughnessy Heights
Tudor Revival houses used stucco or stone as well as wood shingle as a counterpoint to the half-timber facades.
imagery of the Shaughnessy Heights landscape, an image most successfully 
developed through the Tudor homes that looked out over The Crescent, Angus 
Boulevard and on to the mountains beyond, (Fig. 6:6).

Maclure was not the only architect who worked in this idiom. R.M. 
Fripp had several commissions from Shaughnessy clients, and his Tudor exter-
iors often showed his California training. His design for F.W. Morgan on
Osler Street included exposed rafters and balconies incorporated into the 
half-timber and stone facade. Honeyman and Curtis, important architects 
throughout the period, had several C.P.R. clients, notably Richard Marpole, 
Vice-President of the Western Region, whose house was the first built in 
Shaughnessy Heights. Extremely English in style and elaborately decorated 
inside, Marpole's house was intended as a C.P.R. showplace to launch the 
subdivision. Honeyman's own house, for a site on Southwest Marine Drive 
overlooking the Fraser River, provides a further example (Fig. 6.7) of the 
large central hallway. Like many of these Tudor trim houses, a different 
veneer would give them a 'Shingle style' appearance. Honeyman, along with 
several other Vancouver architects, argued that Gulf Island stone veneer and 
Tudor trim fitted his clients' sensitivity to natural materials and their 
British roots. Kitsilano real-estate dealer J.Z. Hall moved to a site 
extending back from Point Grey Road to 2nd Avenue; his "Killarney" used 
fieldstone for the surrounding estate wall and for the first floor exterior 
(Fig. 6.8). Further out, merchants such as Malkin with his "Southlands" 
estate (another Maclure house), department store owner David Spencer with 
"Athlone", and realtor Alvo Von Alvensleben in the present Crofton House 
School, all enjoyed rural settings away from work in Kerrisdale.

Several large half-timbered houses were built in the eastern half of 
the city. Maclure designed 'Overlynn' for developer J.J. Peter in
Fig. 6.7
Honeyman house
SouthWest Marine Drive

- NORTH - ELEVATION -
Fig. 6.8 Killarney, on Point Grey Road, was the home of real-estate magnate J.Z. Hall

Fig. 6.9 Mixing west coast and English trim, Twizell designed this Burnaby house for West-Ender Ceperley.
Vancouver Heights, one of the view subdivisions that prompted the C.P.R.'s development of Shaughnessy Heights. The house's name refers to the superb view across Burrard Inlet to Lynn Valley on the North Shore. Further east along Burnaby Lake Interurban Line, real estate Magnate .. Ceperley built a large home (Fig. 6.9) in a park-like setting overlooking the Lake (the Burnaby Art Gallery today). Designed by English-trained architect R.S. Twizell, Ceperley's house is another example of exteriors that use a field-stone base and half-timbered second floor. Elements of plan and the overall silhouette suggest some of the West Coast influences introduced by Greene and Greene. Inside, a large central room with fireplace repeats Maclure's designs. Interestingly, the small drawing room has a vaulted Gothic timbered ceiling, which would be consistent with the fact that Twizell's major contributions to the Vancouver townscape were through church architecture.

Carved on the oak mantelpiece in the inglenook of this room are the words: "The Ornament of a House is the Friends who Frequent It". A visit to this semi-rural area would have revealed several prominent Vancouverites (Townley being another) who moved to more rustic environs after a career in Vancouver business. As one contemporary article observed, "when the carpenters are finished, villas will be among the trees like bits of inlaid colour on a Japanese Box".

6(iii) Other Revival Styles and their Architects

Tudor Revival stylings developed into a range of smaller houses in the 1920's, but other major style innovations contributed significantly to the elite housing landscape of the pre-war years. One of these was the rustic stuccoed 'cottage' popularised by the English architect C.F.A.
Voysey. Most of these cottages were built in Vancouver through the 1920's and 1930's, but there were several fine examples, architect-designed, before W.W.I. Most of the stylistic elements of the Tudor Revival houses had been antiquarian revivals, even if they were transformed considerably for modern use. One group of Arts and Crafts designers looked back at English pre-industrial architecture less for detail than for mood -- the mood of the small thatched and whitewashed cottages of the English village. Often, commentators on Voysey's style and influence use mood descriptions such as 'cozy', 'elfish' and 'warm'. Voysey's designs evoke a 'feeling' for the home rather than specifically mimicking forms. Regional revivals were not part of Voysey's intent. Though designing at first for a rich clientele, Voysey's styles were in opposition to the conspicuous display of Victorian houses (that were often, according to David Gebhard, intent on advertising wealth and more like railway stations than homes).

His houses typically had rough cast exteriors, sloping buttresses, mullioned windows and upper windows that were tucked immediately underneath the eaves (Fig. 6.10). Their plain, almost abstract appearance, when contrasted to the detailed antiquarianism of those working with Tudor Revival stylings, has led Nicholas Pevsner and other architectural historians to label Voysey as one of the founders of 'modern architecture'. Although modern in some ways, Voysey touched a chord of timeless rural life in his designs. This rural cottage image was particularly popular for planners, architects and homeowners exploring garden city suburban sentiment in the first decade of this century. Voysey's importance lies in his strong impact on everyday architecture. As David Gebhard observed, 'his cosey 'cottagey' architecture helped to pave the way for the thousands of quaint stucco middle-class houses which filled England's suburbs both before and
Fig. 6.10 A typical Voysey house in England

Fig. 6.11 The impact of Voysey’s lines and mood appeared in thousands of builders’ magazines: sketches for picturesque roof lines, The Craftsman, 1908
after World War One". 26

Voysey's houses typically had dominant cross-gables. Often one slope stretched down asymmetrically almost to the ground. End walls of houses were often supported with battered buttresses, which became another stylistic device that exaggerated the cozy, close-to-the-ground appearance even in large houses. These features, together with small windows and plain walls, provided a "charming" visage. An article on English country cottages in Craftsman Magazine summarised many of the Voysey details reproduced in thousands of builder copies (Fig. 6.11):

A direct English link to Vancouver, and a building that shows "Voysey-esque" architecture as its best, is the house for lumberman W.F. Hunting on Angus Drive in Shaughnessy Heights. Built in 1910, it is a close parallel to many of Voysey's designs of ten years earlier (Fig. 6.12); this is not surprising since the architect, C.C. Fox, was one of Voysey's students. 27 An interesting building in its own right, it stands out as avant garde in comparison to the 'safer' traditional Tudor Revival houses all around. There were few other instances of Voysey-style housing in the pre-war period. One of them was R. Mackay Fripp's design for George Walkem, managing director of Vancouver Machinery Depot (Fig. 6.13). In a composition close to a Voysey 'grand' house, Fripp created a two-storey, rough-cast facade terminated at each end by a cross-gable. In the centre recessed section, a large leaded window tucked underneath the eave line illuminated the spacious cross-axial staircase. Prominent buttresses at both ends of the house add to the horizontal feeling of what is quite a squat building.

Although Tudor and other English-pre-industrial styles dominated the architect-designed houses of Edwardian Vancouver, many other regional revivals were popular (Fig. 6.14). Within Shaughnessy Heights there were several
Fig. 6.12 The Voysey 'look' in Shaughnessy

Fig. 6.13 Fripp's interpretation on the Voysey lines
Fig. 6.14 Shaughnessy Heights contained examples of other revivalist styles. Beyond the freshly planted Boulevard that helped define the pastoral tone of the subdivision, various Spanish, Dutch and American styles can be seen. The rather flamboyant southern portico on the McRae mansion is particularly popular in the top photo; more abbreviated versions were found in several other streets.
prominent houses built in American Federal styles. The most visible of these was 'Hycroft', the home of Senator McRae, occupying the northern slope between The Crescent and the 16th Avenue border of the City of Vancouver. A rectangular two-storey structure, Hycroft was fronted by a huge portico that strikingly greeted visitors coming through the gates of the walled estate. Designed by Seattle architects Putnam and Somerville (who also designed the Birks Building, a prominent downtown office tower in the Sullivanesque style), Hycroft was clearly not a Tudor building. Across The Crescent and at two other locations on Osler Boulevard and on Selkirk Ave., these American architects built neo-classical houses in which the two-storeyed portico and pediment were the most noticeable design element. Also on Osler Boulevard just off The Crescent, building contractor and Point Grey councillor F.W. Fletcher built an imposing 'Spanish Mission bungalow'. The bungalow label was far removed from the intent or scale of bungalow design as understood from the previous chapter, but the label was applied by the Vancouver Province's social reporter when Mrs. Fletcher's house-warming At-Home was held in 1911. This massive, two-storey home with a red tile roof and round arched windows was also inspired in California. While eastern Americans had been able to look to colonial New England for revivalist styles, Californians could seek inspiration from their own colonial heritage of Spanish and Mexican missions. Simple rough adobe walls and warm Spanish roof tiles were borrowed as the shell for quite lavish homes; the Fletcher home provides the best example from pre-war Vancouver.

The Tudor and other Revival styles were all part of the latter stages of Victorian eclecticism. By the 1920's some architects would begin to criticize these borrowed idioms from the past as totally anachronistic for a mechanized twentieth-century world, and began to strip structures down to
bare structural elements and undecorated facades in what was later known as the 'International Style' or the 'Modern Movement'. The seeds of that new order were sown in the vast range of styles indiscriminately juxtaposed in the Edwardian suburbs, and certainly Vancouver contained its examples of this tail-end of Victorian variety. Possibly the most extravagant example is the mammothly proportioned 22-room mansion built on Osler Boulevard in 1913 for lumberman F.L. Buckley. Set amidst a one-acre lot and appropriately called "Iowa", this house was essentially an overgrown version of the American Gothic cottages introduced by A.J. Downing in upstate New York in the 1860s. Its elaborate gingerbread trim at gable eaves, its classically fluted pilasters around doors and windows, and the elegantly-crafted wooden fixtures inside, make it a late example of Victorian conspicuous consumption associated with Gothic taste. Other extravagant examples within Shaughnessy would include "Glen Brae", a twin-turreted house designed by Parr and Fee for W.L. Tait, the owner of Western Rat Portage Lumber. Exhibiting the architectural style familiar to many in the West End from a decade earlier, Glen Brae's entire third floor was a ballroom, reputedly laid on seaweed to provide extra spring for dancers. The ornamental wrought iron fence surrounding the lot, brought from Scotland at considerable expense, identifies this house as an example of the more flamboyant entrepreneurial homes found more often south of the border. A similar observation might be made of the elaborate Queen Anne home of Thomas Talton Langlois, the man behind the California Bungalow subdivision in Talton Place. His own house, just south and within Shaughnessy on 17th Avenue, was dominated by a large central domed turret and a fine garden setting.

The eclectic vocabulary of architectural design that saw positive value in a streetscape of Spanish, Dutch, English and American revival styles
also accepted the Georgian Revival designs that R.S. Twizzell contributed in Shaughnessy. Further out, at 50th and Granville, the somewhat Italianate mansion built for W. Shannon in the middle of a block-wide walled estate, is a reminder that not all those who moved from the West End to 'rural' settings built in the English pre-industrial tradition.

6(iv) Post War Architectural Contributions

A shortage of investment capital and then the Great War ended Vancouver's Edwardian building boom. The city lost population as men went to fight. After the War, renewed immigration and investment brought further growth, and both outward expansion and more organised infilling characterised most suburban areas. In the boom of 1921-24, Second and Third Shaughnessy were built up, and broad areas of suburban Point Grey added block after block of smaller cottages, many in the English tradition, but also reflecting a range of revival styles. Many of the best examples of Tudor Revival architecture in the city are from this post-war period. In Third Shaughnessy, one massive half-timbered house even had a simulated thatched roof, done in shingles. Built for a lumberman, it was occupied for most of the 1920s by A. Hagar, president of the New England Fish Company. As neighbours to Hagar on Connaught Drive (Fig. 6.15), Vancouver architects such as Sharp and Thompson and Townley and Matheson built smaller versions of Maclure Tudor and Voysey cottage houses. Sharp and Thompson's design provides a beautifully detailed "Old English" composition, from the brick and Jacobean stone arch at the front entrance, to the stained glassed landing window, and a two-foot square of pargetting decoration as part of the cross gable tudor trim -- eye-catching detail that underlies the lengths to which some designers and homeowners would go to achieve the
Fig. 6.15 Connaught Drive, Third Shaughnessy; country cottages on city streets
desired effect. Gardens and treed boulevards extend the English rural atmosphere of houses on this street.

Townley and Matheson were equally well-versed in Old English styles. Both had graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1910. Their typical work in Vancouver, though often trimmed with half-timbered detail, was particularly noted for its battered buttresses (Fig. 6.16). This detail was often exaggerated, almost to the point of a 45° slope to an end wall. Combining a steep roof line with a half-jerkin gable, the overall impression was distinctly Voysey-esque. Responsible for some thirty houses of over $10,000 in the lower Shaughnessy and Kerrisdale area, Townley and Matheson contributed substantially to the Englishness of Vancouver suburbia; and in a regular column in the Vancouver Province during the summer of 1927, they described many of their specific designs. A house at 29th and Granville they treated as "A Vancouver Home of Cheshire Design", and featured a central hallway with steps upstairs behind the hallway fireplace. A "charming Shaughnessy Home" took its attraction from its lineage:

studying the perspective of this beautiful English style home one gets some idea of the comfortable feeling of early solidity reminiscent of John Bull himself which pervades the structure.

Time and time again, the Canadian setting for these English images was mentioned -- a "Design Well Suited to Canadian Conditions", or "An English style exterior has been combined with a modern Canadian plan". For an $8000 bungalow on Cedar Crescent in Shaughnessy, Townley and Matheson used straw-coloured edge-grain for a curved thatch effect. Grey stucco walls and dark maroon half-timber set off "a splendid spacious house of Elizabethan half-timbered design, which possesses in full measure the comfortable, homelike atmosphere of the style". The architects went on to proclaim that
Fig. 6.16. Elements of Voysey detail brought into Vancouver tudor cottages by Townley and Matheson: battered buttresses and catslide gables (top) and thatch-curve eaves (bottom)
"the English styles are probably furnishing inspiration for more modern
Canadian homes than any other form of architectural precedent."

Canadian conditions and Canadian preferences presumably referred to
central heating and to the needs of family and entertaining in a country and
era where servants were less and less common. Entrance-halls were still a
selling feature, even if there were no servants to take coats and then
retire to the domestic wing. One of Townley and Matheson's bungalow designs
reflects this point:

An unusual design of English precedent, with its pleasing
roof lines and simple exterior. It has an individuality,
cosiness and charm that will look well in any locality.
A bungalow without a hall is usually a bungle. This home,
however, has a hall that opens into the living room.

A Vancouver architect working within a more academic Tudor tradition
during the post-war period was Bernard Palmer. His large commissions
included the expansive Massey Golden house on South West Marine Drive (Fig.
6.17). Again there was cross axial plan, tied together by the main hall,
and the bellcast roof and tudor-decorated brick chimneys continued Maclure's
West Coast tudor stylings. In 1928, in a summary of British Columbia's
domestic architecture, Palmer included many illustrations of the Tudor and
English houses built to that point, though he did not describe any one in
detail. After chronicling the problems of poor materials and labour in the
early years, he recognized that

By the commencement of the Great War in 1914 there
were numbers of fine residences built of various
styles, many of the more pleasing being designed in
a modified form of the English half-timbered country
house.

Shaughnessy Heights continued to be the main location for architect-designed
revival houses, but the English pastoral home environment was also formally
Fig. 6.17  Tudor mansions were still popular when the Ford Tudor was built
established in western Point Grey. The subdivision of the University Endowment Lands, begun in 1922, resulted in the building of many good smaller-than-mansion 'English' houses.

Intended as a revenue-generating project by the Provincial Government, University Hill was a pre-landscaped subdivision with boulevarded curved streets named after eastern universities -- Allison, Acadia, Knox, McMaster. Proximity to the new University of British Columbia was an obvious attraction, but that location itself was valued for its "semi-rural" setting. The government brochure for the University Hill subdivision stated that

it is ideally suited to the person who would establish a permanent home in an environment of beauty and refinement, free from the city's smoke and noise and far removed from the manufacturing districts.41

Such rhetoric is reminiscent of the descriptions of Mount Pleasant in 1893, only now there was a realistic distance between work and home, and, by the 1920's, a strong battery of house styles to underline a non-urban setting.

Offering 60-foot frontage lots (that varied in price from $1700 in 1925 to $3800 in 1928), the government's intention was to create a mini-Shaughnessy of curved streets and boulevards overlooking the magnificent Howe Sound entrance to Vancouver's harbour, and with building restrictions to stabilize the quality of the neighbourhood.

Safeguards relating to the quality of the buildings and their locations are incorporated in the agreement of sale, which ensures every owner of a homesite in the area against 'neighbouring buildings of undesirable character. Set backs from front and side lines are insisted upon, and no home of less value than $6000 is permitted. Plans must be approved to Resident Engineer or Architect.42

Houses by Townley and Matheson and two other firms, H.S. Griffith and
Benzie and Bow, all variously stuccoed, half-timbered, with jerkin gable or thatch-simulating curved eave, sit on broad, treed and gardened lots (Fig. 6.18). They were home for the city's expanding managerial and professional population. At the edge of the Endowment Lands closest to the Municipality of Point Grey, small 3-block subdivisions such as Drummond Drive and Belmont Avenue attracted similar people. In both instances, colonial-styled and neo-Georgian houses were also built. Somewhat more exotic was an occasional Spanish/Moorish house with tiled roof, round-arched windows and smooth stucco. English styles predominated, however, especially in the complex of religious colleges of the University of British Columbia along Chancellor Boulevard. The Anglican College could have been transplanted from a parish in Kent.

Spanish Mission houses continued to be built. In the 1920s and 1930s in California, the new "movie-stars" often used the style for their Hollywood Boulevard homes. While originally connected to the region's historic past, it now tended to reflect its fantasy future. A more sober Vancouver still preferred the English Tudor, but two German brothers, somewhat excluded from the British social life of the city, built extravagant Spanish Mission-style houses overlooking the Fraser Delta on Southwest Marine Drive. There, the estate setting had been established by large Tudor houses on land that used to be the McCleery, Mole and Magee farms. The extravagantly appointed Reifel Brothers' houses now blend in behind the same high hedges, but when built they must have stood out among the half-timbered neighbours. Other examples of Spanish Mission could be found on infill sites in Second and Third Shaughnessy, though they rarely revealed the style in all its California glory.
Fig. 6.18 University Hill subdivision: cosy houses in a garden setting
The Diffusion of Architectural Styles to Suburban Lots

In the southward infilling of Third Shaughnessy and then in the more rectangular blocks of land south of 41st Avenue, together with the land west of the C.P.R.'s D.L. 526, were built imitations and smaller versions of the Revivalist mansions. Set backs tended to be more generous than in developments elsewhere in the city, and with the various landscaping improvements introduced by the Point Grey Town Planning Commission, these smaller houses continued many of the pastoral motifs of the Shaughnessy landscape.

This continuity was partly a result of the architects' dissemination of their more prestigious designs. Townley and Matheson, for example, contributed to the British Columbia Institute of Architects' Small House Bureau. Organised in the 1920's, this bureau offered house plans in response to the tendency towards the use of bungalow pattern books. Like Fripp, architects might condemn the "inferior" products of contractors and pattern books, but a considerable portion of their criticism was surely a result of the threat pattern books presented to the architect's wider market. Palmer described the problem, and the architects' solution:

Home building has made steady progress, starting very slowly for the first few years with small houses mostly of the usual nondescript type, put up by speculative builders, very few being designed by architects. Many people who wished for something better, but thought they would save money by dispensing with the architect's fees, devoured dozens of "bungalow books" and when they thought they were properly digested, instructed their builders as to the plan and style of house they desired. The results in some cases were possibly satisfactory to the owner, but few of them were pleasing to the trained observer.

With a view to counteracting such cases there has been formed an Architects' Small House Bureau, which enables home builders to purchase plans and specifications, all of which are prepared by British Columbia architects. It is hoped that this will help to create a greater desire
A Home of Original Design

A Home of Sturdy, Clean-cut Lines

Fig. 6.19 Two plans from British Columbia Homes
among those with moderate means for a more artistic home, and tends to better the appearance of some of our suburban residential districts.\textsuperscript{46}

A striking feature of the Small House bureau's designs, published in a ninety-six page booklet, \textit{British Columbia Homes}, is their similarity to many of the more elaborate Palmer/Townley and Matheson/Sharpe and Thompson houses (Fig.6.19). One design, "essentially a British Columbia Type", had English trim, although its gable roof and central chimney suggest Cape Cod more than Voysey. Tudor trim emphasized the 'British' in British Columbia, while the bungalow tended to emphasize that 'Columbia' participated in West Coast homestyling.

Although some of these houses strongly suggest an architect's direct influence, many of this scale and quality were also built by contractors. Among the best examples are the cluster built by Kerrisdale Home Builders in 1924. Three houses worth $9000 each were built on West 49th, and a row of 6 smaller cottages costing $7500 on 50-foot lots were added on nearby Adera St. (Fig.6.20). Their Tudor trim, exaggerated roof slopes and stucco finish repeat the details that were found slightly to the north in the Shaughnessy Heights developments. Variations in each facade hide their common origin. Most of the houses in this southern Kerrisdale region were built on single, rather than multiple, building permits.

While built singly by a variety of contractors, many of the houses in Kerrisdale have a unity of design. This is partly due to the similar motifs of stucco and half-timber trim, but it is reinforced by the trees and garden shrubbery created by early municipal civic beauty initiatives. In addition to boulevard planting, several institutional buildings echoed the suburb's rural English atmosphere (Fig.6.21). Examples include the West Point Grey Fire Hall at 13th and Trimble, with its stuccoed walls, half-timber trim
Fig. 6.20 Kerrisdale's variant of Shaughnessy pastoral suburbia
Fig. 6.21 Endowment Land Fire Hall in style of village hall

Fig. 6.22 Builder version of Voysey’s cottages, West 10th, Point Grey
and Voyseyesque cat-slide gable; the Endowment Lands Fire Hall, looking very much like one of Raymond Unwin's garden-city designs for a village community hall; and also the Point Grey Municipal Hall itself (Fig. 3.9).

When cottage plans and exteriors were adapted to small, 33-foot lots, many of the original intentions of Matheson et al. were sacrificed. The battered buttresses and long cat-slide gables were thinner and often breached by an arch that allowed passage to the rear of the house in the two or three feet between house and lot boundary (Fig. 6.22). In many instances, the rectangular box of the house-proper is disguised by a 'false buttress' (see also 6.16) that was only a 2" x 4" deep. Many houses could easily replicate the curved eave to simulate thatch, especially if roofing felt were used rather than shingle. Several planks provided the 'Tudor' motif, and rough stucco cover helped to suggest the 'farmhouse' type. Just as interwar British council estates 'watered down' the original Voysey, so Vancouver contractor-builders mimicked local Shaughnessy styles and textures.

The clientele for these 'Tudor cottages' priced from $2000 to $9000 depending on location, size and builder, was drawn from Kitsilano, Fairview and parts of South Vancouver. A map plotting the new and previous addresses of new subscribers to the Point Grey Gazette in 1924 (Fig. 6.23), though a limited and not representative sample, indicates a relocation from middle income areas of the older city. In the case of people from Cedar Cottage and other east side locations, the attraction of a new house, on water and sewer lines in an efficiently laid out district, countered the growing problems facing a community attempting to deal with the consequences of earlier uncoordinated development. While such moves might imply a certain amount of spatial sorting of social groups, as the city expanded there is considerable evidence, in landscape cues and directory inventories, that the subdivisions
Fig. 6.23 Old and new home locations for a sample of new Point Grey residents, 1924
(source: new subscribers to Point Grey Gazette, 1924)
west of the C.P.R. territory contained a proportion of working-class families. This is especially the case in the slopes up the 10th Avenue hill to West Point Grey, and in some of the streets in D.L. 2027. Among the more strikingly Tudor houses, and the extensions of curvilinear streets that came with the Bartholemew replotting of the Quesnel Drive and Crown Drive slopes, were many plain stuccoed cottages that use only one of the several design elements described above. In these, the bungalow and the cottage coincide. While houses on the west side would have more embellishments and often be larger in size, there were also small homes built in the 1920's and 1930's as infill in Kitsilano, Grandview and through the eastern half of the city. The smaller shingled bungalows of the earlier period now would be stuccoed. A house such as that in Fig. 6.24, built in Grandview in 1930 at a cost of $1950, was the modern version of the simple folk cabin presented in earliest Vancouver. Only 26 ft. by 24 ft., in size, this house has elements of both bungalow tradition (with its thin porch) and also English influence (jerkin gable roof and stuccoed walls). Like the California bungalows of the pre-war boom, these houses were set higher off the ground than might be appropriate for the style. The high basement provided furnace and storage space without the expensive excavations needed to sit the one-storey cottage on the ground. One new home in Grandview was advertised as a California stucco bungalow. Offered for $3500, it was a furnished 4-room house with unfinished attic, as well as "all the modern conveniences such as furnace, fireplace, washtubs and breakfast nook!".

Advertisements for houses on the east side stressed cost and space, and on the west side, Englishness or view. A South Vancouver weekend special offered a "cosy, compact little gem, chicken houses for 200 birds, fruit trees and berry bushes"; on St. Catherine's and E. 45th, for $1500,
Fig. 6.24
A bungalow-cottage in the East End, 1930.
a cosy five-room bungalow; close to Kingsway, a good four-room bungalow on three lots, 12 fruit trees, small fruit and garden; in Collingwood, for $1350, 9 acres, partly cultivated with small cottage and chicken house for 200 birds. Advertisements appealing to the working man's urban homesteading instincts continued to stress the land around the house, not the plan or the facade of the house itself. By contrast, a house by Northey and Sons, builders, for a 50' lot on the west side was advertised with a photo of a house containing trellises, leaded windows, dormers, thatch-effect roof, cat-slide gable and an archway to the rear, for "a modest home of eight rooms that will appeal to many people on account of its charming English effect and substantial appearance".

With this chapter focussing on English influences, the western middle class regions of the city have been stressed. They were not homogeneous in class or income, nor were they homogeneous in English house styling. Clear examples of American Federal, Dutch Colonial, Cape Cod and Norman forms are to be found. These too exemplify the diffusion and watering down from Shaughnessy mansion to thirty-three foot lots. While a few whimsical cottages highlighting battlements or turrets were built, house styles became more sedate and size declined. The Cape Cod cottage developed in the 1930's, as the harbinger of the low one-storey ranch styles of the post-war period. As consumer goods to aid food preparation and housekeeping became more widespread, compact houses became the norm.

The English-inspired house images do offer, along with the popular California Bungalow, pointers to the sentiments and preferences of an immigrant population able to aspire to English images in a modern and convenient Canadian home. Peter Laslett's observation concerning the "proper" dwelling for an Englishman that opened this chapter, seems to be fairly applicable
for at least one segment of the Vancouver landscape.

Overall, the small four-room bungalow that was owned and occupied by a working family, cultivating a garden on land that is owned, might be a more appropriate single symbol of Vancouver's urban opportunity than the Tudor stylings. It is equally important to note, however, that Arts and Crafts sentiment and garden city notions also had a strong impact on the city's landscape. Most of the houses examined above have been somebody's castle in Spain. Given the nature of immigration into Vancouver, and the presence of a considerable sector of clerical and managerial custodians of the province's industrial and resource base, the bourgeois trim of English Tudor is as significant a symbol for Vancouver as the California Bungalow of the embourgeoisment of the city's working class.
CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

With almost unlimited room for expansion east, west and southward, the City of Vancouver will never develop a slum area, for the future growth of the city must conform to an elaborate plan, carefully worked out by a town planning commission of experts. This plan will guard against mistakes of crowding, against the mistakes of older cities. This plan will preserve Vancouver as a city of homes.

An extension of industrial society into an almost primordial setting, Vancouver was a place where widely held aspirations for family security and home ownership could find relatively abundant expression. Available land, cheap lumber for easily constructed houses, and wage rates at least one-third higher than for similar jobs in Toronto or Saint John enabled a broad cross-section of people to acquire houses. Home-ownership levels of 80% in working class South Vancouver were comparable to those in prosperous, middle class areas, and were radically different than those in the working class areas of any British industrial city. The economy in far western Canada at the beginning of the twentieth century provided conditions that were very different from those in earlier nineteenth century cities in Britain and eastern North America where land and house costs, wage rates and building practices produced a far more stratified and constricted social geography. Out of these different conditions emerged what Harland Bartholomew described in his 1929 plan for Vancouver as "a city of homes and gardens."

Even in the 1930s, land was still available within the three former
distinct municipalities (Vancouver, South Vancouver and Point Grey) as well as in the Fraser Valley beyond. Vancouver's suburban character would not be challenged for another generation. While almost every street in Vancouver presented a variety of juxtaposed styles, most houses built before 1930 were variations of one of eight or nine basic types. Each of these types was associated with one of three broad regional influences: Late American-Victorian, Californian and English stylings. Simplified thus, the residential architecture of early Vancouver can be quickly summarized.

7(i) Housing Types in Early Vancouver

Loosely subsumed under a Late American Victorian label, four house types (a-d, Fig. 7.1) represent the overwhelming majority of Vancouver houses built before 1910. The cabin (a), like the Mason home discussed in Chapter 1 and with little overt style, was built in most parts of the city. Decoration was more likely to be found in gardens than facades, although gingerbread trim or lathe-turned porch-supports occasionally relieved the simple exteriors. A square plan with a pyramidal or hipped roof was a variant of this basic house. Related to it was the B.C. Mills prefabricated cottage (b), popular from 1905 to 1911. It had more decoration in the roof line, extended bay windows, and an indented front porch. It was usually larger and more elevated than the cabin, and the larger models had attic space and dormer windows. The cottage was erected in most parts of the City of Vancouver and in South Vancouver, and was typically associated with artisans. Occasionally found in multiples of three or more, the prefabricated cottage was also used as rental accommodation by land owners wishing quick return on their investment. The more substantial town-house versions
Fig. 7.1 Vancouver: the range of house types
of the prefabricated house, especially the gambrelled roof variety, attracted bank managers and other professionals. Both (a) and (b) were finished with shiplap or clapboard siding. Two-storey housing from the period was typically 'gothic' in emphasis (c), even if only in the dominant gables presented to the street. Often these gables were decorated with gingerbread trim hanging from bargeboard eaves. The front facade was often treated as two halves, one projecting slightly forward and possibly incorporating a bay window extension, the other with door and entrance hall slightly set back. These frame houses could also be found with flat and unadorned fronts, while another popular variant had Italianate trim under the eaves, and a low, pyramidal roof. Mostly pattern-book houses, carpenters used differences in trim and interior finish to embellish essentially similar houses in Yaletown, Strathcona and parts of the West End. The most complex and ornate early house type was undoubtedly the turret or multi-gabled house that is broadly associated with the Queen Anne style (d). Custom built and architect-designed versions for the wealthy were most common in Vancouver's West End, where Parr and Fee's somewhat voluptuous round turrets provided settings for "At Homes", tea parties and knitting circles. Simpler, more standardized models were popular with middle class owners and were built throughout the old City and into parts of Point Grey. The styles of all these late Victorian houses derived from northeastern and mid-western American sources. Factory made wooden elements were relieved only by natural stone foundations.

A second group of houses, built between approximately 1910 and 1925 reflected an English 'arts and crafts' sentiment that had been transmitted through Californian speculative housing. Although the structural members and much of the facade were factory-built, eye-catching details such as
variegated brickwork for chimneys or porch supports, variously shaped eave trims and roof brackets, stained glass window decoration, and shingled patterns on outside walls, all suggested craftsmanship, and tended to create a 'softer' impression than had the earlier Victorian buildings. The California Bungalow (e) was essentially a one-storey building, though it sat on a high basement with space for a furnace. The larger version, commonly known as the Swiss Chalet style (f), was two storeys high but with a roofline that cut through the second floor to suggest a storey-and-a-half house. The dormer windows that stood out through this roof line marked the second floor of a substantial house. With verandahs and upstairs balconies, both houses presented a good deal of 'indoor-outdoor' space. In Vancouver, California Bungalow-style houses were rarely associated with specific architects or prominent clients; rather they were built from a plethora of California pattern books that created a builder's vernacular for the middle class and the more prosperous working class of the city. Variations in "textural" elements such as brickwork, shingling, brackets and stained glass windows as well as size, determined the cost. The two-storey Swiss Chalet type was rarely built after 1913.

The appearance of many other 'arts and crafts' houses was strongly old English. Half timber trim reminiscent of English Tudor was combined on large houses with a fieldstone base and a bellcast roof (g). In these big homes, especially those designed by Samuel Maclure before WWI and by Bernard Palmer after the war, the facade was typically broken up into wings that projected on either side of a prominent entrance leading into a large, galleryed hallway. Such interiors, the centre point for entertaining, were in keeping with expansive garden settings around the house. Whether the house was in pastoral Shaughnessy Heights, along South West Marine Drive, or
somewhat isolated in other neighbourhoods, for more than two decades, the Tudor Revival style was undoubtedly the pinnacle of taste for moneyed Van-
couverites. Smaller versions (h) for 50' or 33' lots could not replicate the interior plan, but incorporated the trim as an applique. Exaggerated cat-slide gables, battered buttresses, curved eaves that simulated thatch, and leaded windows all were intended to convey an impression of a cozy, pre-
industrial cottage. Typically this style was built in West Point Grey and Kerrisdale, although far simpler versions, essentially unadorned and stuc­
coed cottages, were to be found in both Kitsilano and Grandview. Besides this predominantly English revival, other fanciful revivals included subdued Spanish mission, Dutch colonial, and French provincial styles.2

Each of these early house types could be found in the same area, par-
ticularly on the fringe of the old City of Vancouver. In Kitsilano just west of the C.P.R. land grant, for example, three widely different 'pioneer' houses, built within five years of each other, all predate the more standard­
ized contractor rows that later filled the area (Fig. 7.2). One of these (type a) was a small rectangular cabin, with a central door and shingled exterior, set behind apple trees at the back of the lot on West 3rd. About 100 yards directly north, a mansion with a stone base and a half-timbered upper floor stood within a field-stone wall on a square, one hundred foot garden lot. This was the 'rural' home of Kitsilano real estate magnate J.Z. Hall who named his house Killarney after his old Irish home. Two blocks to the west was a large, turreted Queen Anne house built in 1909. Each of these houses stood briefly alone, within forest clearings, and a 5-minute walk from the nearest streetcar terminus. With the extension of streetcar service to this section of Kitsilano, the landscape quickly developed into
Fig. 7.2 Kitsilano mosaic: the range of styles in the Tatlow Park area
solidly filled streets of two-and-a-half storey Swiss Chalet houses. With slightly different bracketing, floor plan, and trim, each was essentially the same house. On some lots near Hall's mansion, architect-designed variants of arts and crafts veneer clearly show more custom-built craftsmanship. In the 1920s some of the remaining lots were filled with single storey, bungalow versions of the same craftsmen sentiments. Finally, in the late 20s and early 1930s smaller versions of the Tudor mansion appeared, particularly on 50 foot lots along Point Grey Road. They were mostly stuccoed 1½ storey cottages, their facades highlighted with a flash of Tudor trim. At this date in Kitsilano, most of the house styles of early Vancouver—excepting the B.C. mills prefab and some of the contractor built houses of the 1890s—could be found within a six block radius.

The variety was only somewhat less in other parts of the city. In the further extensions of suburban West Point Grey, for example, in 1912 a barrister built a large house with a stone base and half-timbered upper floor on the 4500 block of West 5th. Then it overlooked bush and the distant city. Now it overlooks a street of little houses built in the 1930s and 1940s—each stuccoed, shingled, with a little land and a hint of England. Up the street are some elegant one-storey bungalows, their deep chocolate-stained shingles highlighting the cream-painted wood trim that carries the porch support. In the front garden, two monkey-puzzle trees are a reminder of the late Victorian garden fashion associated with the turreted and gingerbreaded houses of the West End. On some streets, particularly in City Heights and Grimmet, but also in Kitsilano and Grandview, shacks and cabins that were owner-built well in advance of general settlement are tucked in at the back of orcharded lots, while their neighbours, all in a line near the sidewalk,
are speculative houses built in comparatively standardized rows.

Vancouver's social gradient was somewhat blurred within this variegated residential landscape of detached housing. While there was obvious regional sorting based on wealth, regional residential variety also reflected the separate development patterns of different municipal authorities. The original City of Vancouver, the earliest location of housing for rich and poor, had the greatest variety of housing sizes and styles. The edge of its built-up area had been constrained by lack of bridges and then by the limits of streetcar lines, but as bridges were built and streetcar lines expanded, development quickly spilled over the legal boundaries of the city and southward into Point Grey and South Vancouver. Each building boom spread out the city like a spring tide, and the successive high water mark left different styles and social groups in the same area. In the 1930s, pioneer cabins, Victorian turreted mansions, and 1920s frame houses, either two-storey or bungalow, on 33 foot lots, often stood close together in Kitsilano, Grandview and on some of the outer reaches of the City. Closer in, the original cores of the West End, Yaletown and Strathcona maintained the most homogeneous districts of like housing in the city (Fig. 7.3). In general, the better houses favoured the western, and the poorer houses the eastern side of the city, but workers near sawmills in East Kitsilano and merchants on view lots in the East End tempered the social homogeneity. Although residential densities were highest in the older districts, detached housing predominated everywhere. Vacant lots—some vacant until the 1960s—were present in most parts of the original City and contributed to a sense of residential dispersion.

Point Grey was overwhelmingly residential (Fig. 7.4). Shopping streets were rare, industry was nowhere to be seen, and even public buildings such as
Streetscapes in the original core areas comprised variegated house sizes and silhouettes, yet their industrially-produced parts and trim contribute to a distinctive Victorian image.
Fig. 7.4 For modest as well as elaborate houses, a sense of space and a healthy setting for home life dominates most Point Grey streetscapes.
firehalls, libraries and the municipal hall reflected the area's predominantly English cottage architecture. Point Grey's most identifiable districts were at its corners. In the northeast, the curved streets with generously planted sidewalks of Shaughnessy Heights contained English Tudor mansions interspersed with others in colonial or georgian style. In the northwest, against a backdrop of sea and forest, University Hill and Drummond Drive rivalled Shaughnessy Heights. Along Southwest Marine Drive individual owners of large blocks of land erected mansions along the bluff overlooking the Fraser Delta. Between these "corners", stuccoed and 'Tudor-trimmed' cottages or shingled California bungalows derived status from the proximity of adjacent elites, while sitting on 33, 50, or 66 front feet of greenery. There were few identical houses, for builders of small houses had become adept in disguising similar plans, and architects had usually designed the larger houses. The developer-interests on council had created the template for a quality environment. Good sidewalks, boulevards, and, eventually, residential zoning, defined an environment of home.

South Vancouver viewed itself as a garden suburb for a more solidly working class population. Except for some sawmilling and market gardening on the Fraser River, a little light industry along the New Westminster railway, and the cemeteries, it too was overwhelmingly residential. South Vancouver had grown faster and earlier than its suburban companion to the west, but had many of the same features. The range of house types and sizes was considerable—-from well-built speculative bungalows and two-storey framed houses to owner built shacks and cabins set at the backs of lots. The variety of streetscapes and neighbourhood densities clearly set South Vancouver apart from the more controlled and pastorally ornamental subdivisions in Point Grey, but the rabbit and chicken hutches, vegetable patches and
Fig. 7.5 South Vancouver: house, garden and the Sun in Heaven
orchards around houses (Fig. 7.5) marked another agrarian connection in a
Vancouver of homes away from work-places.

Similar distinctions can be recognized in the more distant suburbs of
North and West Vancouver, Burnaby and New Westminster; but the range of
social and income groups within each municipality, the variety of house
styles and sizes, and the timing of development, meant that most of the
regional distinctions were not as sharp as in other industrial cities. There
was no Winnipeg "North End", no Salford within Manchester. There were, and
remain, a set of social divisions, summarized most clearly as a zone of more
wealthy houses and gardens in the west and smaller and more densely located
houses in the east. Yet the broad span of single family houses on either
side softened the sharpness of any line, and helped typify Vancouver as a
somewhat benign example of an industrial city.

7(ii) Vancouver and Industrial Society

Many have argued that individual and family life became increasingly
privatized in the industrial city. While life may once have been more commu-
nal, certainly in Britain the values of individualism go back a long way --
even, if we are to believe the social anthropologist Alan MacFarlane, to
the 12th century. The reorientation of people and economy in the indust-
rializing cities of nineteenth century Britain framed the expression of
individualism. The previous integration of work world and domestic space
was ruptured, and an uprooted population, increasingly mobile and dependent
on wage labour to an extent not previously known, certainly valued shelter
for the nuclear family as a major priority. This desire transcended the
simple fact of a roof and four walls; the sovereignty of "home", as a
private and controllable social world with a broader set of alien currents, became the ideal locale for family life in an urban world. For many workers in nineteenth century Britain, such aspirations for individual shelter lay behind cooperative ventures such as the self-help building societies. In settings where urban land was expensive and labour relatively cheap, collective action could influence the housing market as individuals could not. When the balance of land and labour costs was changed, as in cities such as Vancouver, the long nurtured values of individualism could perhaps find easier expression. There is a good deal of work to suggest that urbanization and industrialization actually encouraged (or forced) a greater dependence on kin groups and "enlarged households", particularly among Irish migrants in England. While micro-studies of social and family groups might reveal similar tendencies in Vancouver, should data become available, there is good reason to believe that conditions in Vancouver did not require such a level of extended family organization. The Enefer family history would seem to suggest the potential for individual settlement, and in general, upward social mobility is also an individualising process.

In an urban setting of cleared 33' or 50' lots, individuals could gain access to land and a house. Whether coming from cities or from rural settings, late 19th century migrants valued greenery, light, and fresh air. Small plots of land in front and behind houses were a long way from some of the utopian vision of Garden City advocates, but those parcels, together with the several feet of open space between dwellings, served as moat for the castle that was the detached house. It was not a revolution of sentiment that produced in Vancouver a landscape of single-family detached houses, but rather the accessibility of affordable land, dependent on an expanding streetcar network and on relatively high wages, that facilitated the realization of
long-held desires. Such feelings were reinforced locally by real estate interests who sold land and property to people wishing to live in safe, homogeneous districts, free from industry and from undesirable social groups. Such subdivisions were the setting for "moated castles", wherein a somewhat nervous, defensive individualism was maintained by house-owners to protect their newly acquired world. Richard Sennett, commenting on the suburban world, has suggested that by the last quarter of the twentieth century this protection, as well as the broad withdrawal from a wider community beyond the house, has become extreme to the point of threatening the health of families and individuals. But in early Vancouver, the acquisition of "castles" was the enjoyed fruition of long-standing desires for individual locations for family life within a reasonably healthy setting.

At the start of the 20th century, houses set in gardens were in part a consequence of British and eastern North American nostalgia for the pre-industrial village. The architectural revival of vernacular, pre-industrial styles reinforced the nostalgia for the past in an urban industrial world, while allotment gardens played an important ongoing role in providing an outlet for horticulture. So for immigrants from both town and countryside, the simple practical desires to grow some of one's own food led to a demand for enough urban land to do so. Those who might not feel the monetary necessity to grow vegetables could plant more flowers and shrubs; in either case, the creative occupation of territory reinforced the sense of a moated castle, of one's own home. Raymond Williams, in his *City and Country*, suggests that the feelings of independence and self control connected with these small endeavours were important for both a pre-industrial "bold peasantry" and a later urban working class.

Most Vancouver houses were built of wood and could be inexpensively
assembled. Lumber was a cheaper construction material than brick or stone, and wood reduced labour costs considerably. Rapidly changing scales of production and marketing had revolutionized North American housing in the 19th century. The introduction of balloon framing techniques reduced many of the costs of materials and labour that had previously affected house price and hence availability. Most aspects of construction -- including lumber, nails, doors, windows, interior fixtures and household aids -- were revolutionized by innovations of factory prefabrication. The economic historian Nathan Rosenberg has suggested that these changes were indicative of an aggressive New World emphasis on efficiency in the production process in contrast to a more socially conservative British industry that was still preoccupied with the quality of the final product for a specialized (or custom) market. Even within the New World setting, Vancouver's balloon frame mode of construction contrasted with brick-built Toronto or plank-framed (and brick-veneered) Montreal. Scarce labour and the pace of settlement on an expanding frontier, resulted in a pragmatic adaptation of cheap, abundant lumber into machine-produced building components that could be easily assembled. House appearance might become utilitarian, but the cheaper and easier-to-build product was more broadly available. Inexpensive working class shelter could be made, and transformed into middle-class housing by increasing the interior volume and adding machine-made trim. Builders who were interested in a quick return on speculatively-bought building sites had an incentive to use standardized elements that could be used by a relatively unskilled labour force, and even architects, with exceptions such as Fripp, understood the efficiency of the standardized form. Accordingly, in the middle of a cleared forest, the C.P.R. could erect a 'cottage' that was an instant replication of a New York design. Such a building was potentially available anywhere, precisely
because of the standardization of materials and construction methods throughout the continent. Pattern books issuing from Chicago or New York could be used in most places as soon as local mills developed and diversified. In early Vancouver, such pattern book plans and milled elements contributed to standard formats in cottages and houses. Occasionally, these structures were totally factory-built, such as the B.C. Mills, Timber and Trading Company prefabs, but most other contractor housing reflected the use of broadly available blueprints and standardized materials. Contractors and architects varied similar plans and materials to suggest the illusion of individuality and distinctiveness in house appearance. Houses dating from booms on both sides of World War I, though contractor built and standardized, used arts and crafts trim on bungalows and cottages to reinforce the cozy personable home feeling. Set in the small gardens of suburban streets, both speculatively-built and architect-designed houses offered an illusion of rural home.

Vancouver streetcar lines and interurban railways made some 70 square miles available for urban settlement in two decades. Access to parcels of land within this wide area was controlled by real estate speculators. Their activities resulted in considerable variation in land availability. The C.P.R., with 6000 acres of suburban land and central area holdings, closely timed the release of parcels of land and had enough influence on the overall urban economy to dictate its own pace of development. The company could insist on size, cost and design standards for any structure that was to be placed on the land and thereby could create working class, middle class or elite districts within a short distance of each other. On either flank of the C.P.R., different approaches were adopted. In South and East Vancouver, many small firms or syndicates sought to capitalize quickly on the physical
accessibility of and strong demand for suburban homesites. Minimal improve-
ments to land were offered or contemplated, although the British Columbia
Electric Railway Co. dictated building conditions on the land it offered for
sale. Some building companies had a template of land development, whereby
houses spread throughout a subdivision were sold in the hope of attracting
more custom later, but for the most part, sale of land on the east side in-
volved the simultaneous release of small blocks and lots by competing specu-
lators. West of the C.P.R., release of land by government to the land
speculators was slower, and more likely to be controlled initially by syndi-
cates. These large real estate companies then released land much as the
C.P.R. had done, and because the market perceived the land to be more desir-
able, most of these companies sold land at prices well above those in east
Vancouver. All across the city, developers highlighted the more prestigious
quality of corner lots and regarded land several blocks away from the street-
car line as being more valuable than sites on the actual route. Here and
there, as in Talton Place, they attempted to package land, house and garden
as a single commodity. In all cases, ultimately they were selling separate
parcels of land for detached houses. Except for a limited number of inner
city areas, low-density, single family house lots were thought to give the
land its optimum economic value. To a large extent, this was because the
Vancouver real estate industry primed a dynamic market, one that would
generate resale profit through the city's constant outward expansion.
Since the real estate booms were tied to major periods in in-migration,
buyer and seller alike participated willingly. Such enthusiasm for an expand-
ing market in affordable land continued for several generations. As the au-
otive era began, considerable amounts of land that had been too far from
streetcar lines (though close to the city centre) were built on and this
helped reinforce the "psychology of plenty".

Sluggish development through the Depression and World War II meant that even after W.W.II Vancouverites could share in the earlier optimism. They too had land to build on, all fairly accessible and fairly cheap. The East End, Hastings Townsite and Burnaby contained considerable areas of bush until the 1950s. The Fraser Valley Interurban Railway (built in 1906), and then a series of road bridges over the Fraser River in the 1960s, enabled the South Vancouver working class suburbs to extend into the Fraser Delta and out into the Fraser Valley. Commuter ferries and road bridges opened up the lower slopes of the North Shore mountains for both working class and middle class suburbs. Though Georgia Strait provided decisive westerly barriers, open space in the form of unsold Crown land in the Jericho area, drained marshes in north-east Point Grey, and infill lots left vacant from earlier booms, enabled new housing to be built on the west side in the late 1940s and through the 1950s. Only a century after acquiring a large portion of the Point Grey peninsula will the C.P.R. have built on all its suburban land grant, as the last of its golf courses are transformed into residential developments.

Except in the West End and much of the inner city, most of the broader city has continued, until recently, to be regarded ideally as a low-density, residential area.

Within this landscape of detached housing, a broad east-west division developed between working and middle class areas. As noted, however, nodes of expensive housing adjacent to small cottages and cabins in most parts of the city, and the relatively minor concentrations of tenements in Fairview and Strathcona, meant that the class connotations of Vancouver's landscape were somewhat veiled. Contributing to the opaqueness of that veil were the variegated house styles, the high proportion of home-ownership, the dispersed and
detached locations and, importantly, the garden settings of most houses.

Adjacent greenery, as well as the possibility of ownership, contributed a fundamental difference in setting. Just as variants in floor plan and facade might offer an illusion of individuality, so did access to Nature in the form of gardens and other open spaces. This too was filtered through property interests -- one acre in Shaughnessy had quite a different social meaning from 4000 square feet in Hastings Townsite -- but garden space certainly helped temper the economic reality of considerable social gradients in the city. An East End cottage, surrounded by a garden, was clearly different from a completely standardized and gardenless company house in Glace Bay, Cape Breton.

From the perspective of business interests, working class homeownership was worth promoting, not only because, for all the fluctuations of a speculative market, real estate promotion was often highly profitable, but also because access to property was seen to create a contented labour force with a stake in society. The home environment was thought to create conditions for the continued reproduction of labour within the existing social and economic order. Interested capitalists in Montreal, Toronto and Winnipeg, as well as those in Vancouver, concerned themselves with such philanthropy. Cottage architecture in reasonably low density settings surrounded by open space was a far better medium for "placating" labour than cheaper, denser tenement housing.

From the perspective of consumers, these small cabins and contractor built bungalows did offer the existential reality of somewhat improved living conditions. Consider, for example, Phyllis Knight (Fig. 7.6), who found her "Country Home and Garden" in Vancouver's East End during the second World War, after a transient history of poverty that began in the slums of Berlin before
Finally, one real estate salesman mentioned a house which was for sale. I knew the place as soon as he mentioned it because it was only a block from where we had lived with all those boys in the depression. The area was largely still bush. The land had been held by the C.P.R. for a long time and not much building had taken place. You could barely see the house for all the trees and shrubs and hops. What really decided us was the lot and the view. It was a big lot with bush on both sides of it, with a deep gulch behind that dropped down to the railway tracks and the waterfront. You could see the whole coast range just across the harbour. It was a panorama almost from the Second Narrows to out past Lion's Gate bridge....In all my life I've never seen any better view. A lot of nature and a lot of human activity.

The house itself was just a shack, a very run down shack, worse than any of those squatters' houses. There were two and a half tiny rooms with no toilet and no basement. It was made from waste lumber and was leaning a bit to one side. The full price was seven hundred and fifty dollars -- lot, house and all. That was the total amount -- one hundred and fifty down, and two years to pay the balance, with no interest!'

(Source: A Very Ordinary Life as told to Rolf Knight, (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1974, pp.209-10)
W.W.I, and carried through a variety of jobs in Toronto, Vancouver and the logging camps of the B.C. interior during the Depression.\textsuperscript{10} For her, an East End shack was an impressive culmination. Home for Phyllis was as much the locale of sea and mountains behind Vancouver as it was the house or the neighbourhood. Indeed, even in the 1940s, her neighbourhood was more defined by the undeveloped bush between loose collections of houses than by some sense of a social community of shared interests. Home, for Phyllis Knight, as for so many others, was a magnificent setting, a garden world, and an owned house. The beach, sea, forest path and lake were free, and the streetcars were the doors that opened them to all income groups.

Some observers would see this shack, and its setting, as a Faustian bargain. The Marxist geographer, David Harvey, for example, suggests that such celebration of nature and home is a cruel hoax, a smokescreen hiding the ongoing problems -- such as alienation and powerlessness in both work and everyday life -- that typify labour's participation in capitalist society. For Harvey, house, home, and garden, indeed the whole social landscape are "a packaged relation to nature in the living place" that is provided by capital and is regarded by labour, all too commonly, as a "just and adequate compensation for the degrading relation to nature in the workplace."\textsuperscript{11} While such an interpretation may well describe many company towns, it is far less persuasive when applied to a setting such as Vancouver. Capitalists and entrepreneurs in early Vancouver were not, as a group, orchestrating the development process for purposes of social control. They were far too committed to a simpler objective, short-term economic gain. To be sure, their trade and business organizations did embrace and promote the notion of home-ownership as a means of ensuring a stable and contented labour force, but such statements were less a primary objective than a social validation of their work
and profits. To understand Vancouver's housing, it is essential to appreciate the sentiments of ordinary Vancouverites who sought to establish their families in the dignity of a house of their own on its own lot. To do so, certainly, they encountered a capitalist land market.

In a city of railroads, docks and sawmills, working men traded their labour for wages that gave them access to land and property. Clerks and the managers above them also returned their savings to the C.P.R. and other finance and land syndicates in exchange for a plot of land for a house. The top, as well as the bottom, of the Vancouver social order participated in the land game. Both sought, and most successfully achieved, a level of identity and sovereignty over some aspects of their world -- and collectively created the veil of individual and social priorities that masked some of the underlying elements of the industrial city.

7(iii) Some Sources of Vancouver's Housing Variety

While the general tendencies of an industrializing world penetrated Vancouver from its beginnings, a distinctive mix of specific social, economic, institutional, and aesthetic forces had created a landscape of some uniqueness. The American city of Seattle, less than 200 miles to the south of Vancouver, developed at roughly the same time and with similar economic stimuli. Yet the two cities have distinctly different residential landscapes. Vancouver is more than just a west coast city. Its Canadian differences reflect in large part the British filters in urban form, house styles and garden landscaping which modified the common North American land markets and building technologies in both cities.¹²

Although Vancouver's buildings housed a population that was predominantly British (often via Eastern Canada), its housing styles reflected ideas
and techniques emanating from the American Mid-West, from England and from California. Essentially they reflected the culture of industrial society rather than cultural roots of individual owners. In Vancouver, there is little evidence that oral tradition transmitted building styles. Though the migrants came from distinct local landscapes in Ontario, the Maritimes or Great Britain, their buildings in Vancouver were not like those they had known. Although a few pioneers built log-stump structures that corresponded in Vancouver to the sod houses on the prairies, self-built houses were typically a continuation of American pattern books that, since the 1860s, had produced plans for 'workingmen's cottages'. Most were geared to the mass-production capabilities of American factories and builders. These American plans were used for Vancouver cottages in the last decades of the nineteenth century. There were very few examples of those high-pitched colonial bungalows that were part of contemporary Victoria, a city that was far more artifactually reminiscent of the British Empire. Most people bought houses that were built by carpenter-contractors, and these rarely reflected migration routes of individuals.

From the outset, Vancouver's streetscapes were North American. Italianate and neo-Gothic trim on two-storey frame houses of the 1890s was emphatically New World, and in Vancouver were reminiscent of San Francisco or Chicago. Milled components and standard plans clearly revealed an industrial pedigree. Yet regional nuances persisted within what may be called an industrial vernacular. Vancouver examples of 'everyman' houses followed the patterns of other West Coast cities at the start of the twentieth century. Many California housing styles were a modification of ideas that were born in response to industrial society and landscape. For the suburb-seeking eastern American migrant, methods of building and selling houses evolved in California.
in response to desires for indoor-outdoor living in a benign environment.
Those that could not move to the Mediterranean setting of Southern California
were nonetheless attracted to its new arts and crafts houses, which became
familiar to many North Americans through fashion magazine articles and car-
penters' pattern books. The bungalow style was especially popular northward
on the American west coast and, although its open plan was less appropriate
in the cooler and wetter northwest, even there its casual imagery tended to
fit West Coast life. Vancouver, and to a lesser extend Victoria, Edmonton
and Calgary, welcomed this new house style. When Vancouver real estate
developers borrowed successful practices from California, the bungalow was
the 'natural' small house to accompany their promotion of suburban lots.
Despite a different setting, California Bungalows became Vancouver's
popular suburban home for over twenty years.

The various revivalist styles popular throughout North America in the
1920s and 1930s also found a natural Vancouver home. In most West Coast cities
these revivals were a potpourri of the broad range available, but in Vancouver
they were predominatly 'Old English' -- in half-timber, in stucco and in a
combination of the two in cheaper houses. Although this study has been dealing
with a period when architectural recipes were being selected from different
books, Vancouver buildings reflected a filter of architects, builders and home
owners who helped orchestrate the 'right' choices. A review in Canadian
Homes and Gardens in the 1930s pointed out the problem:

The client who sees a house style originated in Texas, published
in a magazine from Montreal, and wants the house built in Vancouver,
is in serious trouble and needs considerable attention.

In response to such confusion, architects like Bernard Palmer offered British
solutions, and the result on this West Coast was a mixed pedigree, part
The spirit of Old England.
The magic of California.
The essence of good value.

An oasis of privacy and peace, just 20 minutes from downtown Vancouver, Huntly Wynd is the nearest thing to an English village this side of Devon.

Here you can still purchase a traditionally beautiful home of cedar, brick and leaded glass for as little as $130,000. A happy marriage of old English charm and Californian convenience, each comes complete with two spacious bedrooms, separate living and dining rooms, a fireplace den, windowed loft, marble bathrooms and a simply marvellous kitchen. Just about 2,000 sq.ft. in all.

Designed for those whose family is full grown or who have decided not to have one, Huntly Wynd offers an unusually carefree and rewarding way of life. Here you can relax in comfort, entertain in style. The beautiful grounds, the magnificently appointed lodge with its splendid pool, sauna and jacuzzi, its exercise and billiard rooms, comfortable lounge and hobby centre, offer companionship, creative outlet and relaxation within steps of home.

Come see how much more real value your money can buy at Huntly Wynd.

Huntly Wynd by Caplan Builders, where quality is a tradition.
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Open for Inspection Daily 1:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m., Weekends Noon to 5 p.m. For a private appointment please call: 271-3131 or 278-7521 anytime.
Directions: Take Oak Street Bridge to No.3 Road, turn right onto Westminster Highway, left onto Gilbert to Lucas and right to Huntly Wynd.

Fig. 7.9 California and England in Vancouver's suburbs, West Side Real Estate Weekly, Friday June 1, 1979, p.16
British, part Californian. Then, and still today, California tempers the Britishness. Advertisements in the late 1970s for townhouses that offer a little bit of Devon and a little bit of California (see Fig. 7.7) perpetuate the connections that created landscapes in Vancouver some sixty years earlier -- old English charm and Californian convenience.

British Columbians lived in a machine world in the wilderness from which few could escape. The English gentry of the Okanagan or the Kootenays might harbour such illusions until they tried to market their fruit. The few utopian settlements along the coast -- following Ruskin, Tolstoy or Kropotkin -- found an ephemeral existence outside the economic system. Rather, within the context of industrial, clerical and managerial employment in the province's entrepot, most people sought a package of material goods offered by the industrial system. High levels of home-ownership in Vancouver discouraged vehement class consciousness. Although political radicalism and industrial confrontation surfaced elsewhere in Urban Canada early in the twentieth century, such conflict was muted in Vancouver. Many working people could get a home. The rows of company houses, low wages, strong company control and occasional militant responses by labour at Glace Bay on Cape Breton or Cumberland on Vancouver Island were a weaker part of Vancouver's experience. Although many Vancouverites continued a tradition of left-wing voting, the majority of life styles reflected a conservative individualism that rarely challenged the broader society to which most thought they had access. Houses in West Point Grey belonging to carpenters and mill workers reflected individual opportunity, though it must be noted that racism denied decent housing and most of the city to one portion of the Vancouver work force.

In Vancouver, the gradient of cost and appearance of housing was more
gradual than in other industrial settings; indeed 'working class' housing was often more suburban than the housing of the middle class and the elite in other cities. From the fresh air of a small garden plot, the picturesque greenery of Shaughnessy provided a less antagonistic image than it would have from a rented tenement close to the smoke and noise of work. The dream of social and residential mobility militated against extreme class polarization. Though recent developments have heightened social gradients, the evolving west coast suburban landscape still has an 'everyman' quality.

Vancouver's residential growth was broadly typical of West Coast urbanization -- the suburban city born of and growing with streetcar and automobile. Donald Meinig has suggested that "California suburbia" is a generic landscape found to greater or lesser extent throughout the continent. While most cities added suburbs as accretions in the age of increasing mobility, entire urban landscapes on the West Coast knew no local morphological antecedent. Low land costs and values that stressed gardens, space and home, resulted in sprawling, low-density housing linked to various workplaces by streetcars and then by autos. Vancouver was the most extreme Canadian example of this landscape type. Vancouverites' basic values probably did not differ from those of the residents of Toronto, Montreal or Birmingham. Rather, Vancouverites had a remarkable opportunity to take advantage of cheap land, good wages and new mobility, and the result was a scale of suburbanization that was very different from that in the East. Moreover, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver were industrial cities with sizeable working class populations. Vancouver can be compared with other industrial cities -- and, of course, many Vancouverites came out of an urban industrial milieu of high rents, high density and low ownership.

Yet Vancouver was not just one of hundreds of industrial cities, nor
even one of a dozen Pacific North American cities. Broadly, its site and
situation, its mix of British and Eastern Canadian immigrants, and its
largely replicated institutions and economy gave it a strikingly distinctive
tone within the common cast of the industrial city. Labelled in early booster
literature as the "Liverpool of the Pacific" and the "Glasgow of the North
West", Vancouver certainly had a Britishness in its roots and connections, and
yet reproduced: neither the society nor the landscapes of those two notoriously
industrial British cities. The successful worlds of ordinary sawmill operatives,
railroad workers and clerks, as well as of the more cavalier barristers and
real estate men, underlined the differences between this evolving West Coast
city and the places that had been left behind. Of course, Vancouver was
no utopia. The power of the C.P.R. and of several other corporations and
syndicates in lumbering and land, dominated both the city's economy and the
evolution of its streets and neighbourhoods. External control of the pace
and nature of development by American, British and Eastern Canadian interests
strongly defined the general patterns of Vancouver's growth. Nonetheless
for many immigrants, a desire to grasp opportunity in Vancouver, and to
transcend some of the problems of the Eastern Canadian or British industrial
city, could be realised through available land and an accessible nature.
Their new homes, set in gardens and against a splendid backdrop of mountains,
suggests Vancouver's distinctiveness -- a special setting on the Pacific
Coast, yet clearly part of the industrial, urban world.

(iii) Postscript

This thesis has used housing as an entre to the study of immigrant
society in early Vancouver. The house is more than simply square footage,
or dollar value, or a container for 2.4 persons in certain occupational
categories. It represents one of the most important personal connections to a place that people can attain. For a pioneer and immigrant society such as that in early Vancouver, a home was a central concern. Analysis of the Vancouver landscape has been presented as an appropriate way of beginning to understand those symbols of success and independence that many people proudly stated (or aspired to) in their house and garden. Equally, house and home have been the focus of an investigation of the evolving cultural geography of suburbia, one of the most distinctive twentieth century landscapes in urban North America.

This thesis has offered a perspective and research method that has used the cultural and historical geographer's concerns with the vernacular and has applied them to an understanding of the 'folk housing' of the industrial age. An understanding of architectural history is also important, because one feature of the industrial age was that the exceptional designs of the wealthy elite were popularized through an emerging mass-media. Uniting the traditions of art history and cultural geography allows emphasis not on the house as icon but rather on the house as vernacular. Understanding the vernacular in the industrial era demands attention to a new coterie of landscape makers. These include carpenter-contractors and real estate developers, the design industry disseminating the new tastes, and the factories that made and distributed the mass-produced building parts. Pattern books, real estate advertisements, building permits and factory catalogues are the appropriate data sources, as revealing as log-notches and axe-marks were of an earlier age. Although the process of standardization diluted regional hearths and regional distinctiveness in building traditions, style does not become irrelevant, or the suburban landscape 'placeless'. An up-to-date cultural geography, sensitive to the
complexities of image, technique and rhetoric that lie behind the making of a suburban landscape, can effectively comment on this important twentieth century landscape type.

The concerns of this thesis have also been with other domestic qualities central to immigrant society; in other words, the emotional value of house and land ownership that allows for a sense of independence. An unusually large proportion of the working-class population had quick access to land- and home-ownership in Vancouver. In part this was a result of higher wages and cheaper land, but the simple equations of land costs and wage rates would not totally explain the Vancouver domestic landscape. Land with a vegetable garden, fruit trees and a chicken coop made a low wage go further; a small shack, certainly suggesting lower class status vis-a-vis a Shaughnessy mansion, becomes more impressive as weekend labour and mutual aid added rooms when money and resources were available. Building histories at a finer scale would help refine the broad overview presented here, as would a closer inspection of the variations in land costs that led to a variety of house sizes and social groups in near proximity. The inter-relationships between wage-rates and ownership are also confused by innovations in mortgage-financing for land and house that spread payments over longer and longer periods; work that could be done on these more measurable characteristics, which have not been the interest of this thesis, would be a useful complement to the discussion of the emotional value of ownership.

The desires for detached houses in low-density settings were primed by experience elsewhere as well as by the workings of the local property industry. There was certainly a tendency for people to prefer ownership of even minimal levels of material shelter rather than pay rent. To
argue that people were being "bought off" by the property industry or by "capital" is to dilute the importance of some fundamental aspirations, and this work has explored the forces priming such desires and their attainment. It is understandable that early Vancouverites may have sought a small arena of control, summarized as house and home, as a defence from the broader currents of society over which they had little influence. The nobleness of these aspirations for home-ownership cannot be denied, as they often are in structural analyses of urbanization in market economies. The Knights on Wall Street, the Enefers in Grimmett and countless others throughout the city could define their Vancouver world and their society by reference to joys broader than the more expensive and exhaustive list of material goods associated with today's house. Through time the definition of a contented domestic environment has changed, but research on the changing North American house that focuses only on consumerism should not lose sight of other, more abstract, meanings of residential satisfaction.

Finally, a cultural geography of suburbia should not, and need not, be romantic (.. the world we have lost, when families stayed together and where "ma and pa" tilled the vegetable patch while junior knocked over the flowers). Today, in an era when two professional adults with good incomes can barely afford a house (and even that by remaining childless), the earlier experience of those who could more quickly gain access to the domestic world of house and garden is clearly attractive. That people still struggle for land and house ownership in the City of Vancouver, contemplating a $200,000 price tag in 1981 for a small bungalow built for perhaps $6000 in 1921, is a testimony to the resilience of the forces that helped shape
early Vancouver. Cheaper land is available in the Lower Mainland, but at the end of a traffic-clogged one-hour freeway ride rather than an earlier 15-minute streetcar trip. The attractiveness of the Burrard Peninsula, near to sea and mountains, and accessible for several generations to home seekers, has created a norm for Vancouver's domestic landscape — in the mind as well as on the ground — that is now facing a severe test. The origins of the present residential landscape suggest that earlier circumstances of cheap accessible land; high wages and a strong desire for a cosy residential environment were a product of a particular time and place. In the post-industrial city that is emerging, new ways of living as Vancouverites will have to be worked out. Whatever models are decided on, the complexity of forces revealed by this study suggest that the approach of historical geography has a considerable appeal in helping us to understand why we are the way we are.
FOOTNOTES
INTRODUCTION

1. In earlier work (D.W. Holdsworth, "Vernacular Form in an Urban Context: A Preliminary Investigation of Facade Elements in Vancouver Housing", (unpublished M.A. thesis, U.B.C., 1971)), I explored the ways in which changes in facade elements (such as doors, windows and roof silhouettes) could indicate the age of a Vancouver house. Such a taxonomic exercise only served to highlight the need to understand the social, cultural and political forces that lay behind such superficial changes in the city's residential landscape. These were hinted at in the concluding chapter, pp. 114-47, but were clouded by the vocabulary and approach of scientism that pervaded much of geography in those days.


3. E. Estyn Evans, Irish Folk Ways, (London: Faber 1959), especially Ch. 4, "The Thatched House", and Ch. 5, "Hearth and Home", go beyond study of floor plan and building materials to explore many aspects of life revealed by attention to activities in and around the home.


8. Rapoport's categorization of built form recognizes 'primitive', 'pre-industrial vernacular', and 'high-style and modern'. Primitive building has very few building types, uses a model with few individual variations, and is built by all; pre-industrial vernacular has a greater, though still limited number of building types, more individual variations of the model, built by tradesmen (everyone in the society still knows the building types and how to build them; the expertise of the tradesman is a matter of degree. The owner is still a participant in the design process, not merely a consumer). Thirdly the modern and high style implies many specialized building types, each building an original creation, designed and built by teams of specialists. Although the break between pre-industrial and modern is profound, there is continued production of a few 'vernacular' building types, on a mass-scale; with sources now written rather than oral or subconscious, this suggests a category recognized as 'industrial vernacular' distinct from original creations. Such a building type is still reasonably understandable to non-specialists, given the simplicity of pattern books and the range of semi-manufactured building elements. John Kouwenhoeven suggest that American vernacular is best seen as "folk arts of the first people in history who, disinherited of a great cultural tradition, found themselves living under democratic institutions in an expanding machine economy", J.A. Kouwenhoeven, Made in America: The Arts in Modern Civilization (Garden City, N.J.: Doubleday, 1948), p. 15.


15. Yi-fu Tuan, *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes and Values* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1974), pp. 99-100 & 233-40, also "Geography, Phenomenology, and the Study of Human Nature", *Canadian Geographer*, XV, 3 (1971), 181-192, especially pp. 188-90, Home and Journey. Tuan seems more comfortable discussing homeland, and home as somewhere you 'know' when you are away from it. This contrasts with the place-specific and house-specific discussion of homes offered by folk geographers such as Evans. There certainly is a difference between the quality of home-ness in rural pre-industrial times and that of the more mobile modern society, but it surely is not so abstract to be non-existent in any concrete form. I tend towards an alternate view, one expressed a quarter of a century ago by J.B. Jackson, who argued that the primary study of the human geographer must be the 'individual dwelling, "because the dwelling is a microcosm of man's existence on earth"', J.B. Jackson, "Human, all too human geography", *Landscape*, 1952, p. 6.


18. Typical perhaps is A. Buttimer, "Grasping the Dynamism of the Lifeworld", *A.A.A.G.*, 66 (1976), 227-93. More recently David Sopher, "The Landscape of Home: Myth, Experience, Social Meaning", in D.L. Meinig (ed.) *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes*, op. cit., pp. 129-49, in which home is anywhere, and often more comfortably a roadside motel than a house. Again, the differences between rural past and urban or suburban present are pointed up. Even if this trend is correct, the rooting of work on 'home' in time and space would seem to be a useful approach to understanding this transition between place and placelessness; for an exploration of this last theme, see E. Relph, *place and placelessness*, (London: Pion, 1974).


CHAPTER ONE


6. R. Hunter, *Poverty* (New York, 1904), Figures for several cities revealed the following percentages of 'homes hired': in Boston 81.1; Chicago 74.9; Cincinnati 79.1; Philadelphia 77.9. Hunter observed "the significant thing about this lack of ownership lies in the fact that a very large majority, probably 90%, of the workmen of the cities and industrial communities, are propertyless, and furthermore, are involved in a weekly indebtedness for rent of from one-fifth to two-fifths of their earnings, regardless of whether they have work or not", quoted from p. 33 of R.M. Abrams (ed.) *Issues of the Populist and Progressive Eras, 1892-1912*, (N.Y., Harper & Row, Documentary History of the United States, 1969). -


9. The boosterism continues as follows: "...is giving Single Tax a long and successful trial (it has been written in a Single Tax Magazine that"Vancouver is a city set upon a hill, whose light cannot be hid--a beacon to guide the municipalities of the world into the haven of righteousness in raising public revenues")...the estimated population of what is known as "Greater Vancouver" is considerably over two hundred thousand, she has eighty miles of water frontage and forty miles of anchorage, the tonnage of the port has increased four hundred sixty eight percent in the last five years, waterfalls nearby provide a possible supply of 500,000 horse power of which 200,000 is now available, she has a water supply of glacial origin that is now 36,000,000 gallons a day with an available supply
of 100,000,000 gallons, and there is an annual payroll of $14,000,000 from industries in which over $100,000,000 is invested.

These are not figures coming from a city statistician and filed away for reference in dusty municipal boards. These are the regular conversation of the ordinary citizen of Vancouver; he loves to talk in hundreds of thousands of millions. When he decides to make his home in the city it is as if he took the oath to join in the chorus of civic publicity promoters. He is for Vancouver first, last and all time, and he takes it as a personal affront if into a casual conversation slips the slightest suggestion that the visitor does not consider it the superlative degree in everything, the ideal toward which the world has been struggling for thousands of years."

Archie Bell, Sunset Canada: British Columbia and Beyond, (Boston: Page, 1918), p. 101.


12. See H.B. Ames, The City Below the Hill, (1897) (Toronto: University of Toronto reprint, 1972); also T. Copp, The Anatomy of Poverty: The Condition of the Working Class in Montreal, 1897-1929, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1974) Copp observes: "the typical Montreal family of 1897 was made up of a husband, wife and three children who lived in a five-room cold water flat located on a narrow, densely populated side street in what is now the inner core of the city", (p. 29).


23. For a 22 block, 180-acre area bounded by Ontario St., 58th Avenue, Prince Edward St. and River Road, 160 dwellings occupied land at a density of less than one per acre (*Henderson's Vancouver Directories*, 1913, 1922, 1926). Grimmet was named after a pioneer settler whose name became the local post office.


26. Prior Street three blocks east of Westminster in 1907 listed: teamster, motorman, Italian, labourer, waiter, junk store, lab, logger, 2nd hand store, clerk, labr., longshoreman, stonecutter, dress-maker, widow, labr., grocer, teamster, feed lot, boat builder, insurance, stoves, laundry, manager, hotel keeper, engineer, 2nd hand store, grocer, motorman, machinist, inspector, painter, janitor, engineer, gassfitter, millman, conductor, labourer, BCER.

27. For a sample area of 3rd Shaughnessy--Granville, Connaught & Marguerite, between 33rd and 41st--houses set on average street frontage of 100'; 120 houses in 1933 contained 60 managers, owners or company presidents, equally split between wholesale merchants, industrial and resource concerns, and stocks, real estate or insurance. A further 23 were professionals including 6 barristers, 4 doctors, 2 school principals; 12 were retired; 9 were widows.

Several work associations extended their contacts into the residential realm. On one street, for example, the vice presidents of Kelly-Douglas and MacMillan Export Co. were neighbours. Other examples include Dunsmuir and Mackenzie, of Mackenzie, White and Dunsmuir (auto parts); McHaltie and Herger, both directors of Gault Bros. shirt manufacturers; and two Prince of Wales teachers who were living in Fairview while working at Prince of Wales then became next-door neighbours on Marguerite when one rose to be Principal of Prince of Wales, the other to be school superintendent: for Vancouver City. Within two blocks there were five lumber magnates or managers,
and altogether twenty-four persons concerned with the province's raw material resource base.


29. Data for this exercise were found for barristers and contractors in the lists of professions provided at the rear section of the street directory. For streetcar motormen, all the BCER employers whose surnames began with B, C, E and R were used; for CPR, similarly the sample was those persons with a surname beginning with the letters C, P, or R.

30. This house is now called Cecil Greene and is the home of the UBC Alumni Association; as such it is one of the most accessible houses of its class in the city.


32. Ibid., p. 1029. This land was purchased for $1500. The area of land described by Block 136 of District Lot 264 A stands apart from an otherwise orthodox grid. Streets leading out of this block to the rest of Grandview do not cross the boundary smoothly, except for Charles Street; the subdivision of lots differs from the rest, and the family names Lily and Rose are used for street labels.

33. Ibid., pp. 1025-39, sublety paints a picture of the old paternalistic sailmaster in command of his destiny, giving way to a more bureaucratic hired-man when he worked for a modern company.

34. This ethnic concentration, and the presence of an Orange Lodge in Grandview, suggest the pervasive influence of the Orange network for this profession, (as it was for other Canadian cities). For an account of the role of Orangemen in Canadian society, see C. Houston & W.J. Smyth, The Sash Canada Wore: A Historical Geography of the Orange Order in Canada, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980).


38. Within a 24-block area bounded by Commercial Venables, Lakewood and Kitchener, 396 persons were listed in the 1916 directory; only 99 were still there in 1922. Thirty-six new houses were added in that period. 36% of the group were skilled working class, a further 27% service industry workers.


41. Ibid., p. 128.


43. Ibid., p. 12.

44. Ibid., p. 25.

45. Ibid., p. 111.


47. Miller, op. cit., p. 102.


50. Ibid., p. 498.

51. Ibid., p. 504.


CHAPTER TWO

7. Ibid., p. 84.
11. Forster, op. cit., p. 87.
15. Ibid, p. 16.
"The inhabitants of the West End know as little of those of the East End, as the latter do of Wales or the Highlands". S. Smiles, The Autobiography of Samuel Smiles. Ed. T. Mackay (London, 1905), p. 78, Quoted in Field (footnote 18 below) p. 166.


R. Roberts, op. cit., p. 216.


Ibid., pp. 24-29, "Housing as Commercial Philanthropy".


31. A. Ravetz, Model State Planned Housing at Quarry Hill, Leeds (London: Croom Helm, 1974), p. 5; Lloyd George remarked on visiting Letchworth: "In 5 years we will have a million people living in houses like this". For the contribution of the Tudor Walters Report, see C. Powell, "Fifty years of Progress: the Influence of the Tudor Walters report on British Public Authority Housing", Built Environment, Vol. 3, 10 (1974), 532-35.


33. Ibid., p. 222.

34. Dyos and Wolff, op. cit., p. 904.


47. Vancouver Province, June 25, 1910, p. 7.


49. Western Canada Contractor, May 1921, p. 39.

50. Ibid., p. 40.


59. Catherine Beecher, Treatise on Domestic Economy, (Boston, 1842).

60. Catherine S. Beecher and H.B. Stowe, The American Woman's Home, (New York, 1869). They defined a Christian house as "a house contrived for the express purpose of enabling every member of a family to labor with the hands for the common good, and by modes at once healthful, economical and tasteful".


63. These designs and their novel forum are discussed by H. Allen Brooks, The Prairie School: Frank Lloyd Wright and his mid-west contemporaries (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), p. 23 and p. 58.


71. T. Vaughan and V. G. Ferriday, Space, Style and Structure: Building in Northwest America, (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1974). p. 301. This sentiment is echoed in Norman H. Clark, Mill Town: A Social History of Everett, Washington (Seattle: University of Washington, 1970) "In 1910...there were 5374 families and 4953 residences...just about everybody was living with a family in an individual family dwelling - a ratio
significantly higher than that of any comparable urban-industrial area... (a man) could plan to free himself from rent and debt. Most real estate sales were to wage earners, and most of the bank accounts in Everett represented the deposits of wage earners who were saving to pay off a mortgage in five or ten years. Owning real property was probably the most easy, most desirable, and most conspicuous evidence of social mobility that the newcomer could acquire", (p. 80).
CHAPTER THREE


12. F.C. Wade, "Experiments with the Single Tax in Western Canada", paper read before the 8th Annual Conference on Taxation, under the auspices of the National Tax Association, Denver, Colorado, Sept. 11, 1914, 20 pages. (Vancouver City Archives Pamphlets, 1914-2).


14. An interesting article by J. McConnell, "Farming in Southern Ontario and South Vancouver", *Vancouver Province*, May 11, 1907, p. 30, describes the fruit ranches, market gardens and chicken farms that were to be found throughout the municipality.
15. Vancouver Province, April 30, 1910, p. 17.


17. The location of these lots is marvellously described in Victorian legalese as follows:

'Victoria by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the Colonies and Dependencies thereof in Europe, Asia, Africa, America and Australasia, Queen Defender of the Faith and so forth, To All to whom these presents shall come greetings, Know Ye that We do by these presents for Us, our Heirs and Successors in consideration of the sum of $290 to Us paid give and grant unto Robert Garnett Tatlow his heirs and assigns all that parcel or Lot of Land situate in the townsite of Vancouver and numbered Lots 4, 5, 6 & 11 Block 2, Lot 6 Block 22, Lots 1 & 2 Block 37, Lot 7 Block 38, Lots 1 & 2 Block 49, and Lots 13 & 14 Block 55 being subdivisions of Lot 540 Group 1 NW District on the official Plan or Survey of the said townsite of Vancouver in the Province of B.C. to Have and to Hold the said parcels or Lot of Land and all and singular the premises hereby granted with their appurtenances unto the said R.G. Townley and his heirs and assigns for ever.

In testimony whereof we have causes these OUR letters to be made patent and the Great Seal of our Province of British Columbia to be here unto affixed. Witness OUR right trusty and well-beloved Clement Francis Cornwall, Lt. Gov. of OUR Province of B.C. and its Dependencies at our Government House in OUR city of Victoria this 26th day of January in the year of our Lord 1886 and the 49th year of OUR reign. By Command" (Source: Townley Mss 24, Vol. 1, #18 (VCA)).


21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

23. "On June 12, 1909, a bylaw that main thoroughfares half mile apart North and South and East and West be opened up, so that prospecting builders not be more than a half mile from main road, and within these half-mile squares, roads could be opened up with least expenditure", Point Grey Gazette, Edition of Progress, 1913, p. 2.

28. The City Brokerage Company's text for their "Hendry" advertisement reads: "This gentleman is a far-seeing business man and investor, who seldom is mistaken. If he buys acreage in Burnaby it will at least stand your close investigation. What we are offering for sale immediately adjoins his holdings. Each block contains FIVE ACRES, or the equivalent of FORTY-EIGHT 33-FOOT LOTS. This means the price per lot averages about $23. CAN YOU BEAT THAT? It is practically assured that the new car-line will go along the Johnston Road - this means that prices will shortly be on the jump. Mr. Hendry's sale was announced in the papers three months ago. Mr. Hendry paid $175 per acre for 753 acres in a block. Prices $1100. Easiest of terms", *Vancouver Daily Province*, Sat. June 19, 1909, p. 22.
31. Available records for the C.P.R.'s land transactions are fragmentary, at least at the time of this research. One ledger for land sales in the Fairview area, available at the Vancouver City Archives, reveals both individual lot purchasers and larger scale speculative ventures. The real-estate history of Vancouver can never really be written without considerably more information about the disposal of C.P.R. land to eventual house builders; (Ledger of Land Sales, District Lot 526, Canadian Pacific Railway Files, CVA).

37. Among his companies were Alvensleben Finance and General Investment Co., Standard Fish and Fertilizer; Vancouver Timber and Trading Co.; Indian River Park Co.; German Canadian Trust Co.; Vancouver and Nanaimo Coal Co.; & Queen Charlotte Island Fisheries.

38. See Paterson, op. cit., for a listing of German aristocracy involved as shareholders.


41. "South Vancouver the Mecca of Emigrants from the Old Country: Imperial Home Re-Union Association Outlines its work - Humanitarian, Imperialistic and a Great Business Proposition", The Greater Vancouver Chinook, South Vancouver, Sat., Aug. 3, 1912, Vol. 1, no. 12, p. 1. For data on the mortgage transactions, see Vancouver Board of Trade, Special Committees, Vol. 142 (Imperial Home Re-Union Association), Add. Mss. 300, (CVA); see also Angus Robertson, op. cit., Ch. 4 for broader context of the Board's work.

42. Fred Bayliss, "Some interesting facts re. the Kitsilano Park purchase", (VCA. Pho. N. 129, p. 92). Bayliss was the original secretary of the Kitsilano Improvement Association (Letterhead: Concerted action to get sewers, tram services, opening up of streets, etc. in Kitsilano and West Fairview). For the list of subscribers, see his letter to the Mayor and City Council, April 14, 1910 (VCA Pho. N. 135, p. 98). Descriptions of the activities of real-estate brokers F.L. Murdoff and D.G. Williams, in British Columbia Biographical, Vol. 4, (1914), pp. 1198-1200 & 1003-4 respectively, record their city-wide operations.

44. "Point Grey City Beautiful: Association formed to enhance attractions of western suburb", Vancouver Province, April 6, 1910, p. 28.

45. Ibid.


47. Following one rumoured takeover, the BCER wrote to the British Columbia premier, McBride, warning that "the price of the company's stocks are the Stock Exchange's parameter of British Columbia conditions and general credit", Roy, op. cit., p. 208.


49. B.C. Electric Railway Co. Ltd. Price List for Acreage at Collingwood Subdivision of Lots 51 and 36, on tram line, only 5 miles from Vancouver: "It is understood that any person buying one of these blocks and settling thereon within two years from the data of purchase is to have one year's free transportation for one member of the family", Mahon, McFarland and Mahon, July 1905. (BCER records, Box 3, File 59: UBC Special Collections Library).


52. Building conditions for the Kitsilano property are to be found in "Price List of Lots at Greers Beach, West Fairview", Oct. 30, 1905 (BCER Collection, Box 9, File 233, UBC Special Collections). Letters between lot owners and manager Sperling include the following: Sperling to Mackay: "I regret to say that I should not be willing to allow the erection of buildings at all in the nature of cabins, but should expect the value of the building on each lot to be at least up to $1000" (April 27, 1907); Sperling to Elizabeth Armstrong: "Dear Madam, Re Lot 13/312/526 Kitsilano. I have your favour of Nov. 2 agreeing to erect a dwelling house on the above residential lot, the cost of which shall not be less than $1000, provided an extension of time for building is given until the first day of June 1908. Providing the house is not less than $1000, and said building is finished and ready for occupation on or before June 1, 1908, I consent to extension of time re. building to the data mentioned (Nov. 7, 1907).
53. BCER, File 233, ibid.

54. Ibid.

55. BCER Box 9, File 125, Hastings Townsite and North Vancouver Bonuses, Sperling to George Kidd, Jan. 20th, 1910.


57. BCER File 948, Hastings Townsite Bonus Lands, Letter from Houlgate to Sperling, Feb. 29, 1912.

58. "To Build Tram Lines This Year: B.C. Electric Railway Co. will start construction on Granville Street, running south", Province, Feb. 19th, 1910, p. 1. A letter from Sperling to Kidd May 22, 1909 (in File 700) describes the draft of an agreement relating to the construction of 10 miles of Electric Railway in D.L. 526 within 5 years of the agreement. "The construction of these lines is part of the consideration given by us for the lease of the Lulu Island line. This District Lot is the Shaughnessy Heights District, the section which the CPR are about to put on the market in large holdings with good building conditions to attract a desirable class of resident".

59. BCER, Box 473, Wilson Road line, Minutes, Dec. 19, 1913; advertisement by Mahon, McFarland and Mahon, June 11, 1913 (also Box 473).

60. The protracted debate between the B.C.E.R., the Provincial Government and Point Grey landowners is summarized in Roy, op. cit., pp. 97-98. The convoluted route may well have been a compromise solution to maximize transit access within the peninsula; at one time, the line was to have extended all the way out to the new UBC campus at the end of Point Grey, terminating at the "Village Green" in the proposed residential subdivision there.

61. See D. Gutstein, Vancouver Ltd., (Toronto: Lorimer, 1975), especially pp. 11-18; W.G. Hardwick, Vancouver, (Toronto: MacMillan, 1974), pp. 100-126; for convenient histories of early land development. The CPR even changed the name of the settlement. One local resident reacted in a letter home: "Lately we have changed our name from the pleasing one of Granville for the bombastic swaggering title of Vancouver. It is to be called this because it is to be the terminus of the great Canadian Pacific Railway. The CPR is so fond of high sounding names that Granville will not suit them", Father Clinton: Letter to his sister, April 13, 1886, (VCA, Add. Mss, 192).

62. "When we landed in Vancouver by a coastal steamer from San Francisco, an American working man landed likewise. The first thing he did was to enquire of a man working on the wharf, "What's the government here?". "The C.P.R.'s the Government here", was the sage reply and virtual truth", D. Sladen, On the Cars and Off, (London, 1895), p. 378.

63. Fred Bayliss, op. cit., p. 2.
64. Letter to Alan Purvis, Manager, Interurban Lines, from Glover, General Manager, BCER, 15 Oct. 1910, (BCER File 465, UBC Special Collections).

65. In the "notebook" section of The Canadian Municipal Journal, Vol. 8, (March 1912) an item on "Town Planning in Port Mann" ends: "A short time ago we published the plan for Point Grey, B.C., a model townsite, planned also by Mr. Todd. It is interesting to see what rapid strides are being made in the West in model municipalities", p. 115.


72. Ibid., p. 314.


CHAPTER FOUR


2. "Vancouver: A Marvellous City. The Building Record for 1888 Reveals a Year of Wonderful Prosperity for Vancouver, Substantial Progress Made in Every Section of the City and Faithfully Chronicled for the Enlightenment of Such as Still in Doubt Concerning the Terminal City", Vancouver Daily World, Sept. 29, 1888, p. 2.


4. Information contained in photomargins, written by Major J.S. Mathews, Historical Photo. Collection, Vancouver City Archives.

5. The building was raised several storeys in the process, and the gambrel roof contributed a distinctive silhouette for many years.


9. H. H. Bancroft (1890) called it an 'imperial stump field', (p.415); M. Ormsby, 'a town just laid out and not yet disassociated from the primeval forest', British Columbia; A History, (Toronto: MacMillan, 1958), p.175.

10. See Greater Vancouver Illustrated, (1909), op. cit.


12. The exuberance of Stick Style houses, Eastlake Cottages and Shingle Style houses in the boom towns of California are well treated in Harold Kirker, California's Architectural Frontier: Style and Tradition in the Nineteenth Century, (2nd edition, Santa Barbara: Peregrine Smith, 1973), especially Ch.5, pp.86-112. The culmination of all these styles can be found in the Newsom Brothers' design for the Carson House in Eureka, California; the home of a redwood lumber magnate, it is regarded by many as the most extravagant example of High Victorian architecture in North America.
13. The Shingle Style, well done, was the more subtle way to indicate wealth and taste; the more exuberant Stick Style and Queen Anne might be seen as a shallower "taste" by some observers.


15. There are occasional photos of early duplexes on the edge of Yaletown that have brick veneers, but not enough close-ups to comment on the extent of such houses.

16. Examination of early CPR maps might indicate a cross-axial plan; Granville Street linked station and round house, Georgia Street linked Cottage, church, gardens and Hotel. The Hotel Vancouver was at the Centre, and different zones of social status oriented from this node. Certainly the coming of the C.P.R. reoriented land uses (post office, banks etc.) towards this Granville Street axis, but nowhere is there evidence, so far, of a deliberate template by Hamilton in the survey.

17. For the Ontario influence in the Fraser Valley, see R. Sandilands, *Architecture of the Fraser Valley* (Vancouver Opportunities for Youth, 1972). For the Ontario style thought to be its inspiration, see A. Adamson and M. MacRae, *The Ancestral Roof: Domestic architecture in Upper Canada* (Toronto: Clark Irwin, 1963). Even this house, for an Irishman coming to B.C. during the Cariboo Gold Rush, perhaps reflects industrial Canada rather than rural Ontario. According to Blythe Rogers, the house's last owner before demolition, "The house was shipped to McCleery in a prefabricated kit of the type commonly shipped to early settlers by Sears Roebuck", Mark Robinson, "The feel of old, sweet wood", *The Vancouver Sun*, Sat. April 16, 1977, p. 48.


21. Vancouver City Archives, photo collection.


27. Wilson, op. cit., p. 158.

28. The introduction to the 1908 Elite Directory for Vancouver announced that: "The social life of nearly every large city on the continent is represented by a social register or blue book, and time has come for Vancouver to be so represented".


35. Ibid., p. 137.

36. A copy of this New York pattern book was acquired by Robert Watt, Curator, Vancouver Museum and Planetarium, while he was preparing an exhibition on early Vancouver streetscapes, (Between the Streets, 1976).


40. VCA Add. Mss. 142.


42. Fripp, "British Columbia Letter No. 7", C.A.B., August, 1901, p. 175.
43. See for example the contract between Maclure and Fox, architects, and contractors for William McNeill’s new house in 1908. McNeill has the company secretary for John Hendry’s various timber and railroad concerns. His house, "Ardgowan", at 1945 Barclay, was outfitted with quality European merchandise; see one superb invoice from Apsley Pellatt & Co. China and Earthenware Manufacturers, London, (William McNeill records, VCA, Add. Mss. 46, Originals, 1900-1918).


45. Province, January 28, 1907, p. 8.


49. Gross Docket, Bu. 409, P425, VCA.

50. One such competitor was the Colonial Portable House Company, 746 Beach Avenue Vancouver, which claimed a distribution in Alaska, the prairies, the fruit districts of British Columbia, South Africa and the topical islands of the Pacific; see Greater Vancouver Illustrated (Vancouver: Dominion Illustrating Co., 1908), pp. 183-4. According to one advertisement, their interest was to build "Canada Cottages to meet the requirements of Settlers, Ranchers, Townsite Owners, etc.", British Columbia Review, (1906), p. 34. Another company was Twentieth Century House Co. Ltd., whose letterhead showed examples of "ready-cut buildings", (PABC, Company Records, File 3483 (1910).


53. "Brief on housing conditions in Kitsilano Point", 1951, (report contained in Minutes of the Kitsilano Ratepayers Association).

55. Vancouver received only 55 lines in Bryce M. Stewart's survey of "The housing of our immigrant workers", Papers and Proceedings, Canadian Political Science Association, 1913, pp. 98-111. Rising land values brought about through the expansion of the business district in the restricted downtown peninsula meant that "amid the commerce of the eastern half of the peninsula one finds Chinatown being moved farther west), the Japanese quarter, the lodging house district, where the lumber jack, the sailor, the Japanese fisherman, the Hindu labourer, and all the motley crowd of Vancouver's homeless, landless men seek shelter", quoted in P. Rutherford, Saving the Canadian City: The First Phase, 1880-1920, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974, p. 141.
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13. Fogelson, op. cit., p. 73.


16. Ibid., p. 97.


20. In his analysis of the Prairie School of regional architecture, Alan Brookes includes a fascinating example of a huge house at Woods Hole, Massachusetts, used as a summer home for a leading Boston family; as a second, part-time home, this was called a 'bungalow'. With the coming of transcontinental rail links for these New England nabobs, they could make the same distinction of 'real' home and 'part-time' bungalow in Southern California. The structures were oftentimes magnificently large, but with the open spaces that were associated with the celebration of the warmer winter climate, the transition of label back to its earlier meaning was possible. For the Bradley bungalow, see H. Allen Brooks, The Prairie School: Frank Lloyd Wright and His Midwest Contemporaries, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), pp. 206-10.


28. Stilwell, Representative California Homes, (Los Angeles, 1912).

29. Ibid., p. 3.

30. Point Grey Gazette, 1913.

31. Earlier, Hodgson, a Canadian from Collingwood had published a series of carpentry books for the Frederick J. Drake Architectural Department in Chicago. These included Modern Carpentry, (1902); Practical Uses of the Steel Square, Vols. I & II, (1903); Common Sense Stair Building, (n.d.); and Hodgson's Low Cost American Homes, (1905).

32. 'Minutes and Records, Vancouver Arts and Crafts Society', (Add. Mss. 142, VCA).


35. Ibid., p. 5.

36. Ibid., p. 5.

37. Vancouver Province, June 17, 1911, p. 19; see also July 29, 1911.


39. Street directory searches.

40. British Columbia Biographical, pp. 1122-4.

41. Ibid., p. 1124.


43. Ibid., p. 194.

44. Ibid., p. 194.
45. Vernon Bros., contractors of Swiss Chalet bungalows on MacDonald Street in Kitsilano, also ran a factory making prefabricated unit furniture, such as beds that folded into the walls. These and other innovations generally help explain the changing size and shape of houses in these years.


47. Ibid., prospectus/brochure, p. 28.


50. Ibid.

CHAPTER SIX


3. "The style had now become overtly traditional, openly Old English. With their tile hangings or half timber over perfectly sound brick walls, Shaw's houses were no longer true in the sense in which the midcentury had used the word, nor were they "real" according to that usage. In the intrinsic meaning of the English Gothic revival and American stick style they were antiquarian and decoratively conceived houses: architectural pastiches, though wholly charming. This dual nature of Shaw's early Queen Anne houses needs to be kept in mind. If they inspired later original work in America and England, they also gave rise to thousands of Tudor cottages both here and in England. Also, with their classical details and their break with Gothic revival "truth", they set the stage for the eclectic manifestations of the late 19th century, into which Shaw himself eventually moved", Sculley, ibid., p. 12.


5. Canadian Architect and Builder, August, 1901.


10. Ibid., p. 23.


15. Ibid., p. 15; see also J.D. Kornwolf, M.H. Baillie Scott and the Arts and Crafts Movement, (Baltimore: John Hopkins UP, 1972).


20. Twizell's notebook includes sketches of churches in Northern England, details of woodwork in St. James Church, Vancouver, and, interesting lists of the cost of labour and materials in various Vancouver building trades; see Add. Mss. 166, VCA.


23. Kornwolf, writing about Baillie Scott's designs, commented "the exaggerated fall of the eave line recalls Voysey and again betrays Scott's weakness for the elfish, dimunitive scale appropriate to the small cottage. The exaggerated roof further affirms his taste for pyramidal form and suggests that the house had been standing for so long that the ground had built up several feet from it", op. cit., p. 301. R.F. Jordan, in his overview of Victorian architecture, observed: "the high pitched roofs, textured stone and tiny casements served mainly to conceal, ever so charmingly, the whole apparatus of conspicuous worth. (Such houses) were a gesture from a world where there were still impeccable maids in the Servants Hall, glossy hunters in the loose boxes, and Peter Pan in the nursery wing. It was all lily ponds, lavender walks and pot-pourri in a Sussex garden", Victorian Architecture, (London: Pelican, 1968), p. 235. Gebhard expresses the feeling of cosy times past when he writes: "the scale which Voysey
employed in his architectural designs - ranging from the lowness of his exterior walls, dominated by immense high-pitched roofs and towering chimneys, to the closeness of the low horizontal space - and the rooms with their small "Hansel and Gretel" windows are visual values which have more to do with my childhood experience (and our reminiscences of them) than to any traditional aesthetic ideals", op. cit., p. 8.


27. Kalman, op. cit., p. 162.

28. Vancouver Province, July 3, 1911.


32. Ibid., p. 158.

33. Architectural Institute of British Columbia, Biographical files. I am grateful to Ted Mills, Historical Researcher for the Canadian Inventory of Historic Building for allowing me access to his extensive files on Vancouver architects.

34. Vancouver Province, June 28, 1927.


36. Province, June 14, 1927.

37. Province, July 5, 1927.


41. Advert for University Endowment Lands Unit No. 2: University Hill, B.C. (B.C. Government Department of Lands, 1926), (UBC Special Collections Library).

42. Ibid.

43. These included, in the early days, university professors as well as stockbrokers and mining company directors. The latter continue to be able to reside there; the former have had to seek more humble abodes at ever-increasing distances from the UBC campus -- some even east of Main Street!

44. Including G.G. McGeer, then mayor of the city, and W.W. Foster, Chief of Police for the City of Vancouver.


47. E.W. Turnquist, British Columbia Homes: 40 Plans prepared by the Architects Small House Service Bureau of British Columbia, (n.d., c. 1928), copy found in the Library of the Royal Institute of British Architects, London, England). Long-time Vancouver architect John Honeyman also suggested a local orientation for design. In the Sunday Province, Dec. 9, 1928, he "urges the creation of a popular B.C. type dwelling for B.C. people. We should not have to wander abroad for building ideas and materials when we have them at our front door" (p. 2). It is also interesting to note that the American planning firm of Harland Bartholomew and Associates noticed the distinctiveness of tudor style buildings for Vancouver: "What Vancouver needs is an agreement as to a style of building that is at once aesthetically pleasing and adapted to local climatic conditions. The half timber house should be studied and advocated by the local architects, for it seems to be appropriate to the surroundings".

48. Sunday Province, Nov. 17, 1929.

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid.


CHAPTER SEVEN


12. Norbert MacDonald has observed that "if any single feature has made Vancouver 'different' from Seattle, it is this migration from Great Britain... this steady stream of migrants from the British Isles has had a profound effect on all aspects of Vancouver's life. Indeed, the influence is so pervasive, long standing and taken for granted that there has been very little scholarly investigation of it. But the prevalence of British accents among Vancouver's clerks, mechanics, physicians, teachers and businessmen and the more formal precise nature of the exchange is quickly apparent to the visitor. The abundance of Tudor and stucco houses, the popularity of
flower gardens, the variety of British newspapers in newstands, the miles of public beaches, the number of public tennis courts, the layout of parks and playgrounds, and the absence of athletic scholarships at the University of British Columbia—all suggest the perseverance of this influence", p. 312-3 in "Population Growth and Change in Seattle and Vancouver, 1890-1960", Pacific Historical Review, Vol. 383, (1970, pp. 297-321.


17. As the costs of Vancouver housing skyrocket in the 1970's and 80's, the wealth gradients in the city are becoming more visible in the landscape. Identifying a range of Tudor and modern styled houses at what are now modest prices, Donald Gutstein described the twenty-five top dollar houses, in "Where the Very Rich Live", Vancouver Magazine, Vol. 12, 5 (1979), pp. 56-67; more recently see D. Ley and J. Mercer, in "Location Conflict and the Politics of Consumption", Economic Geography, 56, 2 (1980), 89-109.


19. This is not to say that working people in Toronto or other industrial cities did not get access to housing. Indeed, one of the main conclusions to be drawn from this whole exercise is that ordinary people could still have a significant control over their "place-making". There is no sudden and total shift away from owner involvement in pre-industrial house production to an owner passivity, accepting limited consumer choice. Detailed urban historical work would reveal many instances such as the following cases from the East End of Toronto:

"Many of them paid a small deposit (with monthly payments) on a lot of land just outside the City limits. Then the men would erect a small frame cabin on cedar posts, cover it with tar-paper and curtain or board it into two rooms: kitchen and bedroom. During the summer, he would excavate a cellar, the wife often helping to pull up the barrow. Then a cement or brick wall for foundations, the neighbours often helping. Lastly, the tar-paper was covered with clapboards or stucco, and the roof tarred or pitched. That made a safe, warm dwelling for the winter. The next year he bricked it and added a top storey with bedrooms and inside plumbing, with the aid of a small mortgage. Finally in time, the completed house".
Rev. T.F Summerhayes, rector St. Mathews Church, Riverdale, describing "pioneering" along Chester Avenue, Toronto; quoted in Barbara Myrvold, The Danforth in Pictures, (Toronto: Toronto Public Library Board, Local History Handbooks, No.3, 1979), p.4. Consider also:

"Not having enough money to order and pay for a full-sized house, most people in Toronto sixty years ago built their houses by installments. They would save enough to buy a lot. Then they would save enough to buy the material for three or four rooms; and then they would build what was intended to be the rear of the house. It was composed, generally, of lath and plaster, with gravel mixed in a sort of stucco effect, and this was called rough-cast. This part of the house would contain the kitchen, and perhaps two or three bedrooms. The more prosperous might run into a bathroom. Our store held its head up because we had a bathroom when the back of the house was built. The front was added later and it became the shop, with a hall and a couple of bedrooms above it.

I can recall seeing street after street of these unfinished houses, greyish white blocks, with an entrance on the side, many of which were never finished but stood like clumsy tombstones, as monuments to the unfulfilled ambitions and broken desires of the owners ."

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