

Neighbourhood and Community in Interwar Vancouver: Residential Differentiation and Civic Voting Behaviour

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For a quarter century after incorporation in 1886, Vancouver experienced rapid growth. Its population approached 14,000 within five years, despite depression doubled over the next decade, and then almost quadrupled to surpass 100,000 by 1911. Concurrently, settlement pushed out from an enclave on Burrard Inlet westward along the water's edge, east as far as neighbouring Burnaby, and south to the two residential suburbs of South Vancouver and Point Grey. The inevitable concomitant was, as numerous historians have detailed, residential diversity.¹ As new arrivals sought out suitable living arrangements, so they congregated in neighbourhoods reflecting their socio-economic status and possibly also their racial and ethnic background. By the time of the First World War Vancouver's

¹ I am grateful to Bob McDonald and Pat Roy for their perceptive critiques of this essay. On the early history of Vancouver, see Norbert MacDonald, "'C.P.R. Town': The City-Building Process in Vancouver, 1860-1914," pp. 382-412 in *Shaping the Urban Landscape: Aspects of the Canadian City-Building Process*, ed. G. A. Stelter and A. F. J. Artibise (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1982); Robert A. J. McDonald, "The Business Elite and Municipal Politics in Vancouver, 1886-1914," *Urban History Review* 11 (February 1983): 1-14; McDonald, "Business Leaders in Early Vancouver, 1886-1914" (Ph.D. thesis, Department of History, University of British Columbia [UBC], 1977); Angus Everett Robertson, "The Pursuit of Power, Profit and Privacy: a Study of Vancouver's West End Elite, 1886-1914" (M.A. thesis, Department of Geography, UBC, 1977); Deryck Holdsworth, "House and Home in Vancouver: The Emergence of a West Coast Urban Landscape, 1886-1929" (Ph.D. thesis, Department of Geography, UBC, 1981); Edward M. H. Gibson, "The Impact of Social Belief on Landscape Change: A Geographical Study of Vancouver" (Ph.D. thesis, Department of Geography, UBC, 1971); Robert M. Galois, "Social Structure in Space: The Making of Vancouver, 1886-1901" (Ph.D. thesis, Department of Geography, Simon Fraser University, 1979); Donna McCririck, "Opportunity and the Workingman: A Study of Land Accessibility and the Growth of Blue Collar Suburbs in Early Vancouver [1886-1914]" (M.A. thesis, Department of Geography, UBC, 1981); and Patricia E. Roy, "The British Columbia Electric Railway Company, 1897-1928" (Ph.D. thesis, Department of History, UBC, 1970). Also of interest are Patricia E. Roy, *Vancouver: An Illustrated History* (Toronto: James Lorimer and National Museum of Man, 1980); Walter G. Hardwick, *Vancouver* (Don Mills: Collier-Macmillan, 1974); Chuck Davis, ed., *The Vancouver Book* (North Vancouver: J. J. Douglas, 1976), esp. "Neighbourhoods," pp. 45-116; Harold Kalman, *Exploring Vancouver 2* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1978 rev.); and Michael Kluckner, *Vancouver The Way It Was* (North Vancouver: Whitecap Books, 1984).

socio-demographic framework was essentially in place, particularly since growth henceforth moderated. During the 1920s increase in numbers came as much from the amalgamation of South Vancouver and Point Grey as it did from new arrivals, and thereafter the decennial growth rate has not exceeded 25 percent.

Compared to early Vancouver, much less is known about the interwar city and, more specifically, about the nature and extent of residential differentiation. What was the legacy of extraordinarily rapid growth? What had Vancouver become? A community? Or a city of neighbourhoods? An examination of two complementary contemporary sources, the federal censuses for 1931 and 1941 and annual civic electoral returns for school trustees, suggests that, despite the existence of geographical areas with distinctive demographic characteristics and voting preferences, most residents were at the same time bound together by common attributes and priorities. Neighbourhood and community were not mutually exclusive in interwar Vancouver.²

I

The residential diversity which characterized interwar Vancouver had its origins in the city's earliest years. From the 1860s a tiny lumbering community existed on the south side of Burrard Inlet between First and Second Narrows. At first it seemed as if this settlement at Hastings Saw Mill and nearby businesses at Granville about a mile to the west would form the nucleus of the incorporated city brought into being by the extension of the transcontinental railroad to the coast in 1886, but it very soon became clear that Canadian Pacific's management intended to attract newcomers to its large landholdings further to the west and south.³ The immediate consequence was the emergence of the West End, as it was dubbed, as the city's most prestigious residential area.⁴ Stanley Park, created shortly after Vancouver's incorporation, bordered the West End on one side; on the other lay the Business District, into which Granville

² The general literature on urban demography and residential differentiation and the emergence of neighbourhoods and suburbs distinguished by socio-economic, or class, characteristics is too extensive to be detailed here. For an overview of Canadian demographic structure, see Warren E. Kalbach and Wayne W. McVey, *The Demographic Bases of Canadian Society*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1979).

³ For the railroad's precise holdings, see MacDonald, p. 384.

⁴ See Robertson; MacDonald; and McDonald, "Elite" and "Leaders." Information on Vancouver neighbourhoods taken from Holdsworth, Roy, *Vancouver*, Davis, Kluckner, and J. P. Nicolls, *Real Estate Values in Vancouver: a Reminiscence* (Vancouver: City Archives, 1954), unless otherwise specified.

was subsumed, and beyond that the original area of settlement, known as the East End.

Other residential options became feasible as soon as public transportation made it possible to live apart from place of employment.⁵ While difficult economic conditions dashed the original expectation that another West End would immediately follow the railroad's stimulation of street-car service to its more southerly holdings in 1891, residences gradually began to appear on Fairview Slopes and at Mount Pleasant. While some homes, particularly those set on the bluff looking north over False Creek, were, to quote a contemporary, among "Vancouver's most striking residences," the majority were far less imposing. Their owners were more often clerks, small businessmen, artisans or others of "everyday means" unable to afford the West End.⁶ Also made accessible by public transportation was Yaletown, on the edge of the Business District next to the Canadian Pacific works yards and home to many of its manual employees.⁷

During these early years additional pockets of settlement grew up in areas that would eventually become part of Vancouver. In the 1860s a seaside resort hotel had been constructed east of Hastings Mill at the north end of the trail linking New Westminster to Burrard Inlet. Movement into this area, to become known as Hastings Townsite, was encouraged by the creation of an adjacent park in 1888 and, more generally, by Vancouver's expansion eastward. In 1892, a year after interurban service was initiated with New Westminster, the intervening land mass was incorporated. The eastern section became Burnaby, which would remain a separate municipality, the area lying south of Fairview and Mount Pleasant becoming — with the exception of a small parcel of land subdivided about 1890 as District Lot 301 — South Vancouver.⁸ South Vancouver appealed both to farmers and to working people eager to acquire their own homes but unable to afford property elsewhere, and settlements soon grew up around the interurban's stops at Cedar Cottage, southeast of

⁵ Roy, "Railway," and McCrick, pp. 13-51.

⁶ "Fairview and Other Suburban Districts," *Province*, 21 September 1907; Gibson, pp. 82-83; and Gladys Schwesinger, *Recollections of Early Vancouver in My Childhood, 1893-1912* (Vancouver: City Archives, c. 1964), p. 35.

⁷ In 1901, according to Galois (313), virtually three-quarters of its male residents (72.6 percent) held working-class occupations. Yaletown was apparently named after the previous home of many of its residents, the railroad construction camp at the town of Yale in the Fraser Canyon.

⁸ On District Lot 301, see Reuben Hamilton, *Mount Pleasant Early Days* (Vancouver: City Archives, 1957), and McCrick, pp. 88-100.

Mount Pleasant, and further along at Collingwood.⁹ Other South Vancouver neighbourhoods developed near places of work, as with the quarry on Little Mountain and sawmills at Eburne along the Fraser River. By 1901 the municipality's population reached 1,500, whereas 27,000 people lived in Vancouver itself, another 900 in Hastings Townsite and District Lot 301.¹⁰

The years between the turn of the century and the First World War saw the population of Vancouver and its environs quadrupling and possibly quintupling consequent to a federal immigration campaign launched in 1896. Newcomers needed homes or, at the least, places to live. As the West End filled in, Canadian Pacific looked to its landholdings in South Vancouver as the best location for an equally prestigious residential development. Concerned that the municipality was taking on a visibly working-class character, property developers including company officials used their influence to have its western half separately incorporated in 1908 as Point Grey. Shaughnessy Heights was then opened up two years later as the intended home "of the coming smart set." Subdivided with an elegant park-like atmosphere, lots were especially large and the homes constructed on them by "Vancouver's richest and most prominent citizens" — about 250 in total by 1914 — visibly intended to display owners' status.¹¹

Even as Vancouver residents with social pretensions and the money to effect their realization were achieving residential differentiation, so those at the other extreme of the socio-economic scale were becoming clustered in the city's East End. Many of its large residences from which Vancouver's earliest entrepreneurs fled to the West End had become boarding houses offering a refuge to the poor, to the transient and to "foreigners, Italians, Greeks and Russians." Particularly in the neighbourhood known as Strathcona, other forms of housing similarly intended for new arrivals of modest status or for males seasonally employed in resource extraction had also grown up, including "two-roomed tenement cabins that have practically no light or ventilation" and "rooms in blocks, where whole

⁹ Jeremy Barford, "Vancouver's Interurban Settlements: Their Early Growth and Functions — the Changes and Legacy Today" (B.A. essay, Department of Geography, UBC, 1966), pp. 5-10.

¹⁰ *Census of Canada, 1911*, v. 1, pp. 38-39.

¹¹ Henry J. Boam, comp., *British Columbia: Its History, People, Commerce, Industries and Resources* (London: Sells Ltd., 1912), p. 175. Purchasers of Shaughnessy property were required to construct a house worth at least \$6,000 and conform to designated style requirements, R. J. McDougall, "Vancouver Real Estate for Twenty-Five Years," *B.C. Magazine* 7, no. 6 (June 1911): 606; and Gibson, pp. 86-87 and 95-96.

families are crowded into one dark room without ordinary conveniences."¹²

For new arrivals who were neither very rich nor very poor, various residential options existed, both in and near Vancouver. Grandview, the stop immediately east of Strathcona on the interurban line to New Westminster, appealed to tradesmen, shopkeepers and workers at nearby dockside industries.¹³ The provision of streetcar service to Hastings Townsite in 1909 heralded a steady influx of working men and women and, two years later, a successful local initiative by its 2,300 residents to amalgamate with Vancouver. Also in 1911 District Lot 301, with about 2,750 inhabitants, joined its much larger neighbour to the north. New streetcar lines made South Vancouver accessible to employees of False Creek's growing number of mills and businesses, while the dredging of the Fraser River in 1910-14 brought new industries and residential development to the southern reaches of the municipality. According to a 1912 description of South Vancouver, "the houses are mostly of an unpretentious though useful type, the population mainly consisting of the working classes of Vancouver."¹⁴

Other neighbourhoods took on a middle-class flavour. As Mount Pleasant and Fairview Slopes filled in, Canadian Pacific negotiated to extend streetcar service to its holdings further westward. Two years after Kitsilano opened up in 1905, it and neighbouring Fairview were being termed "better-class suburbs of the Terminal City."¹⁵ A few years previous, interurban service had been initiated through Point Grey to Eburne to carry workers to Fraser River mills and canneries. Stops along the way, such as the farming community of Kerrisdale, acquired appeal. So did Eburne itself, to be renamed Marpole. As streetcar lines crisscrossed Point Grey, neighbourhoods grew up at West Point Grey and Dunbar Heights. The promise of residential exclusivity was a prime component of many developers' strategies, being underpinned by requirements to construct houses

¹² Vancouver Board of School Trustees, *Annual Report*, 1911, pp. 59 and 63, and 1913, p. 40. For the variety of ethnic backgrounds in the East End, see the survey reported in *British Columbia Federationist*, 13 October 1913. See also Daphne Marlatt and Carole Itter, *Opening Doors: Vancouver's East End*, vol. 8, nos. 1-2 (1979) of *Sound Heritage*, and Patricia E. Roy, "Vancouver: 'The Mecca of the Unemployed,' 1907-1929," pp. 393-413 in Alan F. J. Artibise, ed., *Town and City* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1981).

¹³ McCririck, pp. 100-11.

¹⁴ Boam, p. 175. See also "The Making of South Vancouver," *B.C. Magazine* 7, no. 6 (June 1911): 645; and "Vancouver, a City of Beautiful Homes," *B.C. Magazine* 7, no. 12 (December 1911): 1315.

¹⁵ "Fairview" in *Province*.

of a certain minimum value. As a Point Grey developer explained to prospective owners, "this restriction is your protection and is ample assurance that your neighbours will be desirable."¹⁶

The parameters of residential expansion are evident from census data for 1911 and 1921, with the latter also suggesting the situation in 1914 when mass immigration ceased.¹⁷ Over the first decade of the century, the original core of settlement extending from the East to West Ends through the Business District had filled in, its population of just over 60,000 remaining relatively constant for the next several decades.¹⁸ The core's special appeal was to immigrants who as late as 1921 comprised 58 percent of inhabitants, with just over half born in Britain, the remainder in either Europe, the United States or Asia. Vancouver's residential periphery, extending from Hastings Townsite southwest across District Lot 301, Mount Pleasant and Fairview to Kitsilano, continued to grow, from 40,000 in 1911 to 56,000 a decade later. Unlike the core, most inhabitants were Canadian by birth and, of the 44 percent born elsewhere, three-quarters came from Britain. Growing at a yet faster pace were Point Grey and South Vancouver, the former's population tripling from just over 4,000 in 1911 to almost 14,000 by 1921, the latter's doubling to 32,000. While Point Grey's population in 1921 paralleled that of Vancouver's periphery, South Vancouver was much more a British immigrant society: 54 percent of its residents came from outside of Canada, fully 88 percent of them from Britain. In other words, in the periphery and Point Grey about one in three residents were British-born, compared with almost half in South Vancouver. Conversely, everywhere excepting the core about one in ten were non-British, or "foreign," born, and there they

¹⁶ See Holdsworth, pp. 80 and 102, and Barford, pp. 12-18.

¹⁷ Of British immigrants resident in Vancouver city in 1921, 90.3 percent of males and 82.3 percent of females had come to Canada prior to 1914; of immigrants from elsewhere 80.4 percent of males and 73.6 percent of females had arrived in Canada prior to 1914. No data is available for South Vancouver and Point Grey. *Census of Canada, 1921*, v. 2, pp. 418-19. The 1921 census utilized the federal electoral divisions, as well as city boundaries. The electoral district of Vancouver Centre comprised the West End, Business District, and East End, which equated both with city wards 2, 3 and 4 and the original core of settlement. The electoral district of Burrard took in the remainder, or periphery, of Vancouver city, and the district of Vancouver South, the municipalities of South Vancouver and Point Grey plus a small Indian reserve. See *Electoral Atlas of the Dominion of Canada, According to the Redistribution Act of 1914 and the Amending Act of 1915* (Ottawa: Department of the Interior, 1915).

¹⁸ Comparable totals were 60,104 in Vancouver Centre in 1911, 60,879 in 1921, 65,537 in wards 1-3 in 1931, and 65,609 in social areas 1-3 in 1941. *Census of Canada, 1911*, v. 1, pp. 29-30; 1921, bulletin VI, p. 3; 1931, bulletin XL, pp. 16-17; and 1941, bulletin A-16, p. 2.

reached one in four. By 1921 Vancouver and its two municipalities contained a total of 163,220 residents.¹⁹

Thereafter growth moderated. Over the 1920s the combined population of Vancouver, South Vancouver and Point Grey increased by half to 245,593, due principally to buoyant economic conditions as Vancouver took advantage of its new strategic location consequent on the completion of the Panama Canal in 1914 to become a major terminus for the shipment of prairie grain. Between 1922 and 1928 real wages climbed by about 12 percent, twice that in Canada as a whole.²⁰ Neighbourhoods like Dunbar and Kerrisdale first opened up for settlement before the war once again became hives of building activity. Superseded by Shaughnessy Heights as the city's most prestigious residential district, the West End took on a new personality as its large homes became converted into or replaced by rental accommodations.²¹ Then came the depression and stagnation, Vancouver's population edging upward to 273,354 by 1941.

Residential expansion during the interwar years centred in Point Grey, whose population quadrupled to almost 60,000, and to a lesser extent South Vancouver and the city's periphery, which expanded by two-thirds and three-quarters to almost 55,000 and 100,000 respectively. By 1941 the majority in each of the four areas were Canadian-born, their numbers ranging from just over half in the core upwards to two-thirds in Point Grey. Conversely, the British-born now comprised just a quarter of inhabitants everywhere excepting South Vancouver, where they held at 30 percent.²² The parameters of Vancouver's population in 1941 strongly reflected the city's prewar origins.

¹⁹ *Census of Canada*, 1921, v. 1, pp. 338-39.

²⁰ Eleanor Bartlett, "Real Wages and the Standard of Living in Vancouver, 1901-1929," *BC Studies* 51 (Autumn 1981): 53 and 57. The quantity of grain dispatched via Vancouver grew from just over a million bushels in 1921 to almost a hundred million in the bumper crop year of 1928.

²¹ Harland Bartholomew, *A Plan for the City of Vancouver, Including Point Grey and South Vancouver* (Vancouver, 1929), p. 26. The transition appears to have begun even before the war: McCririck (73) found that 48 percent of West End voters in the 1911 voters' list were tenants. The debate generated by a 1926 bylaw provides much information on West End conditions. See esp. series A-1, v. 22, file 2, in Vancouver City Archives and press coverage, for instance *Province*, 21 October and 5 November 1926.

²² This data is approximated from *Census of Canada*, 1941, bulletin A-16, pp. 16-17, by equating the core with "social areas" 1-3, the periphery with 4-5, 7-10 and ½ of 16, Point Grey with 6, 11-13, 17 and ½ of 18, and South Vancouver with 14-15, ½ of 16, ½ of 18 and 19. Based on this approximation, the core contained in 1941, 65,609 inhabitants, the periphery 98,112, Point Grey 57,765 and South Vancouver 53,925. The four areas had respectively 52.3, 63.2, 65.9 and 60.7 Canadian born and 22.5, 25.4, 24.5 and 29.4 British born, the remainder being "foreign" born.

II

The internal dynamics of interwar Vancouver, as opposed to its overall structure, are revealed in census and electoral data. Based on the units utilized by these two sources, Vancouver can for the purposes of analysis be divided into nine geographical areas which, while much larger than single neighbourhoods, for the most part possess some rough correspondence with the city's development as it occurred historically. Electoral boundaries changed repeatedly prior to the amalgamation of South Vancouver and Point Grey in 1929, when the eight wards used previously to elect aldermen became twelve.²³ The core retained its status as three separate wards, as did Hastings Townsite. By contrast, the large residential area extending from False Creek south to the Fraser River was divided into eight strips running north to south so that no part of the two former municipalities formed a separate ward. These divisions remained electoral units even after 1935, when voters opted for a completely at-large system for civic elections. Unfortunately, while the 1931 census utilized these twelve wards, the 1941 census classified Vancouver into nineteen "social areas" and the 1921 census had only divided the area between the core, periphery, South Vancouver and Point Grey.²⁴

Nonetheless, post-amalgamation wards provide the most consistent basis for the city's division into geographical areas of approximately equal population and some residential coherence. The WEST END (ward 1) extends from Stanley Park to Burrard Street. The adjoining BUSINESS DISTRICT (ward 2) runs east to Carrall Street, and the EAST END (ward 3) east to Victoria Drive and south to Terminal Avenue. Contained within the Business District is Yaletown and within the East End both Strathcona and most of Grandview. The six remaining areas have here been named, for convenience of identification, after a longstanding area of settlement. HASTINGS (wards 4-5) takes in the area east of the East End extending south, primarily along Nanaimo Street, to the Fraser River and east to Burnaby. It thus includes not only Hastings Townsite but

²³ In January 1920 Vancouver voters abandoned the existing eight-ward system used to elect aldermen in favour of proportional representation based on twelve electoral units, whereby each voter ranked candidates for civic office in order of preference. The complexities of the system, including ballot tabulation also in order of voter preference, contributed to its replacement in a plebiscite of June 1923 by eight redesigned wards, which then held until amalgamation. On proportional representation, see *Province*, 9 January 1920 and 15 January 1921; *Sun*, 10 and 15 January 1921, and 17 June 1923; and Roy, *Vancouver*, p. 119. For boundary divisions between wards, see ward maps 5-8, Vancouver City Archives, and Barry W. Mayhew, *A Regional Atlas of Vancouver* (Vancouver: United Community Services, 1967).

²⁴ *Census of Canada*, 1931, bulletin XL, and in 1941, bulletin A-16.

Collingwood and extreme eastern Grandview. Southwest of Hastings is CEDAR COTTAGE (ward 6) and beyond Knight Street MOUNT PLEASANT (ward 7), extending west to Ontario Street and containing Little Mountain. Hastings, Cedar Cottage and Mount Pleasant together include the eastern half of Vancouver's periphery and almost all of the municipality of South Vancouver, whose western boundary was a bit further west along Cambie Street. The area as a whole was generally known as the East Side, just as the three remaining areas, together taking in the western half of the periphery and Point Grey, were referred to as the West Side. FAIRVIEW, bordered on the west by Burrard and Arbutus Streets and Angus Drive (wards 8-9), includes Shaughnessy and Eburne/Marpole, while KITSILANO, extending west to Trafalgar Street (ward 10), contains Kerrisdale. Beyond lies WEST POINT GREY (wards 11-12), also including Dunbar. Pre-1928 electoral divisions and the 1941 census have been accommodated so far as possible between these divisions, the former extending south only to Vancouver's pre-amalgamation boundary, which for the most part ran along Sixteenth Avenue.²⁵ See map, page 135.

When the censuses for 1931 and 1941 are broken down by these nine geographical areas, it becomes clear that the demographic communality which characterized Vancouver as a whole did not for the most part extend to two of the three core areas: the East End and, probably as a consequence of residential spillover, the Business District. Both areas were dominated by ageing males from non-English-speaking countries, many almost certainly long-time residents but others possibly recent arrivals due to the depression.²⁶ In 1931, as indicated by table 1, fully seventy-nine out of every hundred adults in the East End and seventy-four of one hun-

²⁵ In 1920, West End (ward 1), Business District (2), East End (3 and 4), Hastings (7), Cedar Cottage and Mount Pleasant (each $\frac{1}{2}$ of 5 and 8), Fairview, Kitsilano and West Point Grey (each $\frac{1}{3}$ of 6); in 1921-22, West End (district 1), Business District (2), East End (3 and 4), Hastings (5 and 6), Cedar Cottage (7), Mount Pleasant (8), Fairview (9 and 10), Kitsilano (11), and West Point Grey (12); in 1923-27, West End (ward 1), Business District (2), East End (3), Hastings (7), Cedar Cottage (4), Mount Pleasant (8), Fairview (5), Kitsilano ($\frac{1}{2}$ of 6), West Point Grey ($\frac{1}{3}$ of 6); and in the 1941 census, West End (social area 1), Business District (2), East End (3), Hastings (4, 5, 16 and $\frac{1}{2}$ of 19), Cedar Cottage ($\frac{1}{2}$ of 10, $\frac{2}{3}$ of 15 and $\frac{1}{2}$ of 19), Mount Pleasant ($\frac{1}{2}$ of 10, $\frac{1}{2}$ of 14, $\frac{1}{3}$ of 15 and $\frac{1}{4}$ of 18), Fairview (9, 13, $\frac{1}{2}$ of 14 and $\frac{3}{4}$ of 18), Kitsilano (8, 12 and $\frac{2}{3}$ of 17), and West Point Grey (6, 7, 11 and $\frac{1}{3}$ of 17).

²⁶ According to Roy, *Vancouver*, p. 100, "during the summer of 1931, a number of men established 'jungles' " in various areas of the East End. On the other hand, the number of male residents recorded in the census may have been lessened by virtue of its being taken in early June (1 June 1931 and 2 June 1941), when many winter-time residents may well have been away at seasonal work in lumbering, fishing or other resource industries. *Census of Canada*, 1931, v. 1, p. 29; 1941, administrative report, p. 3; and Roy, *Vancouver*, p. 26.

TABLE 1
*Demographic Profile of Vancouver Population, by
 Sex and Geographical Area, 1931*

	<i>West End</i>	<i>Business District</i>	<i>East End</i>	<i>Hastings</i>	<i>Cedar Cottage</i>	<i>Mount Pleasant</i>	<i>Fairview</i>	<i>Kitsilano</i>	<i>West Point Grey</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Male total</i>	9,422	10,841	21,829	15,163	11,977	18,846	19,147	8,875	15,373	131,473
Mean age	36	41	38	28	27	30	31	30	30	34
<i>Female total</i>	10,393	4,658	8,394	14,459	11,685	18,376	20,757	9,767	16,631	115,120
Mean age	35	31	23	26	27	29	29	29	30	28
MALES' AGES										
% 0-4 ¹	3.3	2.3	4.0	8.4	7.7	7.1	6.5	6.5	7.1	6.0
% 5-14	8.7	4.9	8.6	20.0	19.7	18.8	16.1	17.7	18.7	15.0
% 15-24	16.7	9.9	9.6	16.3	18.5	19.5	18.0	17.8	16.5	17.0
% 25-34	18.9	17.3	15.0	12.8	12.2	12.4	13.1	12.8	12.8	13.9
% 35-44	17.1	22.7	26.5	15.1	13.8	13.8	14.8	15.2	17.4	17.7
% 45-54	17.8	25.0	23.3	15.7	15.8	15.3	16.6	16.4	16.2	18.1
% 55-64	10.8	12.0	9.3	7.2	7.9	8.1	8.9	8.2	7.2	8.7
% 65 +	6.8	5.8	3.7	4.5	4.4	5.0	5.9	5.4	4.2	4.9
FEMALES' AGES										
% 0-4	2.7	5.1	10.4	8.3	8.0	7.5	5.5	5.7	6.8	6.7
% 5-14	7.8	11.5	21.7	20.1	19.7	18.7	14.2	16.1	15.7	16.5
% 15-24	19.6	20.9	19.3	18.2	19.2	19.4	21.6	19.3	17.6	19.4
% 25-34	18.5	18.4	16.3	14.4	13.5	13.2	15.4	15.3	16.6	15.3
% 35-44	18.5	17.3	14.2	13.9	14.5	14.7	15.9	16.1	17.6	15.9
% 45-54	16.3	14.5	10.5	15.3	14.0	13.8	14.0	14.3	14.0	13.9
% 55-64	9.7	8.0	4.5	6.3	6.5	7.1	7.3	7.6	6.7	7.1
% 65 +	7.0	4.4	3.1	4.1	4.5	5.5	6.0	5.5	5.0	5.1
MALE ADULTS' STATUS²										
% of all adults	47.4	73.5	78.7	51.5	50.0	50.7	47.2	47.0	46.8	54.7
% single	37.5	48.5	41.5	21.6	19.8	24.6	26.8	23.8	20.0	30.4
% married	57.4	46.2	55.1	74.3	76.4	71.2	69.2	72.4	77.3	65.6
% widowed	4.3	4.4	3.0	3.9	3.6	3.9	3.7	3.6	2.5	3.6
% divorced	0.8	0.9	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.1	0.4
FEMALE ADULTS' STATUS										
% single	32.7	22.3	14.6	12.0	14.1	16.8	29.0	22.1	20.9	21.2
% married	52.0	62.1	75.1	78.4	75.5	71.3	59.5	65.6	68.4	67.1
% widowed	14.4	14.4	9.8	9.3	10.0	11.3	11.2	11.9	10.4	11.2
% divorced	0.9	1.1	0.6	0.3	0.4	0.7	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.5

¹ All percentages exclude individuals about whom information not given.

² Adults defined as individuals aged 20 and over.

dred in the Business District were male, as were eighty-two and seventy-one a decade later. In 1931 the average male was respectively four and seven years older than the citywide mean of 34. By 1941, as detailed in table 2, mean age across the city had risen a year, but climbed three years in the East End to 41 and fully five years in the Business District to 46. The two areas also contained by far the greatest proportions of single adult males, in 1931 42 and 49 percent, compared with 30 percent in Vancouver generally.

East End and Business District males were further set apart, as made clear in tables 3-6, by their birthplace and ethnicity, and here the two areas differed significantly not only from Vancouver as a whole but from each other. Even though the East End took in most of Grandview, whose residents were not distinguished in the eyes of contemporaries from those of other similarly modest areas of the city, just over a quarter of East End males in 1931 and a third a decade later were British by ethnic origin, compared with three-quarters citywide. Conversely, almost 40 percent in 1931 had been born in China, another 6 percent in Japan, as had 9 and 2 percent across Vancouver. Proportions from northwestern and south-eastern Europe were double city means at 8 and 7 percent. As well, 1 in every 250 males was black, a proportion which, while small, was four times greater than in Vancouver as a whole. The largest differential between birthplace and ethnicity in 1931 was among the Japanese, suggesting that many of the area's relatively small number of male children, those aged 14 and under, were Nisei. While proportions of East End males born in Europe and Japan grew marginally during the 1930s, that born in China more than halved to just 16 percent, due probably to a combination of age and Canada's restrictive immigration policy.

The sole census data which even hints at socio-economic status relates to illiteracy in 1931 and school attendance in 1941, the latter figures summarized in table 2. Only in the East End did the total deemed illiterate in 1931 surpass the number of residents aged 0 to 6½. By this rough measure, approximately one out of every twelve East End adult males could not read or write.²⁷ Similarly, whereas across Vancouver one in twelve males aged 10 and above possessed four or fewer years of schooling in 1941, one in four, or three times as many, were so limited in the East End. Conversely, one in ten Vancouver males aged 10 and above had 13 or more years of schooling, but just one in twenty-five had reached that milestone in the East End.

²⁷ *Census of Canada, 1931*, bulletin, pp. 16-17 and 31.

TABLE 2
*Demographic Profile of Vancouver Population, by
 Sex and Geographical Area, 1941*

	<i>West End</i>	<i>Business District</i>	<i>East End</i>	<i>Hastings</i>	<i>Cedar Cottage</i>	<i>Mount Pleasant</i>	<i>Fairview</i>	<i>Kitsilano</i>	<i>West Point Grey</i>	<i>Total</i>
MALES' AGES										
% 0-4	3.1	2.3	4.6	7.4	7.2	7.0	6.0	5.9	6.3	5.7
% 5-14	6.3	4.3	11.1	14.6	13.7	13.3	12.0	12.3	13.2	11.6
% 15-24	14.1	7.7	11.8	17.1	17.8	17.6	16.5	17.6	16.9	15.6
% 25-34	20.3	13.5	11.5	16.5	16.9	17.6	18.0	16.2	15.6	16.3
% 35-44	14.3	17.8	14.8	13.3	11.9	12.1	12.7	12.5	14.1	13.6
% 45-54	14.7	20.6	17.2	12.1	11.8	11.8	13.0	13.5	14.6	14.1
% 55-64	15.5	20.8	17.8	11.7	12.2	12.3	12.7	13.3	12.2	13.9
% 65+	11.6	13.0	11.1	7.2	8.4	8.2	9.0	8.7	7.1	9.1
<i>Mean age</i>	38	46	41	30	30	30	32	32	32	35
FEMALES' AGES										
% 0-4	2.4	5.0	8.1	7.3	6.9	6.8	5.4	5.0	5.8	5.8
% 5-14	5.0	9.1	17.2	14.9	13.9	13.5	10.8	10.3	11.5	11.7
% 15-24	17.4	18.0	19.7	17.3	17.8	17.6	18.2	18.3	16.4	17.6
% 25-34	20.8	21.5	17.0	18.1	17.3	18.0	18.8	17.5	17.6	18.4
% 35-44	14.5	15.0	13.6	12.8	11.9	12.1	12.8	13.5	15.0	13.4
% 45-54	14.9	13.3	11.3	12.4	12.5	12.5	13.1	14.7	14.8	13.5
% 55-64	13.5	10.2	8.0	10.5	11.3	11.1	11.4	11.8	11.1	11.2
% 65+	11.5	7.9	5.2	6.7	8.3	8.3	9.4	8.9	7.7	8.3
<i>Mean age</i>	37	32	27	29	30	30	32	33	33	32
MALE ADULTS' STATUS										
% of all adults ¹	44.3	71.2	81.9	51.1	50.0	49.8	47.0	45.7	46.6	50.9
% single	33.8	46.4	39.1	23.2	23.4	23.7	27.2	24.6	21.9	28.7
% married	59.9	45.2	54.9	72.8	72.0	71.5	68.1	71.2	74.8	66.3
% widowed	5.1	6.5	5.4	3.6	4.2	4.3	4.3	3.9	3.0	4.4
% divorced	1.3	1.9	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.6
% 0-4 yrs of schooling ²	3.0	16.1	24.6	7.3	6.6	9.3	6.7	6.3	4.0	8.3
% 13+ yrs	13.0	5.7	4.3	5.3	5.3	6.6	11.8	18.9	20.7	10.6
FEMALE ADULTS' STATUS										
% single	32.3	22.1	16.2	14.1	16.3	17.0	26.0	24.7	21.8	22.1
% married	48.9	58.8	70.1	75.4	71.6	70.2	59.0	58.0	66.2	64.0
% widowed	16.8	15.7	12.8	10.3	11.4	12.1	14.3	16.3	11.3	12.9
% divorced	2.0	3.4	0.9	0.2	0.7	0.8	0.7	1.0	0.7	1.0
% 0-4 yrs of schooling	2.0	9.5	20.1	6.9	5.5	7.4	4.4	2.7	3.1	5.0
% 13+ yrs	11.2	5.7	4.1	5.0	5.2	6.2	12.3	16.1	17.8	10.7

¹ Actual population figures not given since divisions only approximate those in 1931 census due to different units used as basis for 1941 census.

² Due to nature of original data, calculations perforce presume that individuals aged 15-19 possessed at least four years of schooling: to extent they did not, these percentages are high.

Only some of the minorities which congregated in the East End spread into the Business District. While the proportion born in British Columbia was by far the lowest in the city, a consequence of relatively few children, proportions born elsewhere in Canada and in Britain approached city-wide means. At the same time, one in five Business District males did come from China in 1931, one in six a decade later. One in 100 was from Japan, one in 300 black. The area had special appeal to north-western Europeans, who comprised one in ten male residents in 1931. Probably concurrently, as summarized in tables 7 and 8, one in ten was Lutheran, a proportion more than double the Vancouver average. As in the East End, males' mean years of schooling in 1941 were markedly below the city mean.

To be female in the East End or Business District was a very different matter, the relative paucity of females due primarily to the virtual absence of Chinese-born: in 1931 the East End contained 233 females born in China alongside 7,973 males. Proportions born in Europe were also smaller, especially in the Business District. The few females who lived in the two areas probably did so for quite different reasons, in the case of the Business District possibly due to proximity to employment. Mean age was three years above the city mean. As well, the area contained over twice as many females aged 20 to 24 as were 10 to 14, suggesting movement into the area in adulthood rather than residence from childhood.²⁸ Acceptability in the work force was probably assisted by 72 percent being British by ethnic origin in 1931, a proportion not that much lower than the city mean of 82 percent. Although the proportion dropped by twelve percentage points over the decade, while falling across the city by just three, the new "foreign" element consisted primarily of prairie migrants, who doubled to a quarter of the Business District's female population by 1941, and whose experience with Canadian life prior to arrival in Vancouver probably made them equally employable.

East End females were much more likely to be members of family groupings as spouses or children. Adult females, virtually three-quarters of whom were married compared with 60 percent in the Business District, shared their male counterparts' low levels of schooling. Fully a third in 1931 and a quarter a decade later were children and, concurrently, 41

²⁸ In 1931 11.7 percent of the 21,927 Vancouver working women were in trade, another 24.1 percent in office work, the figures rising in 1941 to 14.5 and 24.2 percent. *Census of Canada*, 1931, v. 7, pp. 238-49; and 1941, v. 7, pp. 218-23. On female employment possibilities during the interwar years, see Veronica Strong-Boag, "The Girl of the New Day: Canadian Working Women in the 1920s," *Labour/Le Travailleur* 4 (1979), pp. 137-46.

TABLE 3
*Birthplace of Vancouver Residents, by Percentage,
 Sex and Geographical Area, 1931*

	<i>West End</i>	<i>Business District</i>	<i>East End</i>	<i>Hastings</i>	<i>Cedar Cottage</i>	<i>Mount Pleasant</i>	<i>Fairview</i>	<i>Kitsilano</i>	<i>West Point Grey</i>	<i>Total</i>
MALES										
<i>Canada</i>	45.1	32.0	28.0	53.0	53.6	53.3	58.5	59.2	59.2	48.6
Maritimes	3.9	3.4	2.0	3.1	2.7	3.1	4.2	4.2	3.6	3.3
Quebec	2.2	1.9	1.1	1.0	1.3	1.1	1.8	1.6	1.8	1.5
Ontario	11.7	10.1	5.1	6.9	7.6	7.8	13.1	12.6	12.0	9.3
Prairies	9.0	5.2	2.6	8.2	9.4	9.6	8.0	10.0	10.1	7.7
B.C.	18.1	10.9	17.1	33.7	32.4	31.5	31.2	30.7	31.7	26.7
<i>Britain and possessions</i>	41.0	28.3	12.6	35.2	36.8	36.6	27.3	33.4	33.5	30.1
Britain	38.8	27.2	12.0	33.9	35.4	35.5	25.6	31.9	31.9	28.8
Possessions	2.2	1.1	0.6	1.3	1.4	1.1	1.7	1.5	1.6	1.3
<i>Europe</i>	6.6	15.2	14.7	6.9	5.2	4.9	4.1	2.2	2.3	7.1
Northwest	4.7	11.1	7.6	4.6	3.4	3.0	2.2	1.4	1.3	4.4
Southeast	1.7	3.9	6.9	2.1	1.8	1.9	1.8	0.8	0.8	2.7
United States	5.6	4.3	1.7	3.3	3.6	3.2	4.6	4.1	4.0	3.6
<i>Asia</i>	1.5	20.1	42.9	1.5	0.8	1.9	5.4	1.1	0.9	10.4
China	1.1	19.1	36.5	0.7	0.5	1.7	2.0	0.5	0.5	8.5
Japan	0.4	0.9	6.4	0.7	0.3	0.2	3.3	0.5	0.4	1.9
FEMALES										
<i>Canada</i>	50.1	47.7	54.1	54.0	53.7	54.7	61.1	59.4	59.6	56.0
Maritimes	4.5	3.0	1.7	2.6	2.4	2.7	4.3	4.2	3.4	3.3
Quebec	2.3	2.1	0.9	0.8	1.1	1.1	1.9	1.9	1.6	1.5
Ontario	13.0	9.1	4.2	6.6	6.8	8.3	13.4	13.1	12.9	10.1
Prairies	11.1	10.7	5.9	9.0	10.2	10.0	10.6	11.4	10.9	10.1
B.C.	18.9	22.5	40.6	35.0	33.2	32.5	30.7	28.6	30.7	30.9
<i>Britain and possessions</i>	38.1	32.4	15.5	35.4	37.5	36.8	26.3	31.5	32.0	32.0
Britain	36.2	31.2	14.7	34.4	36.4	35.7	25.0	29.9	30.6	30.8
Possessions	1.9	1.2	0.8	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.3	1.6	1.4	1.2
<i>Europe</i>	3.9	9.3	12.6	5.6	4.1	4.0	4.1	2.7	2.5	4.7
Northwest	2.9	6.1	4.3	3.9	2.6	2.4	2.6	1.7	1.7	2.8
Southeast	0.9	3.0	8.0	1.7	1.3	1.6	1.4	0.9	0.8	1.8
United States	7.4	8.5	4.2	4.3	4.3	4.1	6.1	5.6	5.4	5.3
<i>Asia</i>	0.4	2.0	13.6	0.7	0.4	0.4	2.3	0.7	0.4	1.8
China	0.1	0.6	2.8	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.3
Japan	0.2	1.4	10.6	0.6	0.3	0.2	2.1	0.5	0.3	1.5

TABLE 3 (Continued)
*Birthplace of Vancouver Residents, by Percentage,
 Sex and Geographical Area, 1931*

	<i>West End</i>	<i>Business District</i>	<i>East End</i>	<i>Hastings</i>	<i>Cedar Cottage</i>	<i>Mount Pleasant</i>	<i>Fairview</i>	<i>Kitsilano</i>	<i>West Point Grey</i>	<i>Total</i>
BOTH SEXES										
<i>Canada</i>	47.8	36.7	35.3	53.5	53.6	54.0	59.8	59.3	59.4	52.1
Maritimes	4.2	3.3	1.9	2.8	2.6	2.9	4.3	4.2	3.5	3.3
Quebec	2.9	1.9	1.1	0.9	1.2	1.1	1.8	1.8	1.7	1.5
Ontario	12.4	9.8	4.8	6.7	7.2	8.0	13.3	12.9	12.5	9.7
Prairies	10.1	6.9	3.5	8.6	9.8	9.8	9.3	10.7	10.5	8.8
B.C.	18.5	14.4	23.7	34.3	32.8	32.0	30.9	29.6	31.2	28.7
<i>Britain and possessions</i>	39.3	29.5	13.4	35.3	37.1	36.7	26.8	32.4	32.7	31.0
Britain	37.3	28.4	12.8	34.1	35.9	35.6	25.3	30.8	31.2	29.7
Possessions	2.0	1.1	0.6	1.2	1.2	1.1	1.5	1.6	1.5	1.3
<i>Europe</i>	5.2	13.4	14.1	6.3	4.6	4.5	4.1	2.5	2.4	6.0
Northwest	3.8	9.6	6.7	4.3	3.0	2.7	2.4	1.6	1.5	3.6
Southeast	1.3	3.7	7.2	1.9	1.5	1.8	1.6	0.8	0.8	2.3
United States	6.5	5.5	2.4	3.8	3.9	3.6	5.4	4.9	4.7	4.4
<i>Asia</i>	0.9	14.7	34.8	1.1	0.6	1.2	3.8	0.9	0.7	6.4
China	0.6	13.6	27.2	0.4	0.3	0.9	1.1	0.3	0.3	4.7
Japan	0.3	1.1	7.6	0.7	0.3	0.2	2.7	0.5	0.3	1.7

NB: Totals include individuals not specified by province or country.

and 45 percent respectively were natives of the province compared with a third across the city. Just half of the females born in an English-speaking country — Canada, Britain or the United States — were British by ethnic origin, indicating that many of the area's female children, like their male counterparts, were the offspring of "foreign" immigrants. More specifically, whereas 11 percent of females in 1931 and 8 percent in 1941 had been born in Japan, 23 and 21 percent were Japanese by ethnic origin, many of them very possibly the offspring of prewar male immigrants who had subsequently brought "picture brides."²⁹

Contemporary observations by school officials confirm the extent to which East End children shared in, and were affected by, the distinctive

²⁹ Of 1,670 Japanese-born females resident in Vancouver in 1931, fully 42.7 percent had arrived within the past decade, probably before 1928, when immigration restrictions effectively halted the practice. *Census of Canada, 1931*, v. 4, pp. 466-69.

TABLE 4
*Birthplace of Vancouver Residents, by Percentage,
 Sex and Geographical Area, 1941*

	<i>West End</i>	<i>Business District</i>	<i>East End</i>	<i>Hastings</i>	<i>Cedar Cottage</i>	<i>Mount Pleasant</i>	<i>Fairview</i>	<i>Kitsilano</i>	<i>West Point Grey</i>	<i>Total</i>
MALES										
<i>Canada</i>	55.5	39.9	43.6	60.0	60.8	61.8	62.0	65.4	64.7	58.1
Maritimes	3.3	3.8	2.0	2.3	2.2	2.4	2.9	3.1	3.0	2.7
Quebec	2.0	2.2	1.3	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.5	1.7	1.5	1.4
Ontario	11.0	9.3	4.7	5.5	6.3	6.9	8.9	11.1	10.4	8.2
Prairies	18.9	11.3	6.9	11.6	14.2	13.7	14.1	13.9	12.4	12.9
B.C.	20.1	13.2	28.8	39.6	37.0	37.7	34.6	35.5	37.3	32.7
Britain	32.3	23.0	14.4	28.0	28.8	27.8	24.6	24.0	27.2	25.6
Europe	5.7	14.8	15.6	7.0	5.7	5.2	5.6	2.9	2.6	6.9
United States	4.0	3.8	2.4	2.9	2.8	2.9	3.5	3.6	3.4	3.3
China	0.6	16.3	16.3	0.4	0.6	0.8	1.3	1.1	0.4	3.6
Japan	0.3	1.3	6.8	0.6	0.2	0.3	1.6	1.4	0.3	1.4
FEMALES										
<i>Canada</i>	59.3	60.8	62.4	61.7	60.8	62.4	65.7	66.1	66.0	63.4
Maritimes	3.1	2.6	1.3	1.9	1.9	2.2	2.9	3.6	3.0	2.6
Quebec	1.9	1.3	1.0	0.8	0.8	0.9	1.5	1.8	1.6	1.3
Ontario	11.1	7.5	3.4	5.4	5.7	6.6	10.1	11.1	10.6	8.5
Prairies	22.6	24.3	11.4	13.6	14.8	14.5	16.9	16.6	14.9	16.2
B.C.	20.5	25.0	45.3	39.9	37.5	38.1	34.1	33.0	35.8	34.7
Britain	29.1	20.1	12.0	27.6	29.9	28.3	23.2	22.9	25.3	25.0
Europe	3.6	8.2	12.1	5.7	4.7	4.2	4.4	2.8	2.3	4.6
United States	6.0	7.3	3.6	3.8	3.6	4.1	6.1	5.6	4.8	4.6
China	0.2	1.1	1.5	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3
Japan	0.3	1.7	7.6	0.5	0.1	0.3	1.1	1.0	0.2	1.0
BOTH SEXES										
<i>Canada</i>	57.6	46.5	50.8	60.8	60.8	62.1	63.9	65.8	65.3	60.7
Maritimes	3.2	3.4	1.7	2.1	2.1	2.3	2.9	3.4	3.0	2.7
Quebec	2.0	1.9	1.2	0.9	0.9	0.9	1.5	1.7	1.6	1.4
Ontario	11.0	8.7	4.2	5.4	6.0	6.7	9.5	11.1	10.5	8.3
Prairies	21.0	15.4	8.6	12.6	14.5	14.1	15.5	15.3	13.7	14.5
B.C.	20.3	16.9	35.1	39.8	37.3	37.9	34.3	34.2	36.5	33.7
Britain	30.5	22.1	13.5	27.8	29.3	28.0	23.8	23.4	26.2	25.3
Europe	4.5	12.7	14.3	6.4	5.2	4.7	5.0	2.8	2.5	5.8
United States	5.1	4.9	2.9	3.3	3.2	3.6	4.0	4.7	4.1	3.9
China	0.4	11.5	10.6	0.2	0.3	0.5	0.7	0.6	0.3	2.0
Japan	0.3	1.4	7.1	0.6	0.2	0.3	1.4	1.2	0.3	1.2

NB: Totals include individuals not specified by province or country.

TABLE 5
*Ethnic Origin of Vancouver Residents, by Percentage,
 Sex and Geographical Area, 1931*

	<i>West End</i>	<i>Business District</i>	<i>East End</i>	<i>Hastings</i>	<i>Cedar Cottage</i>	<i>Mount Pleasant</i>	<i>Fairview</i>	<i>Kitsilano</i>	<i>West Point Grey</i>	<i>Total</i>
MALES										
British	85.5	57.3	26.9	81.3	85.2	84.9	78.8	90.0	91.0	72.8
<i>Europeans</i>	12.8	21.2	20.9	15.7	12.9	12.3	11.3	8.3	7.7	14.0
Northwest	9.4	15.4	10.6	11.1	8.9	8.6	7.4	6.2	5.6	9.9
Southeast	1.9	5.0	8.9	4.1	3.7	3.1	1.7	1.1	1.2	3.8
Jews	1.4	0.7	1.3	0.3	0.2	0.5	2.0	1.0	0.9	1.0
Chinese	1.0	19.4	39.6	0.9	0.6	1.9	2.2	0.5	0.5	9.1
Japanese	0.6	1.6	11.7	1.6	0.7	0.4	6.3	1.1	0.7	3.5
Blacks	nil	0.3	0.4	0.1	neg	0.1	neg	nil	nil	0.1
FEMALES										
British	87.0	72.3	38.4	83.0	86.0	86.2	82.1	89.4	90.7	82.0
<i>Europeans</i>	12.1	22.5	27.8	14.6	12.6	12.5	12.1	9.3	8.5	13.3
Northwest	9.3	15.9	10.7	10.5	9.0	8.7	8.7	7.2	6.6	9.0
Southeast	1.5	5.7	13.9	3.6	3.3	3.2	1.5	1.2	1.1	3.2
Jews	1.1	0.8	2.9	0.4	0.1	0.5	1.8	0.7	0.8	1.0
Chinese	0.1	1.2	9.0	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.9
Japanese	0.5	3.1	23.3	1.7	0.7	0.5	4.6	1.2	0.6	3.2
Blacks	nil	0.5	0.6	0.1	neg	neg	neg	nil	neg	0.1
BOTH SEXES										
British	86.3	61.8	30.1	82.1	85.6	85.6	80.5	89.7	90.8	77.1
<i>Europeans</i>	12.4	21.6	22.8	15.2	12.7	12.4	11.7	8.8	8.1	13.7
Northwest	9.3	15.5	10.6	10.8	9.0	8.6	8.1	6.7	6.1	9.5
Southeast	1.7	5.2	10.3	3.9	3.5	3.1	1.6	1.1	1.2	3.5
Jews	1.3	0.7	1.7	0.4	0.2	0.5	1.9	0.8	0.8	1.0
Chinese	0.5	14.0	31.1	0.6	0.4	1.2	1.3	0.3	0.2	5.3
Japanese	0.6	2.0	15.0	1.6	0.7	0.4	5.4	1.2	0.7	3.8
Blacks	nil	0.3	0.5	0.1	neg	0.1	neg	nil	nil	0.1

attributes of the older generation. A 1920 survey of underweight primary pupils found that at one Strathcona school 48 percent were sleeping three or more to a room, 24 percent four or more, fully 14 percent five or more, proportions far higher than anywhere else in the city.³⁰ Four years later came the statement that the school's "pupils are chiefly Orientals and foreigners": "many of them cannot speak English when they enter

³⁰ At the second Strathcona school they were lower at 28, 12 and 4 percent, and in Grandview somewhat less but still above the city mean. Vancouver Board of School Trustees, *Annual Report*, 1920, pp. 40-43.

TABLE 6
*Ethnic Origin of Vancouver Residents, by Percentage,
 Sex and Geographical Area, 1941*

	<i>West End</i>	<i>Business District</i>	<i>East End</i>	<i>Hastings</i>	<i>Cedar Cottage</i>	<i>Mount Pleasant</i>	<i>Fairview</i>	<i>Kitsilano</i>	<i>West Point Grey</i>	<i>Total</i>
MALES										
British	83.8	53.5	35.9	78.9	81.3	81.9	77.4	83.9	89.3	75.2
Chinese	0.6	17.9	20.7	0.4	0.8	0.1	1.3	1.1	0.4	4.3
Japanese	0.7	2.5	15.1	1.6	0.4	0.9	3.9	3.9	0.6	3.2
FEMALES										
British	83.3	60.5	38.6	79.5	82.3	83.0	79.9	84.4	88.8	79.4
Chinese	neg	4.0	8.2	0.1	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.1	0.1	0.9
Japanese	0.5	4.4	21.0	1.5	0.4	0.7	3.1	3.0	0.6	2.9
BOTH SEXES										
British	83.5	55.7	36.9	79.2	81.8	82.4	78.7	84.2	89.0	77.3
Chinese	0.3	13.5	15.9	0.3	0.5	0.3	0.9	0.6	0.2	2.6
Japanese	0.6	3.1	17.3	1.5	0.4	0.8	3.5	3.4	0.6	3.1

NB: Information not given for other major ethnic groups.

school." A comment at the end of the decade attributed the very high failure rate in grade 1 at a second Strathcona school to "foreign parentage, undernourishment, low mentality and an environment which fails to provide experiences essential to mental growth."³¹ Whereas under normal conditions between 12 and 13 percent of primary pupils would be enrolled in grade 8, just 8 percent of Strathcona children and 9 percent of their contemporaries in Grandview achieved that milestone.³²

The demographic attributes of East End and Business District residents contrasted sharply with the rest of the interwar city, where lived 80 percent of the population in 1931, over 85 percent a decade later. There the elements of communality that distinguished Vancouver as a whole were

³¹ *Ibid.*, 1924, p. 73, and 1929, p. 98.

³² British Columbia, Department of Education, *Annual Report*, 1923/24, pp. T32-49; 1924/25, pp. M32-51; 1925/26, pp. R34-53; and 1926/27, pp. M24-37. Data is unavailable for other years. Similarly, although citywide 7.2 percent of primary pupils annually gained admission into high school, just over 4 percent of East End children did so. Vancouver Board of School Trustees, *Annual Report*, 1924, p. 31; 1925, p. 24; and 1926, p. 26. Data is unavailable for other years. Pupil absentee rates in the East End were among the highest in the city, averaging 0.9 instances annually at the two Strathcona schools and 0.5 at the Grandview school compared with 0.3 across Vancouver primary schools. *Ibid.*, 1919, p. 76; 1920, p. 84; 1921, p. 78; and 1922, p. 88, with no later data available.

TABLE 7
*Principal Religious Affiliation of Vancouver Residents,
 by Percentage, Sex and Geographical Area, 1931*

	<i>West End</i>	<i>Business District</i>	<i>East End</i>	<i>Hastings</i>	<i>Cedar Cottage</i>	<i>Mount Pleasant</i>	<i>Fairview</i>	<i>Kitsilano</i>	<i>West Point Grey</i>	<i>Total</i>
MALES										
Anglican	41.6	19.8	9.5	30.8	32.3	27.8	28.4	35.5	36.2	27.5
United	17.7	10.0	9.2	25.4	23.4	27.0	29.4	32.7	31.4	22.7
Presbyterian	15.5	14.8	6.7	17.5	19.0	18.9	13.5	11.1	13.1	14.1
Baptist	2.9	2.3	1.3	4.4	4.8	5.5	4.5	5.0	4.4	3.8
Lutheran	3.6	10.7	7.4	5.1	3.6	3.4	1.7	1.2	1.0	4.2
Catholic	9.7	13.7	12.6	10.1	9.1	8.2	8.0	7.6	6.6	9.5
Jewish	1.3	0.7	1.2	0.3	0.2	0.5	2.0	1.0	0.9	0.9
Confucist and Buddhist	0.9	21.2	37.2	1.5	0.7	2.0	6.3	0.8	0.8	9.5
FEMALES										
Anglican	41.9	25.1	14.7	32.0	32.8	28.1	28.9	34.1	35.6	31.0
United	20.0	15.8	16.0	26.3	24.1	29.0	32.3	33.6	31.8	27.3
Presbyterian	14.9	17.7	9.6	16.8	18.6	18.0	12.5	10.3	12.8	14.6
Baptist	3.5	4.1	2.9	4.6	5.3	6.0	5.1	5.5	4.5	4.8
Lutheran	2.5	7.7	4.8	4.4	3.3	2.9	2.3	1.8	1.2	3.0
Catholic	9.8	19.5	18.3	10.1	8.7	8.4	7.9	7.9	7.2	9.6
Jewish	1.1	0.9	2.9	0.4	0.1	0.5	1.8	0.7	0.8	1.0
Confucist and Buddhist	0.3	4.5	23.5	0.9	0.3	0.4	3.5	0.6	0.5	2.8
BOTH SEXES										
Anglican	41.8	21.4	10.9	31.4	32.6	27.9	28.6	34.8	35.9	29.1
United	18.9	11.7	11.1	25.8	23.7	28.0	30.9	33.2	31.6	24.8
Presbyterian	15.2	15.7	7.5	17.1	18.8	18.4	12.9	10.7	12.9	14.3
Baptist	3.2	2.8	1.7	4.5	5.0	5.8	4.8	5.2	4.5	4.3
Lutheran	3.0	9.8	6.7	4.8	3.4	3.2	2.0	1.5	1.1	3.6
Catholic	9.8	15.5	14.2	10.1	8.9	8.3	7.9	7.8	6.9	9.6
Jewish	1.2	0.7	1.7	0.3	0.2	0.5	1.9	0.8	0.8	1.0
Confucist and Buddhist	0.6	16.2	33.4	1.2	0.5	1.2	4.9	0.7	0.7	6.4

manifest. At least nine out of every ten residents had been born in an English-speaking country. Between eight and nine were British by ethnic origin. Moreover, everywhere excepting Fairview, where about 5 percent were Japanese, the majority of residents of "foreign" origin were north-western European, many of them Scandinavian, and so not visibly distinguishable from their counterparts of British background. Proportions

TABLE 8

*Principal Religious Affiliation of Vancouver Residents,
by Percentage, Sex and Geographical Area, 1941*

	<i>West End</i>	<i>Business District</i>	<i>East End</i>	<i>Hastings</i>	<i>Cedar Cottage</i>	<i>Mount Pleasant</i>	<i>Fairview</i>	<i>Kitsilano</i>	<i>West Point Grey</i>	<i>Total</i>
MALES										
Anglican	40.7	21.3	15.5	31.7	31.4	30.1	28.4	36.0	35.8	30.4
United	19.6	10.2	10.3	24.1	25.0	26.4	27.0	29.3	30.8	23.4
Presbyterian	15.8	16.3	11.5	16.9	17.1	17.5	14.7	11.6	13.2	14.9
Baptist	2.7	2.2	2.7	4.9	5.7	5.4	4.9	4.0	4.8	4.3
Lutheran	4.0	9.2	6.0	5.3	4.5	3.9	3.3	1.5	1.2	4.1
Catholic	10.9	16.8	20.2	11.1	8.8	8.7	9.2	7.9	7.7	10.9
Jewish	1.2	0.7	0.9	0.3	0.3	0.5	2.0	1.5	1.3	1.0
Confucist and Buddhist	0.9	18.5	27.0	0.9	0.7	1.3	4.2	4.4	0.4	5.7
FEMALES										
Anglican	40.2	24.3	17.5	31.5	30.8	29.2	27.7	34.9	34.8	31.3
United	21.9	16.0	14.6	25.9	26.4	28.0	29.7	30.9	32.4	26.9
Presbyterian	13.7	15.7	12.1	16.1	16.4	16.8	13.8	10.5	12.3	13.9
Baptist	3.0	3.5	4.2	5.5	6.3	6.1	5.4	4.4	4.7	4.9
Lutheran	3.4	6.6	4.7	4.7	4.3	3.6	2.9	1.8	1.3	3.2
Catholic	12.4	22.5	23.0	10.9	8.4	8.3	9.4	8.8	8.3	10.9
Jewish	0.9	0.6	1.4	0.3	0.3	0.5	1.8	1.3	1.2	1.0
Confucist and Buddhist	0.3	5.4	16.6	0.4	0.3	0.5	2.3	1.9	0.2	2.1
BOTH SEXES										
Anglican	40.4	22.2	16.2	31.6	31.1	29.7	28.1	35.4	35.3	30.9
United	20.8	12.0	11.9	25.0	25.7	27.2	28.4	30.1	31.6	25.1
Presbyterian	14.6	16.1	11.7	16.5	16.7	17.1	14.2	11.0	12.7	14.4
Baptist	2.8	2.7	3.3	5.2	6.0	5.8	5.2	4.2	4.7	4.6
Lutheran	3.7	8.4	5.5	5.0	4.4	3.7	3.1	1.7	1.2	3.7
Catholic	11.7	18.6	21.3	11.0	8.6	8.5	9.3	8.4	8.0	10.9
Jewish	1.1	0.6	1.1	0.3	0.3	0.5	1.9	1.4	1.2	1.0
Confucist and Buddhist	0.6	14.3	23.0	0.6	0.5	0.9	3.2	3.1	0.3	3.9

British by ethnic origin did fall slightly during the 1930s, the greatest decline being six percentage points in Kitsilano, partly accounted for by growth among the Japanese who appear to have been spreading westward along False Creek. Thus, to the extent that minorities escaped residence in the two core areas, it was, apart from small pockets of Japanese, primarily "invisible" immigrants, often in family groupings, who accom-

plished the feat. For instance, of the 1,857 Scandinavians by birth living in the East End and Business District in 1931, 87 percent, all ages included, were male, whereas the additional 5,830 who had spread out across the rest of the city were almost evenly divided by sex.³³

Ethnic homogeneity did not signify any diminution in residential differentiation by socio-economic status. Such pre-existing structural conditions as differing average lot sizes between Point Grey and South Vancouver largely predetermined that, for instance, the mean value of building permits issued in the former, 1922-26, was \$3,134, compared with just \$996 in the latter.³⁴ A South Vancouver resident writing in 1920 had termed his municipality "the rendezvous of the artisan, the working classes generally," "the home of the industrial classes."³⁵ Nine years later a city planner considered South Vancouver, along with Hastings Townsite, the most suitable areas of residence for "those who have to earn their livelihood by manual labor," "a place where they can build modest homes which should differ only in size from that of the more opulent employers."³⁶ Conversely, Point Grey continued to exercise appeal among the wealthy and socially pretentious: of 1,200 entries with a Vancouver, South Vancouver or Point Grey address in a 1927 social register, fully half lived in Point Grey, just over a quarter in the West End, the remainder primarily in Fairview or Kitsilano.³⁷ A 1928 social survey of the three

³³ The same phenomenon was evident with the Finns: the 880 in the East End and Business District were 78 percent male, while the 653 scattered elsewhere across the city were just 43 percent male. On the other hand, the 513 Yugoslavs living in these two areas were 77 percent male, the 163 elsewhere 75 percent male. Comparably minor differences were evident in the case of racial minorities. The 10,307 Chinese born in the East End and Business District were 97 percent male, as were 81 percent of the 1,351 resident elsewhere. The 2,448 Japanese born in the two areas were 61 percent male, compared with 58 percent of the 1,685 living elsewhere. And 56 percent of the 257 blacks in the two areas were male compared with 46 percent of the 65 resident elsewhere. Unfortunately, similar data is unavailable for 1941. However, the breakdown of that census into smaller social areas does provide the additional piece of information that the Japanese resident in Fairview and Kitsilano were primarily concentrated along False Creek.

³⁴ Harland Bartholomew, *A Plan for the City of Vancouver, British Columbia* (Vancouver, 1928), p. 32. Also see Holdsworth, p. 189, and Roy, *Vancouver*, pp. 106 and 117. Over the first nine months of 1928, the average house constructed in Point Grey cost \$4,120 as opposed to \$2,524 in South Vancouver and \$2,686 in Vancouver. See Vancouver YMCA, "Vancouver Survey — October 1928," 2, series A-1, v. 21, file 9, in Vancouver City Archives.

³⁵ A. H. Lewis, *South Vancouver, Past and Present* (Vancouver: Western Publishing, 1920), p. 18.

³⁶ Bartholomew, *Vancouver, including Point Grey and South Vancouver*, p. 26.

³⁷ Just 4 percent resided elsewhere, comprising 32 living in Mount Pleasant, 6 in the Business District, 1 in South Vancouver, 1 in Hastings Townsite, and 1 in the East End, who was the local Anglican rector. Margaret Wharf Russell, comp., *Greater Vancouver Social and Club Register* (Vancouver: Clark & Stuart, 1927).

civic jurisdictions by the Vancouver YMCA predicted that, while "the Oriental section [of the population] and unskilled laborers" might choose residence in the East End, "those engaged in commercial pursuits with growing incomes and cultures" would increasingly opt for the district west of Cambie, "artisans and skilled workers" for the area to the east.³⁸

The 1931 and 1941 census data suggest that for individuals with the financial means to reside anywhere in the city the choice may have been age-related, families of high status already established in the West End being less liable to move to the West Side than were their younger married counterparts choosing between the two areas. In 1931 West End males averaged 36 years of age, females 35, being in each case half a dozen years older than their West Side contemporaries. Concurrently, in both 1931 and 1941 twice as many residents of Fairview, Kitsilano and West Point Grey, about one in five, were children than in the West End. One in twenty West End males and virtually one in five females had been widowed, again proportions larger than on the West Side. The West End population had become skewed toward females, who comprised 52 percent of adults in 1931, 56 percent a decade later, both proportions the highest in any city area.³⁹ While this phenomenon was in part an inevitable concomitant of the ageing process, it was also due to an influx of young women, possibly employed in the nearby Business District or as domestics in the mansions that still dotted the area amidst a growing number of apartments.⁴⁰ Fully a third of female adults living in the West End during the interwar years were unmarried and, compared to the total aged 10 to 14, the number 15 to 19 was double and that 20 to 24 fully three to four times larger. Among the two older age groups the sex ratio was particularly skewed toward females at well over 60 percent. An

³⁸ Vancouver YMCA, "Survey," p. 3.

³⁹ The division of the 1941 census into social areas by sex and age reveals the areas of concentrated female residence. Young women aged 20 to 24 made up 62 percent of the adult population in the vicinity of Vancouver General Hospital, possibly explained by their employment as nurses or nurses in training. Women between 20 and 24 comprised 60 percent of Shaughnessy residents, a consequence perhaps of the availability of domestic employment. The same logic may explain 56 percent of residents of West Point Grey aged 25 to 44 being female. As well, 54 percent of residents aged 45 to 54 in Mount Pleasant near False Creek were women. Given that one in six adult females in that neighbourhood were widows, perhaps the area had special appeal to mature women on their own in need of modest accommodation.

⁴⁰ In 1931 3,199 Vancouver women, or 14.6 percent of the total number employed, worked as domestics; in 1941 3,350 or 12.3 percent. Exactly half of Vancouver's female domestics in each of these census years were aged 16 to 24.

increasing number, as in the Business District, were recent arrivals from the prairies.

Even though the population of the West End, male and female, was both ageing and being supplemented by younger newcomers, many of them prairie-born, the area's overall socio-economic orientation appears to have changed remarkably little from its prewar origins. Compared with every other area, residents were peculiarly British in orientation, as measured both by birth and by affiliation with the establishment Church of England, or Anglican church, membership in which still provided for many visible affirmation of declared middle-class status by British standards. Virtually 40 percent of residents were British-born in 1931, as were 31 percent a decade later. Fully 42 percent were Anglican in 1931, over 40 percent in 1941, totals most closely approached in Kitsilano and West Point Grey with 36 percent in each of the two census years. As late as 1941 84 percent of West End residents were British by ethnic origin, a proportion surpassed only by West Point Grey's 89 percent. Educational levels were among the highest in the city, exceeded only by the proportions of West Side residents with thirteen or more years of schooling, probably a reflection of residential proximity to both the University of British Columbia and Vancouver General Hospital. Although it is, of course, impossible to determine from census data how many of the same individuals who had lived in the West End in its earlier period of socio-economic dominance still resided there, it does at the least appear that the area continued to attract individuals of comparable ethnic and socio-economic attributes. Indeed, in the 1927 social directory noted above, even though Point Grey, or West Side, addresses were more numerous, the number residing in the West End was actually slightly higher — at 5.7 versus 5.4 percent — when calculated as a proportion of each area's total population.

If the West Side was much more family oriented than the West End, the East Side was even more so. In 1931 well over a quarter of Hastings, Cedar Cottage and Mount Pleasant residents were children. Between seven and eight of every ten adults were married. Not surprisingly, given contemporary observations concerning the modest character of South Vancouver, under 6 percent had 13 or more years of schooling. The East Side contained greater proportions of British-born than did the West Side, in 1931 35 to 37 percent compared with 27 to 33 percent. Conversely, just over half of East Side residents in 1931 had been born in Canada compared to almost 60 percent on the West Side; by 1941 the proportion had reached 60 percent on the East Side but was virtually two-thirds

further west. However, membership in the Anglican church was greater in the two West Side areas of Kitsilano and West Point Grey at 35 and 36 percent than on the East Side, where it ranged between 28 and 33 percent, providing yet additional confirmation that East Side residents, in this case primarily British-born, were of generally lower socio-economic status than those on the West Side, so more prone to be Non-Conformist in orientation.

III

Residential differentiation received its conscious, outward expression each time Vancouver residents went to the polls. The most useful level at which to explore voting behaviour is, for a number of reasons, the annual civic elections for the Vancouver school board.⁴¹ Elections for aldermen were fought at the ward level, the force of personality thereby making difficult citywide comparison of voting preferences.⁴² While both the parks and school boards were chosen at large, the utility of the former is limited by the relative sparsity of candidates and generally low-keyed, uneventful nature of campaigns.⁴³ In contrast, elections for school trustees regularly attracted a variety of aspirants, whose characteristics visible to contemporaries can be correlated with voting behaviour by geographical areas.

Civic electoral behaviour during the interwar years perforce divides into two time periods, with two necessary points of division: the amalgamation of South Vancouver and Point Grey in January 1929 and the onset of depression by 1930. The metropolis which obtained permanent geographical shape through amalgamation contained up to that date not one but three civic governments, each with its own school board. However, South Vancouver had an elected board only after 1923, when self-government was restored following a half decade of provincial supervision due to fin-

⁴¹ Details on elections, including ballots and results by ward or district, are available in "Nominations and Elections," v. 1, 1886-1924, and v. 2, 1924-49, MCR4, Vancouver City Archives. Additional information can be found in city newspapers including the *Province*, *Sun*, *World*, *British Columbia Federationist* and *Labor Statesman*, particularly during the week before and after each election. On Vancouver politics prior to 1914, see McDonald, "Elite." Also useful are Paul Tennant, "From Democracy to Oligarchy: the Vancouver Civic Political Elite, 1886-1980" (paper presented to Canadian Political Science Association, 1981); Tennant, "Vancouver Civic Politics, 1929-1980," *BC Studies* 46 (Summer 1980): 3-27; and Gibson, pp. 157-58.

⁴² The exception was the years 1920-22, when proportional representation held.

⁴³ See press coverage of campaigns in *Sun* and *Province*, William Carey McKee, "The History of the Vancouver Park System, 1886-1929" (M.A. thesis, Department of History, University of Victoria, 1976), esp. pp. 85-87 and 134; and Gibson, p. 158.

ancial difficulties, and Point Grey's board was chosen by acclamation in six out of nine elections over the decade.⁴⁴ The two boards did, nonetheless, reflect the municipalities' dominant socio-economic orientations. Of the eight South Vancouver trustees, half held such modest, working-class occupations as carpenter, plasterer, electrician and streetcar conductor, two of them running with the endorsement of a left-wing political organization.⁴⁵ The remainder comprised two women, a businessman and a retiree. In sharp contrast, just two members of Point Grey's boards were modest men — one a newspaper proofreader, the other a carpenter — whereas eight were professionals, another six businessmen, and two women.

As a consequence, it is the twenty-one Vancouver civic elections held between 1920, the first postwar year when school board positions were contested, and 1939 that provide the most systematic base for analysis. There eligibility to vote was limited to male and female British subjects, property owners and tenants, who were not Chinese, Japanese, East Indian or native Indian, racial groups denied the vote until after the Second World War. Neither was any "lodger, boarder or temporary occupant of rooms" accorded the franchise.⁴⁶ The January 1921 election was the last in which property owners could vote in as many city wards as they held property; thereafter each individual had one vote to be exercised in one of the areas in which property was owned.⁴⁷ While visual examination of

⁴⁴ South Vancouver Council Minutes, I-B-2 to I-B-7, and Point Grey Municipal Council Minutes, 5-A-7 to 5-B-7, Vancouver City Archives, which unfortunately only contain partial electoral data. Also see Vancouver Board of School Trustees, *Annual Report*, 1928, pp. 170 and 194; and Roy, *Vancouver*, pp. 116-17. Occupations taken from Vancouver city directories.

⁴⁵ See *British Columbia Federationist*, 11 January and 12 December 1924, and *Labor Statesman*, 26 November 1926 and 12 October 1928.

⁴⁶ The voting age was 21. Property under tenancy had to have an assessed value of \$300. Where property was leased, rented or occupied by two or more persons, each could vote if the assessment divided between them was sufficient; "otherwise, no one shall be entitled to vote in respect of such property." However, a married man could not vote as a tenant where the property was owned by his wife. As well, corporations on the assessment roll could vote through an authorized agent. "An Act to revise and consolidate the 'Vancouver Incorporation Act,'" 1921, section 8, in British Columbia, *Statutes*, 1921, pp. 310-11. The provisions of the 1921 act were extended to Point Grey and South Vancouver in "An Act to include the Inhabitants of The Incorporation of South Vancouver and the Corporation of Point Grey, and the Respective Areas thereof, within the City of Vancouver," 1928, in British Columbia, *Statutes*, 1928. Racial minorities were accorded the vote in 1949; see "An Act to amend the 'Vancouver Incorporation Act, 1921,'" section 4, in British Columbia, *Statutes*, 1949, pp. 269-70.

⁴⁷ "An Act to Revise and Consolidate the Vancouver Incorporation Act," 1900, section 5, in British Columbia, *Statutes*, 1900, p. 282.

the civic voters' lists makes clear that a large variety of ethnic names were included, no check is possible as to who actually cast their ballots.⁴⁸

The proportion going to the polls varied widely across the city. That the lowest level should have been in the East End, where about 5 percent of adults resident in the area voted in school board elections, 1928-33, is hardly surprising, given that many residents were disenfranchised by race, others by seasonal transiency or living arrangements. Next came the Business District and West End with 7 percent each, to some extent a reflection of similar factors but also possibly of the two areas' relatively small proportions of children and thereby interest in school matters. During this half decade participation was noticeably higher on the East than West Sides. Fully 19 percent of adults voted in Hastings, as did 18 percent in Cedar Cottage and 16 percent in Mount Pleasant. The only comparable West Side area was West Point Grey with 17 percent, followed by Kitsilano with 14 and Fairview with 12.⁴⁹

While the basis upon which the minority of residents who went to the polls actually chose between candidates can never be fully determined, certain elements of information were generally available and, it might be theorized, at the least affected individuals' decision-making process, especially since the filing deadline for candidates and thereby the beginning of active campaigning was just a week before election.⁵⁰ Half the positions on the school board, which totalled seven prior to amalgamation, nine thereafter, were contested annually. Once names were known, the daily newspapers usually devoted a front-page story to the upcoming election, noting who were the incumbents. As well as having opportunities to hear

⁴⁸ Official voters' lists are available in Vancouver City Archives.

⁴⁹ Total number of votes cast for school board candidates in each area in the three elections before and after the 1931 census was divided by the number of vacancies to be filled, and then by total adult population aged 20 and above, as given in the 1931 census, which used the same geographical divisions as did these six elections. In the 1932 election, the votes cast for the single one-year position on the board were preferred as more accurately representing the number of voters, and these figures suggest that many voters did not make choices to fill all the vacancies. If such were the case generally — and indeed it is also indicated by the greater number of individuals who voted for mayor — then all these percentages are low. They are also skewed downward by virtue of the census data including individuals aged 20 and above whereas the minimum voting age was 21.

⁵⁰ The principal qualification for candidates, in addition to being able to vote, was to have \$500 in clear title of real property for six months prior to nomination. See statutes and *British Columbia Federationist*, 15 December 1922, and *Province*, 7 December 1938. Elections were at first held in January, from 1922 on the second Wednesday of December, except for 1928, when the first election for the amalgamated Vancouver, South Vancouver and Point Grey occurred in October. *Vancouver Municipal Yearbook*, esp. 1929, p. 4.

contestants in person, prospective voters could learn more about many of them from newspaper ads appearing a day or two before election. Information on the ballot, provided by the candidates, contained name and an occupational designation.⁵¹

As well, some aspirants were ideologically identified by virtue of endorsement by organized labour or a left-wing political party.⁵² At first such endorsements appeared only in the city's labour press, although stories in mainstream dailies sometimes referred to specific individuals as "labour candidates."⁵³ Beginning with the election held immediately prior to amalgamation, endorsements by left-wing groups were also inserted in daily papers.⁵⁴ From 1933 the newly founded Co-operative Common-

⁵¹ The 1921 and January 1922 ballots also included candidates' addresses; the 1920 and 1923 ballots only names.

⁵² The principal sources of information checked for such endorsements were the mainstream and labour press on the assumption that, if not publicized there, endorsement was, even if it did occur, of little real significance in determining electoral behaviour. Candidates were endorsed by the Federated Labor Party in 1921 (Angus MacInnes), 1922 (MacInnes), 1923 (W. J. Downie); the Vancouver and District Labor Representation committee in 1923 (Downie); the Canadian Labor Party in 1924 (Downie, A. V. Lofting and Robert Skinner), 1925 (Lofting), 1926 (Lofting); the Independent Labor Party in 1927 (Fred Knowles), 1928 (W. W. Lefeaux, R. F. Rigby, S. T. Wybourn), 1929 (Isabella Steenbekkers, Rigby, Wybourn), 1930 (Susie Lane Clark, R. H. Neelands, Rigby), 1931 (Clark, H. W. Oakes, Wybourn); the Trades and Labour Council in 1923 (Downie), 1928 (Rigby, Lofting, Ed Rogers, Wybourn), 1931 (James Blackwood, who was not, however, considered as a labour candidate since he had already been elected six times without left endorsement); the Socialist Party in 1931 (Wybourn), 1932 (Clark, Alfred Hurry, Oakes, Wybourn); the CCF in 1933 (Frank Buck, Hurry, Oakes), 1935 (Ronald Macaulay, Mildred Osterhout), 1936 (Buck, Clark, William Offer, William N. Wallace), 1937 (Osterhout), 1938 (James Bawn, John Evans, Wybourn); Labor-Progressive Party in 1938 (Effie Jones). Individuals were considered still to be labour candidates even when not endorsed in a subsequent election on the assumption that they would still possess such an orientation in the public mind (Lofting in 1929, Neelands in 1932, 1934, 1936, 1938). *British Columbia Federationist*, 15 April 1921, 23 November and 7 December 1923; *B.C. Workers News*, 13 December 1935 and 11 December 1936; *Labor Statesman*, 5 December 1924, 4 December 1925, 26 November 1926, 9 December 1927, 12 October 1928, 6 December 1929, 21 November 1930, 3 and 11 December 1931, December 1932; *Province*, 10 December 1935; 8 December 1936, 1 December 1937, 7 December 1938; *Sun*, 11 December 1923, 13 December 1932; 14 December 1933; and Richard Grey Stuart, "The Early Political Career of Angus MacInnes" (M.A. thesis, Department of History, UBC, 1970), pp. 15-16. For detail on the endorsement process, see Paul A. Phillips, *No Power Greater: A Century of Labor in British Columbia* (Vancouver: British Columbia Federation of Labour, 1967).

⁵³ For instance, *Province*, 9 January 1920 and 13 December 1923; and *Sun*, 5 January 1922.

⁵⁴ This election also saw the appearance of a "'Citizen's League' of Greater Vancouver," which endorsed a number of candidates of different political orientations but subsequently disappeared from public view as a political force. *Province*, 16 October 1928.

wealth Federation endorsed candidates, and it was largely in order to counter the success of this left-oriented political party, which elected three aldermen in the December 1936 civic election, that the Non-Partisan Association was formed a year later by a coalition of Liberal and Conservative political interests with the explicit goal of endorsing acceptable candidates.⁵⁵ By 1938 the NPA had gained control of civic government, in large part through its co-optation by endorsement of virtually all incumbents, including in the case of the school board trustees of modest occupation and left orientation.⁵⁶

Thus, three principal factors probably distinguished school board candidates to contemporaries: (1) ballot designation as supplemented by the immediate campaign rhetoric; (2) possible left-wing endorsement; and (3) incumbency or non-incumbency. Each of these variables is usefully correlated with voter preferences in the nine geographical areas. Since all eighty-one candidates possessed apparent Anglo-Saxon surnames, that element of the ballot has less utility than do occupation designations, which divide into four principal categories. Seventeen of the eighty-one candidates were women, generally identified on the ballot as "housewife" and focusing their campaign on previous experience with parent-teacher and child welfare groups.⁵⁷ Overall, the thirty-nine candidacies by these

⁵⁵ R. P. Pettipiece, A. M. Anderson and Alfred Hurry, all CCF-endorsed, were elected aldermen in December 1936. Anderson resigned shortly thereafter. In a second by-election, in early 1937, Helena Gutteridge, CCF-endorsed, was elected, with her re-election in December 1937 being the last CCF victory before the complete domination of the city council by NPA-endorsed candidates. *Province*, 12 and 14 December 1936 and 9 December 1937; Andrea Smith, "The CCF, NPA, and Civic Change: Provincial Forces Behind Vancouver Politics, 1930-1940," *BC Studies* 53 (Spring 1982): 45-65; and Roy, *Vancouver*, pp. 119 and 179, fn65.

⁵⁶ James Blackwood and R. H. Neelands. *Province*, 1 December 1937 and 7 December 1938. It should be noted, however, that while Neelands focused on his trades union credentials at each election (see *Province*, 10 December 1934, and *Sun*, 7 December 1936), he had not been endorsed by the left since 1930. The NPA adopted a similar policy at the aldermanic level in 1937 by endorsing the incumbent R. P. Pettipiece, previously a CCF candidate, who, however, then lost the election. As well, the labour connections of other candidates were emphasized by the NPA in the press, as in the case of a prominent lawyer: "he is consul for various labor unions and is familiar with the labor man's point of view." *Province*, 6 December 1937. The sole school board incumbent who retained a leftist affiliation in the 1937 campaign was Mildred Osterhout, who was soundly defeated by an NPA slate, whose lowest member garnered 3,476 votes against her 2,323. Through the war years, except for the re-election in 1944 of a highly successful female incumbent previously endorsed by the NPA but this time running as an "Independent," only NPA candidates would be elected to the school board. See *Province*, 14 December 1939, 12 December 1940, 11 December 1941, 10 December 1942, 9 December 1943 and 14 December 1944.

⁵⁷ Thirteen designated themselves as "housewife," the other four as "widow," "teacher retired" and "social worker." One candidate ran only in 1920, an election without

seventeen women were the best received, garnering on average, as table 9 details, 57 percent of votes cast with two-thirds resulting in election. Twenty-six of the sixty-four candidates were, like 5 percent of Vancouver employed male adults, professionals, primarily lawyers or engineers.⁵⁸ Their forty-four candidacies received 54 percent of votes cast and, again, two-thirds were successful. Another nineteen candidates held occupations in business and finance, such as merchant, contractor or insurance agent, shared by about 12 percent of employed male adults.⁵⁹ In general the forty-four business candidacies were less well received, garnering overall just 44 percent of votes cast, as a consequence of which only a third resulted in election. The remaining nineteen male candidates were members of what might be termed Vancouver's modest majority, employed, as were about 80 percent of their contemporaries, in such dominantly wage-labour positions as clerk, artisan and manual worker.⁶⁰ Overall, these fifty-six modest candidacies obtained 46 percent of the vote and were successful about 40 percent of the time. Unlike professional and business candidates, whose campaign rhetoric most often centred, to quote a West End physician, on "an Economical and Businesslike administration of school matters," modest candidates generally argued, as did a decorator running for the first time in 1920, for the "education of the masses and not for the classes."⁶¹

association on the ballot. See, for instance, *Province*, 8 December 1925 and 19 December 1935; and *Western Woman's Weekly* 5, no. 5 (7 January 1922).

⁵⁸ Ten were lawyers, 7 engineers, 4 accountants, 2 physicians and 1 each a professor, writer and architect. The exact proportions of professionals in the employed adult male population were 6.2 percent in Vancouver city in 1921, no data being available for South Vancouver and Point Grey, 5.6 percent in 1931 and 5.3 percent in 1941. *Census of Canada*, 1921, v. 4, pp. 554-75; 1931, v. 7, pp. 238-49; and 1941, v. 7, pp. 212-23.

⁵⁹ Nine were merchants, business or shop proprietors, 4 builders or contractors, 2 manufacturers, 2 real estate or insurance agents, 1 a lumberman and 1 a broker. The exact proportions so employed in Vancouver were 15.6 in 1921, 12.1 in 1931 and 11.9 percent in 1941.

⁶⁰ Three were carpenters, 3 conductors and 1 each a civic employee, clerk, decorator, depot master, electrician, mail carrier, motorman, plasterer, secretary of a union, sheet metal worker, sign writer, telephone employee and warehouseman. The exact proportions so employed in Vancouver were 77.5, 81.9 and 81.9 percent. In addition, 0.6, 0.4 and 0.8 percent of employed Vancouver males were farmers. An alternative division of occupations would be to separate out "clerks" into a separate group and label the remaining occupations "working-class" rather than the more general "modest." The division used here seems more consistent with contemporary perceptions concerning occupational groupings in Vancouver. On its validity, also see McCririck, pp. 7 and 12fn1.

⁶¹ *Province*, 12 January 1921, and *British Columbia Federationist*, 2 January 1920. Also see *Sun*, 8 and 9 January 1922, and *Province*, 11 January 1922.

TABLE 9

*Mean Percentage of Votes Received by Vancouver School Board Candidates,
by Occupation and Geographical Area, 1920-1939*

	<i>West End</i>	<i>Business District</i>	<i>East End</i>	<i>Hastings</i>	<i>Cedar Cottage</i>	<i>Mount Pleasant</i>	<i>Fairview</i>	<i>Kitsilano</i>	<i>West Point Grey</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>1920-27</i>										
Professional (n=19)	67.4	66.8	56.6	52.5	55.6	54.0	59.0	63.6	64.5	59.7
Business (19)	41.8	44.4	42.2	34.0	37.4	37.6	41.6	42.5	38.0	40.1
Modest (12)	42.9	47.3	61.3	73.1	64.0	69.8	52.6	46.1	45.8	56.2
Female (9)	70.2	63.8	68.8	77.5	76.1	73.0	73.9	72.0	73.7	72.1
<i>1928-39</i>										
Professional (25)	58.2	59.3	48.6	43.6	42.5	43.1	53.1	55.5	54.7	50.1
Business (25)	52.0	54.3	44.8	42.1	42.8	45.2	50.9	50.8	49.0	47.6
Modest (44)	37.1	37.2	43.7	47.9	49.1	48.9	38.8	38.6	38.3	42.9
Female (30)	51.9	47.4	53.8	54.9	53.2	50.3	54.1	50.9	52.9	52.2
<i>1920-29</i>										
Professional (30)	60.6	60.6	51.0	45.4	48.1	46.7	53.6	57.5	58.4	53.0
Business (25)	38.2	40.9	38.6	32.0	35.3	35.6	39.9	39.1	35.1	37.3
Modest (24)	33.7	35.9	46.9	55.5	51.0	54.8	39.6	36.1	35.8	43.9
Female (17)	54.0	49.9	53.6	58.4	57.2	54.6	55.7	55.9	57.5	55.7
<i>1930-39</i>										
Professional (14)	65.6	66.7	54.4	51.9	48.2	50.1	60.0	62.2	60.1	56.9
Business (19)	60.0	62.0	50.3	47.3	47.2	50.2	57.4	57.9	56.3	53.7
Modest (32)	41.9	42.0	47.9	51.6	53.3	52.3	43.4	43.3	43.0	47.1
Female (22)	58.0	52.2	60.2	61.4	59.4	56.3	61.0	68.8	57.9	57.6
<i>Total</i>										
Professional (44)	62.2	62.5	52.1	47.4	48.2	47.8	55.6	59.0	58.9	54.2
Business (44)	47.6	50.0	43.7	38.6	40.5	41.9	46.9	47.2	44.3	44.4
Modest (56)	38.3	39.5	47.5	53.3	52.3	53.4	41.8	40.2	39.9	45.8
Female (39)	56.1	51.2	57.3	60.1	58.5	55.5	58.7	63.2	57.7	56.8

The explanation for the differing appeal exercised by women, professionals, businessmen and modest men must be sought at the level of neighbourhood, or geographical area. Whatever the time period, whether the division be amalgamation or the onset of depression, women consistently received the highest level of support across areas, with half or more of voters in each area generally casting a ballot in their favour. The sole exception was the Business District, where the vote accorded female candidacies averaged 5 or more percentage points less. Indeed, in fully half the thirty-nine candidacies over the two decades, the smallest proportion of votes came in the Business District, whose relatively few voters were probably a combination of business people owning property there and residents locally employed. Both groups were largely male and in the latter case very likely childless, thereby perhaps less sympathetic to women's credentials.⁶²

Both professionals and businessmen found their most receptive audience in the Business District and adjoining West End. The highest proportion of votes accorded the forty-four professional candidacies came three-quarters of the time in one of the two areas, for the forty-four business candidacies almost two-thirds of the time.⁶³ Conversely, professionals and businessmen generated little enthusiasm on the East Side, where the lowest level of support for professional candidacies came more than 80 percent of the time, for business candidacies about 70 percent.⁶⁴ Prior to amal-

⁶² Overall, 19 of the 39 female candidates received their lowest level of support, calculated as the lowest proportion of votes cast in an area for any candidate, in the Business District. This occurred in 7 of 9 cases 1920-27, 12 of 30 1929-39, 11 of 17 1920-29 and 8 of 22 1930-39. There is some suggestion that women received a significant proportion of their support from female voters. Under proportional representation, voters were to mark their ballots in order of preference rather than merely placing an "x" before favoured candidates. In December 1922 one Mount Pleasant poll recorded "no fewer than ninety-two spoiled ballots in the count for school trustees," many of them "marked with an 'X' for Mrs. Hopkins and evidently cast by women." This account noted further how female poll clerks, employed for the first time, persisted despite "stern glances from male workers" in cheering whenever votes were called out for the sole woman running for trustee. *Province*, 14 December 1922.

⁶³ Overall, 15 of the 44 professional candidates received their highest level of support in the Business District, an additional 17 in the West End. The phenomenon occurred 5 and 8 times respectively out of 19 candidacies 1920-27, 10 and 9 of 25 1929-39, 8 and 12 of 30 1920-29 and 7 and 5 of 14 1930-39. Overall, 16 of the 44 business candidates received their highest level of support in the Business District, an additional 11 in the West End. The phenomenon occurred 8 and 5 out of 19 candidacies 1920-28, 8 and 6 of 25 1929-39, 10 and 6 of 25 1920-29, and 6 and 5 of 19 1930-39.

⁶⁴ Overall, 14 of the 44 professional candidacies received their lowest level of support in Hastings, 10 in Cedar Cottage and 12 in Mount Pleasant. The phenomenon occurred 8, 0 and 6 times respectively out of 19 candidacies 1920-27, 6, 10 and 6

gamation and the depression, least interest was expressed in Hastings and Mount Pleasant, thereafter in Cedar Cottage. The appeal of professional candidacies regularly surpassed those by businessmen, as evidenced by their higher mean vote and success rate in securing election. During the 1920s, a professional candidacy received, whatever the geographical area, half again as many votes on average as did a business candidacy; thereafter, 5 to 10 percent more votes, the narrower differential possibly attributable to vastly different economic conditions and thereby changing perceptions of the expertise demanded on the board. As a consequence, the proportion of successful business candidacies rose dramatically from four out of twenty-five during the 1920s to eleven of nineteen over the next decade, whereas the success rate of professional candidacies remained fairly constant at two out of three over the two decades.

The allegiance accorded men of modest occupation was greatest on the East Side. Virtually half of their fifty-six candidacies prior to amalgamation received their highest proportion of votes in Hastings, most of the remainder in Mount Pleasant. In the later period the two areas vied with Cedar Cottage for the honour.⁶⁵ Whatever the time period, modest candidacies did least well in the West End — if not there, then in the Business District or West Point Grey.⁶⁶ The relative lack of success of modest men in securing election lay primarily in the large differential in voter support between geographical areas: prior to amalgamation modest candidacies received on average over half again as many votes on the East Side as in the Business District, West End, Kitsilano or West Point Grey. Thereafter, although the differential moderated, modest candidacies still garnered about a quarter more votes on the East Side than in any other geographical area excepting the East End, where their vote, whatever the time period, lay about half way between the extremes.

of 25 1929-39, 9, 2 and 12 of 30 1920-29, and 5, 8 and 0 of 14 1930-39. Overall, 16 of the 44 business candidacies received their lowest level of support in Hastings, 9 in Cedar Cottage and 5 in Mount Pleasant. The phenomenon occurred 10, 2 and 1 times respectively out of 19 candidacies 1920-27, 6, 7 and 4 of 25 1929-39, 12, 2 and 2 of 25 1920-29 and 4, 7 and 3 of 19 1930-39.

⁶⁵ Overall, 16 of the 56 modest candidacies received their highest level of support in Hastings, 11 in Cedar Cottage and 13 in Mount Pleasant. The phenomenon occurred 6, 0 and 5 times respectively out of 12 candidacies 1920-27, 10, 11 and 8 of 44 1929-30, 10, 2 and 9 of 24 1920-29, and 6, 9 and 4 of 32 1930-39.

⁶⁶ Overall, 18 out of 56 modest candidacies received their lowest level of support in the West End, 12 in the Business District and 7 in West Point Grey. The phenomenon occurred 7, 2 and 2 times out of 12 candidacies 1920-27, 11, 10 and 5 of 44 1929-30, 9, 8 and 2 of 24 1920-29, and 9, 4 and 5 of 32 1930-39.

A quarter — twenty-one — of the eighty-one interwar school board candidates were left-endorsed. The policy objectives to which such individuals were meant to adhere resembled those of modest aspirants, not surprising given that twelve of the twenty-one were modest men. As expressed in a labour newspaper, “absolutely free and equal educational opportunities, from the primary school to the university” were essential “if the working class children are to be properly taken care of” and not “placed on the labour market at the age of fifteen years and so with only a partial education.” The emphasis was on expansion rather than on economy of operation, a dichotomy which became more apparent once the depression took hold. As early as December 1929 a West Side lawyer, formerly a Point Grey trustee, was arguing that “schools are being built in a too expensive manner,” whereas the next year a Mount Pleasant depot master urged “economy by spending wisely.”⁶⁷

As table 10 details, the forty-seven left-endorsed candidacies obtained 41 percent of the vote overall and achieved election about a quarter of the time.⁶⁸ Here, even more so than with modest men as an occupational group, residential differentiation played the critical role: in the years prior to amalgamation, left-endorsed candidacies averaged 63 percent of the vote in Hastings and 60 percent in Mount Pleasant compared with just 25 percent in the West End and about 30 percent in West Point Grey, Kitsilano and the Business District. In other words, left-endorsed candidacies garnered well over twice as large a proportion of votes cast on the East Side as elsewhere in Vancouver. Again the partial exception was the East End, where the vote lay between the two extremes, although generally closer to East Side levels. In this earlier period, almost 80 percent of candidacies received their highest proportion of votes in Hastings, two-thirds their lowest proportion in the West End, otherwise either in West Point Grey or the Business District.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ *Labor Statesman*, 5 December 1924, 4 December 1925, 3 December 1926 and December 1932; *Sun*, 19 December 1929; and *Province*, 7 December 1930.

⁶⁸ McInnes in January 1922, Lofting in 1926, Knowles in 1927, Neelands in 1930, 1932, 1934, 1936 and 1938, Hurry in 1932 for a one-year term, Buck in 1933 and 1936, and Osterhout in 1935.

⁶⁹ Overall, 24 out of 47 left-endorsed candidacies received their highest level of support in Hastings, 7 in Cedar Cottage and 12 in Mount Pleasant. The phenomenon held in 7, 1 and 1 instances respectively out of 9 candidacies 1920-27, in 17, 6 and 11 of 38 1929-30, in 0, 1 and 18 1920-29 and in 15, 6 and 4 of 20 1930-39. Overall, 16 received their lowest level of support in the West End, 15 in the Business District and 9 in West Point Grey. The phenomenon held in 6, 1 and 3 instances respectively 1920-28, in 10, 14 and 7 1929-39, in 8, 7 and 2 1920-29, and in 8, 8 and 7 1930-39.

TABLE 10

Mean Percentage of Votes Received by Left-endorsed Vancouver School Board Candidates, by Occupation and Geographical Area, 1920-1939

	<i>West End</i>	<i>Business District</i>	<i>East End</i>	<i>Hastings</i>	<i>Cedar Cottage</i>	<i>Mount Pleasant</i>	<i>Fairview</i>	<i>Kitsilano</i>	<i>West Point Grey</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>1920-27</i>										
Professional (n=2)	25.1	29.8	43.1	48.1	44.1	42.1	31.1	28.1	28.1	35.7
Modest (7)	25.3	32.4	51.4	67.1	53.1	65.3	37.2	31.7	31.7	44.5
Total (9)	25.3	31.9	49.6	62.9	51.1	60.3	35.9	31.0	30.4	42.6
<i>1928-39</i>										
Professional (3)	47.2	46.6	45.7	46.5	46.4	51.4	45.1	46.6	50.3	48.6
Modest (26)	30.3	30.1	40.1	46.9	48.9	47.2	32.5	34.6	32.7	39.0
Female (9)	33.8	31.1	49.3	55.9	54.0	51.0	33.3	34.0	35.3	43.0
Total (38)	32.7	31.7	42.8	49.0	49.3	48.5	34.3	34.0	34.3	40.8
<i>1920-29</i>										
Professional (3)	25.1	27.6	37.2	40.1	36.3	36.9	26.6	25.3	25.8	31.3
Modest (14)	21.3	25.1	40.1	52.2	45.1	52.8	29.8	27.1	26.9	36.8
Total (18) ¹	21.3	24.6	38.1	48.1	42.1	48.4	28.1	27.1	25.8	34.5
<i>1930-39</i>										
Professional (2)	58.3	58.3	55.8	57.7	59.3	63.8	58.8	60.1	64.8	61.7
Modest (19)	35.1	34.6	44.3	50.4	53.2	49.7	36.2	39.0	36.6	42.7
Female (8)	36.8	34.0	53.8	61.0	58.7	54.8	36.3	36.9	38.4	46.7
Total (29)	35.5	36.1	47.7	53.8	55.2	52.1	37.8	39.9	39.0	45.1
<i>Total</i>										
Professional (5)	38.3	39.9	44.1	47.1	45.5	47.7	39.5	39.2	41.4	43.4
Modest (33)	29.2	30.6	42.5	51.1	49.8	51.0	33.5	34.0	32.5	40.2
Female (9)	33.8	31.1	49.3	55.9	54.0	51.0	33.3	34.0	35.3	43.0
Total (47)	31.3	31.7	44.1	51.7	49.6	50.8	34.6	33.4	33.6	41.1

¹ Also includes one left-endorsed female candidacy.

Some moderation in support for left-endorsed candidacies occurred after amalgamation, probably due more to a far greater number of candidacies than to any major shift in voter orientation within the six geographical areas following their enlargement through the addition of South Vancouver and Point Grey. The basic voting pattern remained unchanged, with candidacies still garnering over half again as many votes on the East Side as everywhere else in the city excepting the East End, which during the depression years moved closer to East Side levels. Following amalgamation, half the left-endorsed candidacies received their

highest level of support in Hastings, the remainder almost always in Mount Pleasant or Cedar Cottage. In 80 percent of the cases, the lowest proportion of votes came in the Business District, West End or West Point Grey.⁷⁰

The occupation of left-endorsed candidates affected their voter appeal across the city. Just as was the case generally, the five professional and nine female candidacies did best, each garnering on average 43 percent of the vote compared with 40 percent for the thirty-three modest candidacies. Despite being left-endorsed, professional candidacies still obtained 38 to 41 percent of the vote in the West End, Business District and West Side compared with the 29 to 34 percent accorded modest candidacies and 31 to 35 percent given female candidacies. Thus, in the case of professionals occupational identification and the status implied therein may have overridden political orientation in some voters' minds, whereas females, by virtue of being left-endorsed, jeopardized part of their humanitarian appeal. On the other hand, candidacies by left-endorsed professionals did less well on the East Side, receiving just 45 to 48 percent of the vote, than did those by left-endorsed modest men with 50 to 51 percent and women with 51 to 56 percent. The same relative preferences held during the different time periods, except that two pre-amalgamation candidacies by a naturopathic physician were relatively unsuccessful city-wide.

The most general effect of incumbency was to ensure re-election, and such was the case over these two decades fully fifty-two of sixty times, due most often to a growing consensus of support across the city. Three of the eight exceptions occurred in cases where the incumbent was left-endorsed

⁷⁰ The location of support for left-endorsed candidacies for the school board paralleled aldermanic preferences during the time period when the ward comprised the electoral unit. In January 1920 James Reid, "representing labour," gained election in ward 7, essentially Hastings Townsite. In the next election, a "labour candidate," R. P. Pettipiece, received most first-choice votes city wide for alderman. Buoyed by his feat, he ran next year for mayor and was resoundingly defeated. In December 1925 Angus MacInnes, an incumbent "labour" school trustee, was elected alderman in ward 8, centring on eastern Mount Pleasant and District Lot 301 and in this essay termed "Mount Pleasant." MacInnes was returned a year later when aldermanic terms were extended to two years and again after amalgamation in ward 7, an area geographically similar to the older ward 8 excepting for its extension southward to include a slice of South Vancouver. By the 1930 civic election MacInnes had been elected a member of parliament. A perennial "labour" candidate, Walter Deptford, ran successfully in ward 7 both that year and in 1932. In 1934 Deptford ran as a "labour candidate" after the CCF endorsed Alfred Hurry in the ward; the two together garnered 850 more votes than the winner in the three-man race. *Province*, 9 January 1920, 16 December 1922, 13 December 1923, 10 December 1925, 9 December 1926, 18 October 1928, 11 December 1930, 15 December 1932 and 13 December 1934.

TABLE 11

Mean Percentage of Votes Received by First-time Vancouver School Board Candidates Identified Primarily by Occupation, 1920-1939¹

	<i>West End</i>	<i>Business District</i>	<i>East End</i>	<i>Hastings</i>	<i>Cedar Cottage</i>	<i>Mount Pleasant</i>	<i>Fairview</i>	<i>Kitsilano</i>	<i>West Point Grey</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>1920-27²</i>										
Professional (n=11)	66.3	64.8	52.5	47.9	51.8	50.0	56.1	61.5	62.5	56.7
Business (5)	34.2	35.8	33.1	32.6	30.2	34.3	36.6	35.6	37.8	33.9
Female (4)	54.5	48.9	53.5	69.5	69.6	65.1	59.3	56.4	56.8	59.8
<i>1928-39</i>										
Professional (10)	57.0	58.0	45.6	40.0	38.3	38.2	52.3	56.2	54.1	47.2
Business (8)	53.1	55.1	41.3	37.4	36.3	37.6	50.8	50.5	48.3	44.7
Modest (2)	22.4	23.2	32.3	30.7	31.7	33.7	26.5	22.5	22.0	27.4
Female (6)	46.4	41.7	42.9	44.2	37.9	38.2	45.4	44.0	47.8	43.4
<i>1920-29</i>										
Professional (16)	59.3	58.5	48.2	43.0	46.0	44.0	50.5	53.5	55.8	50.5
Business (6)	30.1	32.8	29.6	29.0	27.7	30.7	32.7	31.7	33.3	30.4
Modest (3)	35.0	37.9	48.0	49.3	47.3	48.6	40.2	37.6	37.2	42.5
Female (7)	51.5	46.6	46.7	57.0	55.6	51.9	54.5	52.2	54.5	52.9
<i>1930-39</i>										
Professional (5)	70.2	71.5	52.5	47.7	43.3	45.7	66.6	76.4	67.1	57.4
Business (7)	64.2	65.1	48.1	43.2	41.2	42.9	60.1	59.9	57.1	52.4
Female (3)	35.0	37.9	48.0	49.3	47.3	48.6	40.2	37.6	37.2	42.5
<i>Total</i>										
Professional (21)	61.9	61.6	49.2	44.1	45.8	44.4	54.3	59.0	58.5	52.1
Business (13)	45.9	47.7	38.1	35.6	33.9	35.3	45.4	44.6	44.3	40.5
Modest (3)	35.0	37.9	48.0	49.3	47.3	48.6	40.2	37.6	37.2	42.5
Female (10)	47.0	44.2	47.1	54.9	53.3	51.0	50.6	48.2	49.8	50.1

¹ Also excludes incumbents from South Vancouver and Point Grey running in Vancouver after amalgamation.

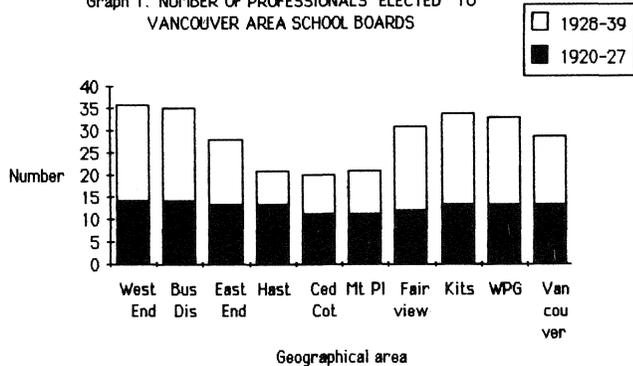
² Excludes one modest candidacy.

and, probably as a consequence, unable to achieve credibility in the West End, Business District and West Side. However, trustees once defeated at the polls usually fared poorly when they chose, as occurred several times, to run repeatedly in the hope of eventually securing re-election.

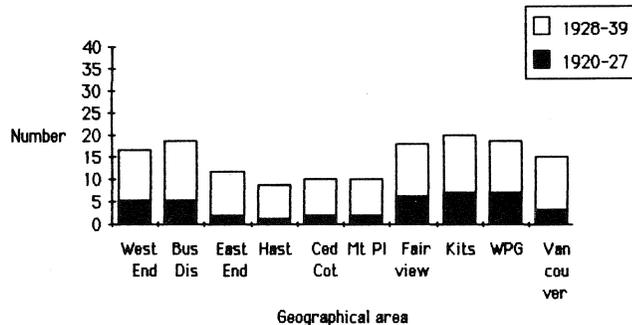
Given the almost predictive effect of left-endorsement and of incumbency, it becomes useful to re-examine the effect of ballot designation by separating out only non-left-endorsed first-time candidacies, as in table 11. The same general pattern held as with all candidacies: overall, the twenty-one professional and eleven female candidacies did better with 50 and 52 percent of the vote than did the twelve business and three modest candidacies with 41 and 43 percent respectively. The geography of support remained unchanged. Once again, professionals appear to have possessed the greatest inherent occupational prestige: the proportion of the vote accorded non-left-endorsed first-time professional candidacies was just 2 to 3 percentage points lower across the different geographical areas than the proportion accorded all professional candidacies, incumbent or not. The decline in support for first-time non-left-endorsed female candidacies was, by comparison, several times greater at 5 to 10 percentage points, suggesting that while their sex, and the humanitarianism of their campaign rhetoric, was inherently appealing, its attraction increased even further with incumbency and, presumably, evidence of performance during that incumbency. A similar differential existed with business candidacies, especially on the East Side and in the East End, where support for newcomers was upwards to 7 percentage points lower, signifying they too had to prove themselves.

Graphs 1-5 turn the equation on its head, so to speak, by focusing not on the three principal variables distinguishing candidacies to contemporaries but rather on the geographical areas themselves. The graphs depict what would have been the composition of school boards had each area been able to select its own board from among all the candidates. Not surprisingly, while women would have formed a roughly equal proportion of every area board, the remaining members would have differed markedly, with the East Side selecting a high proportion of modest candidates, the West End, Business District and West Side choosing primarily professionals and businessmen. Left-endorsed candidates would have formed almost four times greater a proportion of East Side boards than in the West End, Business District and West Side. The reality of residential differentiation became manifest each time Vancouver voters went to the polls.

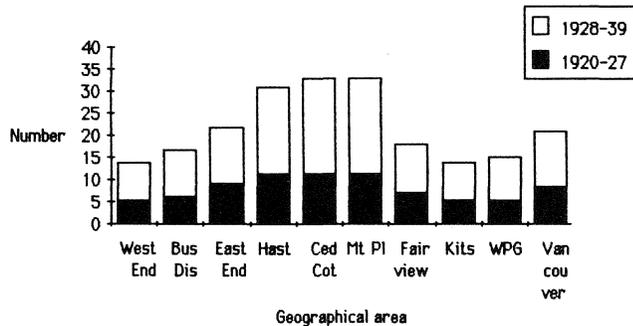
Graph 1. NUMBER OF PROFESSIONALS "ELECTED" TO VANCOUVER AREA SCHOOL BOARDS



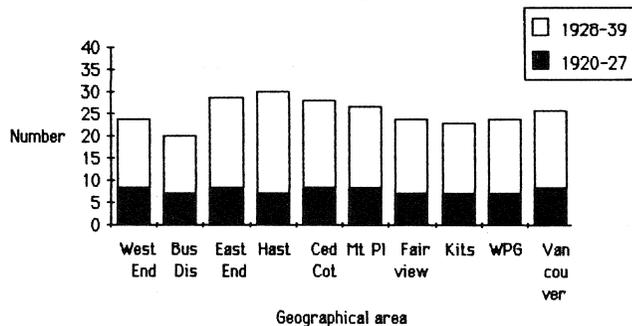
Graph 2. NUMBER OF BUSINESSMEN "ELECTED" TO VANCOUVER AREA SCHOOL BOARDS



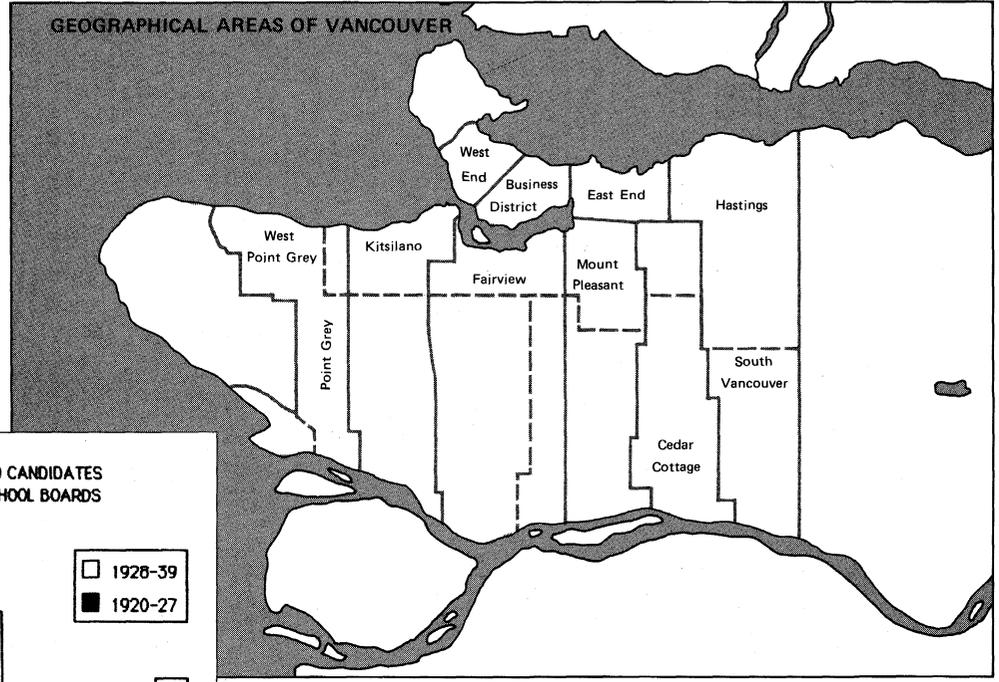
Graph 3. NUMBER OF MODEST MEN "ELECTED" TO VANCOUVER AREA SCHOOL BOARDS



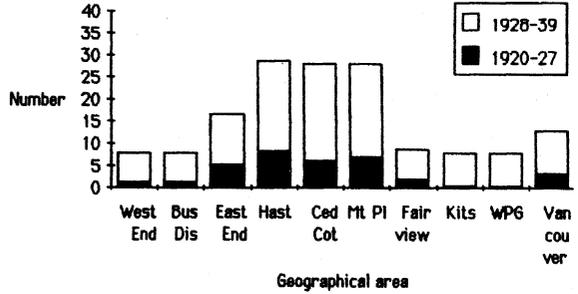
Graph 4. NUMBER OF WOMEN "ELECTED" TO VANCOUVER AREA SCHOOL BOARDS



GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS OF VANCOUVER



Graph 5. NUMBER OF LEFT-ENDORSED CANDIDATES "ELECTED" TO VANCOUVER AREA SCHOOL BOARDS



IV

Despite the consistency which existed in voting behaviour within and between geographical areas of interwar Vancouver, it would be a mistake to conclude that residential differentiation, or the force of neighbourhood, dominated decision-making to the exclusion of community. Numerous times over the two decades, voters spoke with a common voice, preferring what might be termed consensus candidates, that is, the same individuals were either most voted in every one of the nine geographical areas in a particular election or at the least secured election in every area. On four occasions an incumbent topped the polls in every geographical area: neighbourhood and community became one. In 1923 and 1925 it was Mrs. Dora Macaulay, an incumbent "housewife" who ran on her record and then did not seek re-election in 1927. Her campaign combined the rhetoric associated with female candidacies with what was probably considerable general appeal by promising at one and the same time a "woman's viewpoint on all educational matters for the betterment of the child" and "Economy, Efficiency and Co-operation." The same electoral feat was achieved in 1930 by Thomas Brooks, a South Vancouver "merchant" who was formerly reeve and trustee in that municipality. Brooks' campaign stressed his "courage to vote for what he deems advisable in the best interests of the educational system," including in that first year of depression a city bylaw to improve school grounds. Over his next decade of board membership Brooks at least once again was the preferred candidate in every geographical area. Consensus was also inspired by James Blackwood, the decorator who had joined the board in 1920 with the "education of the masses" slogan. Blackwood had already been the preferred choice one or more times in every area except Cedar Cottage prior to 1939, when he swept the poll even there. Like Macaulay and Brooks, Blackwood was clearly able to unite Vancouver voters, in 1931 even securing the endorsement of the left. Both men were, not surprisingly, co-opted by the NPA with Brooks continuing as trustee to 1951, Blackwood to 1945.⁷¹

Over the two decades a diversity of individuals secured election in every geographical area. Out of a total of thirty-two successful candidacies prior to amalgamation, fully eighteen occurred citywide. Five of these were by women, including Macaulay also in her first attempt at re-election in 1921. Nine were by professionals, one by a businessman and three by

⁷¹ *Province*, 11 December 1923, 8 December 1925, 7 December 1930, and *Labor Statesman*, 11 December 1931.

modest men.⁷² Of the six consensus candidacies by non-incumbents, five were by professionals, the other by a woman, again individuals whose attributes had the greatest inherent appeal to voters. Of fifty-nine successful candidacies after amalgamation, over half, or thirty-one, were elected by consensus. Of these, twelve were by women, six by professionals and eight by businessmen, including five by Brooks. The remaining five were by modest men, in four instances Blackwood but in the fifth R. H. Neelands, a printer and veteran trades union organizer and politician from South Vancouver. Like Brooks and Blackwood, Neelands clearly demonstrated sufficient capacity as incumbent to overcome occupation and, in his case, also left-wing political orientation.⁷³

The most difficult candidacies around which to secure consensus were, not unexpectedly, those that had been left-endorsed. Nonetheless, such occurred twice during the post-amalgamation depression years. In 1934 all four incumbents, including Neelands, were returned in a situation where the alternatives were three relative unknowns. Two years later, Dr. Frank Buck, a UBC academic prominent in the CCF who had previously served one term on the board, was elected by consensus, due in part certainly to his professional reputation.

Thus, beyond the demographic and socio-economic differences which divided Vancouver residents lay a considerable degree of consensus. Despite a consistent commitment to the left, voters on the East Side did not hesitate to prefer candidates of other backgrounds and political orientations: the school boards that Hastings, Cedar Cottage and Mount Pleasant would have selected, had they voted as separate entities, contained only some of the left-endorsed and modest candidates who ran for the board together with a sizeable proportion of professionals and even businessmen. While the West End, Business District and West Side were far less amenable to boards containing modest and particularly left-endorsed candidates than was the East Side willing to accept professionals and businessmen, the former did make such selections from time to time, particularly when an individual had through incumbency disarmed their fears. Even when candidates were elected to the city's school board primarily on the basis of their receiving a very high proportion of votes in just one part of the city, which occurred most often in the case of modest

⁷² Due to a paucity of non-professional candidates in the December 1923 election, at least one professional had to be selected.

⁷³ Due to a paucity of non-female candidates in the December 1937 election, of non-business candidates in the December 1934 election, and of non-modest candidates in the December 1939 election, at least one individual of such occupation had to be selected.

men, they nonetheless did receive some votes from across the city. Only in the case of left-endorsed candidacies was the mean differential more than double between geographical areas, but even then at least one in five voters in each area so cast their ballot. As well, all nine geographical areas of the city, with the partial exception of the Business District, shared a common preference for female candidates, possibly because such individuals were seen as most suitable to deal with matters concerning children or perhaps because they did not have a ballot designation signifying socio-economic status, as did males defined by occupation. The consequence was that Vancouver school boards elected during the inter-war years contained not only representatives from both sexes and the three major occupational groupings, but also from the left. More importantly, had city areas chosen their own boards, all would have had in common a sizeable number of professionals and women along with some business and modest men, many of them elected by consensus. After amalgamation even left-endorsed candidates would, for at least one term, have been a part of every area board.

The contemporary evidence suggests, further, that the sole ideological force active in civic politics during most of these two decades, the left, was not so much intent on complete control as it was on fair representation of its perceived interests, which were geographically aligned with the East Side. The number of candidates endorsed in a single election never exceeded three prior to amalgamation, four thereafter. As one left-endorsed aspirant phrased it: "The Labour party is out to raise the living and cultural standard of the working class." Commenting on a left-endorsed candidate resident in the Hastings area, Vancouver's labour newspaper observed in 1926: "This is a working-class district, that is one reason why the working class should have direct representation on the school board." Two years later the paper acknowledged that even if forces on the left did obtain control, the consequence would not be radical change, since "the curriculum and agenda of the schools" were essentially in place. Moreover, the representatives of working-class interests accepted that they had to earn respect at the ballot box. A 1927 candidate complained that up to that time representation on the school board had been "confined almost exclusively to the so-called businessmen," but

better educational opportunities have shown the workers that the employing class have no monopoly on the brains of the community, and they have also seen that when a representative of their own class was elected he compared very favourably with the representatives of the other classes.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ *Labor Statesman*, 9 December 1927, 3 December 1926 and 10 December 1928.

By the interwar years Vancouver had, then, developed a considerable sense of community, whose parameters had essentially been put in place during Vancouver's first quarter century: the fortuitous became the permanent. Within that community lay distinctive geographical areas and neighbourhoods, exercising their own decision-making power at the polls but nonetheless bound together, with the probable exception of the East End, by shared demographic attributes and electoral priorities. Only in the East End and possibly some parts of the Business District were ethnic and racial minorities congregated together in such large numbers as to become their own enclave apart from the rest of the city and so act in a distinctive fashion at the polls. Such was, however, not the case. The small proportions who did, or possibly could, cast their ballot in the East End fluctuated widely in their loyalties, perhaps because no candidate during the interwar years resided in the area or, indeed, publicly referred during a campaign to its unique educational situation rooted in residents' ethnic diversity. Choices made at the polls may have been arbitrary, highly personalistic, or simply varied greatly between Strathcona and Grandview.

Elsewhere in the city, including the Business District, the dominant ethos was British, either directly by virtue of birth or by ethnic background. And the British-born did not act politically as a group, as evidenced by the wide differences in voting preferences between their two principal areas of settlement, the West End and East Side. Clusters of "foreigners" existed across the city and, while they may have felt some unity by virtue of their numbers, they were probably not generally perceived as separate in the same sense as in the East End. Moreover, where ethnicity was European, a period of residence or birth in Canada, very possibly the prairies, had increasingly intervened to distance individuals from their origins. Most adults, apart from the West End, Business District and East End, were also joined together by their common stage in the life cycle, being generally married, often with children, and thus personally committed, as manifest in voting behaviour for the school board, to the city's overall well-being.

The two major events of the interwar years which might have fundamentally altered voting patterns within and between geographical areas — the amalgamation of South Vancouver and Point Grey in 1929 and the onset of depression a year later — effected little change. That the shifts were only a matter of degree confirms, in the first case, that the character of settlement in South Vancouver had paralleled that in the eastern half of Vancouver's periphery extending from Hastings Townsite

through District Lot 301 to Mount Pleasant just as that in Point Grey had been similar to Fairview and Kitsilano. The basic division was between the East Side and the West Side. And that division was, as evidenced by contemporary observations and corroborated by elements of the census data, socio-economic rather than ethnic in nature. Thereby lies, so it would seem, the explanation for the importance attached by voters to ballot designation and to ideological orientation. The limited effect of the depression on electoral behaviour suggests, for its part, that changes in economic conditions were not of themselves sufficient cause to alter voters' socio-economic, or class, orientations, buttressed as they were by the force of neighbourhood, albeit complemented by commitment to the community as a whole.

* * *

In the final analysis, however, the examination here pursued of census and electoral data is no more than speculative, tantalizing more than it defines in any overall sense the parameters existing in interwar Vancouver between community and neighbourhood. Analysis only of school board elections, and then only by nine geographical areas, is at best suggestive. The extent to which preferences extended to the parks board and city council must be pursued, with analysis of the latter tailored to the existence of wards. In cases where civic electoral returns were officially broken down not only by wards but also by polls, as sometimes occurred during these two decades, such analysis would determine more precisely the boundaries of neighbourhood as expressed through the ballot. The tentative thesis offered here that candidates' occupations affected electoral behaviour could, at the poll level, be adequately tested by, for instance, correlating preferences with dominant occupations in a polling area as revealed in city directories. Attention also needs to be given to elections at the provincial and federal levels, where voter turnout was higher and choices made thereby more representative of the population at large.

Until then many questions remain unanswered — for instance, the basis of women's appeal and the expressed preference for professionals over modest men or businessmen, both occupational groupings more numerically dominant in the city. Also perplexing is the apparently limited role of the depression in altering voting patterns, apart from somewhat increasing businessmen's appeal. Perhaps, as was suggested here, the critical variable determining behaviour at the polls was not the state of the economy. Neither was it ballot designation or occupation as such but rather class — more specifically, the relationship which had grown up

in Vancouver between the owners and managers of capital and the sellers of labour. And, unfortunately, the role of labour and the left in Vancouver also remains largely unexplored.⁷⁵

The census data defines a separate, if complementary, research agenda. The continued presence well past the years of mass immigration of a geographically concentrated population of ageing, largely single, possibly transient males begs examination, as do the emerging clusters of both younger and older females, who may or may not have grouped together due to proximity of employment. Far too little is known about the settlement patterns of Vancouver's ethnic and racial minorities. Correlation of religious denominations with ethnicity, as introduced here, makes church records a priority for analysis. Prairie migration both to Vancouver and to British Columbia as a whole remains largely unexplored. Only when at least some of these threads are unravelled will the relationship existing in interwar Vancouver between neighbourhood and community begin to be understood.

⁷⁵ Important new exceptions are *Working Lives: Vancouver 1886-1986* (Vancouver: New Star, 1985), and the essay by R. A. J. McDonald in this volume. On another potentially valuable approach to analyzing civic politics, looking both at candidates' less visible qualities and at their behaviour subsequent to election, see J. E. Rea, "The Politics of Class: Winnipeg City Council, 1919-45," pp. 232-49 in Carl Berger and Ramsay Cook, ed., *The West and the Nation: Essays in Honour of W. L. Morton* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1976).