Lindsay's Estate: A History of Parkview and Erlton

prepared for the Erlton Community Association
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CAA - Canadian Architectural Archives
CCA - City of Calgary Archives
GMA - Glenbow Alberta Archives
GML - Glenbow Alberta Library
UC - University of Calgary

Introduction

Erlton is one of the less well known of Calgary's original neighbourhoods. Originally two distinct areas, Parkview and Erlton, the present community lies just south of the downtown core between the six lanes of traffic known as Macleod Trail and the pleasant banks of the Elbow River, a strip of houses rising south from the flood plain up the escarpment to end in the gentle green park of St. Mary's Cemetery. It is barely two city blocks wide, surrounded by three burial grounds, light rail transit, and the Lindsay Park Aquatic centre. Although sometimes confused with nearby districts such as Parkhill or Mission, it is a unique neighbourhood with roots in Calgary's early history. It is also a community being remade in a new contemporary image. Condominiums and stately townhouses have replaced most of the old homes on the flats near Lindsay Park. On the hillside, infills are supplanting the mix of post-war bungalows, worker's shacks and elegant Edwardian four-squares that were old Erlton. It is a neighbourhood in transition and renewal as Calgary's inner city grows ever more popular.

For two generations, however, Erlton lay on the edge of the city. Immediately to the south was Parkhill and several miles to the south and east lay the industrial suburb of Manchester, but a resident of Erlton could easily leave home and after a ten-minute walk, be on virgin prairie or in a farmer's field. The neighbourhood was a high watermark of Calgary's first great boom, which began at the turn of the century and ended in 1914 with World War One. It was a time unparalleled in Calgary's history, when the city grew tenfold in a decade, land values skyrocketed and civic promoters expected a quarter-million residents by 1915 from only four thousand in 1901. Parkview was born at the beginning of the real estate rush when the land on the river flats adjacent to today's Lindsay's Park was subdivided in 1906. Four years later, the adjacent property running south up the hill was subdivided as "Earlton." After the great boom ended, Parkview and Erlton sat on the fringe of Calgary for over forty years, only to be swallowed up by a rapidly expanding city after World War Two.

What follows in these pages is a history of the neighbourhood of Erlton and Parkview. It covers a period from the establishment of Fort Calgary in 1875 up to the beginning of the 1970s, just as the city entered another period of massive growth. It explores many aspects of the community's history: the homesteaders who squatted there, the promoters and real estate developers who made it a subdivision, the municipal politics that made it a part of Calgary, the building of the infrastructure – roads, bridges, sewers and lights – that made it a viable community, the businesses that operated there, and finally the people who made it home. It looks at the effect on the development of the neighbourhood of outside forces such the Canadian Northern Railway. It chronicles the community institutions of Erlton such as St. George's Anglican Church and the Erlton Cottage School. Using documentary sources, contemporary newspapers and interviews with long time residents, a history has been recorded where there was none before.

History is a journey of discovery, and it can be a long voyage. Even a small neighbourhood like Erlton can present puzzles and mysteries that many hours of research still cannot answer. The following pages discuss many aspects of the community's history, from its physical development as well as social evolution, but this study is not exhaustive. It is a start, not an end, and sets the foundation for anyone interested in pursuing Erlton's history to build upon.

Scope

The community of Erlton must be defined before it can be described. Contemporary Erlton extends from 22nd Avenue SE as the north boundary to Mission Road in the south and from Erlton Street in the west to Macleod Trail in the east. The historic Erlton we will discuss is somewhat different. Originally it was two neighbourhoods: Parkview, which covered the area between 22nd Avenue and 26th Avenue SE, and 1st Street SE to 3rd street SE, and Erlton, which extended from 26th Avenue south to 30th Avenue, bounded by the escarpment over the Elbow River on the west and Victoria Road (now Macleod Trail) on the east. The area to the south of 30th Avenue was known for some years as Mission Heights and was never heavily developed before being turned over to St. Mary's Cemetery. Until the 1970s the two neighbourhoods retained their separate names, but for all intents and purposes formed one district. At some point the name Parkview fell out use; the community is now referred to as North Erlton and South Erlton. This study discusses historic Erlton, conforming to the boundaries of the its two constituent neighbourhoods as described above.

Parkview, Winter 1913 (Glenbow Archives PD-117-5-63).

Aerial photo, 1914, Roxboro in foreground, Erlton in background (Glenbow Archives NB16-350).

The chronological scope for the study stretches from the early 1880s to the early 1960s, covering a period of approximately eighty years. It thus discusses the district's history from the beginning of the documented history of Calgary up to a point well within contemporary memory. It begins with the first recorded use of the district in the 1880s, through its creation as a residential suburb of Calgary early in the twentieth century. It covers the neighbourhood's development in the great land boom before World War One, the period of slow consolidation between the two world wars and through two major economic depressions, the rapid filling of the area in the oil boom of the fifties, and its maturity as a inner-city community. Although the resources for this study did not allow a comprehensive examination of more recent developments in the neighbourhood, a brief epilogue summarises the evolution of the community up to the end of the twentieth century.

I. Beginnings

Prehistoric Erlton

The meeting of the Bow and Elbow Rivers has seen human traffic for thousands of years. A large number of prehistoric sites have been unearthed within the modern boundaries of Calgary.[1] In 1968, an extensive site was discovered when the foundation of the building that houses Mona Lisa Art Supply on 7th Street SW near 17th Avenue was being excavated. Many buffalo bones and primitive stone implements were found.[2] Archaeologists believe that it was a popular and well-used area for the bison hunting, dating back perhaps 8,000 years. This is not the only hunting and slaughtering site to be found in Calgary; a recent find in Bowmont Park was given a tentative (and controversial) date of 12,000 BC. Ancient campsites have been uncovered throughout the city, hundreds are known to exist, including forty-six in Fish Creek Provincial Park alone. No significant archaeological discoveries, however, have ever been reported in the Erlton area.

When the first European explorers and fur traders first arrived near the end of the eighteenth century, the region surrounding Calgary was under the control of the Blackfoot Confederacy, consisting of the Blood, Blackfoot and Piegan nations. Calgary itself was part of the territory of the Piegans until the 1830s when the Blackfoot (now properly referred to as the Siksika) became dominant. The Blackfoot Trail is not just a modern expressway, but the name given by fur traders and explorers to the traditional route of the confederacy between the Oldman River district in southern Alberta and Fort Edmonton. The future site of Calgary was a good place to ford the Bow River, and the trail passed right through the area and up along Nose Creek.[3] The promontory known as Nose Hill got its name from Siksika legends. Both European accounts and native oral traditions record the use of the Elbow and Bow River valleys by native bands. The river valleys and their forest cover provided sheltered winter camps as well as a plentiful supply of small game animals in the summer.

It is likely that native groups passed through Erlton and used the flats by the river as a camp spot. We can imagine the prow of the hill would have served as a fine overlook for bands travelling through the area. Siksika braves on horseback may have stood there, surveying the valley beneath them as they approached the confluence of the Bow and Elbow Rivers. After Fort Calgary was established and settlement began, native bands still frequently came into the area, and old-timers remembered in later years seeing encampments at various points along in the Elbow River, including a semi-permanent Métis village near the Catholic Mission.[4] After the Sarcee, or Tsuu T'ina, were established on their present reserve in 1884, they were frequent visitors to Calgary. Evelyn Sparrow, who grew up on the Macleod Trail in the 1890s just south of Erlton, mentions seeing Indians camped nearby on the Elbow River, although she did not tell us exactly where they would set up.[5] In 1921, Joseph McFarland discovered a body in his Parkview backyard, which upon examination by the city coroner proved to be a young Indian girl.[6] She had been interred in a proper burial, with ornaments and grave goods. This was not a Siksika or Tsuu T'ina practice before they became acquainted with Christian missionaries, so the grave likely dated from the late nineteenth century. The lost Indian maiden is evidence that Erlton and Parkview saw visits from the people of the First Nations.

The Homestead Years

Erlton's recorded history begins shortly after that of Calgary itself. Up to 1869, all of Alberta was part of Rupert's Land, a vast territory under control of the Hudson's Bay Company. In one of the biggest real estate deals of all time, the fur trading company sold the land to the new Dominion of Canada in 1869. It became the Northwest Territories, including the present day provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan, most of Manitoba, northern Ontario and Quebec and the Canadian Arctic. The North-West Mounted Police were formed in 1873 to establish Canadian authority over the new territory and to control whiskey traders and wolf hunters coming up from the United States, who threatened to import the lawlessness of the American frontier over the border. The Mounties came west the next year in the famous Long March, building a number of forts along the way. In 1875, Colonel Macleod, commanding the force in southern Alberta, sent a detachment under Inspector Ephrem Brisebois north to establish a post on the Bow River that became Fort Calgary.

"F" Troop of the NWMP were not, however, the first permanent residents in the area. They were preceded by the whiskey traders, a handful of settlers, and the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, a missionary order of the Roman Catholic Church. Established in France after the Napoleonic Wars, the order came to Canada in the 1840s and to Rupert's Land in the 1850s, where they set out to Christianise the Cree and Blackfoot Indians. The Oblates built their first mission in the Calgary area in Springbank around 1872, but decided to move it east into the river valley.[7] Father Leon Doucet built a small

cabin for himself at the confluence of the Bow and Elbow shortly before the Mounties arrived. It was his mission house, christened Notre Dame de la Paix – Our Lady of the Peace.[8] Upon learning that Inspector Brisebois planned to construct the fort right beside his cabin, Doucet moved up the Elbow River, setting up yet another log shelter on the site of what would be the Holy Cross Hospital.[9] From this humble beginning, the Oblates built a parish church that eventually became St. Mary's Cathedral. The original mission was joined in 1885 by the Faithful Companions of Jesus, a group of teaching nuns fleeing the North-West Rebellion in Saskatchewan.[10] They built the Sacred Heart Convent beside the church. In 1891, the Grey Nuns came to Calgary on the invitation of Bishop Vital Grandin and built the Holy Cross Hospital to provide desperately needed succour to the sick and injured of the city.[11]

The development of the mission had certain ramifications for the area that would become Erlton. In 1883, the famous missionary Father Albert Lacombe was the priest in charge at Notre Dame. The CPR was fast approaching Calgary, and more and more homesteaders were appearing in the region. Unable to get homestead grants yet from the government, many newcomers were simply squatting on whatever parcel of land suited their fancy. Lacombe was concerned about the encroachment of settlers and the future of his little mission, which had been built primarily to minister to nearby bands of Indians and Métis. He decided the best way of preserving its integrity was to obtain a homestead patent on the land around it. Lacombe was a man of action. Without waiting for official permission from the Oblate bishop at St. Albert north of Edmonton, he hopped on a CPR construction train and made his way east to Ottawa.[12] Sweeping into the office of the Minister of the Interior, David MacPherson, Lacombe announced he was there to obtain a homestead grant for the acreage around the mission. MacPherson, nonplussed, told the cleric he would put in the request to the department, but Lacombe was having none of it:

> Non, Monsieur, I cannot go until I receive that settlement of our land. I came hundreds of miles to you just for this. I will wait here with your permission…I am used to camping on the prairie…I will just camp here until I get my papers.[13]

MacPherson lost no time in arranging the land grant.

The Oblates became the owners of the west half of Section Ten, Township 24. It was a strip of land running on both sides of the Elbow River, from present-day 17th Avenue up to 34th Avenue, which comprised the areas known later as Mission, Parkview, Erlton, Roxboro and Mission Heights. Lacombe had received the title to the north-west quarter of the section, the maximum allowable for an individual, but the wily cleric also obtained the south-west quarter in the name of Father Leduc, a colleague in the order. Due to their vows of poverty, the two priests were not allowed to personally hold land, but Lacombe and Leduc simply transferred their titles to the Oblates.[14] Lacombe''s wisdom in claiming the land was well demonstrated, however, by the fact there was already a squatter's claim. On the east side of the Elbow, across from the church and mission house, a Métis by the name of Paul Fagnant had set up a small farm.[15] We don't know if Fagnant was the impetus for Lacombe's trip to Ottawa, or if he invoked squatter's rights before or after Lacombe got the grant, or if the priest and the farmer had worked out an arrangement before hand. In any case, Fagnant held onto a fifty two-acre parcel of land in the north-west quarter of Section Ten. This land would become Parkview.

Not much is known about Fagnant. Even the proper spelling of his last name is uncertain: he also was called Fayant and Faillant. He was one of the Red River Métis and came from the area around St. Boniface, Manitoba, born in the parish of St. Francis-Xavier in 1833.[16] A number of so-called "half-breeds" had come out as far to the west as Calgary, working as guides, freight hauliers and on the Canadian Pacific construction crews. The mission of Notre Dame was a natural draw for any Métis in Calgary, and it was not uncommon for them to camp out near the church, sometimes for months, and little hamlet of log and canvas homes appeared in the Mission area. Fagnant was probably well acquainted with the Oblate fathers. By the time Lacombe went to Ottawa he was ensconced on a plot of land across the river. Fagnant applied for a homestead grant for land where he was squatting, and received title in 1885.[17] His acreage sat down on the floodplain in the vicinity of the present Lindsay Park aquatic centre. No descriptions exist as to what kind of farm Fagnant had, but he was the first homesteader and first resident of Erlton. A photograph, dated 1890, shows a small house on what would have been Fagnant's land.

Fagnant was soon joined on the east side of the Elbow by Augustus Carney. He was an Irishman, born in Dungarvan County near Cork in 1842.[18] His family immigrated to Canada in 1847, joining many others from Ireland in the Ottawa valley. Carney was a relatively mature thirty-nine years old when he came to Calgary around 1881 and set up a small homestead close to Fagnant. According to old survey maps, Carney first farmed on the part of the north-east quarter of Section Ten that lay south of the Elbow River.[19] This land would

Fagnant's farmhouse by river bank on right, c. 1890 (Glenbow Archives NA2776-1).

later become the eastern most section of Parkview, fated to become an area of light industrial development with coal and lumber yards and a manufacturing plant. Carney, however, never had a patent on this land – it was registered in 1887 to Dr. Neville J. Lindsay of Calgary. [20] Shortly afterward, Carney received the title to the south-east quarter of Section Ten, including the land where Union Cemetery is now found.[21] Exactly what might have occurred between Lindsay and Carney is a matter of speculation. Carney may have been farming closer to the river only to find Lindsay had taken the title, or perhaps the two had come to some sort of an arrangement. In any case, Carney qualifies as Erlton's second homesteader. According to local historian Jack Peach, Carney kept a small market garden and built a substantial house at the base of what is now Union Cemetery.[22] He was a strong Conservative Party supporter and the first president of the Agricultural Society, the great grandfather of the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede.[23]

Carney remained true to his Irish roots, not surprising for someone who grew up in a time when Ontario regularly had Orange Day riots. During the 1885 Rebellion, he fell under some suspicion from authorities as a possible Fenian agitator.[24] Carney took part in the notorious Fish Creek meeting on April 5th, 1885.[25] A number of local settlers, including Sam Livingston and John Glenn, organised a meeting to demand title over their land – with a few exceptions, such as the Oblates, homestead patents were not yet being issued by the federal government and it was a contentious issue in the Territories. A number of people from the little town of Calgary attended the meeting, and the crowd drew up a list of grievances to be presented to the government and declared sympathy for the Indian and Métis, condemning Ottawa's policy towards both. It was surely one of the earliest examples of Western alienation. Coming at a time when Fort Battleford had been burned to the ground and the police ambushed at Duck Lake, however, their petition was viewed as verging on treason. Carney also played a role in the struggle between Judge Jeremiah Travis and the so-called Whiskey Ring, which is admirably described in Hugh Dempsey's *Calgary: Spirit of the West*.

1884 Survey Map, Township 24, showing Section 10 (Glenbow Archives).

Neither Carney nor Fagnant held onto to their land for very long. By 1892, Fagnant sold out to Patrick Leonard McNamara.[26] He was an Edmonton lawyer who apparently bought the land as an investment. As for Carney, he sold sixty acres of his land in the south-east quarter of Section Ten in 1890 to the Town of Calgary for their new cemetery. The rest of it seems to have been either sold or seized by various creditors.[27] He subsequently left Calgary and went to south-eastern British Columbia, settling in the vicinity of Kaslo.[28] Carney became a road contractor and later a timber inspector and the local police magistrate. He died in Trail, B.C. in April of 1923, an eminently respectable old pioneer, and was buried in the Masonic cemetery in Kaslo.

As for Fagnant, his fate is not certain, but it may not have been kind. In 1895, a Paul Faillant came to an untimely end in the Bow River. He had fallen in and drowned. An inquest was called, presided over by Justice David Lynch Scott of the Territorial Supreme Court.[29] Faillant, according to witnesses, had been drinking, and was last seen going off with a certain Brotherson and Charles Sparrow, two ranch hands who were in the city on a bit of a spree. The two men testified they had left Faillant behind at the "tent of a squaw" and had seen no more of him. The local coroner, Dr. Mackid, found bloodstains on the footbridge over the Elbow River and some suspicion was attached to Sparrow and Brotherson. With no eyewitnesses nor any discernible motive for foul play, however, the two men were not charged with any crime. The jury concluded that Faillant had died by causes unknown, and it was accepted that he had likely fallen, the worse for drink, and after hitting his head rolled into the river and drowned. The victim was "a little half breed, well known in these parts,"[30] and it is likely but not absolutely certain it was the same man who homesteaded in Parkview.

Dr. Neville J. Lindsay, c.1900 (Glenbow Archives NA3074-1).

II. Development

Lindsay's Estate

After Fagnant and Carney sold out, their homesteads reverted back to prairie. The Edmonton lawyer who bought Fagnant's acreage, P.L. McNamara, never seemed to be interested in developing the parcel of land but left it as it was. It was likely bought simply as an investment. He registered a mortgage of $6,800 on the property with the Canada Permanent Loan and Savings Company in April of 1892, probably as part of his purchase. Over the next two years, McNamara had several other mortgages against the property: it seems that he used it for security on other loans. The lawyer hung onto the property until 1901, when the title passed to the Canada Permanent Loan Company. The company was probably acting as the go-between between McNamara and Dr. Neville Lindsay, who received the title from the mortgage company in November 1901, only six weeks after it had gone to Canada Permanent. Lindsay had much bigger plans. Along with Fagnant's fifty-two acre parcel, he also owned the land further east along the banks of the Elbow and up to the escarpment, all of which quickly became known as Lindsay's Estate.

Lindsay was one of the most interesting pioneer characters of Calgary. Although he never lived in Erlton himself, he was the man who created the neighbourhood. Lindsay was born in Westminster, Ontario near London, on February 17th, 1845.[31] He went to Trinity College in Toronto and then on to McGill University in Montreal, before returning to Trinity to graduate in 1874 as a medical doctor. Lindsay did post graduate work in New York, specialising in eye medicine. With this further

Fanciful survey of LIndsay's Estate, c. 1891 (Glenbow Library G3504 C151 1891).

Lindsay's Folly

Calgary's first doctor is probably best remembered due to Lindsay's Folly, also known as Lindsay's Castle. Although not located in Erlton, it was close by and regularly visited by the children of Erlton and Parkview. In 1913, Lindsay began building a dream home on the banks of the Elbow River below present day Parkhill, between Rideau, Roxboro and Stanley Park. He used sandstone salvaged from the original Knox Presbyterian Church, a property he had bought in 1910 when the church relocated.[32] Lindsay's mansion was never finished. The builders had put in the foundations and completed an enormous, pretentious sandstone porch and some of the first storey walls when they stopped work. There are two accounts explaining its sudden abandonment. The first claims Lindsay called off construction when he was told the hillside behind his property was too unstable: his house was likely to be damaged by slippage or even a landslide. In the second, more likely, explanation, Lindsay simply ran out of money.[33] Although he had made a fortune in real estate, much of his money had been reinvested. Like many speculators, the crash of 1913 caught him by surprise, and when the value of his land plummeted he could no longer afford a baronial manor house. One local paper claimed he had spent $20,000, a very large sum of money at the time, before giving up on it.[34] The abandoned edifice became a favourite playground and picnic spot for Calgarians, and fanciful stories later circulated as to its origins. The most common version was very romantic: Lindsay built the home for his bride, who then died.

Heartbroken, he abandoned it. More sinister variations exist, but in reality Mrs. Lindsay, who died at the ripe age of 80, long outlived her husband. In 1955, the walls and porch of the shell finally crumbled, leaving only the foundation. It can still be seen, badly overgrown, just off the Elbow River bicycle path.

qualification, he returned to Ontario, setting up practice in Waterford. At the age of forty, Lindsay caught a bad case of wanderlust, and left the civilised surroundings of eastern Canada for the frontier. After two years in Winnipeg, he arrived on August 14th, 1883, on the first passenger train to enter Calgary, with his brother in law and future Lieutenant Governor of Alberta, Dr. R.G. Brett.[35] At the time, the town was barely a hamlet, a collection of tents and a few frame buildings on the east side of the Elbow River. One of the first two doctors in town, Lindsay was appointed the government physician for the local Indian Reserves, the CPR physician and the official surgeon for the NWMP.[36] He started immediately investing in real estate, buying lots when the CPR surveyed a new town site around their station west of the Elbow, where downtown stands today. When Calgary was incorporated in 1884, Lindsay was on the first town council as an alderman.

Although he was one of the leading citizens of the growing little settlement, Lindsay once again succumbed to the call of the frontier. This time he went to the Yukon in 1898 to join the search for gold, although it is unlikely he loaded up the mules and went panning for nuggets himself. He did however, invest in claims throughout the territory, and reputedly made a great deal of money off his mining ventures.[37] When the Klondike gold rush petered out, Lindsay returned to Calgary. Once back in the city, he invested more and more in real estate, and in 1908 retired from medicine to pursue his business ventures. The great real estate boom picked up steam soon afterward, and within a short time, Lindsay had become one of the wealthiest men in Calgary, at least on paper. And like many other investors, Lindsay lost a substantial amount of his assets in the big crash around 1914. He continued to live in Calgary in somewhat reduced circumstances, and died in 1925.[38] One of his sons was a prominent lawyer, and there are descendants of the doctor living in Calgary today.

Lindsay's original acquisition of the twenty-two acres just east of Fagnant property shows he had his eye on the area from an early date. The additional property he bought from McNamara gave him a good-sized block of land stretching along the banks of the Elbow. He also owned land to the north across the river in Victoria Park. Lindsay soon began planning to develop his acreage as a residential area. One difficulty about Lindsay's Estate, however, was its location on the south and east side of the Elbow. The nearest bridge was up near Atlantic Avenue (now 9th Avenue SE), which would definitely lessen the appeal of the property. Lindsay immediately set to work trying to connect his property by means of a bridge across the Elbow River, which soon embroiled him in a fight in city council.

Bridges were an important part of the early history of Erlton. The first span built in 1905 became quite controversial, and it is worth examining the story in some detail. Until 1907, Lindsay's Estate was outside of the city limits, which ran along 17th Avenue South and the Elbow River. When Union Cemetery was established in 1890, it was obvious a bridge across the Elbow just to the north would greatly improve access to the burial ground. The town council's public works committee had recommended that a road should be surveyed beside the agricultural exhibition ground and a bridge built as the best route to the cemetery.[39] Nothing was done to put the plan into action, but pressure slowly mounted for a new bridge across the Elbow, which not only would make it easier to get to Union but also shorten the distance between downtown and the Macleod Trail. In October of 1904, the public works committee of council, chaired by Alderman Thomas Underwood, called for tenders on a 180-foot steel bridge.[40]

Lindsay certainly had a vested interest in the new bridge, and was prepared to offer up some of his property for the bridge approaches and pay to survey a road to the new bridge from downtown and thence to the cemetery.[41] This is where the controversy started. Although the district of Victoria Park was not heavily built up, some homes, businesses and the Agricultural Exhibition Grounds were already established. The placement of the bridge and the building of a road from 17th Avenue to the river involved appropriating land. The two choices for a route were extensions of either 1st Street or 2nd Street East. After heated debate and against the opposition of Chairman Underwood, city council chose the latter in 1904. The existing 2nd Street was quite narrow where it ran through Victoria Park. To widen the road and extend it to the river would require chopping off sections of existing lots, including a portion of the exhibition grounds and the removal or demolition of some sheds there. Rumours quickly began to surface that council had made the choice for less than savoury reasons. As *Calgary Herald*, opposed to the 2nd Street crossing, stated:

> The public works committee last year entered determined opposition to such a scheme. The then chairman, Thos. Underwood still believes a serious mistake will be made if the idea is carried out. The council last year recommended the Second Street east site for the bridge, but it is now urged that selfish interests dictated the move and that the present council is expected to make the necessary changes to protect Victoria Park.[42]

Section of Calgary City Map, 1905, already showing Parkview (Glenbow Archives G3504 C151 221).

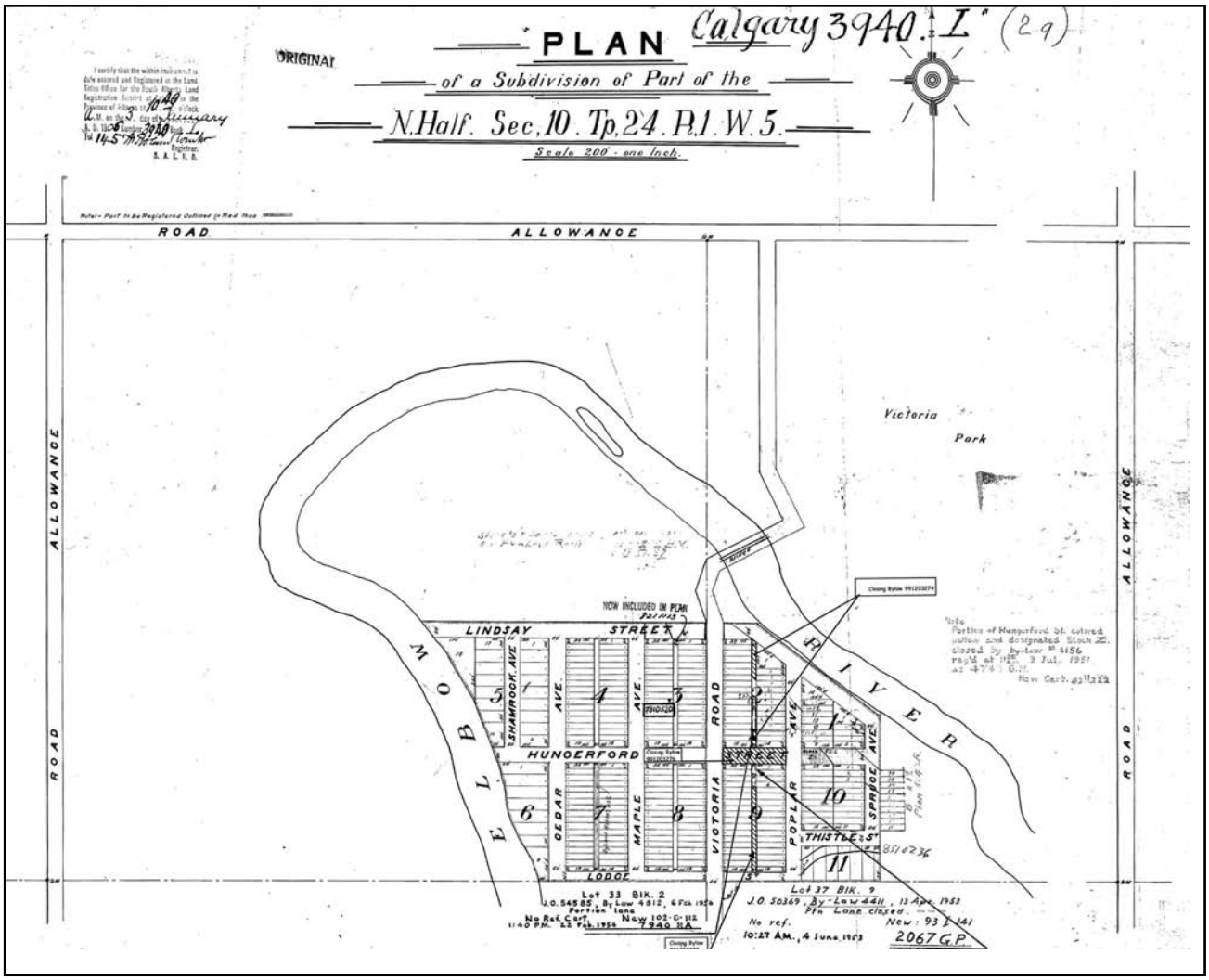
Opening of Victoria Bridge, 1905 (Glenbow Archives NA644-24).

Lindsay was almost certainly one of the "selfish interests", but his name stayed out of the paper thanks to the outlandish actions of Alderman John Clarke, the chairman of the public works committee during 1905. The former mounted policeman had been a Calgary businessman since 1883 and had served on the first town council with Lindsay. *The Herald* was shocked by Clarke's behaviour in council over the bridge issue, and claimed the alderman was bullying the other council members into going ahead with the 2nd Street plans despite their misgivings:

> His dictatorial conduct has become intolerable. The wretched exhibition he made of himself at last week's council meeting is the limit. It was the most unbecoming spectacle Calgary had ever witnessed. If he has not the decency to be ashamed it is merely further evidence of his unfitness to occupy his position as alderman from the third ward.[43]

And the reason for Clarke's insistence on 2nd Street? *The Herald* had the answer: "What other purpose is served, other than to increase the value of Alderman Clark's [*sic*] property along that avenue is difficult to understand."[44] The paper accused Clarke of forcing the public works department to start work on the bridge prematurely to secure the location, despite public protests and the unwillingness of the city engineer to proceed. "This enterprise has been carried forward with entirely too much secrecy. The public works department is now hurrying forward with all possible expedition to get the work started on the Second Street site."[45] Despite a determined campaign by the Herald, which included insinuations about Clarke's public drunkenness, the council finally approved the construction of the bridge in the August 3rd council meeting.[46] Alderman Hornby, a resolute opponent of the 2nd Street location, attempted to amend the resolution to call for a vote by the electors on the location, without success.

With that, the bridge controversy came to an end. The contract was given to the Algoma Bridge Company of Winnipeg, which specialised in metal girder bridges. The Victoria Bridge was a simple box-style girder bridge with a narrow wooden deck, hardly big enough for a single lane of traffic, and it was finished and opened to the public on December 18th, 1905.[47] Nothing was said about the overrun of nearly seven hundred dollars on the



Subdivision map, Plan 3940L, c. 1906 (Alberta Land Titles).

Street Names

Like most parts of old Calgary, Erlton's street and avenues, now mostly numbers, once had attractive names.[48] In 1904, Calgary city council decided for the sake of clarity to eliminate street names and go to a number and quadrant system. A few scattered monikers hung on, and the upscale neighbourhood of Mount Royal, being Mount Royal, insisted on keeping its street names, which denoted heroes of early Canadian history. Although Parkview was subdivided after the change in policy, it was outside the city limits, so the newly surveyed avenues were given names instead of numbers.

Several of the streets received tree names: 1st Street East was Cedar Avenue, 1A Street was Maple Avenue – although the nearest cedars and maples were hundreds of miles away – while in the eastern part of Parkview there was Thistle Street, Poplar Avenue, Spruce Avenue and Pine Avenue, corresponding to 25th Avenue, 2A Street, 3rd and 3A Street respectively. Centre Street South was Shamrock Avenue for reasons unknown, while 22nd Avenue was Lindsay, a little reminder of the suburb's founder, and 24th was named Hungerford, his wife's maiden name, while 25th was called Lodge. 2nd Street East was Victoria Road, celebrating the late queen. It was only in 1967 that it was renamed Macleod Trail; the historic road originally ran around the east side of Union Cemetery and up to the site of the Fort at the confluence of the Elbow and Bow.

Erlton, on the other hand, did not have any street names until recently. Subdivided several years later than Parkview, it received numbered streets, colourless but efficient. Later this changed; 1st Street East was renamed Erlton Street, while in Parkview, there is now an Erlton Road and Erlton Crescent.

$7000 contract. $200 dollars came from Dr. Lindsay towards its construction.[49]

Lindsay's contribution of land and money to the bridge demonstrates its importance in his plans. Although Jack Clarke had taken a great deal of heat over the bridge and the roadway in Victoria Park, Lindsay had clearly been heavily involved with the whole scheme. Six months after the bridge opened, Lindsay complained to the mayor and council that the road to the bridge from downtown and further south to connect to Macleod Trail had never been built to a proper sixty-six foot width, even though several property owners in Victoria Park (including himself) had handed over land for a new roadway. The reluctance of the city to alter the Exhibition grounds and the outbuildings was still the problem. Lindsay wrote:

> After having expended a large amount of the ratepayers money on a good bridge across the river, it seems absurd to me that there should be any hesitancy about the trifling additional expense of clearing a few old buildings out of the way, which would then give the committee on Parks and Cemeteries an opportunity of making Victoria Road one of the prettiest drives in the whole city.[50]

The good doctor also pointed out that "any departure, by the council, from the original plan, would be a great injustice to property owners south of the Elbow River, who contemplate erecting dwellings there in the near future."

The Creation of Parkview

Getting the road to river done properly was a great concern for Lindsay: within weeks of the bridge being completed, he started putting his land along the Elbow up for sale. Early in January 1906, he subdivided over fifty acres of his property and registered it as Plan 3940L, giving it the name of Parkview.[51] He retained one large parcel of land, over twenty acres, in the bend of the Elbow directly across from St. Mary's Cathedral. A year later he further subdivided a small parcel on the eastern side as Plan 5047R.[52] The new suburb ran east and west to the banks of the river on either side of Victoria Road (now Macleod Trail) down to present day 26th Avenue SE. Most of the lots had twenty-five foot frontages except for Blocks 5 and 6 right by the Elbow, where the lots were fifty feet wide. Although the lots were not very expensive, ranging between $200 and $350, Lindsay envisioned the new subdivision as an upscale residential district, and purchasers of property had to sign an agreement that stipulated any structures they built would be worth at least $1500, a sizeable amount of money in 1906.[53] One of the few advertisements for the new area, which ran in the December 1st, 1906 edition of the *Albertan,* asked for some interested parties to "build up and lay out the most beautiful, convenient and handsome residential spot in Calgary."

Sales of land were initially quite slow in the subdivision. According to land title records, two lots were sold to Christina Elizabeth Berwick in May 1906, followed by four lots in June and another two in July to Arnold Wilson and James H. Biggar respectively. Lindsay may have been somewhat premature in putting his property on the market. The boom in the Northwest Territories and consequent frenzy in Calgary real estate had not yet quite got underway, and the advent of Parkview attracted little notice. To make things worse, the brutal winter of 1906–1907 ruined many local ranchers and sent the city's economy into a recession. The suburb lay outside of the city limits, and the fact that Lindsay did not put much effort into advertising it might also account for the lack of interest in Parkview property.[54] After only a handful of sales in 1906, it would take a couple of years before sales began to really pick up and homes started to appear.

Sales in Parkview were probably not helped when a disgruntled customer took one realtor to court in the summer of 1907. Investors were well advised to be careful in boomtown Calgary. More than a few shady operators were attracted to the growing frenzy over real estate on the prairies, which began to pick up steam in 1908. Y.S. Shepard was one. The Calgary realtor was charged by a Nurse Bendeley with fraud after she discovered his company had given her two lots that were not the ones she had agreed to buy.[55] Bendeley had never met Shepard, only one of his agents, who had taken her out to see the property in Parkview. Shepard denied any knowledge of the transaction and nothing came of the charge – which is not to say he was innocent. The realtor skipped the province several years later leaving many creditors and disgruntled customers in Calgary, Medicine Hat and Lethbridge. A warrant was issued for Shepard's arrest in Lethbridge in 1909.[56] His specialities seemed to be showing one lot and selling another, or selling lots to which he did not have any title. In any case, Shepard was a classic con man: the *Lethbridge Herald* commented that "When he came here, he made quite a spread, and he had the swellest auto in the city." The realtor ended up in the United States, where he continued his winning ways. *The Herald* graced its front page on August 26th, 1909, with an article headlined "Shepard is on the Move: Former Real Estate Agent Now

Reported to Be In Oregon." The paper went on to say: "Enquiries are often heard concerning Y.S. Shepard, who cut such a wide swath in Lethbridge and Calgary real estate. Many friends in Alberta are always anxious to know his whereabouts and especially of the possibility of his returning so that he can be interviewed."[57]

Annexation – Parkview becomes part of Calgary

The major barrier to the immediate development of Parkview was the lack of city services. Lindsay had surveyed streets but these were just rough tracks through the grass, not graded and gravelled roads. There were no sewers, no water mains, and no streetlights: essentially, the subdivision was still just prairie. The obvious solution was to make Parkview a part of Calgary so that the city would build the necessary infrastructure. Lindsay was not the only one who wanted the city's borders extended. A group of real estate speculators, who had all purchased cheap land outside of the current city limits, now wanted their property to be part of Calgary – which would drive up its value overnight. Several real estate dealers and investors approached council, including J.K. "Peace River Jim" Cornwall, a famous pioneer of northern Alberta. In October of 1906 a resolution was put forward in council to make an application at the next session of the provincial legislature to expand the city's boundaries. The matter went to the council's finance committee. Various landowners made application for their property to be considered for the expansion, and on January 17th, the committee recommended that the west half of Section Ten be included. Accordingly, the city sent a delegation to Edmonton on the following month to request the change to the city charter to allow annexation of the land.[58]

The plan proved fairly controversial. When the provincial government introduced Bill Twenty, "an act to amend Ordinance Number Thirty-Three of 1893 and other legislation respecting the city of Calgary...providing for the extension of the city limits" on February 26th, 1907, there was lively debate in the legislature.[59] Calgary's land grab now included all of Section Ten along with other areas north of the Bow River. Not everyone was in a hurry to join the city. E.H. Riley, member of the legislature for the Gleichen constituency (which included the district just outside the city's north boundary) and a major property holder in and around what is now the community of Hillhurst in the north-west, accused the municipal government of simply trying to increase its tax revenue. Riley contended that property owners in the annexed areas would find themselves paying city taxes but waiting years for the municipal services that were being promised as enticement for supporting the expansion of the city limits. The ruling Liberal party, however, was in favour of the bill, and the protests of Riley and others could not stop it from passing. On March 17th, 1907, the province approved the changes to the city charter and Parkview became part of Calgary.[60]

Now that Parkview was in the city, sales of real estate there got an immediate boost. For Calgary in 1907, the suburb's building lots were relatively inexpensive, mostly going for around $300. In some newly surveyed areas, a standard lot might be as cheap as $100; while Mount Royal, which was to be Calgary's premier neighbourhood and was just being opened up, most property cost between $1500 and $3000.[61] Prices would rise throughout the city shortly when the long anticipated real estate boom arrived. By the time the city did its first tax assessment of Parkview in 1908, there were some three dozen property owners in the area. A syndicate made up of D. Cashman, D.J. Campell, J.F. Glanville, N. McKelvie and A.W. McQueen had snapped up almost sixty lots, while Lindsay himself still owned large numbers of lots.[62] The doctor still had not subdivided the property in the bend of the Elbow across from Notre Dame Cathedral, which quickly became known as Lindsay Park. We don't know why Lindsay kept this land. It may be that this going to be the park in Parkview: in 1910, Lindsay asked permission to divert city water in order to water over a thousand trees he planned to plant in his acreage.[63]

As Riley had predicted, there was a delay in providing city services to the new outlying suburbs. The member for Gleichen returned to the attack several months later, publicly criticising the city government in September of 1907 for their neglect.[64] He claimed that after granting tax exemptions to the annexed areas to entice them into joining Calgary, the council was now ignoring pleas for municipal services – on the grounds the communities involved were not paying taxes! Riley, a major landowner in Hillhurst, knew of what he spoke. He was particularly incensed at the delay in building schools. In the end, events would prove Riley an alarmist. Within two years, the city embarked on an orgy of borrowing as Calgary mushroomed, and the construction of civic infrastructure proceeded apace. Parkview was on the verge springing to life as a real community.

The Creation of Erlton

Erlton proper entered the picture in 1910. As mentioned previously, the hillside south of Parkview was in the south-west quarter of Section Ten and belonged to the Oblates of Mary Immaculate. It was a part of their

Robert John Hutchings

Although not much is known about C.H. Jacques or F.G. Marwood, R.J. Hutchings is another story. He was one of Calgary's prominent early entrepreneurs. He arrived in Calgary from Winnipeg in 1889 to open a branch of the E.F. Hutchings Saddlery Company, owned by his brother.[65] R.J. Hutchings had apprenticed with the firm seven years before, learning the saddle making and leather goods trade. He was originally from Newboro, Ontario, where he was born in 1866 and had left home at the age of sixteen to take up his apprenticeship.

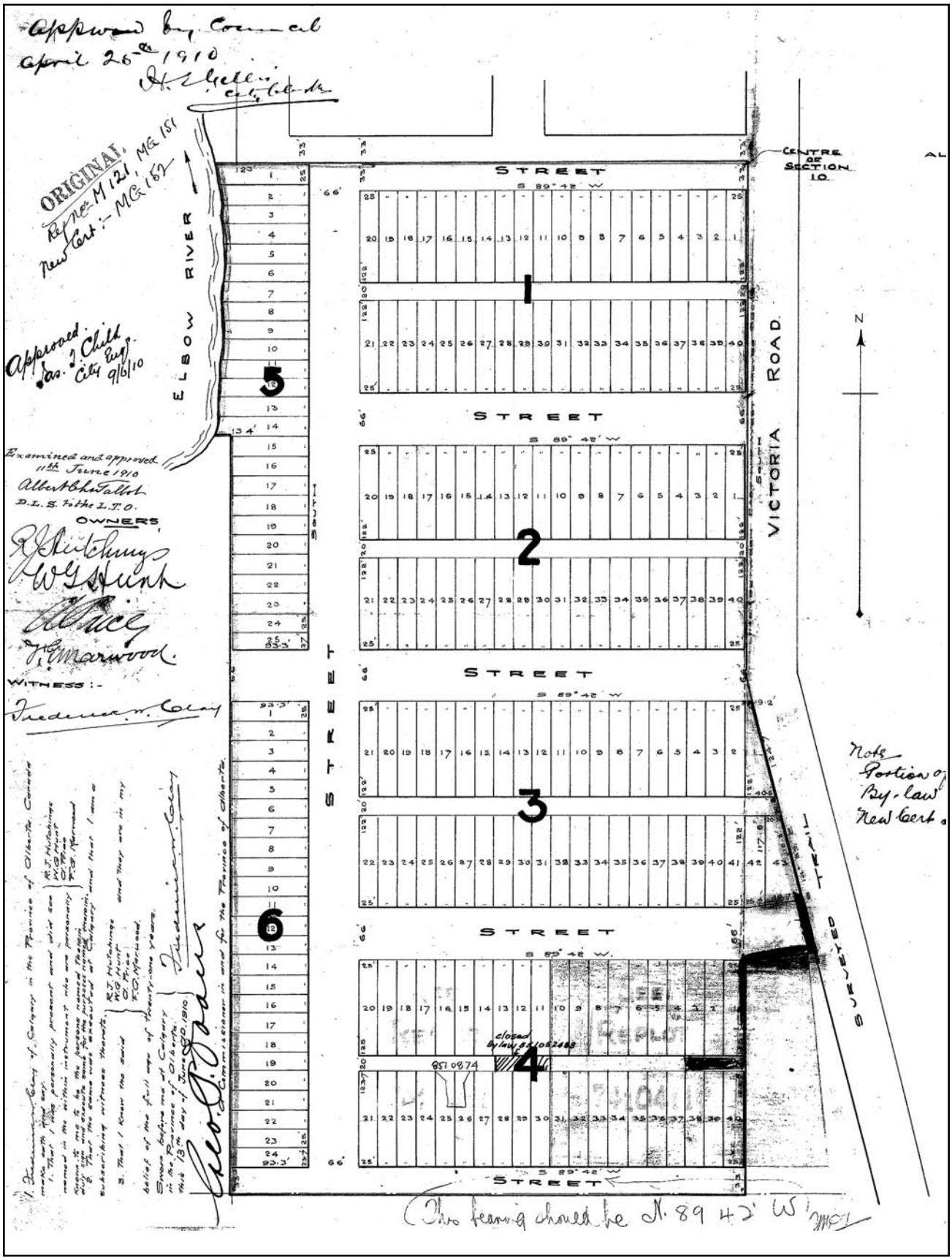
Once established in Calgary, Hutchings and a partner, W.J. Riley, bought out his employer and changed the name of the company to Hutchings and Riley Saddlery. They hand stitched saddles for the local market, and there was no shortage of demand in a part of the world known for its ranching. The business grew rapidly and by 1906 had moved into its own three story building on 9th Avenue West, which was both retail store and manufacturing plant. Riley eventually left to form Riley's and McCormick's western wear. Hutchings meanwhile amalgamated with several other saddle makers and leather good dealers, including his brother and former employer E.F. Hutchings, to form Great Western Saddlery, with himself as the vice-president and manager of the Alberta end of the business.[66] One of the company's biggest clients was the NWMP. It survived the coming of automobiles, and even recovered from a severe fire in 1923 that gutted the Calgary store and factory. Hutchings left the business in 1928, retiring and selling out to new owners.

The saddle maker had got involved early on in municipal politics. Hutchings was an alderman for three years running, 1892 to 1894, back when civic elections were held every year.[67] He was part of the drive to incorporate Calgary as a city in 1894. Next he set his sights on the school board, and was on the board for eleven years starting in 1901, included a stint as chairman. Education was clearly a pet interest of Hutchings: he was also one of the founders of Western Canada College, a private school for boys in Calgary, and was also a member of the University of Alberta senate for four years. A member of the congregation of Knox United Church, Hutchings was one of the guarantors for the mortgage for a new sandstone church.

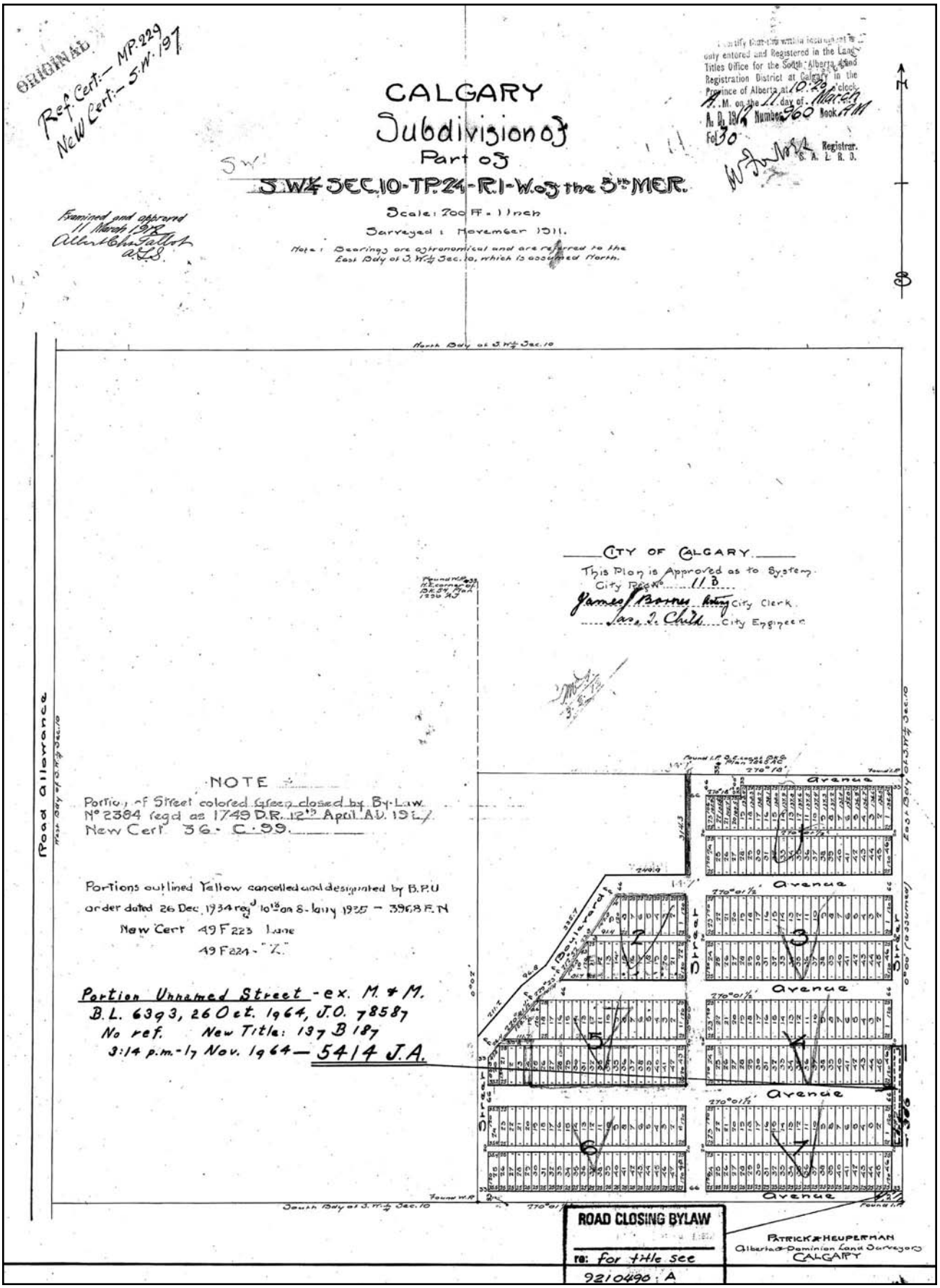
Saddles were not Hutchings only business interest. He sat on several company boards, and was involved with a number of early automotive concerns – perhaps realising the limited future for horse-drawn machinery and transport.[68] He was an investor in the early oil industry in Turner Valley. Not surprisingly, Hutchings was also active in agriculture and also in real estate; Erlton was only one of his ventures. He died in 1937.

original land grant, which had included most the west half of the section. Twenty-Sixth Avenue, surveyed for Parkview, marked the north edge of Oblate land. The Order moved St. Mary's Cemetery to the top of the hill in the middle of the 1890s but had already begun selling some parts of their acreage. One of the first chunks of land they sold was a twenty two-acre strip that ran up the hillside. Caleb Henry Jacques (pronounced Jakes) purchased it from the Oblates in 1891, along with a right of way through the property.[69] C.H. Jacques was the brother of George E. Jacques, Calgary's pioneer jeweller, who had come to the area in 1881.[70] After living two years on Fish Creek (now a Provincial Park) he bought a cabin in the old eastern town site. Caleb and three other brothers came to Calgary shortly after George and two of them started the Jacques Furniture Store. C.H. Jacques did not remain in Calgary long, moving down to Lethbridge and opening the first jewellery store there. At the time of his brother George's death in 1926, Jacques was living in Hollywood, California.

After holding on to his land for almost twenty years, Jacques decided it was time to sell in 1910. With the help of Frederick G. Marwood, a prominent Calgary realtor, and several other investors, including prominent local businessman R.J. Hutchings, Jacques had it surveyed and submitted the plan to the approval of the city engineer in April 1910 as the subdivision of "Earlton."[71] City council duly approved the survey and the new suburb was registered on May 19th, 1910 as Plan 2865AC.[72] The district stretched south from 26th Avenue to 30th Avenue and from 1st Street East to 2nd Street East. It was quite small, consisting only of six blocks of building lots, all surveyed with a twenty-five foot frontage. Some small problems cropped up with the original subdivision survey when Marwood and his partners approached the city to arrange a land swap to allow them to extend 29th Avenue to Victoria Road.[73] There were disagreements with the city engineer over the accuracy of their survey, especially in regards to the boundaries of the Jewish Cemetery, but it proved a minor matter and was soon solved to everyone's satisfaction.



Subdivision Map, Plan 2865AC, 1910 (Alberta Land Titles).



Subdivision Map, Plan 960AM, 1912 (Alberta Land Titles).

Three different realty companies participated in the initial sales for the small subdivision: Morfitt, Lang and Bond, Mayhew and Co. and Marwood and Dobson. On June 24th the realtors advertised the sale to open the following Monday:

> Erlton. This beautiful sub-division on the market for the first time. These lots command a splendid view of the city and adjoin the Lindsay Estate, being one mile from the Post Office and on the proposed car line...Positively your last opportunity to buy view lots within this radius for even double the price.[74]

Only one hundred lots were available in the area, and the realtors advertised prices beginning at $350. This was pricier than Parkview had been, but by this point the real estate market was starting to heat up. Lots were soon being snapped up by investors, contractors, and prospective homebuilders. Among them was a small consortium of Calgary businessmen led by R.J. Hutchings, who had been involved with Marwood from the first in the subdivision.[75]

As for the name Erlton, it is an abiding mystery. Donna Mae Humber, author of *What's in a Name...Calgary?*, was not able to find a source for it. Originally spelt "Earlton" on the first subdivision plan, the name is suggestive of some connection to royalty, but was likely no more exotic than the imagination of the real estate promoters. By 1910, there were so many new subdivisions appearing in Calgary that developers were rather indiscriminate about borrowing place names or making up new ones; some suburbs ended up with pretentious and outlandish appellations. The city had, at least on paper, a Bronx as well as Hiawatha Estates. As for Erlton, other uses of the both forms of the name can be found in North America, including Earlton, Ontario – named after the postmaster's son – as well as Erlton, New Jersey and Earlton Street in Toronto.

One small section of land was later added to Erlton. The land between 30th and 34th Avenue were surveyed and subdivided in 1912 by the Oblate fathers as "Mission Heights."[76] The area was not built up much by the beginning of the First World War, with a number of homes along 31st Avenue and only a handful scattered on the other blocks.[77] Beginning in 1934, most of the area was made part of St. Mary's Cemetery, and for all intents and purposes 31st Avenue became part of Erlton.

The Cemeteries

Before Parkview and Erlton were even a gleam in a real estate promoter's eye, the neighbourhood's future was shaped by the establishment of the city's older burial grounds. Three cemeteries – Union, St. Mary's and the Jewish – currently surround the district, with the Burnsland and Chinese Cemeteries only a stone's throw away. Needless to say, this has been the source of many mordant jokes in Erlton over the years. Union, the city's Protestant graveyard, was established in 1890, and St. Mary's, the Roman Catholic burial ground, was moved to its present location sometime around 1896, while the Jewish cemetery was first established in 1904. Along with the Elbow River, these three cemeteries became the boundaries of the neighbourhood, and ensured Parkview and Erlton would remain small communities. While their presence was mostly irrelevant to the day to day lives of residents, the cemeteries also contributed some positive aspects to the quality of life in the area.

Finding suitable locations for graveyards was a major issue in early Calgary. The original St. Mary's cemetery had been right beside the mission of Our Lady, and in lieu of another burial ground the non-Catholic citizens of Calgary also used it on several occasions. The town could not, however, keep imposing on the Oblates. The year before the city was incorporated in 1884, the *Calgary Herald* editorialised about the lack of a burial ground, advocating that local residents look for "a beautiful site ... somewhere on the banks of the Elbow."[78] The first town council lobbied the Dominion Government in 1884 for a grant of land for a cemetery. Ottawa responded with ninety-four acres above the Bow River where the Shaganappi Municipal Golf Course is now located. The first internment took place in 1885, but the location was not a success. It was a long distance from town and difficult to get to, and the soil was very stony and not easily excavated. By the end of the decade, after about seventy-five interments, the town decided to find something better. Mayor Lafferty and three other councillors struck a committee and began looking for a new burial ground.[79] Shortly thereafter, they struck a deal with Augustus Carney for sixty-five acres of his property, including his farmhouse, at the then hefty sum of seventy dollars an acre. The parcel of land comprised the north-west corner of the south-east quarter of Section Ten, up the gently sloping hillside south and east of the Elbow River. Carney remained on the property for two more years, tending to the new cemetery while harvesting his crops. The first official internment was in September 1890. Most of the residents of the Shaganappi graveyard were transferred after the city offered free burials in 1892.

William R. Reader

William R. Reader, c. 1910 (Glenbow Archives NA1604-55).

Although some might object to the idea of William R. Reader as a resident of Parkview and Erlton, as the Superintendent of Parks from 1913 to 1942, his residence was at the edge of Union Cemetery, just above industrial jumble of the east half of Parkview. He even suffered his fatal heart attack at the Shamrock Grocery in the old Marwood block on Victoria Road. As the creator of Reader Rock Garden, he also gave both the district and the city one of its great beauty spots.

Reader was born in London, England around 1875 and grew up in Kent County.[80] A gardener from a young age, he came out to Calgary in 1908 as a schoolteacher but immediately founded the Calgary Horticultural Society and started a landscaping business. The Calgary of 1908 was a city of houses and prairie. Aside from the rivers and some scrub brush in the coulees, the town was a bare and dusty place. To the many immigrants from England and Ontario, accustomed to forests, verdant green lawns and lush gardens, Calgary was aesthetically a great disappointment, even with the Rockies peeking over the horizon. Many of the city's new inhabitants were quite enthusiastic about changing this and the Horticultural Club always had a strong following. New concepts in town planning that placed great value on public parks and gardens, like the City Beautiful movement and its companion the Garden Suburb, were very popular. Early on, the Calgary City council took an interest in city beautification and instituted a tree-planting program. When they hired Reader in April of 1913, however, they hired someone who regarded his job as a crusade.

Over his twenty-nine year reign, Reader almost tripled the area in the city parks network, but more importantly, through his planting and gardening programs made them pleasant places of trees, shrubs and flowers. Reader supervised the change from hand equipment to powered gear for lawn and garden care.[81] A municipal golf course, the Calgary Zoo, playgrounds, swimming pools and other amenities were all added to Reader's bailiwick over the years. But gardens were always Reader's first love. Along with other enthusiasts, he started the Calgary Vacant Lots Garden Club, which planted vegetable and flower gardens in vacant lots throughout the city, including Erlton.[82] And although his famous garden was maintained as part of Union Cemetery, Reader could be found out working on it night and day in his own time. It became a Calgary tourist attraction. The Duke of Connaught was not the only noble visitor; the Viscount and Lady Byng made it a regular stop, and Lady Byng tried her best to hire Reader to manage her own estate in England.[83] Edward Prince of Wales heard of Reader's fame, and commissioned the superintendent to lay out the grounds of the EP Ranch in 1923. Nor was this the only time Reader hobnobbed with royalty. On a visit to England, he went on invitation to the home of the Queen's oldest sister to tour the grounds.

By the time he retired at the end of 1942, Reader was a world-renowned horticulturist, an authority on western Canadian flora who had written extensively for gardening and landscaping journals. He was also a member of numerous organisations dedicated to horticulture and parks management. Reader remained in the superintendent's house after retiring. Only a month later, Reader felt ill while driving home from a breakfast slide presentation. He went into the Shamrock Grocery where he suffered a massive heart attack, and was declared dead by the time he reached nearby Holy Cross Hospital. Only two weeks earlier Reader had been appointed director of the Calgary Ration Board office.

Cemetery Entrance Arch, c. 1913 (Glenbow Archives PD-117-13-309).

The new graveyard may have fulfilled the original 1883 criteria of the *Calgary Herald*, but it was still not terribly convenient. Mourners and caskets had to cross the Elbow in Inglewood and then make their way overland. A ferryman was hired by the city to provide a more direct passage at the point where the Victoria Bridge was later built, but the service was slow and inefficient. For the cemetery itself, city engineers Child and Wilson surveyed the land and marked out plots. For a number of years after opening, Union was simply a prairie hillside with graves, and none too attractive. One resident wrote to the *Herald* in 1894:

> Recently I had occasion to drive a visiting friend out into the country and our route took us past the cemetery gate. For very shame I had to turn my friend's attention to Hull's slaughter houses and away from the cemetry [*sic*]. Its appearance is a disgrace to the community, the house weather-stained and unpainted... The old excavation that Carney made for a stable is still open. The gateway and drives overgrown with weeds. Taken as a whole it has the appearance of a deserted farmyard.[84]

By the end of the decade, however, there was a growing sentiment in Calgary that something should be done to make the cemetery more attractive. In 1899 some tree planting began, and Carney's old house was demolished and replaced by a cottage for the cemetery caretaker. Once the city established a Parks Department, it took over responsibility for Union. Richard Iwersen, who served as superintendent of the department from 1911 to 1913, started planning Union as a "garden cemetery", a tradition popular in Victorian England, where picturesque, landscaped grounds turned burial grounds into parks.[85] Iwersen had a classical revival style arch built at the northeast entrance to the grounds, right on Victoria Road and 25th Avenue, which still stands today. Although he had come with excellent qualifications,[86] Iwersen was not destined to last long as superintendent. After only two years, he incurred the wrath of the city council over an incident that the local papers called the "potato scandal".[87] In 1913, as part of a comprehensive review and audit of city finances, Iwersen's expenditures as Parks Superintendent came under close scrutiny. His critics on city council thought Iwersen's spending extravagant, but they were especially incensed to find that the superintendent had given several sacks of potatoes harvested from city fields to friends, and used it as a pretext to make him resign.

William Reader, Iwersen's successor as superintendent, gave the garden cemetery its full expression. Over a career that spanned four decades, the English-born Reader had an incredible impact on Calgary. Under his leadership, Calgary was turned into a city of trees and parks, but the new superintendent's greatest triumph was Union Cemetery and Reader Rock Garden. As well as overseeing a comprehensive tree planting and landscaping program for the cemetery, Reader himself built an amazing garden on the north side. The cemetery served already as the unofficial headquarters for the parks department. The civic nurseries were built near the arch around 1913, and the official residence of the Parks Superintendent was placed built on the north side of the cemetery. Putting untold hours of his own time into back breaking labour, Reader transformed the hillside into a magnificent rockery, mixing native plants with gardening favourites. It was a tourist attraction, drawing people from all over the city as well as visitors from out of town. Royalty, in the form of the Duke and Duchess of Connaught, Canada's Governor General, visited Reader's garden. The royal couple became good friends with the superintendent, and they corresponded for years. For the residents of Parkview and Erlton, it was a wonderful refuge, a place for evening walks and summer picnics.[88]

The creation of Union may have inspired the Oblates to move their cemetery up onto the escarpment above the Elbow. The city's earliest burial ground had been close to the Mission of Our Lady, on what is today 24th Avenue, just south of the former Holy Cross Hospital.

Alex Munro

Like his predecessor, William Reader, Alex Munro had his own rock garden: the Burns Memorial Garden below the campus of the Southern Alberta Institute of Technology. In 1956, the Federal Government was about to demolish the former sandstone mansion of Senator Patrick Burns, one of the Big Four of the Stampede, to expand the Colonel Belcher hospital.[89] Munro, who loved Reader's garden and spent much of his time there, had an idea for another oasis. He struck a deal with the provincial and federal governments, and the sandstone from the house was installed on provincial land by the city parks department, which proceeded to install a new rockery under Munro's direction. It was an immediate success, so popular today with wedding parties that reservations are required months in advance. The winding paths and lovely plantings remain a lasting tribute to Calgary's "Mr. Gardener."

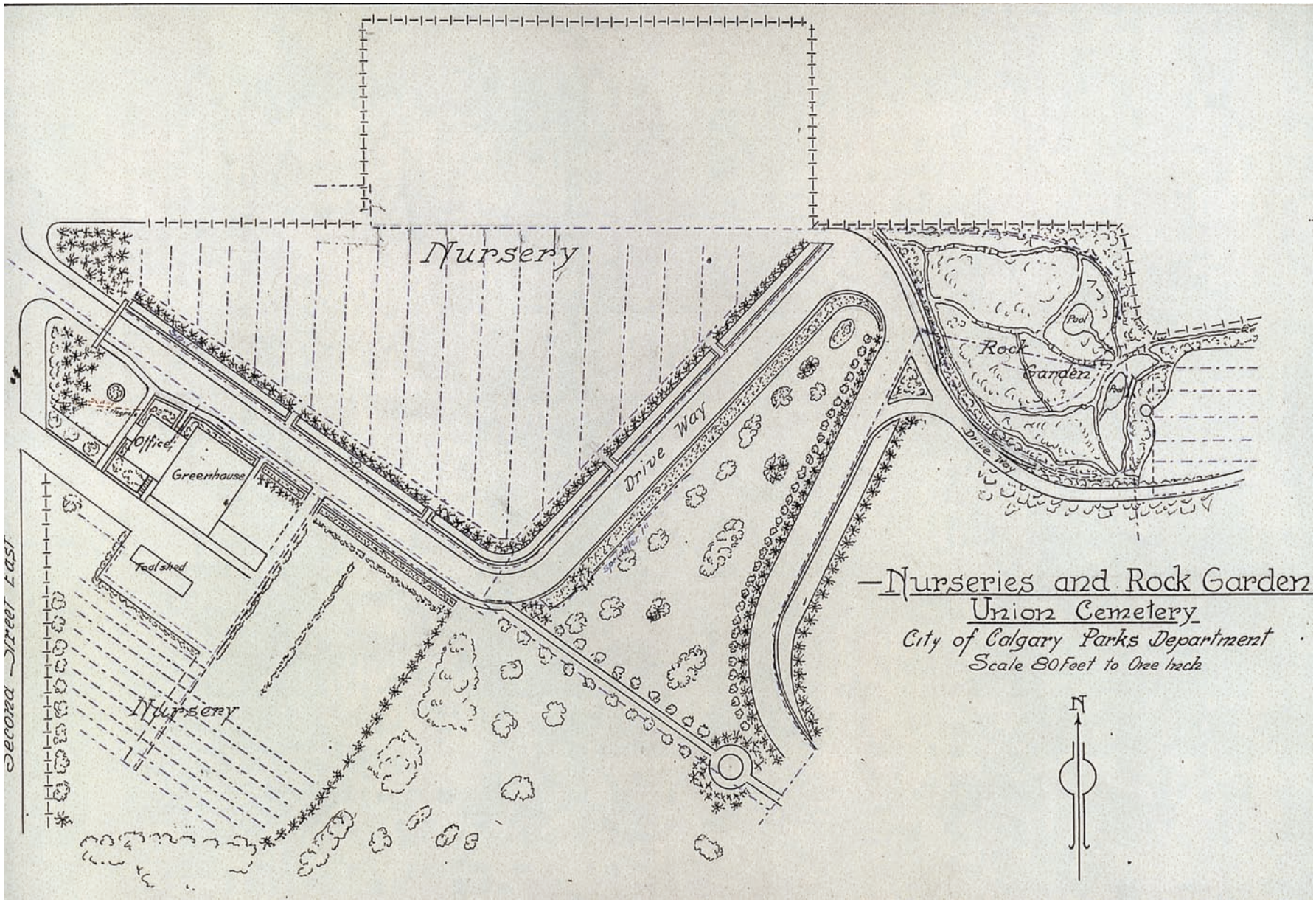
Ironically, Munro did not even like Calgary when he first arrived in the city in the early twenties. He had been born in Evanton, Scotland on May 13th, 1895.[90] At the age of seventeen, he was apprentice gardener on the estate of nearby Balconte Castle. It was the beginning of a life-long love affair with horticulture. Munro went into the army during the First World War and served with the Seaforth Highlanders. After the war, he decided to leave Britain in 1920 for the New World, with the intention of homesteading in the Peace River area of Alberta. In Edmonton, people told him more about the climate around Grande Prairie and Munro instead headed for Calgary. Leaving England with the daffodils blooming in March made the snow and cold of Alberta hard to take, but Munro stayed and joined the city parks department in 1923. Working under William Reader, Munro rose up through the department to become superintendent himself in 1949. Like his former boss, Munro lived and breathed gardening and was a pillar of the local Horticultural Society, serving as its president. It was claimed that Munro would sometimes field over forty calls a day from Calgarians about gardening matters. He had a weekly column in the Calgary Herald that ran for ten years, and he was always ready to give a talk to clubs or organisations in Calgary. And like his predecessor, Munro's fame as a horticulturist was not confined to Calgary. He was a fellow of the Royal Horticultural Society of Britain and his book on gardening, a collection of his Herald articles, was a national best seller.

Munro also supervised the Parks Department through a period of rapid expansion. Memorial Park, Riley Park and Glenmore Park were all established, developed, or improved during his tenure. A series of heart attacks and strokes in 1960 forced Munro to retire. He remained in the public eye through his column until his death in 1966. Sadly, despite many demands from the public, no park was ever named after him.[91] Munro did not live in the Superintendent's Residence at Union Cemetery. He had lived at 235 29th Avenue in Erlton for many years, and later moved to 2502 Victoria Road.

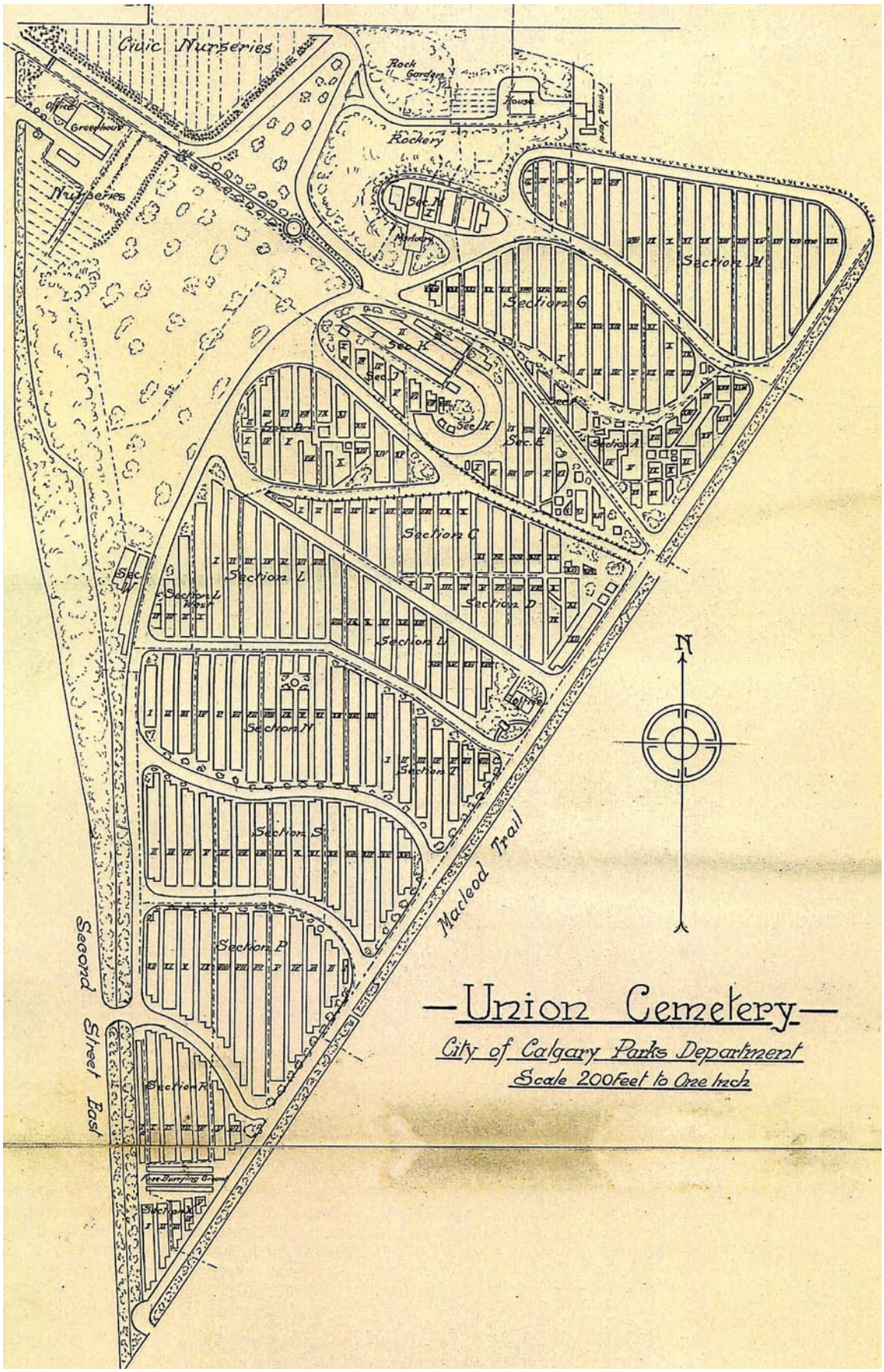
The exact location was later forgotten, but in 1938, a city parks department employee dug up a coffin between 1st and 2nd Street SW.[92] Other remains turned up over the years: another city crew laying a water main uncovered a skeleton, while several young boys uncovered the skeleton of a toddler in the backyard of a home on 2nd Street SW.[93] Sometime around 1896 the Oblates decided the original cemetery had to be moved.[94] The land around it had been surveyed and sold as building lots years before, and there was likely insufficient room for more burials. The order still owned the most of the south west quarter of Section Ten, and they chose to put the cemetery on the top of the hill on the east side of the river. Most of the graves of the original location were moved to the new St. Mary's Cemetery, but a few were missed.

The new burial ground never received the same care and attention as Union Cemetery. A simple and relatively small plot of land situated on the top of bluff, it did not have the same opportunities for landscaping as Union and was not developed in the "Garden Cemetery" tradition. Graves were laid in simple rows, although the grand monuments of Calgary's prominent Catholic families – such as Senator Pat Burns – stand out. Today it has the tumbledown charm of a rural graveyard. The Catholic population of Calgary was smaller than the Protestant, and it took almost forty years to reach the capacity of St. Mary's Cemetery. Finally, in 1934, the need for more elbowroom – so to speak – was clear. Unfortunately, by this time, the diocese had sold off all its remaining land in the vicinity. Bishop Monahan wrote to City Council:

> St. Mary's Cemetery is at present filled to capacity. I am instructed that all vacant land adjoining our cemetery is owned by the City. It seems to me the only solution for our shortage of cemetery space is to request the City authorities to set aside for R.C. cemetery purpose all city owned lots in Blocks 2, 5 and 6, all of which are immediately south of our present cemetery and West of 1st St. E. as per plan 960 AM of S. Sec. 10. This



Cemetery map showing Reader Rock Garden, n.d. (City of Calgary Archives).



Union Cemetery map, n.d. (City of Calgary Archives).

> arrangement...will be suitable to our people, since it furnishes cemetery grounds for years to come in close proximity to our present cemetery ground and moreover keeps the cemeteries of the City in the same section of the City.[95]

The land Monahan wanted had ended up in the hands of the City of Calgary due to tax arrears: much of it had been originally surveyed and registered as "Mission Heights" but few houses built there. City Council was quite amenable to helping the church. The request was referred to the City Lands Committee of council and within a month they reported back to recommend it be granted, with the exception of two privately owned lots.[96] The diocese had to acquire them on their own. As an extra bonus, the new grounds would come under the care of the Parks Department, removing the onerous task of maintaining the graves from the church, on the condition that 31st Avenue remain open. Years later, the cemetery would be extended further east to Victoria Road.

The creation of the Jewish and Chinese burial grounds further ensured the homes of the living would be hemmed in with the abodes of the departed. The Jewish Cemetery was established in 1904 when the city's small but growing community of Jews approached the city to request a portion of Union be set aside for burials in their faith.[97] The council agreed to the request, and sold a small plot, only ninety-three by twenty-six, in the north-west corner of the cemetery land on the west side the cart track that would become Victoria Road. The price was one hundred sixty dollars. Two prominent members of the Jewish community, Jacob Diamond and Nathan Bell, picked out the spot, requesting property on the other side of Victoria Road removed from the main cemetery. Five years later, at the end of 1909, the city transferred more land to "Jewish Plot", as it was known.[98] The burial ground has been added to several times over the subsequent decades and has in recent years been the subject of some controversy over expansion plans – which required the purchase of residential properties on the edge of the old cemetery.[99]

While members of the Jewish faith wanted a burial ground separate from Union, Chinese burials were evidently intentionally segregated. There was a large degree of overt racial hostility against the Chinese community in Calgary early in the century. In 1892, there had been riots when cases of smallpox appeared among some recent immigrants; the Royal Northwest Mounted Police had to be called in to restore order and protect the Chinese. When the district near the Bow River and Centre Street became popular among Chinese residents, some city councillors wanted to move the community to the outskirts of Calgary. Accordingly when the council was approached in 1908 by the Chinese community for land on which to bury their dead, they too were sold a plot on the far west side of Union, on the other side of the rough cart track that would become Victoria Road.[100] Once Victoria Road was constructed up the hillside, the cemeteries became segregated. It is perhaps telling that when the road was widened in 1912 to accommodate the streetcar line, the Jewish and Chinese cemeteries were asked to give up some of their land in a property swap, while Union was left untouched.[101]

With the expansion of St. Mary's Cemetery, Parkview and Erlton were more or less surrounded by graveyards. Their presence was not intrusive, but always in the background. Today, six lanes of constant traffic separate Erlton from Union Cemetery, and old St. Mary's is tucked away behind modern townhouses. Even the new St. Mary's and the Jewish Cemetery are only obvious when one crests the hill in South Erlton and the houses suddenly end, replaced by the manicured lawns of the gravesites.

A Neighbourhood is Born

The city of Calgary underwent an amazing transformation from 1901 to 1911. Over a space of only ten years, the city grew from just over four thousand residents to over forty-four thousand. And that was the official figure. Calgary city council and the local Board of Trade (forerunner of the Chamber of Commerce) were outraged by the census figures, and immediately commissioned their own head count. It found a population of over sixty thousand. In defence of the civic boosters, there was a large floating population in town, and the actual number of people at any one time was probably significantly higher than the number of official residents. By any yardstick, it was amazing growth. There were many factors involved in the amazing boom on the prairies, but none was as important as the great flood of immigrants into Canada. Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Liberal government believed as the Conservatives had before them, that settlement of the west was the key to the nation's prosperity. Under Sir Clifford Sifton, the Minister of the Interior from 1896 to 1906, the Canadian government aggressively advertised for settlers in England, Europe and the United States. Russians and Ukrainians left their homelands in search of better opportunities; factory workers weary of the toil in the Midlands of England came wanting to go back to the land; and prosperous farmers in the States, many of them immigrants already, sold their established farms to

take advantage of the cheap homesteads available in Canada. Not the least significant was internal migration. As new farmland in Ontario and the Maritimes became scarce, the only option for many was to head west.

The rush of homesteaders attracted businessmen and the professionals eager to supply their needs. And thus the boom fed upon itself – prosperity attracted more people, who required houses, stores, farm equipment, lawyers and doctors, which attracted more people in turn, in a giddy spiral of growth. Even with an accompanying flood of contractors and construction workers, it was difficult to keep up with the city's needs, and an acute housing shortage soon arose. The solution for many was to build their own house if they had enough money. For working class families, this meant finding an inexpensive lot. Like other areas that were - or recently had been - outside of the city limits, the lack of services in Parkview meant affordable prices and more important, lax enforcement of building by-laws. Thus, as was the case in Riverside and Sunnyside north of the Bow River, Parkview soon attracted people of more modest means who wanted to build a home.

Sub-division development was rather different in Calgary circa 1910. New suburbs were not created by large development companies or homebuilders. Generally, real estate speculators had an area surveyed into roads and building lots and carried out a few improvements, but as a rule simply sold the lots and left it up to the new owners to build on them as they would. Many lots were sold to prospective homeowners who engaged a contractor or quite often, especially with smaller homes, built it themselves. In that era, many more people had the basic carpentry skills and kit homes and easy building plans abounded. In some cases, speculators and investors had houses built "on spec", or for sale, and larger builders often did this as well. In an age of manual labour in construction work, however, even big contracting firms could rarely build more than a handful of homes at one time. There were rarely architectural controls or neighbourhood planning. Only in a few upscale districts like Mount Royal was development planned and directed through means of building restrictions. Caveats on the title or agreements about minimum value for houses, required setbacks and similar devices encouraged – or forced – property owners to conform to certain standards. Generally, subdivisions were left on their own to evolve. Parkview was an exception. Lindsay sold his land with an agreement that houses and buildings would have a minimum value of $1500 and ensure the area would be a middle-class residential area. He was destined to be disappointed.

Roy Emerson Bishop

Pioneer Calgarian Roy E. Bishop was one of the first residents of the new district of Parkview, living at 403 23rd Avenue, on the east side of Victoria Road, from 1909 to 1918. He also owned a substantial amount of real estate in the district and built the Parkview Block on Victoria Road around 1911. Originally from Moncton, New Brunswick, Bishop arrived in Calgary as a boy of four in 1888.[102] He later went into the grocery business with Stanley Freeze, but after a few years became a salesman for the Alberta Marketing Board. Bishop remained in sales for the rest of his career, and was a member of the Northwest Traveller's Association. He died in 1945.

Outside of Paul Fagnant and Augustus Carney, we don't know for certain who built the first house in Parkview. The city didn't annex the property until 1907 and did not assess property for tax purposes or issue building permits until the following year, and some structures may have already been erected. The first building permit was taken out on April 10th, 1908 by Mrs. Ann Hicks. It was for a dwelling with a value of $700, a very modest home by the standards of the time, and was to be located on Lot Three of Block One in Parkview.[103] This was Spruce Avenue, later 3rd Street East, in East Parkview. Later that month, E.B. Milne took out a permit for a residence to be built on Block Two, Lots 23 and 24, facing Victoria Road. This was to be a much more substantial house, valued at $1500. By the end of 1908, only five permits had been registered for the area, and we don't know for certain when the houses were actually built. Milne for instance, does seem to have finished his place as it was assessed for tax purposes at $400 the following year, which would have been a very small house even for 1909. The tax rolls show that by this time a few buildings had been put up. The most expensive was a house for Roy E. Bishop, assessed at $1200 dollars, a substantial building. Some were just sheds, others were small houses. By the end of 1910, there were approximately two dozen buildings in Parkview, including some larger two story houses and even a small two-story commercial building, the short-lived Parkview Block on Victoria Road. For these first hardy suburban pioneers, there was still no electricity, street lighting or running water and plumbing consisted of water closets and outhouses.

Parkview from Cemetery Hill, 1909 (Glenbow Archives NA2187-2).

Even at this early point, Lindsay was not happy about the way his subdivision was progressing. Many of the new property owners were ignoring the minimum building value agreement and building very modest homes. Lindsay, who still owned a great deal of property in the area, was clearly worried about the direction the suburb was developing: it would greatly affect the marketing of his remaining lots. He wrote an impassioned letter to the city's board of commissioners in the summer of 1909, pleading for their help in enforcing the agreement by withholding building permits.

> As the original owner of the Subdivision of Parkview, I beg to enter a protest that the building restrictions imposed on the residents of the suburb, which is now within the City limits and should be entitled to advantages and protection from Council, are being shamefully violated to the disadvantage and loss of property owners who purchase there in good faith, expecting that the building conditions would be adhered to which would materially enhance the value of building lots over there and render the new subdivision a desirable residential locality to reside in as it was originally intended to be. Instead, the way it is now, Parkview is comprised of a village of shacks which is a disgrace to the City of Calgary and which has already prevented several good buildings from going up on the site.[104]

Like many civic boosters of early Calgary – who were usually heavily invested in local real estate – Lindsay was concerned, if not obsessed with the "progressiveness" of the city. He was certainly not alone in his dislike of housing which did not live up a certain ideal.

Erlton had not even been officially registered as subdivision before the first buildings appeared. In early 1908, C.H. Jacques himself took out a permit for a "dwelling" valued at only $600, which was built down by 26th Avenue.[105] Two months before Erlton was born in 1910, John D. Wilson took out a permit for a $1000 house on 27th Avenue, followed by A.E. Johnson, who was planning to built on the corner of 28th Avenue and Victoria Road. By 1911, there was about half a dozen houses in Erlton proper, all but one being quite modest in size.[106] Jacques, Marwood, Hutchings and the other investors involved in opening up Erlton did not seem as concerned as Lindsay about the development of the district. Only one, the Thomson residence on the southwest corner of 26th Avenue and Victoria Road, across from the Marwood Block, came up to the standards of the good doctor. Lindsay was likely not pleased to see

Parkview from Cemetery Hill, 1909 (Glenbow Archives NA2187-3).

another "village of shacks" springing up beside Parkview.

After a slow start, the two neighbourhoods grew quickly. By 1911, around fifty households could be found in Parkview, and about six in Erlton.[107] The latter area would lag behind its older neighbour – in July of 1913, Erlton would have about fifty homes compared to over seventy.[108]

Servicing Parkview and Erlton

A lack of city services may have been part of the reason that the two neighbourhoods did not attract the upscale residents Lindsay had wanted. It was not until 1909, two years after the annexation, that the city began to work on extending water and sewage into Parkview. The first bylaw was passed in April to allow for construction of a water main across the river to Lindsay Estates.[109] Work really got going the following year. Bylaws 1029 and 1037, passed in March and April of 1910 included waterworks and sewage mains for almost all of Parkview, and construction got later that spring. Prospective homebuilders in Erlton were luckier, as the district was barely a year old before the city extended water up the hill. By the fall of 1911, the main trunk lines were in place to the edge of the Roman Catholic cemetery. The value of water and sewer connections cannot be undervalued. The residents of Parkhill farther south protested vociferously when they discovered that the water lines would not make it to their district that year, leaving them facing another winter without running water.[110]

Erlton itself would have to wait another year itself for sewage service, although the city promised Marwood it would be there in 1912. It was a matter of no small concern given the steep hillside were the new district stood. The city commissioners acknowledged the problem, one of them writing to the realtor "In the meantime I understand that the sewage is getting away and that no [little] inconvenience is being caused to the householders."[111] It was not until 1913 that the sewers and water lines were finally finished in Parkview and Erlton. Another amenity the city began installing was concrete sidewalks as well as grading and gravelling the streets, starting in Parkview on Lindsay Street and Victoria Road in 1911.[112] This work was not completed before the beginning of the war, and it was some years before every street in the district had sidewalks. Only Victoria Road was paved, due to the streetcar line.

Section map, c. 1913 (City of Calgary Archives M00033).

Bridges

Much like Lindsay several years before, it was important to Marwood and the other realtors involved in Erlton to get a bridge built over the Elbow, this time at 26th Avenue. Easy access from the Mission area would increase value of the property greatly. The city was also interested in improving the connections to the Parkview-Parkhill area and the residents of Mission were not averse to having a shortcut to Victoria Road.[113] Plans were set afoot in 1911 to build a bridge at 25th and 26th Avenues to connect the two neighbourhoods. The city was also planning a new bridge at 2nd Street East and Victoria Road, and someone had the clever idea of moving the original Victoria Bridge over to the new crossing point. It was a good plan; it was unlikely the connection would have an enormous amount of traffic, so the old bridge would still be sufficient, and it would be cheaper than building an entirely new structure. The city commissioners asked Marwood to ascertain the lowest price obtainable from the owners of property on the east bank of the Elbow needed for the bridge approaches. By March an option on the two needed lots was in the hands of the city, and the City Commissioners urged council to approve the land purchase and the bridge move.[114] Bylaw 1158 was passed on June 12th, 1911, authorising both the move and a debenture of $25,000 that would provide the funds necessary.[115] In August, with the new Victoria Bridge approaching completion, the city accepted a tender from the Algoma Steel Bridge Company of Winnipeg for $5,400 to move the structure. [116]

Twenty-fifth Avenue Bridge, c. 1921 (Glenbow Archives NA2399-86).

Along with moving the old span, Algoma also got the contract to replace the Victoria Bridge. The new structure was rather less controversial than the first bridge. Victoria Road was fast becoming the major thoroughfare south from Calgary, joining with the Macleod Trail on the south side of Cemetery Hill and by 1911 the need for a new bridge across the Elbow had become pressing. The city also wanted to extend streetcar service south to the Manchester industrial suburb, and needed a bridge that could accommodate the streetcar track as well as vehicles. The city commissioners put out a tender in early 1911.[121] The first complication was the bids, which all exceeded handily the money bylaw voted for the construction. This was sorted out by dividing the contract into two, one for substructure, one for superstructure. The former went to Frank Ferenbach, a local contractor, and the latter to Algoma. The combined cost was on the order of $55,000. The company also got the contract to replace the 12th Avenue East bridge to Inglewood. It undertook to have both structures done by the summer of 1911. By May, the concrete footings were in place on the 2nd Street bridge, and it looked like the company would make its deadline.[118]

While the city provided roads, sewers and power, it was not yet in the habit of building much in the way of recreational amenities. Before World War One, Calgary's municipal government had started to plan and develop parks in the different districts of the city, but the skating rinks, swimming pools, and other athletic facilities of the sort now taken for granted were all but non-existent. Residents of most districts generally had to provide such things for themselves. In Parkview and Erlton, about the only place for recreation was donated by F.G. Marwood. At the beginning of the winter in 1912, the realtor generously provided the use of three lots for a skating rink, ostensibly for the cottage school. William Gardiner, the Superintendent of Public Works for the city and soon to be a resident of Erlton himself, approved the idea in principle but suggested moving the location due to the likelihood of runoff onto 27th Avenue.[120] Years later the city provided much more in the way of such amenities, and set up an outdoor rink in Parkview in the twenties and thirties. But while the Parks Department would set up the boards for it every

W.H.R. Gardiner

Although we have characterised Erlton as a workingman's neighbourhood, there were a large number of middle class households. One such was perched up on the hill at 2631 1st Street East, the home for over thirty years of William Henry Rowbotham Gardiner. Born in England around 1882, Gardiner was a small child when his parents emigrated and settled in Fort Macleod.[119] As a young man he came up to Calgary, taking a position in the city's public works department in 1906. Four years later, as Calgary's boom took off, he was made superintendent at the age of twenty-eight. It was a position of no small responsibility; all the city's infrastructure projects were carried out or supervised by the department, from sewers to roads to sidewalks. Gardiner's stature in the community was recognised by ultimate in Calgary accolades, being asked to join the board of directors for the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede. Gardiner was also an avid curler and was one of the founders of the venerable Calgary Curling Club and served as club president.

In 1913 he decided to build a house in Erlton. The family lived there for thirty-one years. Gardiner himself suffered a severe stroke while still a young man of fifty-three. Forced to retire, he died two years later in 1937. He was buried but a short distance away from his home in Union Cemetery.

Victoria Bridge, c. 1911 (Glenbow Archives NA644-25).

winter on vacant lots used for community vegetable gardens, local parents and children had to flood it and maintain it.[121]

Education in Erlton

One of the essential services needed in the new neighbourhoods of Calgary was schools. Although the Calgary Public School District had embarked on a massive building program before World War One, it was impossible to keep up with demand. The district preferred impressive sandstone schools,[122] which have since become Calgary landmarks, but they were expensive and took time to erect. As a temporary measure, the district board of trustees decided in the spring of 1910 to build small "cottage schools", until permanent structures could be provided.[123] The cottage schools were two story buildings that looked like nothing so much as a large house. A standard design was used that featured a classroom on the upper floor, one on the lower floor and a basement for the furnace and for storage. The board's own building superintendent drafted the plans.[124] They were simple structures adequate for instilling the three "R's" but not much else. The residential appearance of the schools was not an accident. Not only did they blend in well with the surrounding neighbourhoods; they could be converted to a house and sold with a minimum of difficulty when more permanent schools were available.[125] Some of the "temporary" cottage schools were used for almost fifty years.

The first cottage school was constructed in Hillhurst in the fall of 1910.[126] More followed. In October, the board bought land in the Mission area for another school. Even though Parkview was not densely populated at the time, trustees F.W. Mapson and R.J. Hutchings moved that a committee of the board approach the city council to see about having the old Victoria Bridge moved to allow better access to the new Mission cottage

Cottage School, c. 1912, (Glenbow Archives NA613-7).

school – a cheaper solution for the board than building schools on the other side of the river.[127] Although the city did indeed move the bridge to span the Elbow at 26th Avenue, the board decided that a separate cottage was necessary after all. At a special meeting of the board on March 20th, 1911, Hutchings and Mapson moved that property be bought in Parkview for a school.[128] The motion was carried, and in April lots 29 and 30 in Block Two of Plan 2865AC were purchased from realtor F.G. Marwood, for the modest sum of $400. We might note at this juncture that Hutchings had a considerable interest in real estate in Erlton, which may account for his energy in getting a school built there. It was one of five cottage structures opened that year in Calgary.

No time was lost getting the new building erected – the board wanted it ready for the new school year in the fall. Tenders were called by May, and the contract for the Erlton building was awarded to contractor H. Lougheed on a bid of $4200.[129] The new schools were to be completed by September 1st, 1911. Construction went smoothly and Erlton had its first classes that autumn. The superintendent's report listed sixty pupils for the 1911–1912 year.[130] There were two teachers, Ms. Blanche Harper and E. Beryl Gillrie – not the greatest student-teacher ratio. The number of students actually rose to over seventy by the end of the year. The Erlton Cottage School did not just serve Parkview and Erlton; more than half the children came from Parkhill, which started to lobby for its own cottage school.

There is a small mystery concerning school accommodation in Parkview. On June 8th, 1912, the Calgary Herald reported "A building permit was taken out for another large city school this morning. It is to go up in Parkview and the cost is placed at $124,000. It is to be three storeys in height and will provide ample accommodation for scholars in this subdivision when completed." Coming less than a year after the completion of the cottage school, it appeared the board was following through post haste on its scheme of providing more imposing school accommodations to replace the cottages. The school, which would have surely changed the appearance of the neighbourhood quite radically, was never built. The Herald not mistaken: a permit had indeed been taken out for Block 4, Section 10, Parkview, for a large eight to twelve room school. However, the school board did not own the land in either Erlton or Parkview aside from the area around the cottage school. Even stranger, nowhere in the minutes of the board was a new school for Parkview discussed, although there was much discussion of other big schools such as Balmoral in the north. It seems hard to believe the building permit would have been registered by mistake –permits cost money, on the order of a hundred dollars for a project that big. There is no evidence, however, that the board had any plans to erect such a building in Parkview.

The Erlton cottage school was strictly for elementary grades. Once the neighbourhood around it was well established and the number of children increased, only grades one through four were taught there.[131] Students finished off their elementary education at Victoria or Haultain. Until Rideau Junior High was open in 1930, grades seven through nine were also taught at Haultain. Rideau, located a short distance west in the Rideau-Roxboro district, apparently served as a bit of a melting pot. Children from the affluent suburbs of Elbow Park, Rideau and Mount Royal went there, as well as the Mission area and working class neighbourhoods like Erlton and Parkhill. How well kids from this range of backgrounds got along depends on who one talks to: some graduates remember the Elbow Park and Mount Royal kids as snobs, others the Parkhill and Parkview kids as rough, rambunctious and prone to fights and

Erlton, c. 1914, Cottage School visible just left of centre (Glenbow Archives PD117-3-26).

troublemaking.[133] The choice of a high school depended on grades and personal fancy. For Erlton and Parkview children, it was generally Central High for the more academically inclined, while Western Canada High, which opened in 1926, had a vocational focus.

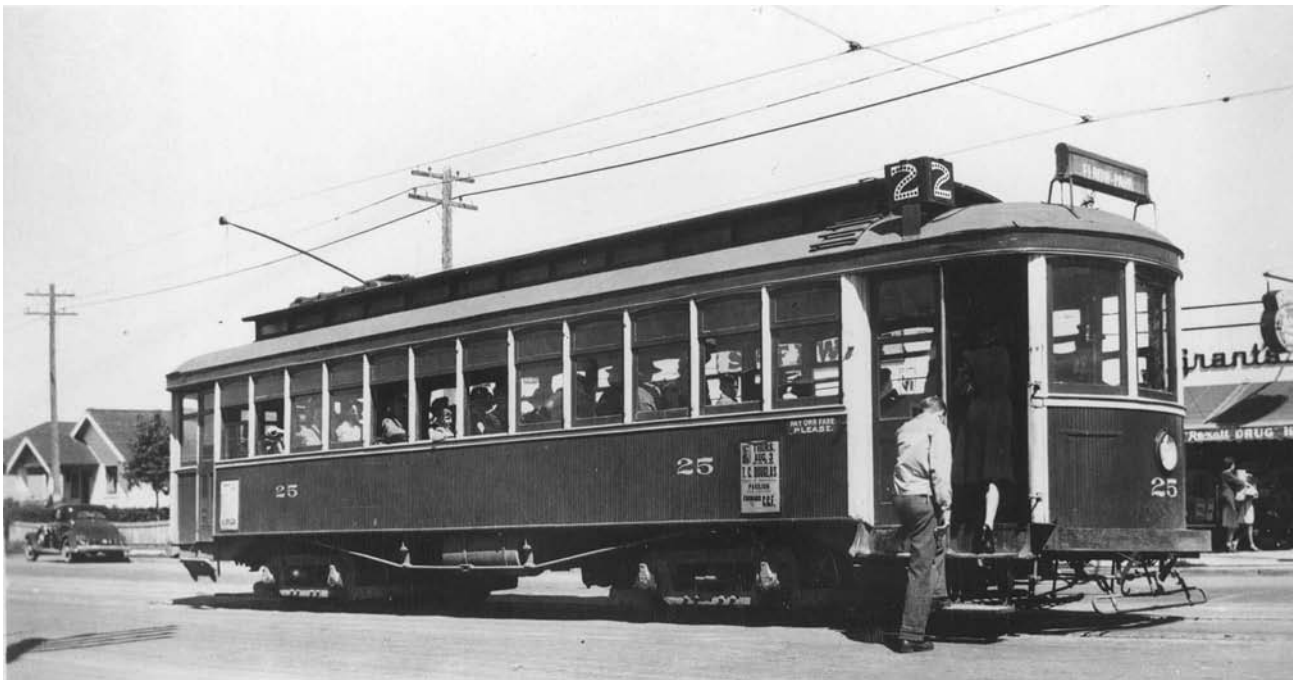
Children from Roman Catholic families living in Parkview and Erlton were reasonably well served. St. Mary's, run by the nuns of the Sacred Heart Convent, was the most important of Calgary's Catholic schools; indeed, for many years it was the only one. The school was only a short walk away over the 25th Avenue Bridge, and the CNR bridge was even closer, though presumably the smaller children were not allowed to go that way. Holy Angels Elementary, run by the Ursuline Nuns, was opened in 1919 on Cliff Street in the Mission area, and Parkview children went there for their early grades.[134] As for the higher grades, St. Mary's was the only school until the 1950s. Under the watchful eyes of the Faithful Companions of Jesus (for the girls) and the Basilian Fathers (for the boys after 1933), for many years nearly all the Catholic children in Calgary were educated just a stone's throw away from Parkview.

Erlton and the Streetcar

Just as the LRT is a dominant feature of the landscape today around Erlton, so in the past was the original streetcar, the Calgary Municipal Railway. The streetcar was not just a physical presence in Erlton-Parkview and a handy service, but also provided employment to many of the residents over the years, including its superintendent, Charles Comba.

Before the automobile became ubiquitous, municipal street railways were vital part of the civic landscape. Street railways were the wave of the future in the early part of the twentieth century and became popular throughout western Canada. Smaller cities like Lethbridge nearly bankrupted themselves trying to build them. A streetcar system had been proposed several times in Calgary before the city decided in 1907 to build it. Work actually got under way two years later, and it was an immediate success. Streetcar service became a major selling point for different districts of the city, and real estate promoters eagerly lobbied for expansion of the system, sometimes promising new lines to gullible investors. The most notorious case was the developers of a luxury suburb by Chestermere Lake. He graded part of a right of way and laid down ties to give the appearance a new track was about to be built to the suburb.[135]

At the height of the boom in 1911, the city council decided to provide service to some of the far-flung suburbs of the city, believing that the city's phenomenal growth would soon envelop even these lines. On October 3rd, the council approved Bylaw 1200.[136] From this the Manchester line was born, which would run down Victoria Road over Cemetery Hill. It had been under consideration since 1910.[137] The nearest streetcar stop for Parkview had been just across the Victoria Bridge, where the "Parkview" car had its turn-around. After the Manchester industrial suburb was established in the city's far south-east, council decided that a line should be run down to 50th Avenue SE, the city limit, even though there was almost no development between Cemetery Hill and the new area. The attitude of council and the streetcar superintendent was more or less,



Streetcar, August 3, 1940, (Glenbow Archives NA2935-8).

"build it and they will come." It was this attitude that would saddle the city with lines out to Bowness and Ogden, which both crossed wide swaths of unbroken prairie, with nary a house or store to be seen.

There was some debate as to the best route down to Manchester. From the first the city considered following Victoria Road "through the Lindsay to the Mills Estate", but decided that due to uncertainty over the route of the Canadian Northern Railway into the downtown, it would be better to route the line to Manchester around the east side of Union Cemetery, following the original Macleod Trail.[138] This had the extra benefit of avoiding any hills. In the summer of 1911, the street railway superintendent decided this route was too long and out of the way, and opted instead for the "Victoria Line", sending the streetcar directly south on Victoria Road and over the hill.[139] Tenders were awarded for the new construction on November 21st, 1911.[140] It took only six months to prepare the new road, and by May 28th, 1912, the line to Manchester was ready to go.[141] From Victoria Bridge the tracks went straight up the hill in the middle of Victoria Road and down the other side, hooking up with Macleod Trail.

Victoria Road was widened considerably to make room for the tracks, requiring some of the property that had been granted to the Jewish and Chinese communities for cemetery purposes.[142] A land swap was worked out. The grade of the road had to be reduced as well for the streetcar, and it was cut down into the hillside – this evolved into the concrete retaining walls one sees on the modern Macleod Trail. Sometime around 1919, the streetcar line was twinned down to 41st Avenue, although subsequently one half of this was torn up and used for the Twentieth Avenue NW connector line.[143] The Victoria Road hill was not as scary as the 14th Street hill, and was never the scene of any accidents, but sometimes the line would have to be closed temporarily during the winter if the tracks got too icy. George Hughes, a lifelong resident of Erlton, remembers that a car was sometimes parked at the base of the hill on the south side: passengers going to Manchester would disembark and walk over the hill to continue their journey.[144] George also remembers some of the mischief local boys got up to with the streetcars, including flattening pennies on the tracks and pulling the trolley arm off the wires and stalling the car. In the years when the line was a single track, an interesting system was evolved to prevent collisions between north and southbound trains. A wooden staff was placed where the twin track ended. The driver had to have the staff in his hands before he could go south, and if it wasn't there, he knew there was another car on the line ahead of him.[145]

Thus starting in May 1912, the residents of Parkview and Erlton could hop on the streetcar a couple of blocks from their homes, and go to any part of the city within a short time. Popular summer picnic spots like Bowness Park were within easy reach, as was downtown shopping. The city built the car barns for the line and the administrative headquarters beside the river in Victoria

Park just on the other side of the bridge. Parkview immediately became a popular neighbourhood for the employees of the line, as did Mission and Victoria Park. Drivers, mechanics, car cleaners and conductors could all be found living in the district.

Worshipping in Erlton

Almost all the inner city areas of Calgary had their neighbourhood church or churches, and Erlton was no exception. In an age where the streetcar was a transportation innovation and many people still relied on their feet, having churches close at hand was quite important. The older congregations for the major downtown churches also grew to a point where they were stretching their facilities to the utmost. For residents of outlying districts, it made more sense to form a new congregation, and like everything in boomtown Calgary, the various church hierarchies enthusiastically supported expansion. The Catholics of Parkview and Erlton were well placed in St. Mary's parish, with the cathedral just over the river. For those of the Protestant faith, the nearest halls of God were the downtown congregations such as the ProCathedral of the Redeemer, Central Methodist, Knox Presbyterian or First Baptist. A number of Anglicans in Parkview decided in 1910 that a much better solution was to establish their own parish and build their own church. Thus St. George's was born.

Details of the circumstances around the formation of the parish are sketchy.[148] Sometime in 1910, the Diocese of Calgary established the new parish and by the end of the year a small church was begun.[149] The Diocese acquired four lots on the south-east corner of 24th Avenue and 1st Street from Doctor Lindsay. By December the new parish had raised enough money to start construction on a church. The building permit was taken out by the "Church of England", with Hallat and Longden listed as the builders.[150] They were not contractors, but grocers: Walter Hallat and Joseph Longden lived in Parkview at 2327 1st Street East.[151] They and the rest of the parishioners built St. George's church themselves. It was just a little church, of wood frame construction and only seating about sixty people. Only costing about $950, it was the sort of building that could be built by relative amateurs.[152] In Parkview, as we have already observed, there were a number of men in the construction industry, so it was likely not hard to find experienced volunteers. By the end of December, it was sufficiently complete to merit inclusion in the 1910 report of the Diocese,[153] and by March it was ready to be consecrated. Sadly, no descriptions or photographs remain of the church.

Charles Comba

Many employees of the Calgary streetcar system lived in Erlton, including its superintendent from 1937 to 1946. Charles Comba came to Calgary in 1909 to work as the construction foreman on the line, then just beginning construction.[146] Originally from Packenham, Ontario, where he was born in 1881, Comba had known the first superintendent of the system, T.H. McCauley, out east and came to Calgary at the latter's behest.[147] Installed as the construction chief, he remained as general foreman under R.A. "Streetcar" Brown, the next superintendent, and took over from him when Brown struck it rich in Turner Valley drilling for oil. Comba inherited a difficult task – running a public utility with almost 200 permanent employees in a time of severe financial restrictions. On taking the job, Comba predicted prophetically that the new trolley buses he had seen recently in Montreal would be the wave to the future, being cheaper to maintain than streetcars and cheaper to run than gas buses. At the time of his retirement, the City of Calgary was just beginning to look at this option to replace the old streetcars then in service. Comba died in 1957, still living at 2328 1st Street East in Parkview, where he had moved in 1929.

Cyprian Pinkham, Bishop of Calgary, was slated to open the church on March 30th, 1911.[154] G.H. Hogbin, the Dean of the Diocese was responsible for the new parish, and he soon appointed the Reverend J.B. Sneddon as the first rector for the little church.[155] St. George's Parish did not just serve Parkview and Erlton. Sneddon's responsibilities took in all the neighbourhoods in the south-west. A house to house tour of his parish in the fall of 1911 found twelve Anglican families in Parkview, fifteen in Parkhill, nine in Elbow Park, thirty-two in Glencoe and even twelve in far off Altadore. The minister was in fact rather doubtful as to the wisdom of basing the parish in Parkview:

> As Parkview itself can never be a very large parish, [and] it is not ten minutes walk from the church site near the Mission Bridge and as that site would be [more] central for Parkhill, Glencoe, and Elbow Park, I would suggest that St. George be transferred to that part of the city. In the course of my visitations I found the people in Elbow Park and Glencoe very keen that a church should be erected in the vicinity.[156]

Sneddon was quite astute in his observation. The residents of Glencoe (the north part of Elbow Park) and the rest of that suburb soon petitioned for their own church, which was granted, while St. George's struggled for most of its sixty-year existence.

Parkview was simply too small to support a full parish. As early as 1913, the churchwardens had to arrange for a loan from the diocese to pay the salary of the minister, and chronic money troubles were always part of life for the parish.[157] In 1916, the wardens asked the bishop to extend the boundaries of the parish south, so as to increase the size of the congregation.[158] The request was granted, but even with this measure, it was still a struggle. The low pay the parish could offer, often in arrears, made it hard to keep a minister. In later decades, St. George's frequently did not have its own rector, and priests from the diocese would be assigned to look after the parish along with their other duties. The absence of a priest tended to lessen the attraction of the church to parishioners. It was also difficult to keep the small church looking proper. In 1943, Carson Bradley, the warden, mentioned in a letter to the bishop that "the little church needs some alterations and repairs and the grounds and furnace are in rather a disgraceful condition."[159] The women's auxiliary even disbanded for a period time, and when it reconstituted on the eve of the fortieth anniversary of the church, Mrs. E. McBride succinctly summed up the history of the parish: "We have had lots and up and downs at St. George's but we are not giving up yet."[160]

Although St. George's may have its share of problems, it also materially contributed to the health and well being of Erlton and Parkview. The parish built a hall next door to the church around 1920.[161] As the warden for St. George's pointed out in a circular to the neighbourhood in 1945, the hall had served as a de facto community centre, for clubs, dances and meetings of all sorts, as did the church itself.[162] He was trying to get the community to donate money to rebuild the parish hall. By 1945 it was somewhat decrepit, with no running water or toilet facilities. It was a tough row to hoe and by the summer Bradley was asking permission to sell the building, which was granted. Although the circumstances are hazy, the parish in the end did not sell the building immediately.

The Early Residents of Parkview and Erlton

Within a few short years, Parkview and Erlton had been transformed from prairie into a living, breathing neighbourhood. So what kind of people had moved into the district? By 1911, there were almost sixty households in the two little suburbs.[165] The community was quickly becoming a working class district, populated mostly by skilled workers and tradesmen. Not surprising, considering the boom in Calgary, a fair number were involved in the construction trade, including ten carpenters, a bricklayer, two plumbers, a mason and three contractors. Other skilled workers were a mixed bag, including a decorator, a printer and a butcher, and there were five household heads listed as foremen. The white-collar workforce, as we would call it now, was very much under-represented. Four wage earners were salesmen, four had clerical jobs, only two had managerial positions, and only one professional, a dentist by the name of Cashman, resided in the neighbourhood. And there were a fair number of people who had work that

The Reverend George H. Hogbin

The second minister of St. George's Parish in Parkview was only briefly associated with the little church. At the time of its establishment, the Reverend George H. Hogbin was secretary and treasurer of the Anglican diocese of Calgary and was soon after made the archdeacon. The churchman had a long career, which took him as far afield as Belize. Hogbin took over direction of St. George's in 1914. He lived in Parkview from 1915 to 1916 at 2420 1A Street East.[163]

Hogbin was born and educated in England and originally came to western Canada in 1890 as the schoolmaster for Emmanuel College in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan.[164] Four years later he was ordained as a Anglican priest and made a dean by Bishop Cyprian Pinkham, at that time prelate of the vast diocese of Alberta and Saskatchewan, and put in charge of the parish of North Battleford. In 1896, Hogbin was made principal of the Indian Industrial School at Bonnybrook and remained there until the school was closed in 1907. He went back into the church hierarchy, appointed rural Dean for the Bishopric of Calgary, and was made treasurer for the diocese as well as the parish priest for St. George's in Banff. Returning to Calgary in 1911, he was the secretary and treasurer for the diocese, but at the outbreak of World War One, he joined the military as an army chaplain. He served as St. George's rector while also ministering at the Sarcee military camp in Calgary. Hogbin left the country in 1917 to become Archdeacon of Belize in the British Honduras, never to return to Canada. In 1931, Hogbin went back to Britain to be vicar of a parish in Salisbury, where he died six years later.

required little in the way of education or training: teamsters, labourers, caretakers, and such. They made up over a fifth of the household heads in Parkview and Erlton in 1911.

The first residents of the district set the tone for the future. Parkview and Erlton tripled in size over the next three years, before the end of the great boom. A recession had set in by the end of 1913, and World War One ended immigration to the Canadian prairies, and even reversed it as many went off to war, never to return. By 1914, Erlton and Parkview had reached a point in its development that the neighbourhood would not exceed until after the Second World War. There were about one hundred and ninety households in the district, a number that would only increase slightly over the next forty years. Of the 146 householders who listed their means of support in the city directories, over a third fell into the category of skilled workers, mostly in trades. About another third were labourers, drivers, warehouse workers and the like. Almost twelve percent had lower level clerical jobs. In sum, the two little neighbourhoods had grown a great deal, and had continued to attract the same sort of residents. Although there was a fair number of small business owners, there was only a handful of professionally employed people in the area. Erlton and Parkview had become working class neighbourhoods.

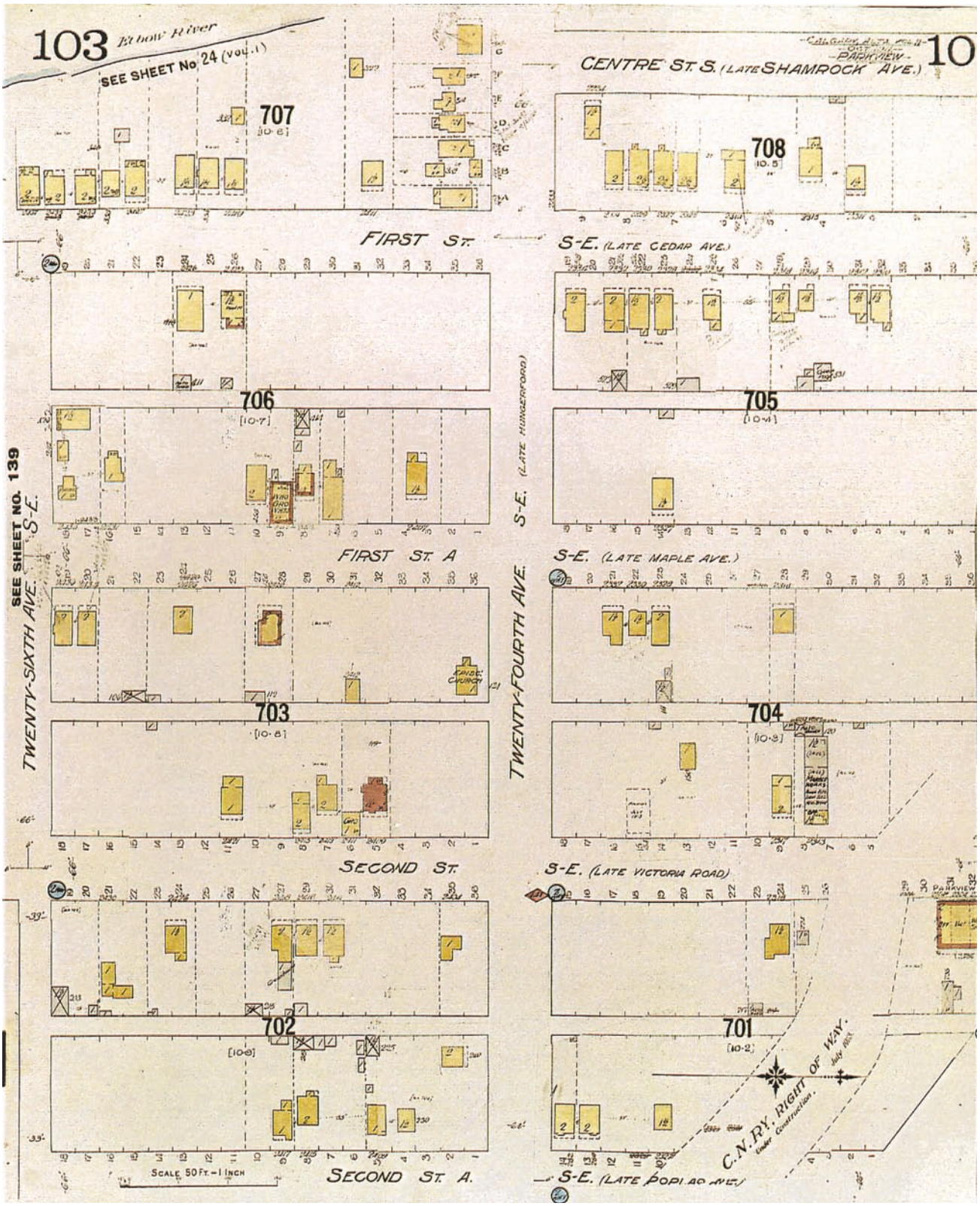
John Whillans

Contractor John Whillans made it to his 101st birthday and became for a time Canada's oldest military veteran for his service in the Fenian raids of the eighteen-sixties.[168] Born in Ottawa in 1843, the young Whillans had joined the militia as a gunner at the age of sixteen. After a brief stint of military service, he returned to Ottawa to join his father as a contractor and stone mason. After having his business destroyed twice in the disastrous fires that afflicted the city, Whillans came west to Calgary in 1903, just before the boom. His skills were immediately in demand, and Whillans built several of early buildings in the city, including the McTavish Block, the Rule Block and the Samis Block.[169] The contract for the latter specified only thirty days for construction; Whillans had it done in twenty-one. He built his own house, as a matter of course, in 1910 at 2409 2nd Street, living there until 1925.[170] By 1914, the building boom was dying and Whillans was seventy-one. After trying to enlist – twice – for military service, he decided it was time to retire, and spent the next thirty years happily pottering in his garden. The builder, who never smoked, drank or saw a movie, and ate porridge every morning, was a fine example of the rewards of a simple life. [171]

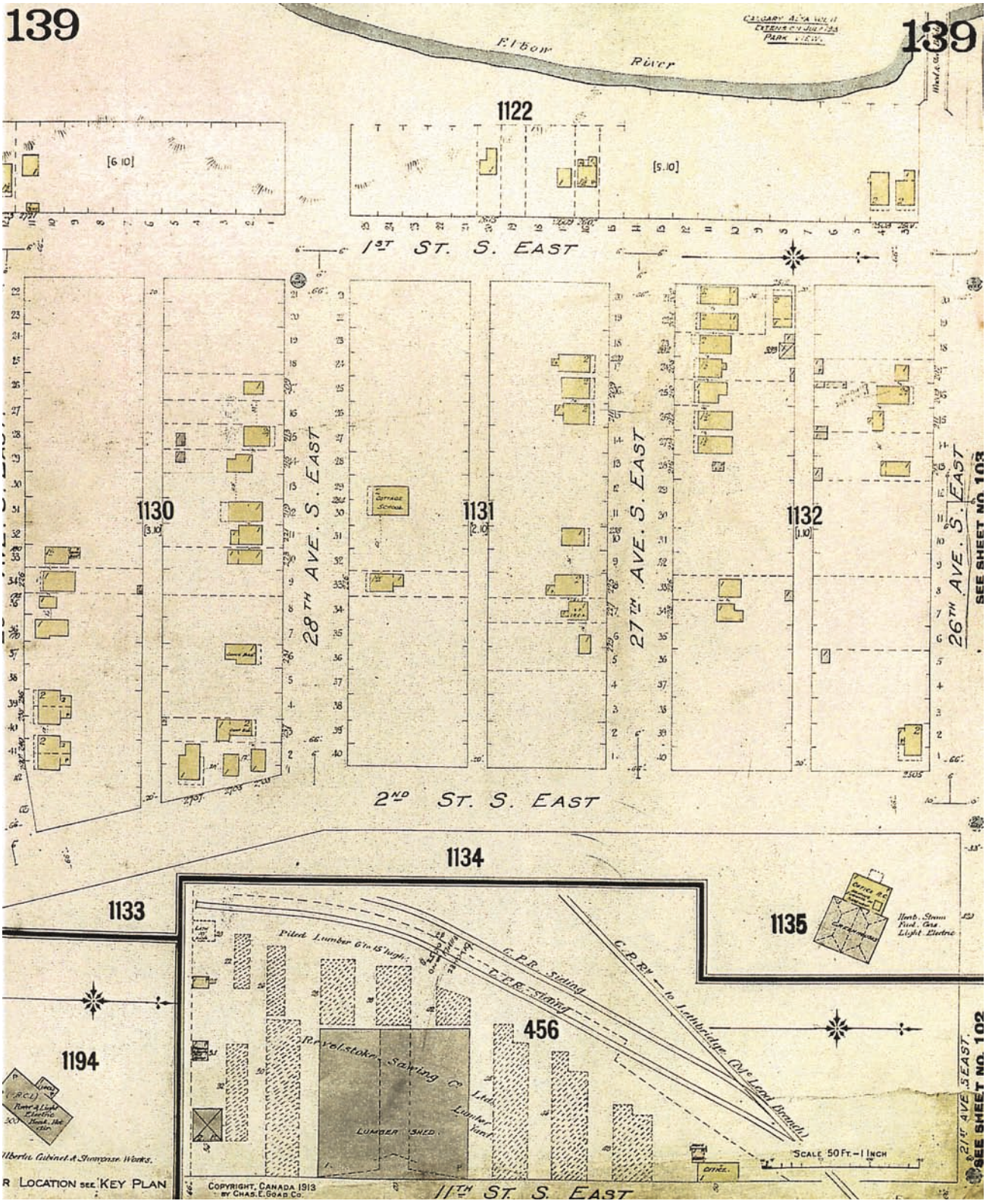
This is clearly seen when the district is compared to some other neighbourhoods. The Mission area across the Elbow River, for instance, had a much wider mix of people, including a large number of professionals and businessmen, who lived side by side with plumbers, labourers and train engineers.[166] The greater affluence of communities like Elbow Park was not just denoted by larger houses and yards, but by the fact that most of the residents had white-collar occupations. Professionals, especially doctors and lawyers, managers of businesses and financial institutions and independent businessmen made up the vast majority of the wage earners.[167] Parkview and Erlton, more closely resembled areas like Sunnyside, Hillhurst or Riverside in the north, areas that had also been initially established outside Calgary's civic boundaries.

It is hard to pinpoint exactly why Parkview and Erlton became a working class district, especially given Lindsay's efforts to make it more upscale. A point to remember is that Calgary was by and large populated by what we now call the working classes before World War One. Only about four percent of the city's residents were professionals, whereas over a quarter were unskilled workers – labourers, teamsters, store clerks and so on.[172] Most districts in Calgary were largely "working class," as opposed to "middle class" or "upper class." Parkview was outside of the city when it first went on the market, and its prices were likely lower than the rest of the city, attracting residents of modest means who needed a cheap lot. Even though when Erlton's lots were not particularly inexpensive compared to other areas of the city when it came onto the market, the first few homeowners had already established the character of the area. As Lindsay found out to his chagrin, the city building inspector was fairly lax about permit applications in some outlying suburbs, which further attracted residents who could only build a small house. It should be pointed out that despite Lindsay's disparaging comments, most of the homes built in the area before World War One were not shacks. Contemporary photos and fire insurance maps show a wide range of homes, and while there were certainly some very small houses, there were also "working man's" bungalows of a type seen throughout Calgary, as well many two-storey "four-squares" of varying dimensions.

At the same time, it is clear that Parkview and Erlton did not attract the city's affluent residents. The proximity of the Exhibition grounds across the river or



Fire insurance map, Parkview, 1913 (City of Calgary Archives).



Fire insurance map, Erlton, 1913 (City of Calgary Archives).

Erlton, c. 1913. Note civic greenhouses (Glenbow Archives PD117-5-5).

Union Cemetery may have discouraged more upscale homebuilders, or the lack of services before 1910, or even the fact that Victoria Road was the shortest route from downtown to the Macleod Trail and thus potentially a major transportation corridor. More than anything else, however, it was the Canadian Northern Railroad that determined the future of Parkview and Erlton. The nation's third transcontinental rail line was approaching Calgary in 1910, and rumour had it that the right of way for the track was coming into town from the south-east along the Elbow River.

The Canadian Northern Railway

The arrival of the Canadian Northern Railroad had a tremendous impact on Parkview and Erlton. The CNR was one of two new transcontinental lines that were finished just before the First World War. The Grand Trunk Pacific main line went through Edmonton and then west to the sea at Prince Rupert, British Columbia, while the CNR also went through Edmonton but south from Prince George, B.C. to Vancouver. Although Calgary was a CPR town, which had a monopoly on the rail corridor through the Rockies via the Bow Corridor, both the Grand Trunk and Canadian Northern wanted to make a connection to the city. The business community and municipal government of Calgary, who feared railroad one-upmanship if Edmonton got two transcontinental lines to Calgary's one, actively courted the two companies with promises of tax concessions, easements and help in planning routes into the city. This last was one major catch: Calgary was now built up substantially, and it was not at all easy to see how two new rail lines could possibly reach the downtown. It would be necessary for the two companies to buy up land for a right of way, and any property owners on the desired route stood to make a great deal of money, while others were faced with a rail line in their backyards.

The CNR chose a route into the city from the south-east. The local land agent for the company, realtor Freddy Lowes, had spotted a relatively sparsely populated line for the company that skirted the edge of the city before coming up along the line of present day 25th Avenue, then along the south shore of the Elbow River. The right of way that Lowes purchased crossed Victoria Road and then crossed the Elbow River close by St. Mary's Church. The railroad planned to go down 1st Street SE to downtown Calgary, where it would build a grand station.[173] The CNR started purchasing land in Parkview in 1910 for the track right of way.[174] As a temporary measure, the company purchased the St. Mary's parish hall from the Oblates in 1911 for use as a station. The company had already decided that the twenty or so acres of prairie still owned by Dr. Lindsay in Parkview would be ideal as a freight yard. Lindsay made a reported $100,000 dollars from the sale of his "estate" by the river at the end of February 1911.[175] Ironically, the doctor was contemplating taking the city to court over what he

CNR locomotive, c. 1913 (Glenbow Archives NA5610-79).

deemed the excessive assessment of the property's value – estimated by the assessor at $100,000 – for taxation. The other landowners in Parkview and Erlton, however, saw their property lose half its value practically overnight.[176] The trains began arriving in 1913, and first crossed to the station in 1914.[177] The residents of Parkview could look forward to the crash of shunting trains, and instead of a view of a park as the name implied, residents of the district instead got a marshalling yards.

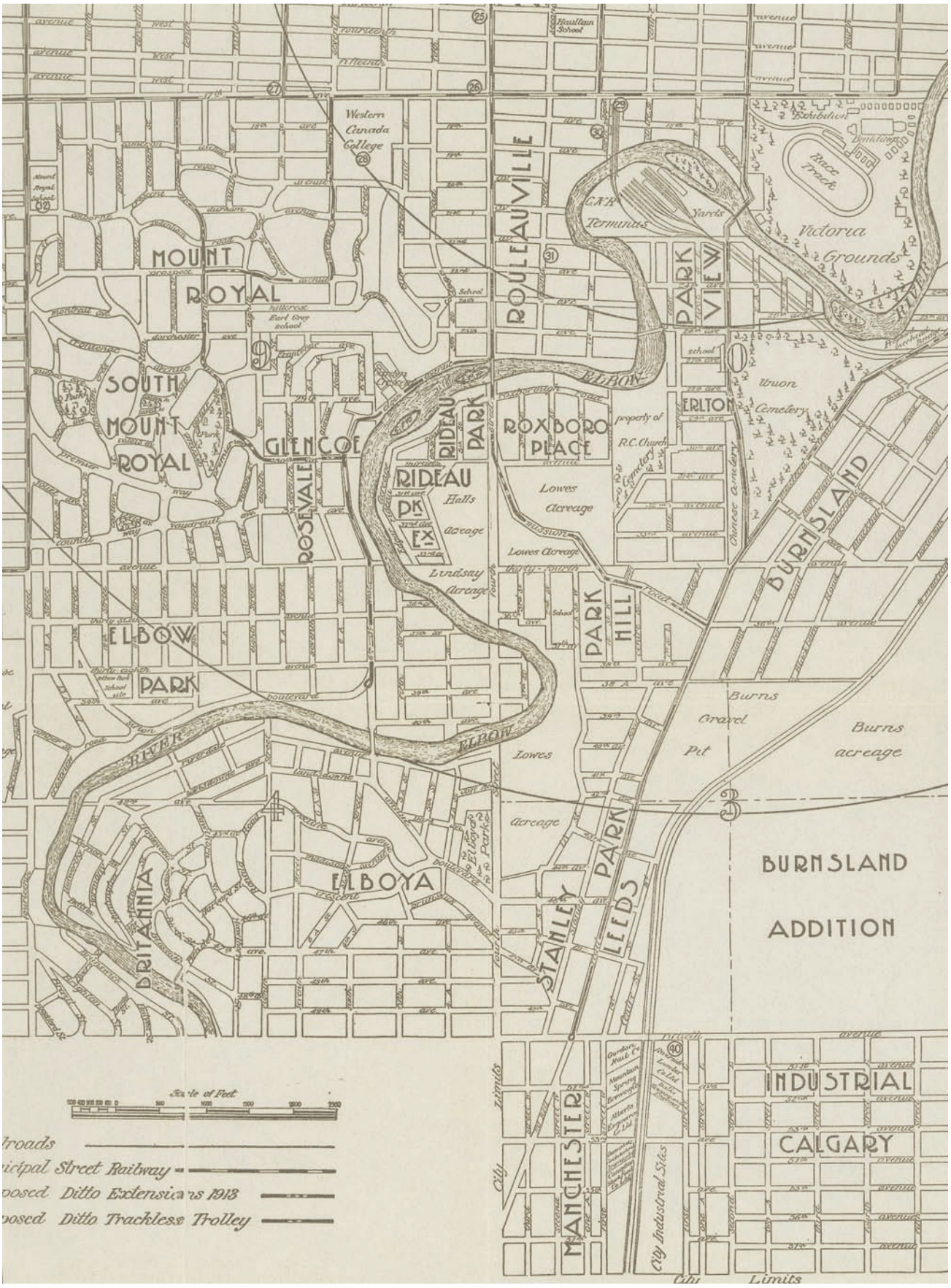
It could have been worse. Parkview might have disappeared entirely. For a brief time in 1912, a wild scheme was floated to divert the Elbow River so as to pinch off the meander around the neighbourhood. A canal would run straight across at the base of the hill below Erlton, thus greatly shortening the course of the river. The reason for this mad scheme? It would free up the riverbed to be filled and developed, an estimated twenty-eight acres that the CNR could put to good use expanding its freight yards and roundhouse. The idea did not originate with the CNR, but with a "prominent Calgarian" who remained anonymous. According to the *Calgary Herald*, however, this visionary sent a letter outlining the plan to the company, which received it with some favour. The letter writer claimed that he had "taken the matter up with some of the large holders of property adjoining your land in the Mission and the Lindsay estate. They are willing under certain conditions to waive their rights to the water frontage, and loss sustained thereby, and to assist your company in any reasonable manner..."[178] The scheme would also eliminate at least one bridge across the Elbow. What was not stated was that it would also eliminate a good size chunk of Parkview, and would have certainly meant the end of the neighbourhood. The *Herald* was clearly all for the idea, although we don't know what the reaction of the residents of Calgary or Parkview and Erlton might have been.

The end of the boom ended any talk of diverting the Elbow. Both the Grand Trunk Pacific and the Canadian Northern came to grief in the recession and collapse of the land boom brought on by World War One. Seriously overextended and massively in debt, the two companies teetered on the edge of bankruptcy until the Dominion government took them over and amalgamated them into the Canadian National Railway. The line, however, remained in Erlton. The GTP yards on the site of what had been Fort Calgary were abandoned and the Canadian Northern station and freight yards were used for the new Canadian National. The trains remained a fact of life in Erlton for over sixty years.

Commerce and Industry

For some residents of Erlton, work was right next to home. Like most neighbourhoods in early Calgary, Erlton had its share of businesses. Land-use bylaws and zoning were not introduced to the city until the 1930s. It was usually entirely up to landowners how they might want to develop their property, subject to city's approval of the building permit. Before cars became a common urban accessory, having commercial districts and even industrial areas within easy walking distance of residential areas was considered an advantage, although by the time the boom crested more and more attention was given to segregating land use. Not surprisingly, upper crust areas like Scarboro and Mount Royal did not welcome any kind of commercial buildings, while other districts might be have a variety of businesses. At the very least, almost every community had a few small stores – a grocery, a tailor, or a cobbler, to serve local residents. In Mission, just over the river west of Erlton-Parkview, a thriving little shopping district sprang up along 4th Street. Erlton did not have the same amount of commercial establishments, but due to the CNR line it became the site of a sizeable number of industrial concerns.

One of the first businesses to be opened in the neighbourhood was the Parkview Grocery at 2413 1A street, established around 1911 by Dio H. Freeze.[179] It was a small one-storey building with a brick veneer façade. The grocery business ran in Dio's blood: his father, Isaac S Freeze, was the first green grocer in Calgary and a true pioneer, having arrived in Calgary in 1883. Both Dio and his brother Stanley followed in their father's footsteps. Dio ran the Parkview store, which also included the local post office. The Parkview Grocery continued to operate until 1957, after which point it housed a succession of small businesses, including the Trader Ur Vac Ltd and the J & B Radio Television service. While he owned the



Map of Calgary, 1913 (Glenbow Library G3504-C151-1913).

store, Dio Freeze lived right next door at 2411 and 2415 1A street, or nearby on 26th Avenue.[180] Stanley founded a large wholesale grocery business and was a prominent local business leader, serving on city council.[181] In 1913, Stanley built a warehouse beside his brother's store, a small two story brick building at 2417 1st Street. He used it as part of his wholesale operation until selling his business interests in Calgary and going to Vancouver in 1922.[183]

The Freeze warehouse transmogrified into one of the strangest businesses to operate in Erlton: an electric chick hatchery. After Stanley Freeze had left for Vancouver, the warehouse sat empty for several years before being used for a seed company.[184] In 1931, it became the Hambley Electric Hatchery. Eggs were incubated in the building, presumably by means of electric elements until they hatched, producing a crop of chicks. Residents of the area would often come down to the hatchery and purchase a few chicks for themselves. Raised at home, they would produce a few eggs before usually ending up in the pot![185] The hatchery operated under several different names and proprietors, but was a landmark of the neighbourhood until the early sixties.[186]

The Parkview Grocery soon had competition. By 1914, another short-lived grocery store appeared, and in the last years of World War One, Edward Rourke opened his business at 2411 Victoria Road. He operated the Erlton Grocery Store until the late thirties.[187] Years later, a grocery store was again established in the same location. In the Marwood Block, another grocery and confectionery opened in 1933, by Harry Demskey.[188] It went through several owners before becoming the Shamrock Confectionery in 1939 under proprietor Harry Neilson. The Freedman family bought it soon afterward and operated it for ten years. The store remained in the block right up to the seventies.

Miriam Sanders remembers well her parents' tenure at the Shamrock.[189] They purchased it 1941 after canvassing several neighbourhoods in Calgary looking for a good prospect. Miriam's father, William Freedman, was a schoolteacher who worked at the Calgary Hebrew School. "It was really my mother's store" recalls Miriam "my mother came from a business family...and she wanted to start a business." Although nearby residents warned the Freedmans off, telling them it wasn't a very good store, they liked the location and bought it. The Depression had run its course but wartime shortages and rationing made business tough, and Miriam recalls her mother often said she didn't know what she sold in the war years. Bananas were highly prized, and Mrs. Freedman would keep them hidden for her best customers. "People would drive up and then come in wearing housecoats, asking for bananas and pretending to be from the neighbourhood" says Miriam. The store prospered after the war, with Stampede week being an especially lucrative period.

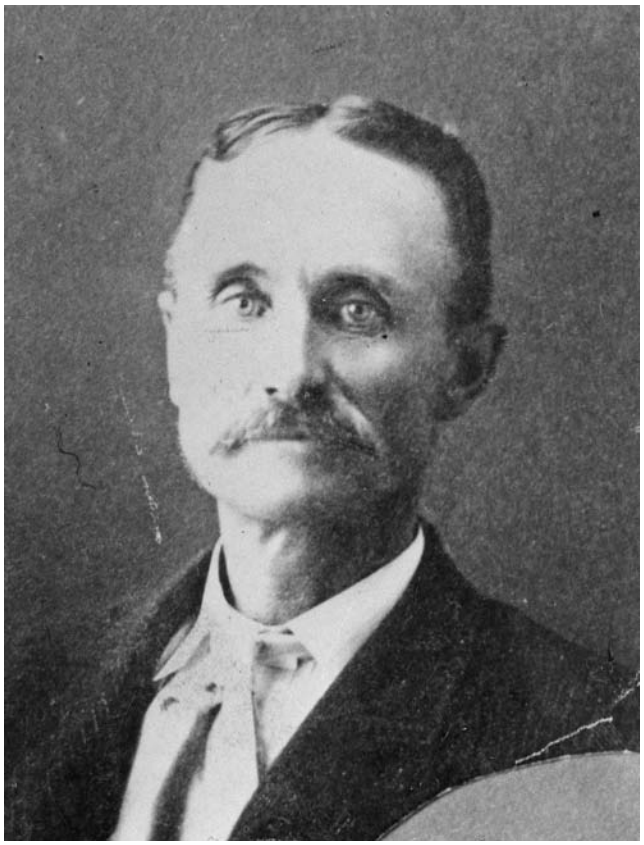
The Freedmans lived nearby in Victoria Park, which Miriam says was very much like Erlton. She describes the district at that time as a "decent neighbourhood, lower middle class to middle class – everyone worked." The store was very much a family affair – Miriam usually went in after school and helped until dinner. One of her jobs was delivering groceries on her bike, and the big hill up into Erlton was a real challenge. Miriam remembers that the neighbourhood grocery store was an important part of people's lives fifty years ago, before automobiles became ubiquitous. Almost every district had a number of stores, and people went there for most of their needs. "Fresh fruits and vegetables were important, and meat – almost no one had refrigerators until after the war, so you picked up things every couple of days." Small stores like the Shamrock and the Freeze grocery still did much of their business on credit. "Almost all of our customers were local people, neighbourhood people" Miriam recalls, "everything was totalled up at the end of the month and people were billed then." Another of Miriam's jobs was laboriously adding up the rows of figures for the accounts. "I can still add pretty good," she says.

The Freeze Family

Through D.H. Freeze, Parkview was associated with one of the pioneer families of Calgary. Isaac Freeze was born in King's county, New Brunswick in 1847, to a Yorkshire family that had settled there in 1772.[190] Like many eastern Canadians, he came west to the frontier in search of opportunities, arriving in the Northwest Territories in 1883.[191] The CPR ended at Medicine Hat, and Freeze and his companions walked from there to the little tent city by the Bow and Elbow. After checking out the location, Freeze returned to Winnipeg and bought supplies to establish a general store. By the time he returned west, the rails had moved forty miles further west, but he still had to move his goods to Calgary by ox-cart. Freeze opened up his store in a canvass tent, but built one of the first commercial buildings on 8th Avenue.[192] When Calgary was incorporated in 1884, Freeze was elected to the first town council as an alderman.

The elder Freeze later came to live with his son in Parkview at 2417 1st Street SE, He died in 1936.[193]

When her mother died in 1949, only forty-nine years old, Miriam's father sold the store. After a few years in Winnipeg, the family came back to Calgary. Harbouring good memories of the Shamrock, William Freedman opened another business in Parkview at 2411 Victoria Road, the former location of Roarke's Grocery, called Freedman's Family Store. He sold it and retired around 1961.



F.G. Marwood, n.d. (Glenbow Archives NA955-15).

The Marwood block, sometimes referred to as the McLellan block, was Parkview and Erlton's most significant commercial building. The two-story brick building on the corner of Victoria Road and 26th Avenue was built in 1914 by realtor Frederick Marwood.[194] It still stands today, although now covered with aluminium siding that disguises its antiquity. The Marwood block was identical to the scores of small undistinguished commercial buildings spread throughout the city. The second floor had two small apartments, while the main floor hosted a succession of businesses. For many years, it was the McLellan Flour and Seed store, and later became the office for J.D. McLellan's sand and gravel business.[195] From the early thirties onward, a series of confectioneries and grocery stores took up residence, including the Shamrock. The Marwood had not been the first commercial building in the district. It had been preceded by the Parkview Block further north on Victoria Road, built around early in 1910 by Roy Bishop, where he had a grocery and then a real estate office. The Parkview block, however, was short lived. The CNR right of way was surveyed immediately to the south of the building across Victoria Road. Now immediately adjacent to the tracks, the block was apparently demolished soon afterward, probably to make room for the line.[196]

Marwood Block, c. 1914, visible behind greenhouses (Glenbow Archives PD117-5-7).

Another long running Erlton business was the Parkview Shoe Store, a cobbler shop opened in 1921 by W.A. Sanson and later taken over by Wilfred Crossley. The business was at 2430 2nd Street, right across from the Marwood Block. Wilfred was almost a second generation Parkview resident: his father John had moved into the area around 1910, building the family home at 2426 2nd Street, where a third generation of Crossleys could soon be found.[197] Wilfred Crossley was a talented musician who played in local bands, but as his son John explains, it was difficult to make ends meet for a family without a day job, and thus Crossley ran the shoe store until 1943.[198] Aside from the grocery stores and cobbler, service stations were a perennial small business. The earliest was a garage right beside the Marwood block, opened in 1914.[199] It closed four years later, but in 1929 Rooney's Garage opened in the same spot, which operated for a decade under several different owners and names. Immediately across Victoria Road, at 2436 2nd Street, a Regal Oil service station was established in 1932. It survived for decades, also

Somerville Company, 1911 (Glenbow Archives NC24-103).

going through many owners and name changes, but remaining until 1960. More and more businesses sprang up along Victoria Road in the fifties, eventually including a barber, a coffee shop, and the Parkview Motel and Auto Court.

One of the landmark firms of Parkview, to allow a small pun, was the Somerville Monument Company and its successors. With the proximity of so many graveyards, it is hardly surprising that the district hosted Calgary's premier firm for headstones and grave markers. The first local company to produce grave markers was the Calgary Granite and Marble Works, later renamed the Somerville Company after its founders and owners, William and H.B. Somerville. From Ontario, the brothers established the firm in Calgary in 1904. Eight years later, the company moved their premises to a small one story building on 2313 2nd Street East (pictured above).[200] The Somervilles also sold mantle pieces, building marble and butcher's slabs, but it was the headstones surrounding their shed that were the most striking. The brothers contributed the vast majority of the stones in Union and St. Mary's cemeteries while they were active. After Calgary Granite and Marble went out of business in 1926, it was replaced by the Macdonald Granite Works, whose proprietor, James MacDonald, lived right nearby at 2421 1A Street SE. MacDonald did not use the same building as the Somerville. The building used, at the time of this writing, by the garden supply centre across from old St. George's church is the original shed of the McDonald Company.[201]

The appearance of the CNR brought a number of industrial and transportation businesses to the district. The section of Parkview east of Victoria Road had originally been intended for residences. The photograph seen on page 27, dating from 1909, shows more houses here than the rest of the neighbourhood at the time. Once the right of way for the railroad had been purchased, however, home building faltered. Instead it became an industrial area. The first businesses were delivery companies and bulk goods companies related to the railroad. The Calgary City Delivery Company set up its stable there, one of several similar companies to do so over the next several decades. Such firms included Calgary Storage and Cartage, located at 2420 2A Street and 323 25th Avenue from 1916 to 1922, and Johnston Storage and Cartage from 1917 to 1929.[202] Much of the cartage

in this era was still done by horses, thus adding a distinct element to the atmosphere of Parkview. There was even racing stables due to the proximity to the Exhibition grounds. The city directory listed a Johnston's racing stables at 2402 2A Street in 1931, and while no proprietor is given, it may have been Fred Johnston who owned Johnston Fuel and Lumber, located right across the street, and Johnston Storage and Cartage. All his businesses disappeared by 1932, no doubt claimed by the Depression. He was not the last to keep some horses in the area: George Hughes remembers a man by the name of Bill Yates had his horses there in the forties, racing them at the Victoria racetrack.

Fred Johnston had set up his lumber and coal operation in 1919. Other businesses took advantage of the railroad tracks, ideal for large bulk goods like coal. Several short-lived companies – Western Commercial Coal, Newcastle Coal and Premier Cartage and Coal – preceded Johnston by several years. John D. McLellan, mentioned previously for his feed store in the Marwood block, also had a coal business at 322 25th Avenue from 1917 to 1936, and revived it in 1943 selling lumber as well. J.A. Hunter, one of the proprietors of Calgary Cartage and Storage, transformed his business into Hunter Brothers Coal in partnership with his brother William. It became the Dominion Coal Company in 1922, and remained in business until 1936. For delivery, the company still used horse-drawn wagons and put the stables built by Calgary Cartage to good use. Horses were a common means of transport until after the Second World for many companies. Dairies delivered milk by horse and wagon, as did the ice companies, who serviced the iceboxes used in residences before the advent of the refrigerator.

The stables of the Calgary Cartage and Storage Company and later the Dominion Coal company had an interesting second life as the workshop of George Durham. He was a boilermaker and pipefitter, who also did autobody work. Setting up shop in 1932, Durham ran his business out of the old barn until the late fifties and lived there as well.[207] Durham apparently loved cats, and not only took in strays himself but was given kittens and abandoned cats by people in the neighbourhood until he had, by all accounts, quite a large number.[208] George Hughes remembers that Durham's business only took up part of the barn, and the original stable partitions could still be seen in the other part of the building. Irrespective of the cats, the barn was also used in the fifties as a rehearsal space for the Calgary Symphony Orchestra.[209] The building survived into the seventies, until it was torn down as during LRT construction.

If the presence of the CNR encouraged businesses to set up in Parkview, the railway was itself a local industry. The marshalling yard and freight warehouse was a major physical presence, and while the aesthetic impact on the neighbourhood left a lot to be desired, it was an important employer. Not surprisingly, a fair number of

The Kennel House

A number of businesses were run out of homes in Parkview and Erlton. One of the more unusual was the Kennel House at 2416 3A Street. It had been built around 1911 and one of the first residents was Fred Wilds, a "dog fancier" and breeder who probably built the kennels that gave the house its name. In 1918, J.C. Fletcher, a renowned dog breeder and show judge in western Canada, moved to Calgary from Winnipeg and took up residence in the former Wilds house. And if Wilds had already built kennels, Fletcher no doubt added more: he had come west with four hundred dogs![203] Fletcher was originally from Nottinghamshire, England and immigrated to Canada in 1905, settling in Winnipeg. He soon got involved in dog breeding, supplementing his income by working as a barber and refrigeration engineer. From breeding Fletcher moved into judging, and was soon in demand at shows across North America and in Europe. His own dogs won over a hundred trophies. Four years before his death at the age of 59, Fletcher was forced by ill health to stop judging, but still had a breeding stock of a hundred and fifty dogs. The Fletchers had left Parkview by this time, moving from the district in 1929.[204]

The Kennel House later became even more notorious as a house of ill repute. According to local lore, a notorious Calgary madam named Babe ran two houses in Parkview.[205] Such houses were not uncommon in Calgary: the city's most famous madam, Pearl Miller, even ran a bawdyhouse right on the edge of Mount Royal in the late thirties.[206] As a rule proprietors used houses in seedy or out of the way locations, usually lasting only a short time before complaints brought the police down on them. Fletcher's residence was ideal: located on the eastern edge of Parkview and on the north side of the railway, the nearest neighbour was a coal yard. The other house was closer to the river on 3A Street, and when one was raided the girls would simply pick up and move to the other until the heat died down!

employees of the railway lived in the neighbourhood, within easy walking distance of their jobs in the freight yard or the station. In 1921 for instance, almost ten percent of the heads of the households for the neighbourhood worked for the CNR, a number that would remain constant for several decades.[210] Ironically, slightly more Erlton and Parkview residents worked for the CPR – but the latter company was one of the biggest employers in the city.

Standen's

Without a doubt, one of the best known businesses in Erlton was Standen's. It was one of the landmarks of Parkview-Erlton. Situated east of Victoria Road, the manufacturing plant of Standen's Ltd. had literally grown out of a little shed in the back of the house of William Standen on 3rd Street SE. The shift whistle at the factory kept time for the whole neighbourhood, and the facility lent a somewhat industrial air to the district. A speciality manufacturer in springs and other auto and truck parts, Standen's was a testament to the hard work of its founders and was a genuine institution in the neighbourhood until 1974.

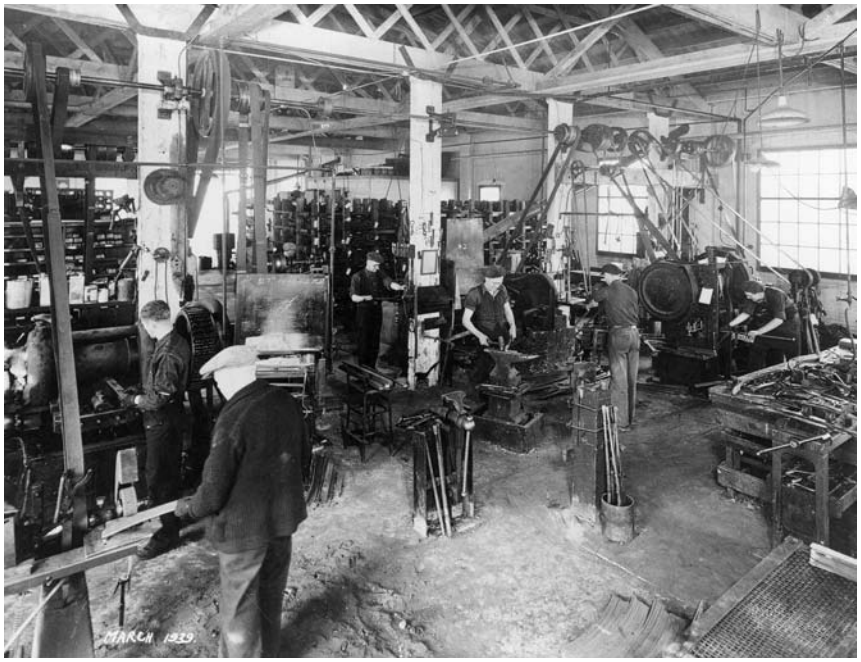
Standen's factory, behind family home, 1928 (Glenbow Archives NA2781-3).

William Standen was a harness maker from England who immigrated to Canada in 1912.[211] A year later he was joined by his family, which included sons Cyril, the eldest, and Alex, Reginald and Sidney. Cyril became a blacksmith and set up his smithy in the garage of the family home, pounding out steel inserts for cowboy boots.[212] Both he and his father had some doubts about the future of their respective occupations. The automobile was quickly becoming more than a novelty or a rich man's toy. Cyril – or William, depending on the version of the story – saw the portents, and in 1924 father and son joined resources and in William's shed, out behind the family home, started a business repairing and manufacturing vehicle springs. There was a ready market, for while cars and trucks were not common they were also not too sturdy and easy to repair. The work was done laboriously with Cyril pounding out springs on an anvil with a hand-fired forge. Starting with just one employee, the Standens saved every penny possible towards the purchase of modern milling and forging equipment. They would visit the town dump and scavenge car parts and scrap metal for their forge.[213] Soon the shed behind the house was rebuilt to house the growing little business, which became a family affair when the other three brothers joined the company.

Survival during the Depression was a major accomplishment for any small business. Standen's was luckier than most because repairs made up a considerable part of their trade and was somewhat more recession proof. By 1938, the company was ready for a major expansion.[214] By this time it was using over sixty tons of steel a year and producing up to ten thousand springs of every shape and size. The new facility cost $35,000, a sizeable sum for the day, and now covered a third of the block around the 2115 2A street address. The war made an enormous difference in the firm's fortunes. Orders poured in from the military, especially after the Alaska Highway project began, and another building was added to the plant, and in 1943 a blast furnace reputed to be the largest west of the Great Lakes.[215] The company not only added more and more precision manufacturing equipment, but also even built its own to perform specific tasks. Further expansions followed in 1953 and 1959. The company branched out from springs into a wide array of heavy-duty suspension parts and eventually began servicing vehicles for drive shafts, frame and

wheel alignments, and hitch and bumper manufacture and installation.

By the fifties, Standen's had grown into a sizeable facility, contributing greatly to the industrial character of East Parkview. Not even a fire in 1954 slowed them down. While a manufacturing plant may not seem like an ideal addition to the area, Standen's was a part of the district, and the Standens themselves were neighbours, living beside the plant until the late forties, and well liked. Jack Crossley, who grew up in Parkview next door to the Standen's, went to work for them right out of high school. "The Standen boys were great fellows, really nice men. They were English and had a very dry wit. Once I had cleaned up the shelves in the storeroom, had everything neat as could be, but the floor was terrible mess. Mr. Standen came in, and all he said was 'you might want to clean up this floor a bit' and went on his way" Jack recalls. In deed of more space, Standen's finally left the district in 1974 for the Hasting Industrial Park, amidst rumours that the proposed light rail transit system was to be routed through the area.



Standen's Factory interior, 1939 (Glenbow Archives NA2781-4).

Cyril Standen, 1960 (Glenbow Archives NA2781-1).

All the Standen boys worked for the family company, but only Cyril and Alex stayed on for their entire careers. Cyril succeeded his father as president, and Alex was the Secretary Treasurer, but Reginald and Sidney left. In many ways, Cyril had always been the driving force behind the company. An unassuming man with a wry sense of humour, he never lost touch with the shop floor and later claimed, as head of a million dollar business, that he was still most at home in front of an anvil.[216] Jack Crossley remembers his employer as someone with quiet authority, respected and well liked by his employees. He was also a careful manager: at one point the company had over a year's worth of raw material stockpiled against contingencies like shortages and strikes.[217] Standen believed strongly in keeping up to date, attending seminars, classes and conferences and travelling the continent checking on the latest trends. Remaining president until 1990, he finally retired at the age of 86 and moved out to Langley in British Columbia. He died there in 1997.[218]

Standen's was not the only industrial concern to operate in Parkview. The company was joined in 1949 by Poole Construction, one of the largest contractors in the province, which had its yard 2402 2A Street, and Bow Valley Concrete in 1953 at 2340 3rd Street.[219] Pederson's Transport, a large trucking firm, continued the tradition of haulage and delivery companies in the area. The Massey-Ferguson farm equipment company built a warehouse in 1961 by the rail marshalling yards, joining Bow Valley Farm Machinery located on the other side of Victoria Road.[220] Through the sixties and early seventies, 2nd Street East became more and more commercial. Many businesses came and went over the years in Parkview, and it is not necessary to enumerate them all. They were a large part of the character of the neighbourhood.

III. Erlton & Parkview Between the Wars

The Flood of 1929

It is a bit of an exaggeration, perhaps, to say that in 1929 the very existence of Parkview was threatened. It must have seemed that way to contemporaries, however, when the waters of the Elbow River burst its banks in one of the worst floods ever seen in Calgary. A spring inundation was nothing new for the city; in the era before the Glenmore and the Bearspaw Dams, the melt water from the Rockies had little to slow it before hitting Calgary. There had been disastrous floods before; one of the worst was in 1915. That torrent nearly collapsed the new concrete 4th Street Bridge on the Elbow and destroyed the old Centre Street Bridge on the Bow.[221] Some lower lying areas along the Elbow were flooded, including parts of Elbow Park and Rideau. Parkview, with a slightly higher bank, was not unduly affected, although there must have been some tense moments as the waters rose higher and higher. They did not break the bank, and the worse damage was the loss of a bit of waterfront property to erosion and some repairs to the footings and approaches of the 25th Avenue Bridge.

It was almost fifteen years before the Elbow went into another major flood. In 1929, heavy rains suddenly followed a spell of hot weather, and the spring run off and storm water combined in one of the fabled hundred-year floods. As the waters of both the Bow and Elbow rose at an alarming rate, Calgarians feared the Ghost Dam at the edge of the mountains might collapse (Calgary Power officials soon laid these fears to rest).[222] Most of east Elbow Park as well as Rideau and Roxboro were soon under water, and in Parkview the waters broke the bank and crept into the neighbourhood, making it as far as Victoria Road. The subway under the CNR line was flooded and impassable, and the rails themselves into the freight yards were washed away.[223] But worse was to come.

Twenty-fifth Avenue bridge, flood of 1929 (Glenbow Archives NA1494-58).

The 25th Avenue bridge faced an onslaught of debris washed down the Elbow. As its approaches washed away and more and more material piled up onto the bridge, it appeared about to lose its moorings. The gas company hastily shut down the main that crossed the river on the bridge and none too soon. At 2:30 on Monday, June 3rd, the bridge lost its fight against the elements and the centre span ripped loose, floating down the river.[224]

This was the worst trauma inflicted on the district. The waters began to recede again, and as far as can be determined, Parkview itself was spared any major damage aside from flooded basements. The residents of Erlton proper were safe on the hillside, watching the drama unfold. Within days of the flood, the city announced the 25th Avenue Bridge would have to be replaced.[225] Plans for a new $130,000 bridge, however, were scrapped as the Depression deepened.[226] Despite the anger of residents, it took almost three years before the bridge was repaired. In the end, Dominion Bridge of Winnipeg supplied a replacement span in 1932, almost identical in appearance to the original.[227] Two years after

the 1929 flood, the Glenmore Dam and Reservoir was finished and the danger of another such inundation ended. There would still be floods, sometimes high enough to lap the top of the banks of the Elbow in Parkview. Never again would the neighbourhood come so close to disaster.

The Residents of Parkview and Erlton

Calgary as a city experienced two shorts periods of prosperity between the two world wars. Immediately after the end of the First World War, there was a brief spurt of growth until a serious recession took hold. Starting in the middle of the twenties, there was a more sustained burst of economic well being, which ended very traumatically in the Great Depression. Unlike many of the neighbourhoods of Calgary, Erlton did not grow much during the twenties. Most districts experienced a rush of homebuilding in response to pent-up demand immediately after World War One, but Parkview and Erlton only attracted a few new households. At the beginning of the twenties, there were approximately 190 domestic addresses in the district and by 1931 about 207. [228] The two neighbourhoods remained quite small, and as aerial photographs from 1924 make clear, there was still a great deal of vacant land available. Why Erlton and Parkview did not attract more new residents is a bit of a mystery. Despite its excellent transportation links, the district was on the very edge of the city, possibly lessening its attractiveness. The drastic drop in land prices also made a great deal of the property closer to the centre of the city affordable, including upscale neighbourhoods like Elbow Park. And there was the CNR, which probably discouraged prospective homeowners from buying in the vicinity while there was ample property available elsewhere.

The district was quite established by the twenties as a working man's community, a character it would retain for the next sixty years. In the words of local resident Jack Crossley, who grew up in the neighbourhood, it was a "middle-class blue collar district." In 1921, over a third of the householders were skilled workers, many of them tradesmen such as plumbers, mechanics or carpenters.[229] Almost a quarter could be called unskilled workers, labourers, drivers, warehousemen or the like. About twenty percent of the residents were involved in white collar pursuits, mostly as junior clerical staff such as freight agents, bookkeepers, and so on. A small number, about six householders, had managerial responsibilities and only four residents were professionals. At the onset of the Depression this had not changed to any great degree, although the number of managers had increased and those in clerical work had decreased. There were also a noticeably larger number of small businessmen living in the district, almost nine percent of the household heads. But skilled and unskilled workers, the blue-collar workforce as we would call them today, still predominated.

Erlton was very much a railroad district. The two major rail lines, the CNR and CPR were two of the three largest employers. In 1921, out of 192 households, and out of 153 where the head of the house listed his occupation, thirty-one were employed by the two companies. A decade later it was even higher, with forty-one out of 207 households, 163 of which listed an occupation for the head of the family. Ironically, considering the proximity of the CNR to the neighbourhood, more men worked for the CPR. One has to wonder if there was any inter-company rivalry in the district. The City of Calgary, however, was the single largest employer in the neighbourhood due to the street railway. The city supported between twenty-eight and thirty-four households through the twenties; more than half of these were employed on the streetcar lines. The ranks of civic employees included the public works superintendent, W.R. Gardiner, who lived in Erlton, and Charles Comba, who became superintendent of the municipal railway and continued to reside in Parkview.

The predominance of the three large employers probably added a measure of stability to the neighbourhood. Of the 214 households in Parkview and Erlton in 1936, twenty-three had lived there for twenty or more years and over sixty had been there for ten years or more; another forty-five had been in their house for five years. Well over half of roughly half the households in the neighbourhood had been there for five years or more. Unfortunately, we have little to compare to as far as other districts are concerned, so it is difficult to say if the area was particularly stable. The number of vacant houses in the area was somewhat higher than in other nearby neighbourhoods such as Mission or more prosperous Elbow Park. In 1926, almost eight percent of the houses were empty. This dropped during the Depression as it did elsewhere in Calgary, as a slow increase in population and no home construction created a housing shortage. It is also difficult with the sources available to judge how many people had invested in buying their own homes in the neighbourhood. Jack Crossley and George Hughes, who grew up in the area in the thirties and forties, remember a mix of rental properties and owner-occupied homes, but that many renters lived in the area for years, making it difficult to tell who actually had their own place.

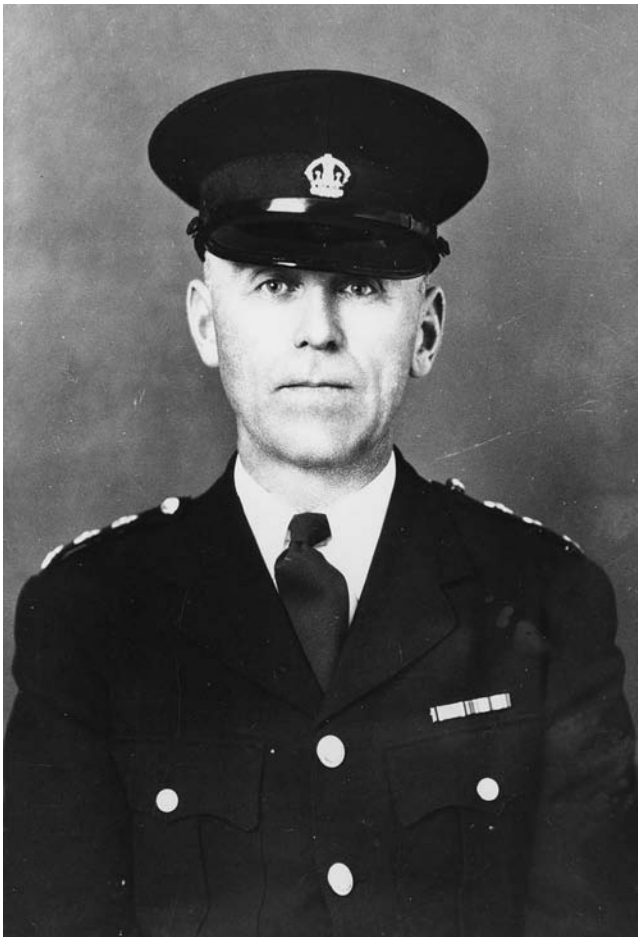
Through the thirties the kind of people of Parkview and Erlton remained much as it had been for the previ-

Aerial photo, 1924 (University of Calgary 820 7 1924).

ous two decades: in many cases they were literally the same people. Almost everyone was of working age – only three households had retirees or widowed residents. The occupations of the residents were very much as they had been ten years before. About 156 households reported what their primary wage earner did for a living.[230] Over a third still practised a skilled trade, and almost as many worked at unskilled jobs. Only a few, less than two percent of the total could be considered professionals: two accountants and a nurse. About fifteen percent were white-collar workers, evenly split between salesmen, clerical staff and managers. Even with the Depression in full swing, a fair number, about eight percent of the total, ran their own business.

The Depression

It is hard to gauge how severely the Depression impacted the residents of Parkview and Erlton. Alberta was hard hit in the thirties, as the economic dislocation caused by the stock market crash was accompanied by bad droughts that brought farming and ranching to a standstill. Agriculture was the largest industry in the province, and both Calgary and Edmonton still existed mostly as service and distribution centres for farming.



Reginald Clements, 1950 (Glenbow Archives NA2861-9).

Although no firm estimates exist as to the unemployment rate in Calgary, it may have been as high as a quarter of the workforce.[231] The city nearly went bankrupt trying to provide relief for families whose wage earner couldn't find work, and there were several riots by unemployed men and by those put to work on various relief projects. In 1934 men labouring on the road up Mission Hill into Parkhill, not far from Erlton, lay down their picks and shovels and made a protest march into the Mission district, where they were met and dispersed by mounted police.

It is certain that Parkview had families depending on "civic relief" to make ends meet. Relief was an early version of welfare that municipalities paid out to the destitute in times of high unemployment. The amount was the bare minimum for survival, and civic official expected healthy males to do some work, usually manual labour on government public works projects, as a condition for receiving relief. Almost every neighbourhood in Calgary had families on relief during the Depression, but working class districts disproportionately so because

Reginald Clements

After a career with the Calgary Police Service that spanned forty years, Reg Clements stepped down in 1951 as city's the ninth chief of police. He had been born in Canterbury, Kent, England in 1891, the first non-Scot in many years to become chief.[232] It had been said for many years that the main qualification for both the fire department and police in Calgary was Scottish birth. As a young man of only twenty, Clements came to Canada and made his way west, joining the police in 1914. He was barely more than a rookie before he heeded the call of his homeland and joined the Canadian Mounted Rifles. Back in Calgary by January 1918, Clements' experience in the calvary was put to good use in the mounted squad. From there he rose through the ranks, becoming a detective in 1934, Uniform Inspector in 1941, Inspector of Detectives in 1947, Deputy Chief in 1950, and finally chief in 1951. Clements only had a short term of a year in office, being almost at retirement age when appointed. The Police Commission wanted to reward Clements for his years of service with the chief's job and a fatter pension. This did not sit well with Mayor Don Mackay, who wanted to simply extend the term of Clements' predecessor, who had also reached his pension, but the commission overruled him.

In his years in the detective squad, Clements saw plenty of the city's seamy side. The worse case he had was the murder of Donny Goss, a six-year-old abducted by a paedophile in 1946. Clements headed the search, remaining up without sleep for two days. He called out the boy scouts and other civilians to find the boy, and was there when the body was finally discovered. Goss's attacker was later arrested on a shopbreaking charge in Lethbridge, but later confessed to the murder of Goss and a boy in Vancouver. Donald Sherman Staley was duly tried, convicted and executed at Lethbridge. Clements' year as top cop was quiet but also a harbinger of things to come. Crime statistics started to rise in response to Calgary's skyrocketing growth, and Clements brought another twenty men onto the force.

Clements lived for many years in Erlton at 2421 2nd Street SE, moving there in 1936.[233] After his retirement he left the district for the balmier climes of Vancouver. The chief was not the only policeman to live in the area: patrol sergeant George Gilbert was another long time resident, and several other constables and detectives lived there over the years.

workers were much more vulnerable to layoffs. The large number of men employed by the two railroads and the city probably cushioned the blow in Parkview. However, we may never know how many people became unemployed. Even those with jobs suffered wage cuts, and everyone was very careful about money. Barter became a common means of exchange, and people also made clothing and household items last as long as possible. Jack Crossley remembers vividly that customers at his father's shoe store often brought vouchers issued by the city for shoe repairs as a part of relief. Wilfred Crossley would take them in to the city for reimbursement. The Crossleys were lucky in this regard: a number of businesses in Parkview disappeared in the early thirties.

Skating on the Elbow, c.1900, Holy Cross Hospital in background (Glenbow Archives NA920-22).

Boyhood Memories of Erlton

Jack Crossley and George Hughes have been mentioned several times already in these pages. Jack was born in 1925 at the Grace Hospital and grew up in the house his grandfather built on 2nd Street East. As an adult he lived nearby in Parkhill. George moved with his family into Erlton in 1929. His father, a carpenter by trade, had bought land on 1st Street East in 1927, and built a house and workshop there. George would later build his own house on the site of his father's shop. Jack Crossley attended Erlton Elementary, while George, a Catholic, went to Holy Angels and then St. Mary's. The two friends have lived in or near the district their entire lives, and their memories are an important part of this study.

More than anything else, they remember what it was like to grow up in Parkview and Erlton in the thirties and forties. In many respects it was idyllic but also tempered by the hard realities of the Depression. As Jack and George both say, entertainment was not about spending money: "people made their own fun." For children this meant games like hide and seek, kick the can and all the rest. Organised leagues were far less common than today, but sports were a major distraction for neighbourhood kids. In summer it was usually sandlot baseball. There were many vacant, facilitating all kinds of sports. In winter it was hockey at the local rink, which was set up by the city on lots used as gardens in the summer. They were rough and tumble games, with hand me down skates and makeshift pads. As Jack says "When I think about it I often wonder that some of those guys didn't get killed, they were playing hockey with sixteen inch speed skates – in those days a kid took whatever skates he could grab."

The river was a source of constant activity, something true of all the neighbourhoods along the Elbow. One of the best swimming holes, used by all the Mission kids as well, was by the Sacred Heart Convent. It featured a swing, usually a tire and rope, and a good-sized pool for diving. There were many other spots for a swim. Another popular bit was by the 26th Avenue bridge, and the stretch of river across from Elbow Park in the shadow of Parkhill still sees children in the water today. Until it collapsed in the fifties, the ruin of Lindsay's Folly was a scenic little backdrop for this area, often used as an impromptu change room. The river was not always safe: spring run-off could be high and swift, and in one tragedy a toddler wandered too close to the water unsupervised and drowned.[234] For the most part, however, the river was a wonderful playground, used by adults as well as children, in winter as well as summer. The length of the Elbow could become a skating rink in cold weather, and stories abound of people skating from the con-

fluence with the Bow as far as what is today the Weaselhead Natural Area. The Glenmore Dam later made this impossible, and sadly the control of the water flow downstream from the dam has made the Elbow far less viable as a skating and swimming stream.

Like other subdivisions on the edges of the city, children in Parkview and Erlton were also able to wander through a rural hinterland. South and east of the cemetery were a few scattered houses as well as working farms and empty prairie. There was a great deal of opportunity for wandering. Sometimes children went quite far afield; bicycles were a standard accessory even in less well off neighbourhoods and it was not unheard of for kids to ride as far south as the village of Midnapore on a summer's day, or as far west as Currie Barracks.[235] A little horseback riding was often part of summer activities. Some Calgarians kept horses pastured right on the edge of town, and if a person did not have a horse, they often knew someone who did. There were a number of stables where kids with a little money could rent a horse or pony. One favourite establishment was right on 17th Avenue and 5th Street SW, and people would ride directly south to the edge of town and open prairie.

In typical boys-will-be-boys fashion, there was a bit of mischief. A favourite activity was sneaking into the fairgrounds across the river. It was a battle of wits: every time exhibition officials discovered and blocked an entry, the boys found a new way in. One of the best means of access was through the streetcar barns. Out-of-service cars were parked up against the fence around the grounds, and it was a simple matter to climb on the car and over the fence. The streetcar itself was another target. Flattening pennies on the tracks was a popular pastime, and older boys were known to run out pull the arm off the trolley wires, something that could also be done from inside the car by reaching out the rear window.

Aerial photo, 1931, Parkview and CNR yards bottom left (University of Calgary 820 1931 oblique).

The CNR yard was another natural attraction. Children were not supposed to go there, but George recalls the watchmen were lenient unless there was shunting going on, or a train coming in to the station, at which point they would be chased off. Ordinarily, the CNR bridge was the usual route to and from St. Mary's school.

Growing up in Erlton in the thirties and forties was not just about going to school and having fun. It was also about learning responsibility at a young age. Jack reckons that at least half his high school class had jobs. George remembers that it was hard to find time to participate in sports, because he always had a part-time job, although he managed to play some football. He helped his father and worked in the skate sharpening shop at the Victoria Arena, a particularly prized job because it allowed him to watch hockey games. Many boys from the surrounding neighbourhoods, "rink rats" helped with cleaning and ice maintenance without pay simply for the privilege of being able to see games. Although by the time George and Jack were in high school the war was on and the worst of the Depression was over, a boy or young man had to earn his own spending money and maybe even help out a bit at home. And once high school was finished, it was straight to work. Jack took a job at Standen's, George at a lumberyard. Although George had earned his matriculation, university was a difficult proposition for many in the days before student loans. Only a few of their contemporaries from Parkview went on to college.

IV. A Maturing Neighbourhood – Erlton after World War Two

Post-War Growth

Erlton and Parkview remained remarkably unchanged between the teens and the late forties. The uncertain economy and another major war conspired to limit any growth in the district and the city at large. The population of the city finally hit the 100,000 mark in 1946, about thirty years later than predicted by civic boosters during the first big boom. This all changed after World War Two. After the discovery of oil near Leduc in 1947, the economy of Alberta grew by leaps and bounds, and Calgary grew with it. In a city devoted to suburbs and single-family homes, this meant physical expansion. Mindful of the last boom and the consequences of growing too fast, at first the city controlled new subdivisions quite rigorously. Instead, the municipal government encouraged the development of existing areas. Many of the outlying suburbs, including Erlton, still had a great deal of empty land. Much of the vacant land had been seized by the city during the Depression for tax arrears, and it was now made available. The city held public sales and auctions to dispose of the lots in its possession, often at fire sale prices, and they were quickly sold off, mostly to homebuilders.

For Parkview and Erlton it meant a period of steady growth. By 1956, there were just over three hundred residences in the district, almost a hundred more than there had been fifteen years previously. It was not explosive growth, with an average of ten homes a year, but it filled up the neighbourhood. The new houses were split almost evenly between the two parts of the district. In style, they conformed to the times, mostly hip roof bungalows of a style found throughout the city. Along with more houses, the two neighbourhoods also got better roads and street lighting. As late as 1960, there was as much as two hundred and ten miles of unpaved roads in the city, compared to two hundred and seventy paved.[236] Well into the fifties, city policy for street lighting only allowed one light standard per intersection, and none at all along most residential roads.[237] It seems strange to think that Erlton would have looked much like a small town, with oiled gravel roads and no sidewalks on many blocks, as late as the 1950s. By the early sixties, however, it was well provided with the amenities of city living.

The People

Parkview and Erlton remained essentially blue-collar neighbourhoods, but also reflected changes in the city. In the post-war period, driven by the oil industry, Calgary's work force changed dramatically, becoming better educated, more skilled and much better paid. Much of the unskilled work of the past disappeared. This was reflected in the district, but in an interesting way. The number of households supported by unskilled workers went from just under thirty percent to just over fifteen percent from 1941 to 1956, while the number of skilled workers, still over thirty percent of the household heads in 1941, dropped to twenty percent. In contrast, the number of people employed in white-collar positions, such as sales, management or clerical work, also dropped slightly. This seems odd — to all appearances less people in the neighbourhood were working in the fifties, and this was indeed the case.

It was not some sudden spate of unemployment, however: the residents of the district were simply getting older and starting to retire. As mentioned above, Parkview and Erlton were fairly stable neighbourhoods,

Aerial photo, 1949 (University of Calgary 820 10 1949 A12271-13).

and many of the people who had been living there from before World War Two now retired, or died leaving their widow still living in their family home. In 1946, a sizeable number of households, about fourteen percent of the 240 in the community, had retirees or widows in residence. By 1961, it was almost a third. It was among the working class residents where the change was most noticeable, and it seems clear that many who had established themselves there before in the twenties or thirties remained right into retirement, which speaks volumes for the relative stability of the district. In a young city like Calgary, though, by 1961 Erlton and Parkview stood out. The area had not entirely turned into a retirement community. The expansion of the neighbourhood had brought new families to the area, and more were expected, as the construction of a new elementary school in 1962 clearly demonstrates. The greying of Erlton and Parkview was a fact, however, and would have certain consequences, not the least of which would be a large turnover in the ownership of the district's houses in the near future.

In this regard Erlton was not alone, but experiencing a transformation that was occurring in most of Calgary's older neighbourhoods. The demographic shift was accompanied by other changes. Many older districts, now the "inner city," were also suffering from traffic woes brought on by the city's spectacular growth. This especially applied to Parkview and Erlton. The community had the misfortune to be located right alongside what fast became one of the busiest arteries into the downtown core, Victoria Road and 2nd Street SE, soon to be renamed Macleod Trail. The residential areas of the neighbourhood lay to the west of the roadway, but in indirect ways its proximity degraded the community's quality of life. There was the noise and pollution, as well as a growing volume of traffic short-cutting through Parkview via 26th Avenue and the bridge from the Mission, which was replaced with a new concrete span in 1961.[245] It is not an outrageous supposition that the property values in Parkview and Erlton suffered from the ever-increasing traffic on Macleod Trail.

Traffic Woes

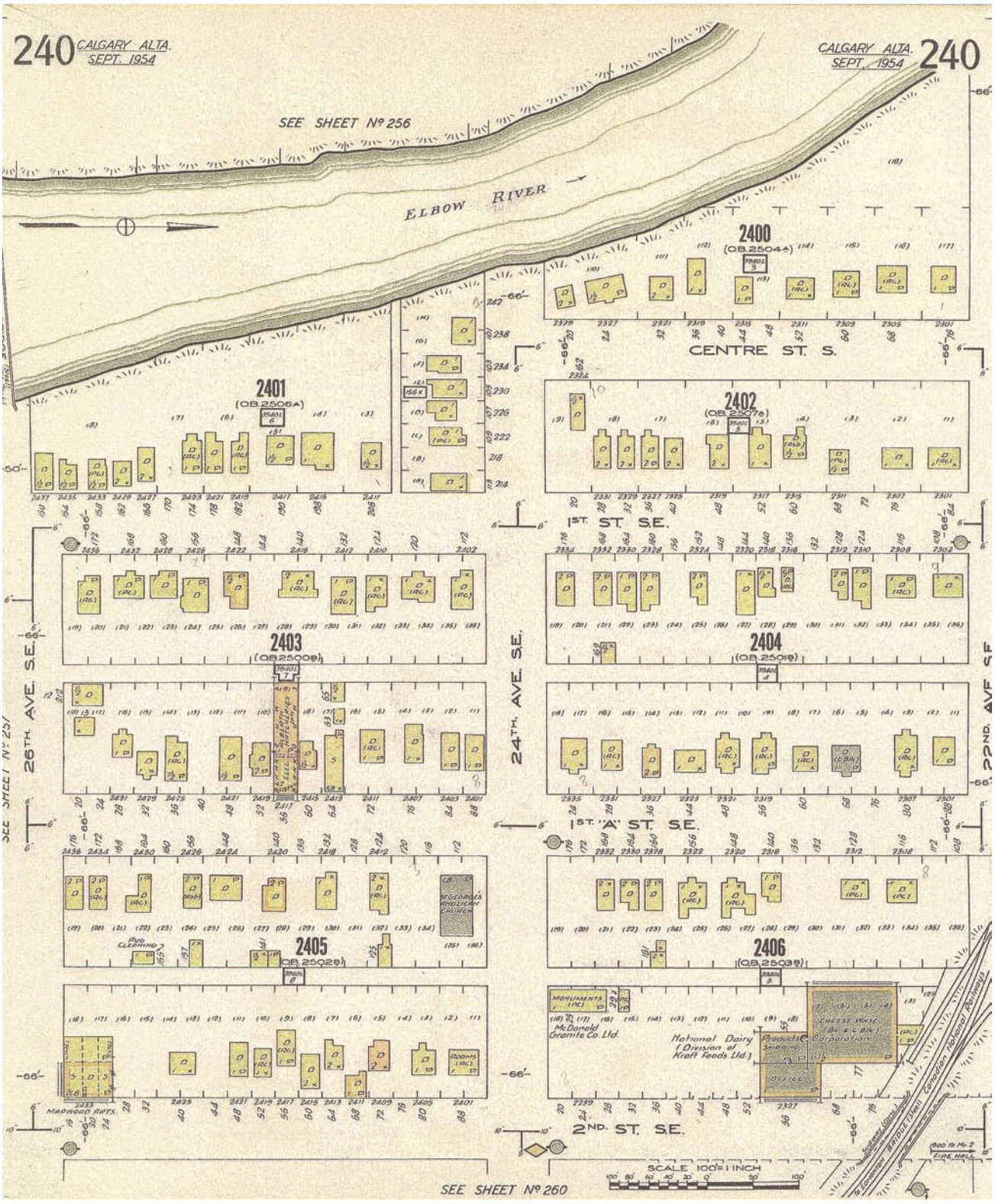
It could have been worse – much worse. As Calgary grew and the number of commuters heading into the

Joseph Patton

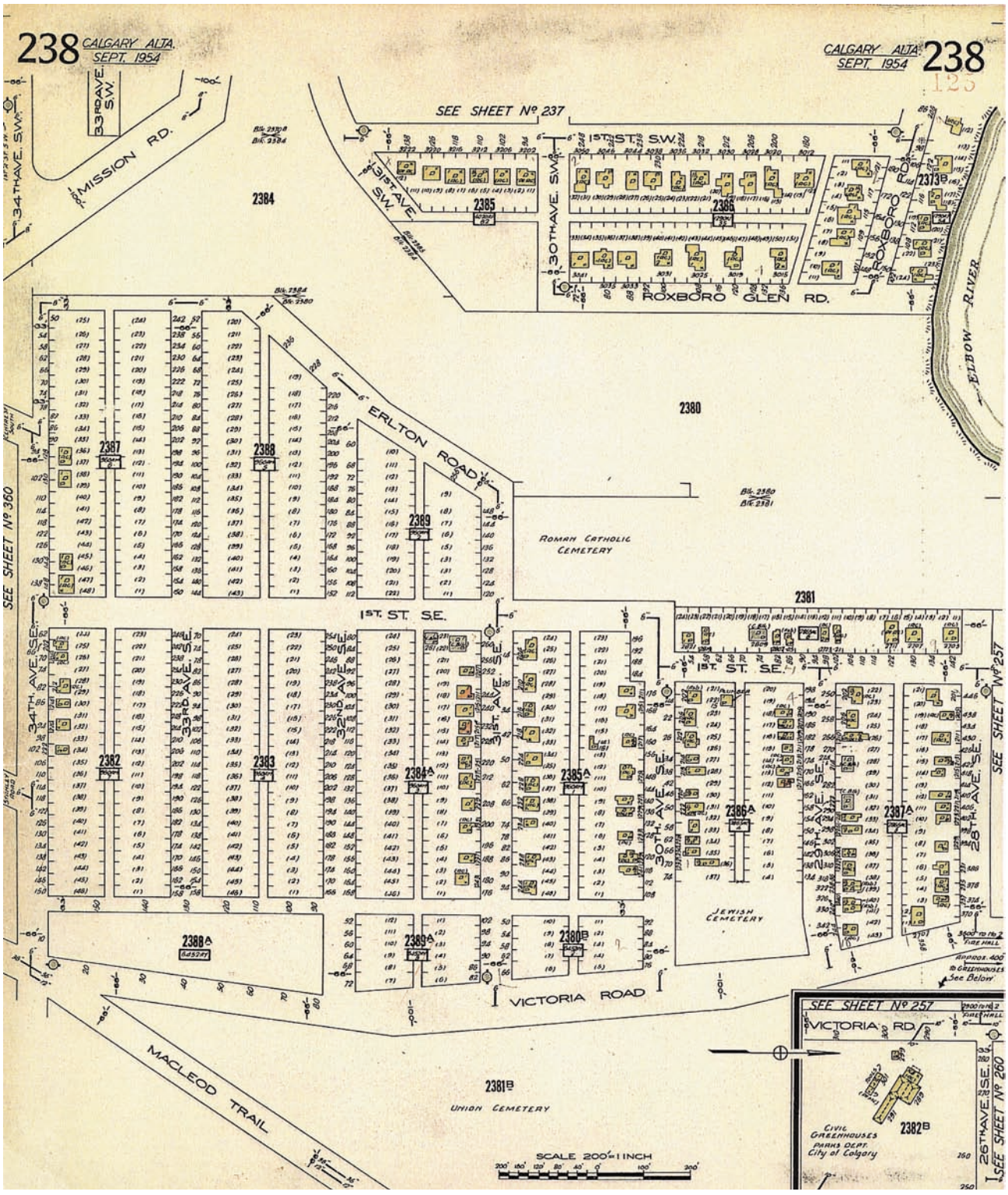
The return of seasoned air force flyers to Canada after World War One gave a real boost to civil aviation in the country. Whether bush pilots in the north, flying mail and freight, or barnstorming at fairs and exhibitions, ex-military pilots inspired another whole generation of flyers. Joe Patton belonged to this second generation.

A native Calgarian, Patton had grown up just outside the city in Midnapore and attended the Red Deer Lake School, now just off Highway 22X, and later went to the Provincial Institute of Technology and Art, now known as SAIT.[238] Patton learned to fly with Great Western Airways, a company owned by renowned World War One ace Freddy McCall, and after graduating with his private and commercial licenses went to work for the Calgary Aero Club as an instructor in 1928.[239] He later earned an air engineer's certificate. For the next three years he worked for the club, doing some additional teaching and mechanic's work for GWA and Southern Alberta Airlines. In the late twenties there was a proliferation of small companies, usually only with two or three planes, which offered freight delivery, flying exhibitions but also instruction. Patton joined one of these companies, the Chinook Flying Service, in 1931. It had been founded in 1928, and bought the GWA's aircraft when the latter went bankrupt.[240] The company did barnstorming tours in southern Alberta, giving demonstrations of trick flying and then taking people up for rides. Among the many stunts the company performed was a parachute jump in Lethbridge, done by Patton in May 1931.[241] It was not particularly lucrative; the company went under in less than two years. In March of 1932, Patton was also in a serious accident. While on the ground after landing with a student, William Smith, another plane belonging to the Rutledge Air Service landed and smashed into the rear of Patton's aircraft, leaving Smith badly hurt. This run of bad luck may have persuaded Patton to give up flying, as he went and worked in Red Deer as an auto mechanic until 1939.[242]

The start of World War Two brought Patton back into flying. There was a desperate need of qualified instructors, and Patton soon found himself at the High River training school of the Commonwealth Air Training Program with the rank of Flight Officer. He was decorated for his work training combat aircrew for the allied air forces.[243] After the war he continued to work in the aircraft industry, as a mechanic and upholsterer.[244] Patton lived in Parkview at 223 26th Avenue SE from 1946 to 1948, and then moved across the street to 212 26th Avenue, where he and his family lived until 1967.



Fire Insurance Plan, Parkview, 1954 (City of Calgary Archives).



Fire Insurance Map, Erlton, 1954 (City of Calgary Archives).

downtown grew as well, the city started looking at ways to enhance Victoria Road. Even before World War One, the shortcut over the hill along the streetcar line had replaced the old Macleod Trail as the usual route to the business district from the south. It had been paved early on, and in 1931 was even done in concrete.[246] When the streetcars to Manchester was discontinued in 1947, it was a simple matter to convert Victoria Road to a four-lane boulevard, with an island dividing south and northbound vehicles until it reached the bridge, which only had room for two traffic lanes. This arrangement was sufficient for another decade, but as the fifties drew to a close, pressure grew to do something about the bottleneck. It was decided to build a new bridge in 1959 at 1st Street SE and then extend the roadway to hook up with 2nd Street East.[247] The bridge was the beginning of a very ambitious new plan for Calgary's roadways, which was to Macleod Trail into a freeway.[248] The first part of the project would involve widening the road south from 58th Avenue, and then over four years the freeway would be extended north - how far was unclear, but it looked like it might go right to the Elbow River. Opposition from business-owners south along the road killed the idea, but it served notice that the residents of Erlton and Parkview faced the possibility of a major expressway right on their doorstep.[249]

As it was, problems in securing land from the CNR for the proposed 1st Street East put off any major changes for a few years.[250] By 1966, traffic problems at the Victoria Bridge led to a new scheme for Victoria Road as part of another major upgrade of Macleod Trail.[251] At the end of 1966, the new 1st Street Bridge had finally been approved but now projected to cost $420,000. Each bridge would be one way, and suddenly the Macleod Trail expressway looked a step closer to reality. At the beginning of 1967, the Planning Department recommended that 2nd Street East be renamed Macleod Trail and the old route of the Trail around the east side of Union Cemetery should become Spiller Road.[252] The name change was carried out soon afterward and Victoria Road vanished. In February 1967, the engineering department at the city circulated a memo discussing widening the road to six lanes all the way to 34th Avenue SE.[253] It would require moving graves in Union cemetery, cutting down many mature trees, and lessening the grade on the hill by cutting into it and building retaining walls. Later in 1967 the city also decided it was time for the venerable Victoria Street Bridge to be replaced.[254] The following year, a functional planning report was given to City Council for approval, with a twenty-year scheme for Macleod Trail projected to cost over thirteen million dollars.[255] It went even farther, recommending that the road be expanded to eight lanes between the river and 26th Avenue, and that 26th also be upgraded as a major traffic route.

While city planners, especially the traffic experts, liked the idea of a Macleod Trail expressway, many citizens were not as enamoured. The business owners both north and south of Cemetery Hill opposed it, and presumably the residents of Parkview and Erlton were not pleased. The impact on the neighbourhoods was obvious after the fact. The Conservative Party MLA for Calgary Victoria, David Russell, blasted the changes, charging that districts along the road had been ruined, and that planners had not considered the social consequences. An architect, Russell pointed out that the noise and traffic patterns of Macleod Trail were inappropriate for residential homes, claiming that in affected districts "at some of the houses you can't talk on the front porch because of the noise."[259] While he didn't single out Erlton, it is clear the community it was exactly the kind of neighbourhood adversely affected by the new Macleod Trail.

William A. Watson

There have been a number of businessmen and entrepreneurs who have called Parkview home, many involved in the contracting trades. William "Curly" Watson was one. He started out as a plumber and was later president of Trotter and Morton, one of Calgary's oldest and largest heating and plumbing contractors. Born in Burnley, Lancashire, England in 1907, Watson came to Calgary with his family at the age of two.[256] He was one of the original employees of Trotter and Morton when the company formed in 1927. The firm was started by engineer William Trotter and Howard Morton, and specialised in large industrial jobs.[257] It still operates today. As well as learning on the job, Watson attended the new Alberta Apprenticeship and Trade school – now a part of SAIT – and received the first certificate ever issued for a trade in Alberta in 1930. He remained with the company his entire career, was made a director and in 1954 bought the firm from its founders. Two of Watson's sons joined him in the business, which he ran until 1972. He also served as president of the Calgary Construction Association and the Calgary and Alberta Mechanical Contractors Association. Watson died in 1998, ninety-one years old, survived by his wife Catherine – they had been married over sixty-seven years. The family lived at 2515 1st Street East from 1947 to 1971.[258]

The impact of the roadway made Erlton vulnerable. The older neighbourhoods of Calgary generally suffered in the late sixties from the competition of new suburbs. Modern, roomy homes were available for people of just about every income level, and some inner city communities like Victoria Park, the Beltline and Connaught started a decline that has only ended recently. The homes of Calgary's older districts were just not as attractive to homebuyers, which was exacerbated in area like Erlton, Sunnyside, or Riverside where much of the housing stock consisted of small bungalows. The presence of a busy expressway a short distance away was bound to further discourage homebuyers. Just as the CNR had greatly influenced the development of the neighbourhood in its formative years, the expansion of Macleod Trail played a large role in determining its future.

A New School

The Erlton Cottage School had continued in service for just over fifty years. Designed as a temporary facility, it became a permanent fixture. The massive expansion of the school system before World War One left the board saddled with an enormous debt, and even during the relatively prosperous 1920s there was little school construction. During the Depression it was difficult enough maintaining the existing facilities. However, the Erlton School eventually had to be replaced. In 1960, the Provincial School Inspector reported: "The present arrangement of toilet and washroom facilities is very unsatisfactory. These areas should be redesigned to provide proper and sanitary conditions in accordance with the provincial plumbing and drainage regulations. In view of the poor general arrangements of the

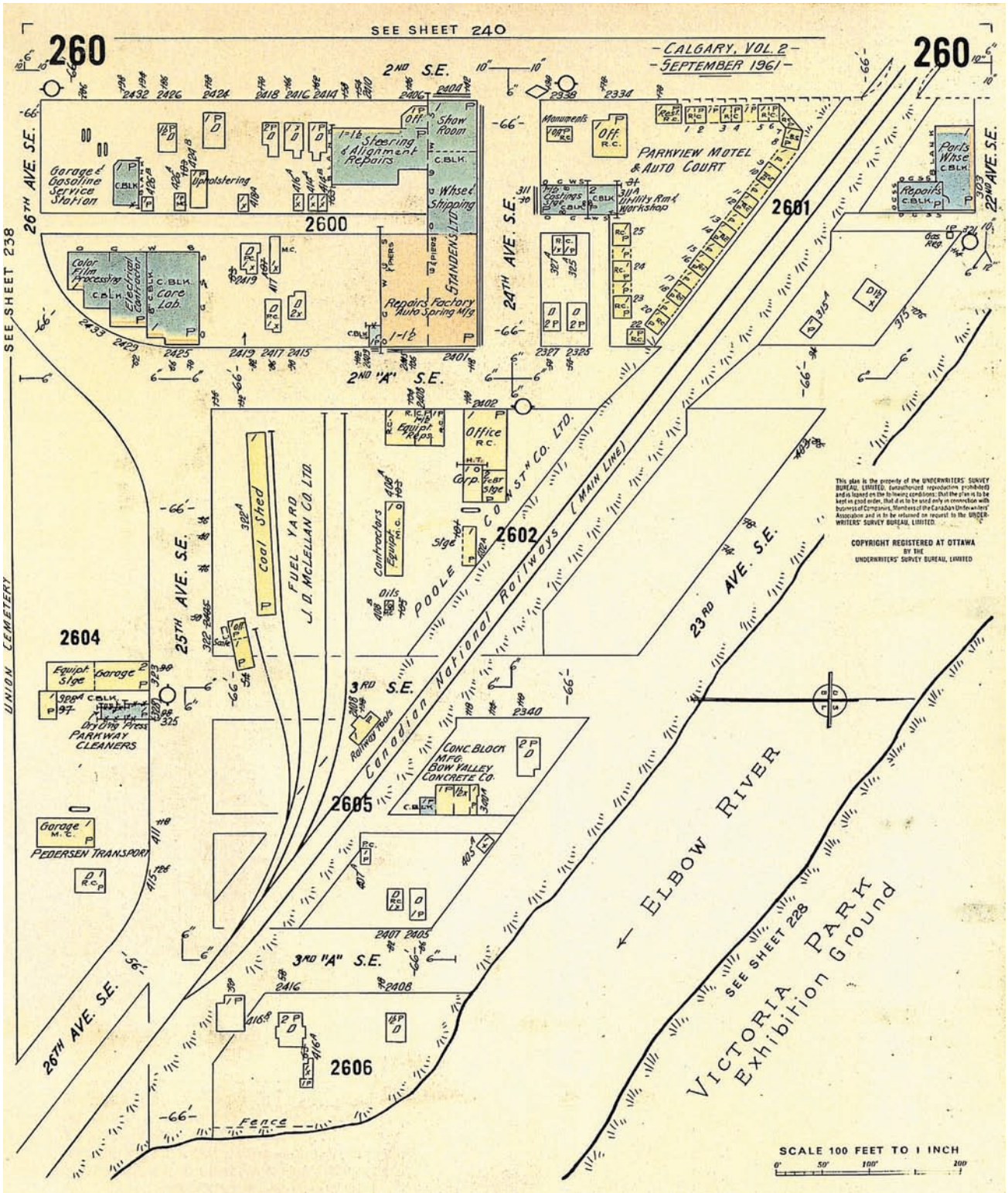
Jack Byers

Even in his death notice, he was known simply as Jack Byers. Homesteader, stockman, Boer War veteran, and Exhibition and Stampede Board Director, Byers was true westerner and an important part of the Alberta livestock industry as a stock promoter for the federal government.

Like many early cattlemen of western Canada, Byers was actually English, born in Darlington, County Durham, around 1881. He left home at twelve as a seaman on a schooner, bound for seven years of indentured servitude as an apprentice.[260] After sailing the world for six years, never seeing a penny of his wages, Byers jumped ship in South Africa and joined the British Army. Two days later he found himself on horseback with a rifle, fighting the Boers as a trooper with the Cullimain Scouts. Life as a soldier was not much better than life at sea, and after six months Byer asked for a discharge, although he had achieved distinction as the youngest sergeant in the British Army. Upon arriving home in England, however, he discovered that far from being free, he was officially a deserter. As a sailor Byers had been a member of the Merchant Marine and automatically been a Royal Navy reservist, and when he jumped ship was considered to have deserted.[261] Arrested by the police, Byers managed to slip out of custody and joined the army again. After another spell in South Africa, he decided to immigrate to Canada rather than face either jail time or finishing his seaman's contract.

In 1903 Byers arrived in Saskatchewan and homesteaded.[262] It didn't take long for him to realise the rolling grasslands of southern Saskatchewan were best suited for cattle ranching. Like many English expatriates, he went back to the old country for a bride, taking out a $1200 loan in order return and go courting.[263] He married a girl of good family after she had completed finishing school and brought her back to the cold prairie shack he called home. His wife Lillian soon adapted to the adventure of homesteading and the two remained married for over fifty years, spending thirty of those years on their ranch. In the early twenties, during a period of severe recession, Byers discovered a market in Europe for horses to replace the millions lost in World War One.[264] It was not easy money, but helped keep Byers and other ranchers solvent. More importantly, it got Byers into livestock trading. The Dominion government hired him as a livestock promoter, and the Byers moved to Regina and then Calgary when Jack became manager of the Council of Beef Producers. He went back to the government in 1935 as supervisor of livestock production. Meanwhile, aided by a regular salary, Byers own ranch holdings gradually expanded as more and more ranchers and farmers went bankrupt or sold out in the difficult years of the Depression. Renowned for his Angus cattle and Clydesdale horses, Byers' stock regularly won prizes.

Not surprisingly Byers was a charter member of the Saskatchewan stock growers association and a natural for the Calgary Stampede board of directors.[265] When he retired in 1957, he and his wife remained in Calgary, living at 2418 1A Street SE, where they had moved in 1945, until his death in 1967.[266]



Fire Insurance Map, Parkview east of Second Street SE, 1961 (City of Calgary Archives).

building...it is recommended that the school be abandoned."[267] Nor was the inspector the only one with misgivings about the state of the cottage. The Erlton Home and School Association, made up of parents in the neighbourhood, lobbied the board at the beginning of 1960 to replace the old school because of the fire hazard.[268]

The school board was not unaware of the situation in Erlton. It had been wrestling for several years with all the problems of expansion as Calgary mushroomed, but inadequate and decaying schools in older areas were another pressing difficulty. Erlton presented special challenges. As a board report pointed out "enrolment in the area, though small, does remain relatively constant from year to year."[269] The surrounding neighbourhoods, Mission, Park Hill and Rideau, were in the same situation. The board would have preferred consolidating the school populations of these districts in one new elementary school with better facilities and staff than several small schools could provide, but the topography of the area made it a difficult challenge. The best location was by the existing Rideau Park School, but it would require elementary age children to travel over a mile from some locations, with no direct routes for some and no direct bus service. Another option the board examined was a new school for Erlton, Parkview and Parkhill, but there was no available land – the only open area was already reserved for St. Mary's cemetery.

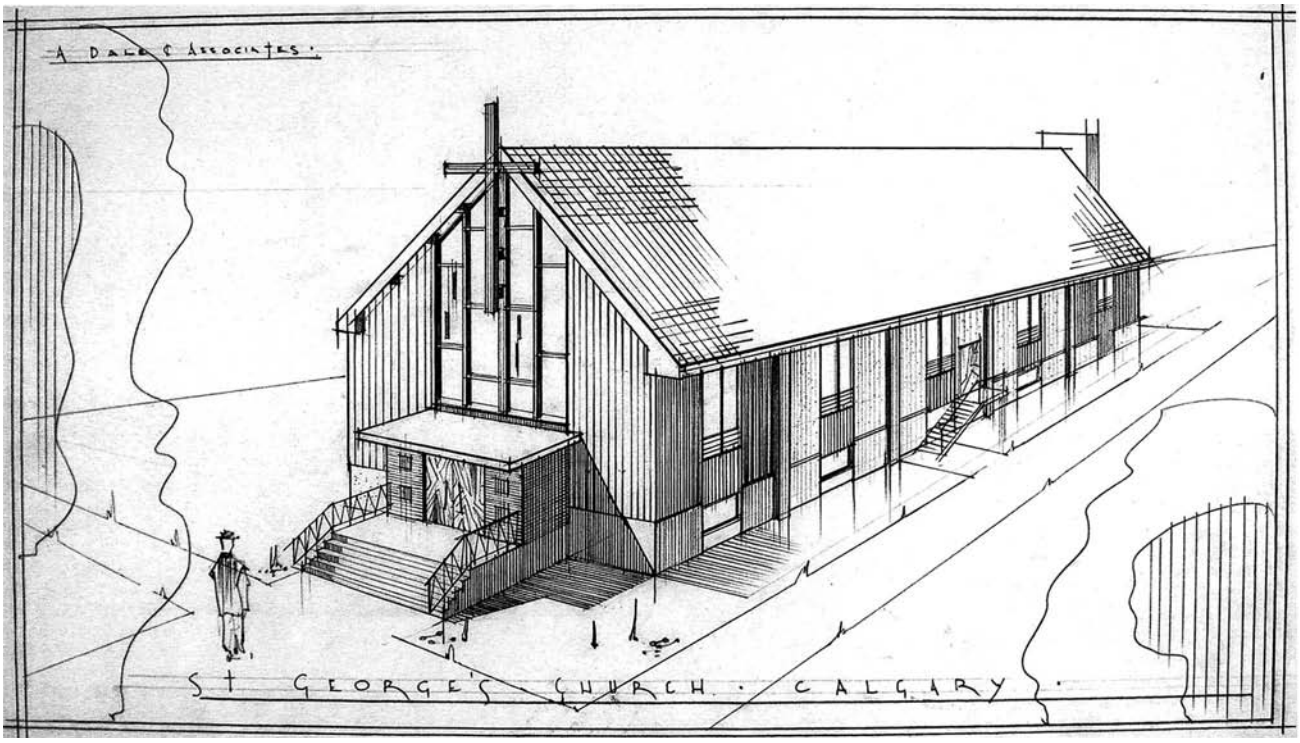
The building committee of the board recommended in 1959 that the Cottage school be replaced by a new three-room building that would accommodate all six elementary grades. The board adopted the recommendations on April 19th, 1960. At first it looked at the possibility of moving the Milton Williams School. It had been built around 1946 in Kingsland, a new suburb in the south and was itself due to be replaced by a new building. The scheme was deemed impractical, so the building committee decided on an entirely new building. It was duly approved and put to tender in the fall of 1961, and on October 26th, the board awarded the contract to Poole Construction (whose offices were just over in East Parkview) on a bid of $89,565.[270] The new Erlton Elementary was designed by the School Board's own staff, under the direction of J.J. Smart, Board Architect and Superintendent of Buildings. A two story brick and concrete building, it was set into the hillside with the main entrance on the upper floor. In style it was a typical school of the sixties, vaguely modernist and institutional. Work began in November and the school was slated to open in September 1962. As for the old school, it finished out the school year and sat vacant even as the finishing touches were put on its replacement. In July of 1962, the board took tenders for demolition and paid just over a thousand dollars to Adby Demolition to remove it.[271]

The new school seemed to signal the continued vigour of Parkview and Erlton, yet within twenty years the board was considering its closure. Changing demographics had caught up with Erlton Elementary. Like most inner city neighbourhoods, Erlton became considerably greyer. Young families in the sixties and seventies tended to move to the new suburbs, and Erlton, close to industrial sites and the busy traffic of Macleod Trail, had less appeal for families. The number of children in the community dropped precipitously and by 1982 the viability of the school was in doubt. At the end of 1984, the board looked at a census of school population and a seven-year projection, and reluctantly decided to close Erlton Elementary.

St. George's Recovers – and Falters

Like Erlton Elementary, the new St. George's church was superficially a sign of Parkview's continued vitality. Despite its financial problems, the parish was remarkably resilient and even the loss of the little 1911 church to a fire didn't discourage the congregation. On Sunday, June 10th, 1951, a fire broke out in the office of the church.[272] Fire fighters were on the scene quickly and prevented the blaze from spreading into the rest of the building, but the office and rear annex was badly damaged. The cost of repairs must have been prohibitive, for in 1952, the parish undertook to build a new house of worship. Once again the members of the parish contributed not only funds but also volunteer labour.[273] According to the *Calgary Herald*, the estimated $18,000 for the new building had been raised entirely from contributions.[274] The new St. George's was an attractive little church, with over three times the seating capacity. It combined a modernist brick and stucco exterior with gothic arched windows and engaged buttresses. Architect Albert Dale, who later designed the Calgary Tower, was consulted on the design. The contractor for the foundation was Nicholas Corradetti.

Construction started in the best fashion. In July 1952, the Dean of Calgary, J.H. Craig, turned the sod for the foundation first with a shovel, then with a bulldozer.[275]A month later, the Right Reverend George Calvert came and laid the foundation stone, accompanied by Reverend Kerr, the rector, and an entourage of ecclesiastical dignitaries.[276] The stone, mother of pearl granite, was contributed by parishioner Mrs. D.S. McDonald. The good start did not last. Even with volunteer labour, the parish apparently ran out of money for construction. Records are scanty, but four years later, the superstruc-



New St. George's Parkview, n.d. (Canadian Architectural Archives, Albert Dale Fonds).

ture of the church was still not done. The Diocese finally gave the parish a $10,000 loan in July of 1956.[277] There were problems with the basement as well, and as late as 1958 the parish had to apply for a grant from the diocese to put in a basement floor. The loan allowed the church to be finished, but would later be a milestone on the parish.

Like the school, St. George's fell victim to the changing world of the inner city. Within a few years of the completion of the new church, continued financial problems and Erlton's ageing population put its survival in doubt. By 1965, the parish was having problems paying its rector – the vestry had to ask the diocese to take over paying the priest's stipend.[278] Donations were simply insufficient. The parish ended up with "revolving-door" rectors; usually diocese priests with other duties that would undertake to do work at St. George's. Eventually, the lay members took over many of the functions of the ministers as the priests came and went. By the seventies, Don Yeoman, a lay minister who lived in Elbow Park was acting as the de facto priest, handling everything up to the actual sacraments.[279] But the end was now near. The Sunday school was discontinued due to lack of enrolment.[280] The congregation was dwindling, the financial condition of the parish continued to be precarious, and the Diocese was tired of trying to keep it afloat. At the beginning of 1976, the Diocese church extension committee met and discussed disestablishment.[281] The parish fought hard against it, pointing out in a somewhat contradictory fashion that the church was important to its mostly elderly clientele, but also holding out hope that the congregation might suddenly expand, suggesting it might benefit from an expansion of the Stampede Grounds.

It was to no avail. In June 1977, the parish was disestablished. Several months later, the church itself was sold to Big 4 Motors on Macleod Trail, which wanted to expand its business premises.[282] The price was a purported $150,000. To add insult to injury, the name of St. George's was given to a new parish created to serve the communities in Calgary' north-east. The vestments and holy service were sent to the new St. George's. The final service in the little church was given on December 11th, 1977. In the Vestry service register, someone wrote merely, "the end."

Ironically, St. George's was still standing in 2001, used rather ignominiously as a storage building for a nearby garden ornament business. It remains the only church ever established in the district.

Aerial photo, 1961 (University of Calgary 820 6 1961 280).

Aerial photo, 1969 (University of Calgary 820 12 1969 253).

V. Epilogue – Erlton into the future.

Over the last twenty years, Erlton and Parkview have gone through some monumental changes. Up until the middle of the nineteen seventies, the community was much as it had been. There were more traffic headaches, some houses were perhaps a little dilapidated, and there may have been a few more seniors, but otherwise not much had changed. Two major changes, however, radically altered the prospects of the two neighbourhoods. The CNR decided to move its freight yards and City of Calgary decided to construct a light rail transit system, which had been in planning for ten years. If Erlton had become something of a forgotten neighbourhood, suddenly it found itself thrust into the limelight as developers, residents and the city found themselves embroiled in conflict over the district's future.

The CNR Leaves

The removal of the CNR line in 1979 was long overdue. By the sixties it became clear that the rail yards were not in an advantageous location. Most importantly they could not be expanded. In 1960, the City of Calgary, the CPR and the CNR finalised plans for the new Barlow industrial area, which was to include new freight yards for both railroads. As part of the arrangement, CN would close the Lindsay marshalling yards in favour of Barlow and give the city an option on most of the land.[283] The railroad thought it would continue passenger service into the area with a new station just west of Victoria Road. Five years later in the fall of 1965, CN made the decision to close the old station by the Cathedral and put out a call for development proposals for the freight yards.[284] The city still had first refusal on the property, and a land swap was arranged in principle although not immediately carried out. The yards were closed in the early seventies, but the new station was never built, and it was another fourteen years before CN finally decommissioned the old terminal beside St. Mary's and the last call of the trains was heard in Erlton.[285]

In 1979, the tracks were taken up and the city finally got possession of the CN yards. By happy coincidence, a study on Calgary's sports facilities had just recommended that the city should build a new world-class aquatic centre.[286] City council decided the newly acquired CNR acreage was a perfect location. Although controversial due to the concerns of area residents about traffic and parking,[287] the Lindsay Park Sports Centre proved an instant success. Since its opening in 1983, the fabric roofed building – essentially a giant high-tech tent - has become not only a landmark but also an attraction for residents in the surrounding communities and from all over the city. With a large park developed between the facility and the river, a new green space was added to the area. The Light Rail Transit system has also had some unexpected benefits. After many debates over the best route, especially the best way to deal with Cemetery Hill, the city decided to run it parallel to Macleod Trail and tunnel under Union Cemetery. As part of the building of the line and the construction of Erlton station, most of East Parkview and the commercial strip on the east-side of Macleod Trail was eliminated, and the land not needed for the LRT ended up with the Stampede board. It was arguably not a great loss to the community and likely would have been a difficult site to redevelop as a residential area. In exchange, residents gained easy access to the LRT and thus quick travel to downtown, the university and other parts of the city.

Redevelopment

Ironically, the removal of the CNR and the construction of the LRT seemed to have a negative impact on the neighbourhood. In the late seventies and early eighties Erlton took a noticeable turn for the worse. Some of the housing in the area began to look a little seedy. It is beyond the scope of this study to comment on this development, but some residents put the blame squarely on the shoulders of the City of Calgary and real estate developers. "Much of the property here was bought up by developers who had big plans, and rented the houses and let everything go to hell"[288] says life-long resident George Hughes. It was an opinion shared by others in the community. As long as the CNR continued to enter Calgary and use the yards in Parkview, Erlton received little attention. But when the trains left in 1979, everything changed. Despite the anonymous character of the area, sandwiched between Macleod Trail and the Elbow River, it was immediately eyed by major developers due to its proximity to the downtown core and the LRT line. Various proposals, including hotels and a convention centre and high rise apartment blocks were floated.[289] A great deal of land was bought by developers and speculators: by 1981 over thirty-five percent of property in Erlton was owned by non-residents.[290] Among the absentee landowners was the City of Calgary.

Like other inner-communities in Calgary, Erlton rallied. Inexpensive homes and the convenient location had attracted a number of the young professional couples who led the revitalisation of older neighbourhoods in the city. A community association was finally founded in 1978 to give residents a voice in the decisions made about the area in city council, especially rezoning.[291]The residents of the area, old and new, including noted

Calgary architect Jeremy Sturgess, fought large-scale redevelopment. To some extent, they were successful, aided by the recession of the nineteen-eighties. By 1984, a compromise was reached in which the community association agreed to the rezoning of the area north of 26th Avenue for higher density housing and commercial development in return for maintaining low density zoning in the rest of the community. Not everyone was happy with the compromise – some residents were still angry that any high density housing would be allowed, while the Erlton Taxpayers Group, an organisation representing non-resident landowners, thought more development throughout the neighbourhood was necessary to save it. "I think the whole community is going downhill" commented one landowner, "We don't believe it is a viable community."[292] The recession of the mid-eighties made the whole issue a moot point. When redevelopment proposals surfaced again, the focus had changed dramatically.

Calgary's economy revived dramatically in the nineties and the city experienced a great deal of new growth. As suburbs and traffic problems multiplied, the inner city became increasingly popular among many resident of the city. Infill houses but also luxury condominiums and townhouses became hot markets. As early as 1990, new proposals for redevelopment were being submitted to the city for Parkview, but gone were the massive convention centres and apartment blocks, replaced by medium density but upscale housing.[293] In 1997, the city council approved the first major project on two and half acres near the river.[294] Several more have followed, and at the date of this writing, almost all of Parkview has been redeveloped with a mix of townhouses, duplexes, and large condominiums. The last large parcel of old houses, between Macleod Trail and 1st Street East, may soon become a new commercial-residential development. True to the zoning compromise in 1984, while Parkview has become higher density, in Erlton attractive infill homes now jostle the older dwellings on every avenue, continuing a process that began in the early eighties.

It is tempting to pass judgement when an old, inner city community is radically transformed by redevelopment. Purveyors of progress claim the neighbourhood has been saved from inevitable decay and has been revitalised, while opponents talk about gentrification, loss of community, and increased traffic. Undoubtedly, the historic character of any neighbourhood resides largely in its buildings. They are the physical manifestation of the past, and often the record of the passing decades is writ large in them. Many of the original houses of Erlton and Parkview have already vanished and many more will be replaced, and its original character has been altered. Against the desire to preserve something of the past, however, must be measured the benefits of moving forward. To some people, a community of fine new houses and condominiums may not have the charm of old bungalows and Edwardian two-stories, but new homes mean new residents, which help keep a neighbourhood vital. It is part of the solution to the problems of urban sprawl and prevents the decay of older districts that afflicts so many North American cities. Neighbourhoods and their people evolve and change. In the case of Erlton, the small community of carpenters, train engineers and streetcar drivers is gone forever, but the memory of what had been lives on in this history. ■

Endnotes

CBE – Calgary Board of Education
CCA – Calgary City Archives
GMA – Glenbow Museum Archives
GML – Glenbow Museum Library
PAA – Provincial Archives of Alberta
UCSC – University of Calgary Special Collections

1. Kenneth Hardy and Michael C. Wilson, "An Introduction to the Archeology of the Calgary Area, Alberta," *Geology of the Calgary Area, Calgary*: Canadian Society of Petroleum Geologists, 1987, pg. 131.
2. *Ibid*, pg. 131.
3. Hugh Dempsey, *Calgary: Spirit of the West*, Saskatoon: Fifth House, 1994, pg. 4.
4. Hugh Dempsey, "Native Peoples & Calgary," *Centennial City: Calgary 1894 to 1994*, Calgary: University of Calgary, 1994, pg. 27.
5. GMA, M4310, *A History of the Sparrow Family*, unpublished manuscript, pgs. 6, 73.
6. *Calgary Sun*, June 9, 1996; *Albertan*, June 9, 1921.
7. M.B. Venini-Byrne, *From the Buffalo to the Cross, A History of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Calgary*, Calgary: Calgary Archives and Historical Publishers, 1973, pg. 24.
8. *Ibid*, pg. 33.
9. *Ibid*, pg. 34.
10. *Ibid*, pg. 68.
11. *Ibid*, pg. 397-98.
12. Katherine Hughes, *Father Lacombe*, New York: Moffat Yard and Co. 1911, pgs. 282-283.
13. Venini-Byrne, pg. 64.
14. *Ibid*, pg. 63.
15. *Ibid*, pg. 64.
16. Gail Morin, *Métis Families*, Volume 2, Pawtucket, Rhode Island, 2001, pg. 200.
17. Alberta Land Titles, Homestead Grant, April 15, 1885.
18. *The Kootenaian*, April 12, 1923 "Augustus Carney is laid to rest."
19. GML, E.Deville, Survey Map of Township 24, Range 5, west of Meridian 1, 1884, Ottawa: Dominion Lands Office, 1884.
20. Alberta Land Titles.
21. Alberta Land Titles, Land Title 64, June 24th, 1887. Carney may have been set up on the NE quarter, but did not get his patent. In March 1887, Dr. Neville Lindsay got the homestead patent for this land, perhaps forcing Carney to get a different patent. However, it is difficult to ascertain the exact date on Carney's title, leaving some real ambiguity as to what really happened.
22. *Calgary Herald*, July 19, 1980 "Cemetery Search."
23. Harry Sanders, *Calgary's Historic Union Cemetery: A Walking Tour*, Calgary: Fifth House, 2002? At the time of writing, this work has not been published, so no page numbers are given. All references to this work come from the introductory chapter.
24. Dempsey, *Spirit of the West*, pg. 43.
25. *Ibid*, pg. 43-44.
26. Alberta Land Titles, Land Title 047.
27. Alberta Land Titles, Land Title 64, June 24th 1887. It is difficult to interpret the exact sequence of events, but a number of writs of execution were registered against the title for debts by the Bank of Montreal, the Canada Northwest Coal and Lumber syndicate among others, and was also subject to a power of attorney held by the Canadian Pacific Colonisation Company, with whom he had a mortgage.
28. *The Kootenaian*, April 12, 1923.
29. PAA, acc. 79.266, box 12, file 1037.
30. *Calgary Tribune*, November 15, 1895.
31. *Calgary Daily Herald*, December 17, 1925.
32. *Calgary Herald*, April 3, 1930.
33. *Albertan*, March 8, 1966.
34. *Calgary Herald*, April 3, 1930.
35. GMA, M4043, undated manuscript by Lindsay, n.p.
36. Macrae, Archibald Oswald, *History of the Province of Alberta*, The Western Canada History Co., 1912, pg. 501.
37. *Ibid*, pg. 502.
38. *Calgary Daily Herald*, December 17, 1925.
39. CCA, City of Calgary Papers, Box 17, file 88.
40. CCA, Engineering, Series 1, File 1, scrapbook. No date given to announcement, but Underwood's last term on council was 1904-1905, when he was chairman of pubic works.
41. CCA, City Council Minutes, 1905, pg. 167; 1906, pg. 36.
42. *Calgary Herald*, July 28, 1905.
43. *Ibid*.
44. *Ibid*.
45. *Ibid*.
46. CCA, Council Minutes, 1905, pg. 43.
47. *Calgary Herald*, December 18, 1905.
48. Alberta Land Titles, subdivision map, Plan 3940L.
49. *Ibid*, pg. 167.
50. CCA, City Clerks Correspondence, Box 12, file 95.
51. Alberta Land Titles, Land Title DD 219, January 3, 1906.
52. Alberta Land Titles, Subdivision Plan 5047R.
53. CCA, Board of Commissioners Correspondence. Although I have not seen copies of the agreement, Lindsay refers to it in some 1909 correspondence to the city commissioners.
54. The local papers were all searched quite thoroughly for the years 1906 and 1907 for real estate advertisements.
55. *Calgary Daily Herald*, August 6, 1907.
56. *Lethbridge Daily Herald*, June 21, 1909.
57. *Ibid*, August 26, 1909.
58. CCA, Council Minutes, 1907, pg. 147.
59. *Albertan*, February 27, 1907.
60. Statutes of Alberta, 1907.
61. Elise Corbet and Lorne Simpson, *Calgary's Mount Royal: A Garden Suburb Calgary*: unpublished paper for Calgary Heritage Advisory Board, 1994, pg. 10. The full range of prices there were $500 to $6000.
62. CCA, Tax Assessment Rolls, 1908.
63. CCA, Board of Commissioners, Series I, Box 9, file H-P.
64. *Morning Albertan*, September 16, 1907.
65. *Calgary Herald*, March 12, 1932, "Calgary Men Who Are Doing Their Work Well."
66. *Ibid*, Feb. 7, 1923 "What Midnight Blaze Left of Great West Saddlery Building."
67. *Ibid*, February 9, 1937, "R.J. Hutchings."

68. *Ibid*, February 12, 1937, "Death Claims Two Pioneer Figures in Alberta Ranch And Industrial History."
69. Alberta Land Titles, Land Title M121, October 2nd 1891.
70. *Calgary Herald*, December 30, 1926.
71. CCA, City Council Minutes, 1910, pg. 76; see also Subdivision Map, Plan 2865AC, Alberta Land Titles.
72. Alberta Land Titles, Subdivision Map, Plan 2865AC.
73. CCA, Board of Commissioners, Series I, Box 9, file h-p.
74. *Calgary Daily Herald*, June 24, 1910.
75. CCA, Board of Commissioners, Series I, Box 9, file h-p. Correspondence lists Hutchings, Marwood and two others as the "owners" of Earlton, which is not strictly true, as the lots remained registered in Jacques name until they were sold off.
76. Alberta Land Titles, subdivision plan 960AM.
77. *Henderson's Calgary Directory.*
78. Sanders, *op. cit.*.
79. *Ibid.*
80. *Calgary Herald*, January 27, 1943.
81. *Ibid*, December 11, 1942, pg. 13.
82. *Ibid*, June 12, 1937.
83. *Ibid*, December 11, 1942, pg. 13.
84. *Calgary Tribune*, July 24, 1894.
85. Sanders, *op. cit.*.
86. *Calgary News-Telegram*, March 22, 1911.
87. *Calgary Herald*, July 15, 1912, pg. 5; see also November 25, November 26, 1912, May 16, 1913.
88. Interview with George Hughes and John Crossley, January 8, 2001.
89. *Calgary Herald*, August 18, 1990.
90. *Ibid*, August 22, 1966.
91. *Ibid*, July 6, 1960.
92. *Ibid*, July 13, 1943.
93. *Calgary Sun*, June 9, 1996, pg. S7.
94. *Calgary Herald*, September 8, 1955. This is the only date I was able to find for the move, and it should be regarded as very tentative. The Diocese Archives did not have any information at all on the cemetery, and it does not seem to the establishment of the new cemetery does not seen to have been noted the local papers. Evelyn Sparrow said that her sister was buried in the old cemetery in 1896 and not moved for some years.
95. CCA, City Council Minutes, 1934, pg. 738.
96. *Ibid*, 1934, pg. 848, 913.
97. Jay Joffe, "The Origins of the Old Cemetery" *Discovery: The Newsletter of the Jewish Historical Society of Southern. Alberta*, Spring 1991, pg. 7.
98. *Ibid.*
99. Hughes and Crossley interview.
100. CCA, City Clerks Correspondence, Box 18, file 143.
101. CCA, Board of Commissioners, Series I, Box 32, File d-g
102. *Ibid*, August 7, 1945.
103. CCA, Building Permit Registers.
104. CCA, Board of Commissioners, Series I.
105. CCA, Building Permit Registers.
106. CCA, Tax Assessment Roll, 1911.
107. *Henderson's Calgary Directory.*
108. Fire Insurance Plans, 1913, pg. 103, 139.
109. CCA, Bylaw 937.
110. CCA, Board of Commissioners, Series I, Box 20, file c-g May to October.
111. *Ibid*, file h-p, August-October.
112. CCA, Bylaws 1167, 1203.
113. CCA, City Council Minutes, 1911, pg. 72.
114. *Ibid.*
115. CCA, City Bylaw 1158.
116. CCA, Council Minutes, 1911, pg. 211.
117. *Ibid*, pg. 59.
118. *Ibid*, pg. 139.
119. *Calgary Herald*, July 7, 1937.
120. CCA, Board of Commissioners, Series I, Box 32, file a-c, Oct-Dec.
121. Hughes and Crossley Interview.
122. Brian Melnyk, Calgary Builds, Edmonton: Alberta. Culture/Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1985, pg. 101-02. Melnyk writes that the buildings were a conscious effort to instill patriotic values and respect for the British Empire
123. CBE, Minutes, 1910, pg. 227.
124. *Ibid*, 1911, pg. 318.
125. *Albertan*, February 28, 1912.
126. CBE, Minutes, 1910, pg. 247.
127. *Ibid*, pg. 260.
128. *Ibid*, 1911, pg. 305.
129. *Ibid*, pg. 318.
130. *Ibid*, pg. 339a.
131. *Calgary Herald*, June 12, 1953.
132. Hughes and Crossley Interview.
133. Hughes and Crossley Interview. See also GMA, interviews from the Elbow Park Oral History Project and the Cliff Bungalow-Mission Oral History Projects.
134. Hughes and Crossley Interview.
135. Max Foran, *Calgary, Canada's Frontier Metropolis*, Burlington: Windsor Publications, 1982 pg. 89
136. CCA, Bylaw 1200; also *Calgary Herald*, October 2, 1911.
137. CCA, Council Minutes, 1910, pg. 185.
138. *Ibid.*
139. *Ibid*, 1911, pg. 218.
140. Colin K. Hatcher, *Stampede City Streetcars*, Montreal: Railfare Industries, 1975, pg. 28.
141. *Calgary Herald*, May 27, 1912.
142. CCA, Board of Commissioners, Series , Box 32, file D-G.
143. Hatcher, pg. 75.
144. Hughes and Crossley Interview.
145. Hatcher, pg. 75.
146. *Albertan*, Sept. 12, 1957.
147. *Calgary Herald*, June 26, 1937.
148. The minutes of the Bishop's executive council and other church records might have the details. These records are held at the Diocese of Calgary offices, and despite repeated attempts I was not able to view them.
149. *Calgary Herald*, January 6, 1911.
150. CCA, City of Calgary Papers, Building Permit Registers, 1911.
151. *Henderson's Calgary Directory.*
152. *Calgary Herald*, August 21, 1952.
153. *Calgary Herald*, January 6, 1911.
154. Calgary News-Telegram, March 23, 1911.
155. UCSC, Anglican Diocese of Calgary fonds, file 3.49.

156. *Ibid.*
157. *Ibid.*
158. *Ibid,* file 3.50.
159. *Ibid,* file 3.51.
160. *Ibid.*
161. *Henderson's Calgary Directory.*
162. UCSC, Anglican Diocese of Calgary fonds, file 3.51.
163. *Henderson's Calgary Directory.*
164. *Calgary Herald,* September 11, 1937.
165. *Henderson's Calgary Directory,* 1911.
166. See David Mittelstadt, *A Social History of Cliff Bungalow-Mission,* unpublished paper, 1997, for a full analysis of the social structure of this neighbourhood.
167. See David Mittelstadt, *A Biographical and Social History of Elbow Park,* unpublished paper, 2001.
168. *Calgary Herald,* June 12, 1944.
169. *Albertan,* September 16, 1943.
170. *Henderson's Calgary Directory.*
171. *Albertan,* September 16, 1943.
172. Census of Canada, 1911, Sessional Paper, pg. 342-350. This claim is based on my own analysis of the census figures for occupations.
173. CCA, City Council Minutes, 1910, pg. 207; Dempsey, *Calgary Spirit of the West,* pg. 95.
174. CCA, Tax Assessment Rolls, 1910, pg. 13.
175. *Albertan,* March 2, 1911.
176. CCA, Tax Assessment Rolls, 1913.
177. *Calgary Herald,* January 3, 1914.
178. *Calgary Herald,* May 16, 1912.
179. CCA, Building Permit Registers: Freeze got a permit for a "brick veneer store" on Nov. 17, 1910, and is listed in *Henderson's Calgary Directory* the following year.
180. *Henderson's Calgary Directory.*
181. *Calgary Herald,* September 7, 1960.
182. CCA, Building Permit Registers; *Henderson's Calgary Directory.*
183. *Calgary Herald,* September 7, 1960.
184. *Henderson's Calgary Directory.*
185. Interview with George Hughes and Jack Crossley.
186. *Henderson's Calgary Directory.*
187. *Ibid.*
188. *Ibid.*
189. Interview with Miriam Sanders, September 23, 2001.
190. *Calgary Herald,* May 15, 1936.
191. *Ibid,* January 13, 1921.
192. *Ibid,* May 15, 1936.
193. *Ibid,* May 15, 1936.
194. CCA, Tax Assessment Rolls, 1913-1914; *Henderson's Calgary Directory.*
195. *Henderson's Calgary Directory.*
196. Fire Insurance Plans, 1913, pg. 103. The Parkview block is clearly shown, just north of the rail right of way. It disappeared from the city directories in 1914, and later Fire Insurance Plans show the rail tracks following a line that would have intercepted the building.
197. Hughes and Crossley Interview; *Henderson's Calgary Directory.*
198. *Henderson's Calgary Directory.*
199. *Ibid.*
200. *Merchants and Manufacturers Record,* Calgary: Jennings Publishing Company, 1911, pg. 184.
201. Fire Insurance Plans, 1954, Vol. 3, pg. 240. The plan shows a building of almost exactly the same dimensions and set back as the existing structure, and a visual assessment leads me to believe it is the same building.
202. *Henderson's Calgary Directory.*
203. *Calgary Herald,* date unknown, see GMA Library clipping file.
204. *Henderson's Calgary Directory.*
205. Hughes and Crossley interview.
206. James Gray, *Red Lights on the Prairies,* Calgary: Fifth House, 1971, pg. 173.
207. *Henderson's Calgary Directory.*
208. Hughes and Crossley Interview.
209. *Ibid.* Although I have not been able to confirm this from another source, both Hughes and Crossley are very accurate where their reminiscences can be checked from other sources.
210. *Henderson's Calgary Directory.*
211. Trade and Commerce, April 1976, pg. 2.
212. *Ibid,* pg. 2.
213. *Ibid,* pg. 4.
214. *Albertan,* July 29, 1938.
215. *Western Business and Industry,* May 1945, pg. 68.
216. GMA, M1594, clipping from *Western Motor Fleet and Traffic Age,* n.d..
217. *Ibid.*
218. *Calgary Herald,* December 9, 1997.
219. *Henderson's Calgary Directory.*
220. *Ibid.*
221. *Calgary Herald,* June 26, 1915; June 29, 1915.
222. *Ibid,* June 4, 1929.
223. *Ibid,* June 3, 1929.
224. *Ibid.*
225. *Ibid,* June 5, 1929.
226. CCA, City Council Minutes, 1930, pgs. 200, 584, 615, 616.
227. *Ibid,* 1931, pg. 725; 1932, pg. 41.
228. *Henderson's Calgary Directory.*
229. *Ibid.* All the information on occupations quoted and analysed was compiled from this source.
230. *Ibid.*
231. Foran, pg. 131; Dempsey, pgs. 120-124 gives a nice and concise description of the Depression's impact in Calgary.
232. Margaret Gilkes and Marilyn Symons, *Calgary's Finest,* Calgary: Century Calgary, 1975, pg. 100.
233. *Henderson's Calgary Directory.*
234. *Calgary Herald,* April 19, 1913.
235. Hughes and Crossley both mention exploring south, while kids from other districts in the south recount expeditions to Midnapore. See GMA, Elbow Park Oral History Project.
236. *Calgary Herald,* January 30, 1960.
237. *Ibid,* December 11, 1953.
238. GMA, M946, Joseph Patton Fonds, newspaper clipping.
239. Bruce Gowan, *Wings over Calgary,* Calgary: Chinook Country Historical Society, 1990, pg. 173.
240. *Ibid,* p. 122
241. *Lethbridge Herald,* May 26, 1931.

242. Gowan, pg. 173.
243. GMA, M946, Joseph Patton Fonds, newspaper clipping.
244. *Henderson's Calgary Directory.*
245. CCA, Board of Commissioners, Series V, Box 155, file 49320.
246. *Albertan*, August 27, 1931.
247. *Calgary Herald*, December 7, 1959.
248. *Albertan*, February 19, 1960.
249. *Albertan*, February 19, 1960; *Calgary Herald*, February 26, 1960.
250. CCA, Board of Commissioners, Series V, Box 156, file 49320.
251. *Ibid.*
252. CCA, City Council Minutes, January to April, 1967, pg. 267.
253. CCA, Board of Commissioners, Series V, Box 156, file 49320.
254. *Ibid.*
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256. *Calgary Herald*, February 6, 1998.
257. National Plumbing and Heating Contractor, March 1953, from GMA Trotter and Morton Fonds, M1440.
258. *Henderson's Calgary Directory.*
259. *Calgary Herald*, October 27, 1970.
260. *Calgary Herald*, October 28, 1966.
261. *Ibid.*
262. *Calgary Herald* Magazine, April 26, 1958.
263. *Calgary Herald*, April 6, 1962.
264. *Calgary Herald* Magazine, April 26, 1958.
265. *Calgary Herald*, January 10, 1967.
266. *Henderson's Calgary Directory.*
267. CBE Minutes, Reports, 61-153, pg. 3.
268. *Ibid*, pg. 5.
269. *Ibid*, pg. 4.
270. *Ibid*, 1961, pg. 263.
271. *Ibid*, 1962, pg. 258.
272. *Calgary Herald*, June 11, 1951.
273. *Albertan*, November 19, 1977.
274. *Calgary Herald*, August 21, 1952.
275. *Ibid*, July 12, 1952.
276. *Ibid*, August 21, 1952.
277. UCSC, Anglican Diocese of Calgary fonds, file 3.55.
278. *Ibid*, file 3.54.
279. *Ibid*, file 3.55.
280. *Ibid*, Box 63, file 2, Vestry minutes.
281. *Ibid*, Extension Committee minutes, file 4.
282. *Albertan*, November 19, 1977.
283. CCA, Board of Commissioners, Series 5, Box 156, file 49320.
284. *Calgary Herald*, July 13, 1965.
285. *Ibid*, April 16, 1979.
286. *Ibid*, April 7, 1979.
287. *Ibid*, April 29, 1981.
288. *Ibid*, February 14, 1990.
289. *Alberta Report*, December 11, 1981; *Calgary Herald*, June 17, 1982.
290. *Alberta Report*, December 11, 1981.
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