North of Boyle Street: Continuity and Change in Edmonton's First Urban Centre

A Report for the Boyle Renaissance Project

Ken Tingley November 2009

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The man behind the name	

Executive Summary:

The study area for the purposes of this report is bounded by 95 Street on the east and 96 Street on the west, and includes the area lying north of 103A Avenue (historic Boyle Street) as far as the LRT tracks (north of 105 Avenue). This area is located just north of the historic heart of urban development during its earliest stages of growth in Edmonton. Although it is an important area in Edmonton's history, there has been no comprehensive history written about it. This lack of secondary resources means that any outline of its history must be collated from primary source materials such as certificates of title, early Henderson's and Lowe's Edmonton directories, local newspapers such as the *Edmonton Bulletin* and *Edmonton Journal*, and similar sources. This ensures that only the foundation for a full study can be presented within the time constraints of the study, but it is clear that there are certain characteristic thematic strands that run through Boyle Street's history.

(HBR) was retained by The Hudson's Bay Company retained the HBR (the Hudson's Bay Reserve) after the transfer of its western lands to Canada in 1870. As the HBR was located east of the fort, this strip of land presented a barrier to any substantial development immediately to the east. Commercial enterprises had to bypass the HBR and move further east along the winding Jasper trail before taking root. It was here, near the beginning of the Namayo trail, heading northward out of Edmonton Settlement, where the first important nucleus of the future town of Edmonton was established. It would not be until after the first Dominion Land Surveys in 1879 and 1882 laid out the street grid and lands were sold in the HBR that the present downtown would begin to evolve.

Boyle Street has been a district where immigrants made their first arrival and efforts to become established from the very beginning of significant immigration to the district. At first this was true whether they came from Scotland through Ontario, from Ukraine, leaving homesteads and farms in Manitoba, Saskatchewan or the settlement bloc in Alberta, or any of the other many countries attracting immigrants to the "last best west." It served as an incubator for commercial and political careers, and this in turn led to tensions between permanence and transience among its residents. Businesses would start up with the owners and their families living and working in them, then houses would be built in the immediate

neighbourhood, often north on old Kinistino Avenue (96 Street) or east on Syndicate Avenue (95 Street). Many of the more successful would then move to other neighbourhoods, especially after the Second World War.

After the Second World War, Boyle Street began to gain a reputation as a troubled area, rather than a bustling working class district. As this trend continued, social agencies came to characterize the community in the public perception. Various approaches to urban renewal and rejuvenation were studied, but frequently residences and businesses disappeared from Boyle Street, excising the living tissue of the community and replacing it with something else.

Much of the built heritage of Boyle Street in the proposed Quarters, and specifically within the study area, has now disappeared. As recently as November 2009 it was announced that St. Stephen's Anglican Church (10909 – 96 Street) would be closing, after close to a century of ministering to the Boyle Street area. It is therefore even more important to preserve what remains of this heritage. In the study area this includes one streetscape along the east side of 96 Street between 104 Street and 105 Street, including the Edmonton Iron Works plant and the York Hotel. The footprint of the old neighbourhood between Boyle Street and the railway tracks, and between 95 Street and 96 Street, also retains some significance. This ghostly "footprint," although largely lacking its original buildings, should be commemorated and interpreted, with Jasper East, as the place where the urban history of Edmonton truly began at the end of the fur trade era.

While much of the original historical streetscape in the area has disappeared, for many years Boyle Street remained an organic and functioning community, with a rich mix of businesses, churches and significant ethnic and racial cultural institutions and traditions. But this early community would vanish over the years, and by 2001 the federal census indicated that just over 57 percent of occupied private dwellings in the neighbourhood were built in the 1970s and 1980s. The Municipal Census (2005) indicated that 80 per cent of dwelling units were apartment style structures, with a further 15 per cent described as rooming houses or collective residences. By 2005 the residential fabric of Boyle Street was virtually gone. Surviving historic buildings in the general area today are down to a familiar short list: the Pendennis Hotel (Lodge Hotel) built during 1904 and 1912; the Kingston Powell Building (1907); the Ernest Brown Block-Brighton Block (1911-1913); Goodridge Building (1911-1912); Gibson Block (1913); Hecla Block (1914); and the rapidly decaying Gem Theatre (1913-1914). It is

important to retain any other significant buildings that might survive. These include the streetscape located between 104 Avenue and 105 Avenue on the east side of 96 Street, in particular the Edmonton Iron Works plant (1913) and parts of the façade of the York Hotel, one of a disappearing type of small city hotel once so common and important to the life of Edmonton.

The people who live in Boyle Street also have changed, although the area is still proudly varied in its ethnic backgrounds. The 2001 federal census indicated that many of the "founding" groups in Boyle Street remained, although some in diminished percentages. Those identifying themselves as Chinese (14.7 %), Aboriginal (5.4 %), Ukrainian (2.9 %), Irish (2.2 %), and German (2.1 %) remain a significant reminder of the historical diversity that was Boyle Street. Those calling themselves Canadian (8.2 %) or English (3.1%) still did not constitute a "mainstream " element of the population in 2001.

Continuity and change remain the countervailing forces in Boyle Street identity and history, as with other communities.

GUIDE TO HISTORICAL STREET NAMES IN THE STUDY AREA

PRESENT PRE-1914

95 Street Syndicate Avenue from the river to 111 Avenue; name

retained after 1914 changes

96 Street York Street from 111 Avenue to city limits

96 Street Kinistino Avenue, name retained after 1914 change from

101 Avenue to 111 Avenue

98 Street Fraser Avenue name retained in 1914

103 Avenue Clara Street from 93 Street to 101 Street

103A Avenue Boyle Street from 92 Street to Namayo Avenue

104 Avenue Isabella Street from 92 Street to 101 Street

105 Avenue Clark Street from 92 Street to 101 Street

The study area:

The study area for the purposes of this report is bounded by 95 Street and 96 Street, and north of 103A Avenue (Boyle Street) as far as the LRT tracks north of 105 Avenue.

Introduction:

The Boyle Street neighbourhood, often simply called Boyle Street, Downtown East Side or Jasper-East, today is located in central downtown Edmonton, immediately east of the city centre. When it began to develop in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, it was considered the east end of the Edmonton Settlement. Today its boundaries include the Grierson Hill Road (to Rowland Road until it meets Alex Taylor Road) and then along Jasper Avenue east to 82 Street. The neighbourhood is defined by 82 Street on the south and east, 97 Street on the west and the LRT tracks on the north. Historically, 97 Street (Namayo Avenue) formed, with Jasper Avenue, the first major commercial intersection of Edmonton at the point where they met. The area is named for Boyle Street (103A Avenue), which runs through its centre. Boyle Street, in turn, is named for prominent lawyer, politician, and developer John Robert Boyle.

[See Appendix A: Ken Tingley, "John Robert Boyle, the man behind the name."]

Archaeological evidence, and a deep oral tradition, demonstrate that the North Saskatchewan River valley was used by the First Nations for millennia preceding the coming of Europeans to the study area. The river valley "flats" were useful as a source of shelter, wood, and wild game. The river escarpment near the old Strathcona Science Park near Beverley, shows evidence of a tool making enterprise as well. When the Hudson's Bay Company and North West Company arrived in the area and built the first trade posts in 1795, Aboriginal people had additional reasons to visit and trade. The site of the second and fourth Edmonton posts in what later was named Rossdale, remains the preeminent historical site in Edmonton because of its remaining evidence of this overlapping, sometimes competing and sometimes complementary, cultural and commercial usage. While no evidence today exists to demonstrate this early occupancy in the study area, it is important to retain an awareness of this early presence.

In 1869 the Hudson's Bay Company sold its western lands in the North-west Territory to the Dominion of Canada. The land was officially transferred to the Dominion in 1870, after which the first significant settlement began to establish itself outside the walls of Fort Edmonton. The Hudson's Bay Reserve (HBR) was retained by the company, and as it was located just west of the fort, it prevented substantial development immediately to the east. Commercial enterprises bypassed the HBR and moved further east along the

winding Jasper trail before taking root. It was here, near the beginning of the Namayo trail that the first important nucleus of the future town of Edmonton began. It would not be until after the first Dominion Land Surveys in 1879 and 1882 laid out the street grid and lands were sold in the HBR that the present downtown would begin to evolve.

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First occupation of the study area:

The study area for the purposes of this report is bounded by 95 Street and 96 Street, and north of 103A Avenue (Boyle Street) as far as the LRT tracks north of 105 Avenue. It lies within Block 13 and Block 16 of the old River Lots 12/14.

The study area was sold to the new Dominion of Canada in 1869, with millions of acres spread across the vast expanse of Rupert's Land. When the transfer of land from the Hudson's Bay Company to the federal government took place the following year, the Hudson's Bay [Company] Reserve (HBR) was retained by that company, with many other parcels of land throughout the North-West Territory, to the east of the fifth and final location of Fort Edmonton. The first significant commercial development outside the fort occurred further to the east of the HBR along Namayo Avenue (97 Street), its eastern boundary. The old trail leading on to Jasper wound along the edge of the north escarpment of the North Saskatchewan River, and this also attracted early business development. The intersection of Jasper and Namayo became the first important commercial nexus during the 1880s and 1890s, and would extend further north from this point, first along Namayo Avenue, and then along Kinistino Avenue (96 Street).

Josiah Thomas Roberts, of Winnipeg, and the executor for George D. McVicar, purchased all of Block 13, a recent subdivision of River Lots 12/14 Registered as Plan D. This purchase occurred on 31 August 1892, and also included many other lots in the Hudson's Bay Company Reserve to the west of the study area. Most of Block 13 then was purchased on 24 July 1907 by Peter McNaughton, a local engineer.

Prior to this time, several lots also had been purchased: Lots 1-2 Block 13, at the corner of 95 Street and 104 Avenue, were purchased by Ludwig Klapstein, of Ellerslie, on 8 July 1904; Ida McCallum, wife of Constable Thomas McCallum, then bought Lot 2 on 17 October 1904; sold to Napoleon Genereux, barber, on 4 August 1906; then sold to to Mary A. Brice, a widow, on 22 October 1906; to Dobry and Large Ltd. on 19 December 1911; to Jerman O. Baker, a phuysician, on26 June 1914; to Elias Bapney Olson, a mechanic, on 7 September 1961; to Martha Olson, widow of Elias Olson, on 7 September 1965; to Ming Chan and Kim Chan, his wife, on 13 February 1980; to Ming Chan on 28 June 1984; to SSEV Holdings Ltd. (13611 – 86 Avenue) on 28 June 1984; to Bai Chao Chen on 13 September 2004. It now belongs to the City of Edmonton.

Lots 3-4 Block 13 underwent a similar story. Purchased by Samuel Klapstein, also of Ellerslie, on 8 July 1904, these lots went to Edward Klapstein, implement dealer, on 23 August 1915; Lot 3 came under the Public Administrator for the Judicial District of Edmonton, as executor for the estate of Samuel Klapstin, deceased, on 19 January 1940. Mike Vitaly, of Bellis, Alberta, purchased the lot on 15 September 1959; it then was sold to Kalhill Rahall, merchant, on the same day. The lot then came under the Public Trustee, Province of Alberta, administrator of the estate for Kalhill Rahall, deceased. Said Salem Rahall and Ahmed Salem Rahall each inherited half of the lot on the same day as well. Yuk Kwong Mah and his wife Yuen Lin Mah, became joint tenants on 20 October 1967. Kam Ho Wong then became owner in July 1989; Tim Wong in November 1991; Li Hua Wong on 13 January1992; Yau Wong on 10 August 1994; and other family members until Andrew, Amelia, Nicholas and Vivien Leung.

The southern part of the study area, bounded by 95 Street and 96 Street, and north of 103A Avenue to 104 Avenue, is presently occupied by the Boyle Street Community League, 9515 – 104 Street (West ½ 4/53/24 W4; Lot A Block 12, Plan ND). This area, consisting of just over 3 ½ acres, now including the Edmonton Catholic School Board Inner City High School Board, parking area, a baseball diamond and "urban garden." The area has belonged to the City of Edmonton since 1929.

On 2 October 1889 James Thomson of Calgary purchased ten lots in Block 2, twelve in Block 3, all of Blocks 4, 15, 18, 23 (except Lot 29), 26, and 31 (except Lots 36-37). Catherin Ross, the wife of farmer Thomas G. Ross, purchased Lots 1-4 Block 26 on 24 February 1893, with mining rights reserved out to William Humberstone, the main coal merchant in Edmonton at the time.

Thomas G. Ross was born in Toronto in 1844, moving to Winnipeg in 1873 and coming to Edmonton in 1880. As one of the first settlers in the district he retired in 1907, and moved to 10155 - 95 Street.

[Edmonton Bulletin 28 January 1932]

These lots were sold to Johan Seblamp, a farmer, on 18 April 1904. Lots 1-2 then were sold to Gregory Krikevsky, a local merchant, on 16 August 1906, and he sold the to John Holyczuk, a miner, on 23 April 1905. On 3 April 1913, James R. Brown and Murray Ricknor purchased Lots 1-2 Block 26 and subdivided the east half. Donald Hewat, of Kaslo, British Columbia, the administrator for the deceased Murray Ricknor, then came into

possession of the lots on 23 July 1923. By the end of the 1920s the City of Edmonton own these lots. These were the first real estate speculations in the study area, and indicate the first stirring of interest in its commercial and residential potential.

[Crimson Environmental Limited, *Phase I Environmental Site Assessment 9515 – 104 Avenue, Plan ND, Block 12, Lot A, Edmonton, Alberta*, Appendix C, Land Titles, 17 February 2009]

On 1 June 1891, the year the Calgary and Edmonton Railway reached South Edmonton, spurring commercial growth through the city, James Thomson purchased a substantial piece of land in the study area. The first residents began to come into the area soon after this. On 1September 1892 Ernest J. Bangs purchased Block 26 of Rivers Lots 12 and 14 (except Lots 1-2, part of 3, part of 4, 24-27) according to the survey (Plan D) completed by George A. Simpson DLS. Neil Galbraith, a farmer, purchased Lots 17-18, 21 in Block 26 on 27 November 1893. Joseph Brunelle, hotelkeeper, purchase Lots 17-18, 21 in Block 26 on 8 March 1894. Matilda Brunelle, his wife, then purchased these lots, with the title subject to claim of E.P. Benoit, on 31 May 1894. Stanislaus Larue and Joseph H. Picard, prominent Edmonton merchants, bought Lot 21 Block 21 on 17 December 1894. Picard, born in Watson, Quebec, came to Edmonton in 1887, established himself as a carpenter and contractor, and opened a general store with LaRue in 1889. Picard later served as an Alderman in 1894-1895, 1898-1899, 1904-1907 and 1915-1916. Stanislaus LaRue arrived in Edmonton in 1882, and built the first substantial house on Kinistino Avenue. In 1907 the store was closed, and the entrepreneurs retired "to enjoy the fruits of their labor and to give their attention to the conservation and direction of their large fortune," in the words of the Christmas Issue of the Edmonton Fournal 1913. LaRue and Picard took an active and important role in the development of the study area,.

[Ibid.]

With the new century land speculation in the study area picked up again. The fate of Larue and Picard's lot demonstrates how many lots were changing hands throughout the city during the years of greatest speculation. John Schlegel, a labourer, purchased Lot 21, Block 26 from Larue and Picard on 11 April 1902. Frank Kramer, a brewer, then purchased this lot from Schlegel on 17 February 1903. Rev. Abraham Mayer then purchased the lot on 15 April [1904], Robert Morgan, a carpenter, on 10 January

1907, and Wesley B. Denman, a merchant, on 2 October 1907. By this time the lot had several mortgages, and on 17 November 1920 it was subject to a notice of sale by the City of Edmonton Treasurer and again on 19 October 1923. Charles H. Hyde, a London tea merchant, bought the lot on 28 March 1924. The lot cam under a caveat filed by the City Assessor under the Tax Recovery Act (1922) on 12 November 1927.

[Ibid.]

Abraham Hager, "Minister of the Gospel," was one of the earliest landowners in the study area during the early boom years. He came to Edmonton district in 1898, at first living at Rabbit Hill. Born in Adelbode, Switzerland, he was ordained in the Methodist church at St. Thiene Switzerland, then moved to the United States where he joined the Baptist church in Oregon in 1888. After moving to Vancouver in 1893, he came to Edmonton. He organized the first German Baptist Church in 1898. He often translated Frank Oliver's political speeches into German. During the First World War he organized a church at Fort George, British Columbia. When he retired in 1946 he returned to the study area, living with his daughter Mrs. F.M. Falkenberg at 9637 – 107 Avenue.

[Edmonton Journal 5 June 1947; Tony Cashman, "The Yodelling Missionary," The Edmontonian n.d.]

On 24 December 1902 he purchased Lots 1-36 Block 34, Lots 1-36 Block 35, Lots 1-34 Block 36, Lots 1-18 Block 37, and Lots 1-19 Block 38, for "a plan of a subdivision of" River Lots 12/14. Among the first to buy these lots were Anthony Maloney, a farmer, who bought Lots 19-20 Block 34 on 27 May 1903 and Francis Taylor, a painter, who bought Lot 19 Block 34 on 9 December 1903. Taylor bought eight more lots, and his wife Emma five more, in the next months. (Lots 33-35 Block 35 on 1 September 1903; Lots 13-14 Block 34 on 3 September 1903; and Lots 9-11 Block 34 on 17 June 1904. George D. Shaw, a labourer, originally purchased Lots 9-11 Block 34 on 4 November 1903. Emma Taylor bought Lots 23-24, 33-35 Block 35 on 28 July 1904. These came under mortgages in the later years and would eventually revert to the City of Edmonton. Other lots were purchased in Block 34 as well. Percy [Unger[, a clerk, bought Lot 19 on 29 September 1904, then sold it to Walter Scott, and Edmonton printer on 20 September 1905. Scott sold it to Thomas William [Teape] on 26 February 1907, who then sold it to Hrycho Huculich, of Elk, British Columbia on 8 October 1907. John Kelly, "gentleman," purchased Lot 19 on 21 December 1910,

selling it to Thomas Charlebois, a Vegreville merchant, on 3 April 1911. On 13 September 1912 Fabien Giroux, a Montreal "gentleman," purchased the lot; on 4 December 1922 it came under caveat filed by the City Assessor under the Tax Recovery Act (1922). The story of Lot 19 then became that of so many others in the study area, reverting to the city. Other Hager lots underwent similar histories. William Smith, a mason, purchased Lot 12 Block 34 on 12 January 1904, selling it to Francis Taylor on the same day. Hager also continued to purchase lots, such as Lots 22-23 Block 18 River Lot 10, on 13 March 1905.

[Ibid.]

Robert Hamilton and John Hawthrone purchased Lot 5 Block 33 on 25 April 1904, selling in turn to David Lockman, a horse trainer, on 10 March 1908. Lockman then flipped the lot the same day, selling to Samuel F Mayer, David Feinstein and David Antokolsky. Mayer had a half interest, and the others shared the remainder. On 8 October 1908 it was sold to Ernest Smalion, "gentleman." Mary Gilbert Parker, widow, then purchased the lot on 23 May 1911. As with most of the lots in the study area this property was regularly and heavily mortgaged over time.

[Ibid.]

Alexander Macdonald, an Edmonton merchant, was another early landowner in the study area. On 5 June 1890 he bought a large piece of River Lot 14. These included Lots 9, 13-24, 28-32 (Block B), Lots 1-27, 43-45 (Block 1), Lots 5-27 (Block 5), Lots 1-14, 17-31, 33-48 (Block [6]), and all of Blocks 8, 9, 12, 13, 20, 21, 24, 25, 28 and 29. Block 12 RL 14 was purchased "for a public hospital" by a group of civic-minded men on 26 June 1899. These were Alexander Taylor, John A. McDougall, Dr. Herman L. McInnis, Robert J. Manson, Thomas Bellamy, W. Johnston Walker, William S. Edmiston, James McDonald, and Hedley C. Taylor. The Certificate of Title was cancelled and a new one issued to the Edmonton Public Hospital under transfer from Alexander Taylor et. al. on 18 March 1907. W. Johnstone Walker continued to hold the mortgage. The Edmonton Public Hospital was incorporated by Ordinance of the North-West Territory Chapter 43 (1900); a new Certificate of Title was issued on 13 April 1907 under the amended Ordinance of the Province of Alberta Canada Chapter 36 (1906). Parts of Block 12 would be sold to private interests, however. Onufry Kazimir, Wasyl Bodnaruk and Stephen

Nykolyczuk, all from Canmore, Alberta, bought Lots 7-8 Block 12 on 24 August 1910.

[Ibid.]

By July 1911 the City of Edmonton had assembled a large parcel of land in Block 12. This included Lots 1-6, 9-22, 26, 31-33, 35-44. The Edmonton Public School District obtained Lots 9-22, 31-44 on 24 June 1919, but on 3 February 1953 the City of Edmonton recovered full ownership.

[Ibid.]

The fate of Lots 7-8 Block 12 demonstrate further how ordinary people from the study area joined in the speculative activity. Eli Bodaruk, a postal clerk, bought a 1/3 interest in these lots on 22 August 1911. Eli Bodnaruk and Stefan Nykolyczuk, both of Edmonton, shared ownership after 17 March 1912. By 11 March 1918 Lots 7-8 were owned by Annie Bodnaruk. Steve Nykolaichuk (Stefan Nykolyczuk), of Canmore, took over 1/3 interest on 22 September 1924; Nykolaichuk seems to have owned Lot 7 after this date. On the same date Annie Bodnaruk took ownership of Lot 8, and Polly Lupul, "housekeeper," then purchased the lot on 23 March 1937. Mary Vitaly, a married woman from Los Angeles, purchased Lot 8 on 16 August 1957, selling it to Giovanni and Antonietta Capra of Edmonton on 28 July 1960. On 21 November 1961 the City of Edmonton gained ownership of the lot. By 11 April 1929 the City of Edmonton owned Lot 7 Block 12, Lots 1-2, 21 Block 26, Lot 5 Block 33 and Lot 19 Block 34.

[Ibid.]

The south "half" of the study area has been home to several business enterprises since 1950. The Jacobs Welding Engineering School operated at 10426 - 95 Street after 1950, but was Ruckett's Auto Body Shop by 1970, which operated into the 1980s. A-1 Radiator Service operated at 9623 – 104 Avenue, and Prairie Rose Manufacturing Company at 9611 – 104 Avenue, by 1955. By 1960 this little grouping of businesses had been joined by Automatic Transmission Spivak Ltd, at 10230 - 95 Street (later renamed S & S Machine Tools), and by the Edmonton Gospel Temple at 10330- 95 Street. During the 1970s Pinky Laundry and Dry Cleaner at 10339 - 95 Street and Ruckett's Auto Body were the only businesses listed in this block. After 1987 the Boyle Street Community League would be the chief occupants of the block.

[Crimson Environmental Limited, *Phase I Environmental Site Assessment 9515 – 104 Avenue, Plan ND, Block 12, Lot A, Edmonton, Alberta*, Appendix C, Land Titles, 17 February 2009, p. 9]

The northern part of the study area, north of 104Avenue to the LRT tracks, underwent a similar ownership history.

Ethnocultural influences in the study area:

Ukrainian influences in the study area:

Peter Melycky, Alberta Historic Sites Historian, has written that despite the growing literature dealing with the history of Ukrainian immigration to western Canada, there remains an emphasis upon the heroic aspects of the first agricultural settlement. The history of urban commerce and entrepreneurship in early urban settings has been largely overlooked. The first urban communities "inevitably fostered the rise of Ukrainian-owned businesses" in areas where Ukrainian immigration had been a significant factor.

[Peter Melnycky, "Great Tasks and a Great Future': Paul Rudyk – Pioneer Ukrainian Canadian Entrepreneur and Philanthropist," Unpublished manuscript, 2002]

Peter Melnycky sees Paul Rudyk as an example of the first entrepreneurial group of early Ukrainian settlers. Arriving in Edmonton with his wife Julia and son Philip in about 1900, he joined "the embryonic community of perhaps several dozen Ukrainians drawn to the city...." Rudyk started as a translator and salesman with Frost and Wood Implements, with the aim of attracting the recent Ukrainian farmers as customers. Using his wages, he financed a grocery store, and his home briefly became the centre for the Ukrainian Labour Fraternity, "uniting a broad range of radicals and progressives." He also began to invest in real estate, which during the subsequent booms would make him wealthy. In 1908 Rudyk began to manage the International Hotel, at Kinistino and Boyle, which he had also constructed. This in turn allowed him to make further investments in land. His brother Michael operated a pool hall between 1909 and 1912. Paul by this time managed the Rudyk Hall (539 Kinistino) and Rudyk and Komarnizki Real Estate (536 Kinistino). He also was the main funder for the First Ukrainian Presbyterian Church on Kinistino, which had attracted several of the foremost early Ukrainian businessmen. He also established the Farmer Loan Company Ltd., and was its principal investor. This company sold real estate and kept savings accounts. In 1912 he set up the Russo-Ukrainian Bursa, a residential school for boys and girls coming to the city, helping them to adapt while retaining their Ukrainian heritage. His National Cooperative Company Limited operated stores and a mail order service across the prairies. In 1913 he opened the Rudyk Block at the corner of Jasper Avenue and Namayo Avenue. William A. Czur credits Rudyk with establishing the first "socialist society" in Edmonton, organized at his store on Kinistino Avenue in 1903. Paul Rudyk was one of the founding pioneers of the study area, and one of a small but influential group that established the urban presence of Ukrainian-Canadians in Edmonton.

[Peter Melnycky, "Great Tasks and a Great Future": Paul Rudyk – Pioneer Ukrainian Canadian Entrepreneur and Philanthropist," Unpublished manuscript, 2002, passim; William A. Czur, Recollections about the life of the first Ukrainian settlers in Canada, p. 60]

The first two Ukrainian immigrants arrived in Canada from Galicia, an Austrian crownland, in 1891, settling east of Edmonton in that part of the Northwest Territories that would become Alberta. In 1911, 94 percent of Ukrainians in Canada lived in the three prairie provinces, mostly in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, but 23 percent in Alberta. Most of these lived in the settlement bloc spreading northeast of Edmonton. By 1914 approximately 170,000 additional Ukrainian immigrants would follow the lead of the first settlers in coming to Canada. Some 80 percent of the Ukrainian immigrants were Greek Catholics, especially those who came from Galicia; those from Bukovyna were largely Orthodox. The Diocese of St. Albert, created in 1871, assumed the spiritual care of the Ukrainian immigrants, of whom there were about 20,000 in 1905, in the Edmonton district, however. At first the Greek Catholics had no priests of their own. When Father Nestor Dmytriw, an immigration agent for the Department of the Interior, toured the west in 1897, he visited Edmonton. He was the first Greek Catholic priest to visit Edmonton. During his visit Father Dmytriw reported that in Edmonton "our girls serve in hotels and in private homes, and go three times a week to school. One girl joined the Salvation Army. It's a pleasure to even look at such a girl, how she's dressed in worldly clothes, speaks English.... A girl upon returning from service leads a formal revolution in the home of her relations." Peter Svarich wrote that in Edmonton in 1901, "although I looked everywhere, I could not find any work." Domestic work for Ukrainian girls still seemed to be the norm. Most of the men worked on the many railway construction jobs of that day. Svarich did find work with the Edmonton *Bulletin*, and Michael Gowda became a successful salesman with the Bellamy Agricultural Implement Company. By 1903 the Globe and Mail reported that "Galicians" accounted for about nine-tenths of the heavy construction work about the town." These early examples would soon grow to a larger urban presence in Edmonton. In 1902 Father Alphonse Jan OMI reported, according to Archbishop Legal, that "[A] great number of young Galician girls, nearly

300, had been put into domestic service in different houses in Edmonton.... Father Jan undertook to establish a night school where these young girls could gather together after their day's work was done. There they received religious instruction, commenced to learn English and were taught dressmaking and other useful works." By 1906 the "Galician" workers were sufficiently influential to demand better wages for the heavy physical labour that they performed in building Edmonton and its twin city of Strathcona. The *Edmonton Bulletin* reported on 7 June 1906 that work on pubic works in Strathcona had been virtually brought to a halt, "owing to the action of the Galicians, who went on strike for more pay." What's more this work stoppage seems to have been successful.

[Serge Cipko, St. Josaphat Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral, Edmonton: A History (1902-2002). Edmonton: St. Josaphat Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral, 2009, pp. 39, 41, 46; Frances Swyripa, "Ukrainians," Encyclopedia of Canada's Peoples – cited on Multicultural Canada website; "Twin Towns of the North," Globe and Mail, 1 July 1903; Archbishop Legal, Short Sketches of the History of the Catholic Churches and Missions in Central Alberta, p. 124.]

Four Basilian priests arrived in Edmonton in late 1902 with four Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate, and on 7 November Divine Liturgy was celebrated at St. Joachim Roman Catholic Church. Father Platonid Filas administered the first Mass in Ukrainian in Canada at about this time. The Sisters remained at St. Joachim's, continuing to minister to the Ukrainian girls of Edmonton. In December 1902 land in east Edmonton was purchased for a church. Archbishop Legal later wrote: "The Ruthenian population of Edmonton had increased in a very noteworthy manner. There were no longer only young girls in service in private families, but many families has settled down in a more permanent fashion, principally in the eastern part of the town, and soon it became necessary to provide for their religious services." Bishop Legal reported on 22 December 1902 that "[We] have decided to buy a whole block [of 38 lots] in the east part of Edmonton for the foundation of a future Greek-Ruthenian parish. This measure was necessary as the price of land is increasing greatly." Construction began on the church on Namayo Avenue on 26 June 1904, and the almost completed edifice blessed on 27 November, the Feast Day of St. Josaphat, and was attended by many adherents. Frank Oliver also attended, despite his earlier opposition to Ukrainian immigration. In 1905 a convent was built next to the church.

[Archbishop Legal, op. cit., p. 46; Serge Cipko, op. cit., p. 52]

St. Josaphat's soon became a social centre as well as the religious centre of the district. This included the Sisters Servants' parochial school, founded in 1910, and groups like reading clubs, the Boian Drama Circle in 1910, and a women's society in 1913.

[Serge Cipko, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59]

Other denominations were also represented in the study area in the early twentieth century. While Greek Catholics were predominant among early Ukrainian immigrants, in 1902 Russian Orthodox priest Father Jacob Korchinsky converted a house into a church at the corner of 96 Street and 101 Avenue, St. Barbara's Russian Orthodox Church, the first in Edmonton. In 1901 he had rented a house on the corner of Namayo and 108 Avenue as a church and school for Bukovynian and Galician "residents." The Independent Greek Church, with Ukrainian converts to Presbyterian fundamentalism, also was established in the area in 1904, and had 250 families of adherents in Alberta.

[Peter Melnycky, op. cit., passim]

The Lazaruk grocery store at #615 Kinistino Avenuealso served as a cultural centre of sorts. George and Mary Lazaruk were very active in Ukrainian culture in the study area. They were married in 1906. Mary came to Canada in 1892, with some of the first Ukrainian families to arrive in the west, with her parents Nykola and Anna Tichkowski and her brothers. Like many immigrant women, Mary left her homestead in the Star area to come to Edmonton's Ukrainian neighbourhood, to bring some income to the farm. She worked form many years for the Johnson Walker department store, a major employer for recent Ukrainian immigrant women. In 1904 Mary was on the executive of the Pastup literary society. The Lazaruks were founding members of the M. Hurshewski Institute (later the St. John's Institute).

[Edmonton Journal 12 October 1976]

Dmytro Ferbey, who immigrated to Canada in 1909, was an early investor in the Ukrainian Bookstore, first organized in 1912, and located at #350 Kinistino Avenue (10234 - 96 Street) after 1914. This seems to have been the first separate bookstore in Edmonton. Dmytro Prokop, remembers the importance of the bookstore in 1913: "The first five years were terrible because of the lifestyle. We weren't accepted in the English society.... I remember the first time I went [to the bookstore]. It was a place to meet our friends, a centre where we could meet each other on Saturday... We'd

spend two to three hours there at a time. If we got into an argument then longer." Bohdan Melnychuk recalls: "Newspapers were the main source of information, so copies of the larges Ukrainian-language newspaper in North America were brought in from Jersey City." During the First World War te store was renamed Canadian Importers Limited to keep active at a time when the Enemy Alien Act constrained commercial activities of many Ukrainians born in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The store later was relocated to 10215 - 97 Street.

[Edmonton Journal 6 May 1981; Bob Remington, "The Ukrainian Book Store"; Edmonton Journal 18 October 2004]

The Ukrainian National Home was established in 1917 at 9620 – 109 Avenue. This would become the most significant cultural focus for Ukrainian-Canadian Edmontonians. The community was growing. Peter Melnycky writes that in 1921 the Ukrainian community in Edmonton, many working on municipal public works projects, in the many lumber camps and mines in the district, or at the Swift Canada Packing Plant totaled 547. He also notes that there were a growing number of shop keepers and businessmen joining the ranks of Edmonton's commercial community. He also notes that by 1931 this number had jumped to 5,025. Many of these people would live in the growing east Edmonton residential and commercial strips located along Kinistino, Syndicate and Namayo Avenues north of Jasper Avenue. More people gathered at St. Josaphat's for events like picnics and other social gatherings. The grounds of the original church had plenty of room for such events, especially at Easter. When the Great Depression struck the community it ministered to those parishioners who were in need.

[Serge Cipko, op. cit., p. 71]

In late 1918 the Hotel Grand on 107A Avenue and 98 Street was purchased and converted into the Taras Shevchenko Institute. Many of those who attended this residential school went on to become teachers. William Tomyn, first elected as a Social Credit MLA in 1935, also was a graduate of the school. The Institute fostered many careers over the years, launching numerous early Ukrainian-Canadian immigrants into the mainstream culture. In 1922 the first Institute closed for lack of funds, but in 1925 reopened in another residence as the Ukrainian Catholic Institute of Taras Shevchenko at 92 Street and 106 Avenue. In 1931 it closed because of the Great Depresson. During its heyday its hockey team, led by Brother Methodius, won three successive championships against Edmonton high

schools. Like the Bennett School Hustlers in Gallagher Flats, under Frank Hustler, the Shevchenko teams boosted self esteem at a crucial time in the life of the community. The Great Depression would hit east Edmonton very hard, and in 1932 a Relief Committee was set up in the Ukrainian National Home, providing a Christmas dinner for the "hundreds of unemployed Ukrainians...." John Basarab became a great support to those in need as well, and provided support to the many Ukrainian famers who flocked to his offices for help in avoiding foreclosure on their farms. Basarab arrived in Edmonton in 1919, completed his law studies while living at the Shevchenko Institute, and was admitted to the bar in 1922.

[Serge Cipko, op. cit., pp. 74-75]

By 1939 St. Josaphat was in need of repair or replacement, and parishioners undertook much of the necessary labour themselves. A brilliant new church designed by Father Philip Ruh rose on the original site. The church was officially opened on 3 June 1947 after almost a decade of financial and physical struggle. In 1941 there were about 6000 Ukrainian-Canadians living in Edmonton, and by 1981 84,565 self-described residents of Ukrainian descent lived there. By this time most of this number had moved outside the community in east Edmonton where the first generations of immigrants had made their first mark. Other parishes were established throughout Edmonton.

[M.H. Maranchak, *Ukrainian Canadians: A History*. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Science in Canada, 1986, pp. 18-19]

Still, in 1953, an article in the *Times* of London described the district as a Little Europe, where English remained a minority language. It went on to describe a district "where cheap hotels and restaurant, foreign shops, billiard saloons and palmistry establishments give a raffish air...." The conclusion was that while the area remained a rendezvous for new Canadians and transients, but it is primarily the home of the group vaguely called 'the Ukrainians,' the residue of earlier immigration from Central Europe, who have never become Canadian because they have been unsuccessful." This condescending conclusion prompted a reply from Henry Kreisel, who noted that Edmonton now had a mayor of Ukrainian descent, and pointed out the many contributions made to the community by Ukrainian-Canadians. Still the Ukrainian imprint was set early and deep, and during the 1950s many recall growing up taking Ukrainian language courses, attending Ukrainian special events, and of course attending St. Josaphat. The Ukrainian Catholic

Women's League of Canada and the Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood remained very active during the 1950s and 1960s. In 1964 a new Rectory was build adjacent to the Cathedral to meet the expanding needs of the parish.

[Serge Cipko, op. cit., pp. 113-114]

Edmonton had a population of 547 residents of Ukrainian descent in 1921, about 0.9%. In 1951 this figure had grown to 19,111, or about 11%. By this time the population had dispersed through the greater metropolitan area. During the early years, however, the Boyle Street area had been one of the most important districts in which Ukrainian-Canadians could establish themselves commercially and socially in Alberta and find the spiritual, educational and social support required to take the next step. It had provided a home and livelihood for a disproportionate number of recent Ukrainian immigrants. Frances Swyripa writes that "this first wave had little capital an few material resources and lacked the aid of compatriots, the support of familiar institutions...." Areas like the Boyle Street community were extremely important in this respect, and as such the area has a significant place in our civic history.

[Paul R. Magocsi, Encyclopedia of Canada's Peoples. Multicultural History Society of Ontario; Frances Swyripa, op. cit.]

German influences in the study area:

German immigrants also became established in the Boyle Street community. There were only fourteen people with "German-sounding" names that could be identified in Edmonton by the Henderson's city directory for 1895. Most German immigrants would settle in the area from First Street to Syndicate Avenue, and north of Jasper Avenue to 111 Street. The greatest concentration of their businesses and residences would develop along Kinistino and Namayo avenues with time. Most German immigrants at first set up as grocers, butchers, carpenters or real estate agents, like Hofmann and Harms, with offices at 421A Namayo. Most were in business for less than a year, but a few stayed and built the local economy and community. The first Edelweiss Club house was built on Kinistino Avenue and Elizabeth Street. The Edelweiss Club, also known as the Kinistino Club House, was located on Lots 30-31 Block 5 River Lot 14. Its building permit was issued on 30 November 1907. The address after 1914 was 9568-101A Avenue). The Germania Choir of Edmonton had its permanent home at the Edelweiss Club from 1908 onward. The Edelweiss Club was incorporated 24 April 1905, was incorporated in 1906, with Gustav Koerman, the real founder and publisher of the Alberta Herold its first president. Work was begun on a clubhouse and it was first opened in January 1906. The opening ball in January 1908 attracted over 200 Germans, while the first German concert in Edmonton was held there in February.

["Profile of Edmonton's German-speaking community around the turn of the 20th century," www.ualberta.ca/-german/PAA/Edmonton1914.htm]

The *Alberta Herold*, Alberta's first German newspaper, with its office at 252-54 Namayo, was the voice of the German language community after 1903. First owned by the charismatic entrepreneur and musician Count Alfred von Hammerstein, the newspaper was soon sold to Gustav Koerman. The German Bookstore, operated by Lydia Bruegmann, was located next door at 260 Namayo.

The First German Baptist Church opened at the corner of Namayo and Isabella Street (104 Avenue), but in 1912 moved to the corner of Kinistino Avenue and 106A Avenue. Later known as the Central Baptist Church, the first church was constructed in the area in 1900. This church remained a religious and cultural centre for German-Canadians in Boyle Street area for years. When Central Baptist Church moved its location in 1973, the building was used for several dining lounges and bars, and eventually was

vacated and abandoned. Tom Millman, Central Baptist Church, and First Baptist Church cooperated through the Alberta Baptist Association and the Baptist Union of Western Canada to purchase the old church and lease it to The Mustard Seed Street Church, which since 1988 has ministered to the physical, social, and spiritual needs of people in the inner city. The Mustard Seed concept was inspired by similar organizations in Victoria, British Columbia and in Calgary. It has cooperated with partners like World Vision to provide employment training, the Church Council on Justice and Corrections to raise awareness and provide response to family violence, and in 1992 a Food Depot was set up with Edmonton Gleaner Association, or the Food Bank.

Other significant churches were St. John's Lutheran Church, for a congregation established in 1903 in a rented hall. In 1904 the first small church was built on Kinistino Avenue, while the third church was begun on Namayo in 1909, opening in March 1910. St. Peter's Lutheran Church held its first services in Roberts Hall, on the corner of Namayo and Jasper Avenue in May 1894, but moved further north into its own church at 107 Avenue and 103 Street in 1906

By 1914, the first year of the First World War, when many of German and Austo-Hungarian descent would become "enemy aliens," "Germans" were well established in the community. Among those working in the east end were William Anton, a barber with a shop located at 9605 – 100A Avenue. Heinrich Haubnel ran another barbershop at 630 Kinistino Avenue. David Borcherding was the owner of the German Bookstore at its new location at 722 Namayo. Lydia Bruegmann, the former bookstore owner, now operated a stationery store at 260 Namayo. Heinrich Becker was now the editor of the *Alberta Herold*, and lived at 109 Queens Avenue (99 Street). Hermann Carl and Herman Schmitt operated a popular butcher stand at the Central Public Market downtown. Frasch Fotos, which has left an important legacy of historical photographs, operated their photographic shop at the corner of Boyle Street and Namayo. The German and Reformed Dutch Church at 1515 Kinistino Avenue (10857 – 96 Street) had joined First German Baptist Church in ministering to the German community. The German School was located at 1818 Kinistino Avenue, at St. Peter's Lutheran Church. The Edelweiss Club still was very active, located at 216 Morris Street (106A Avenue) after 1912. The Hager-Harder Company owned a grocery store at 701 Fraser Avenue (98 Street). Adam Heibges operated a restaurant at 69 Fraser Avenue. George Hennig's general store at 1135 Namayo catered to the German clientele, as well as

others. William Hencher operated a grocery store at 265 Namayo. George Huffman owned a poolroom at 538 Kinistino Avenue (10326 – 96 Street). Conrad Jordan operated his tailor shop at 821 Namayo, while Albert Kals had a shoemakers shop at 611 Namayo. E.A. Kemp and Son opened a plumbers' office at 349 Namayo in 1912, and Gus Klukas another at #1022. Adolph Kleinfeld operated his butcher shop at further north on Kinistino Avenue at #1236), while William Semaka ran one at 615 Kinistino Avenue. Boarding establishments like the Hoffman House at 353 Fraser Avenue, Thomas Trott's at 207 Fraser Avenue, and that of Ernest Kilzig at 65-69 Fraser Avenue catered to the many transient labourers and job seekers coming to the city. Carl Henningsen operated his Dye Works at 142 Wilson Street (110 Avenue), on the northern edge of the garment district. One of two Vienna Cafes was located at 10251 Kinistino Avenue.

The Chinese community:

Chinese men were early participants in the business community of Edmonton. Chung Gee was the first to arrive in the early 1890s, operating a laundry at #428 Jasper Avenue. By 1911 a Chinatown had begun to emerge at the corner of Namayo Avenue and Rice Street after the first Chinese merchants opened their businesses there. In her Centennial Lecture to the University of Alberta, Senator Vivienne Poy concluded that "[because] there weren't that many Chinese resident in Alberta they were generally not viewed as competition as they were in B.C. With the exception of incidents such as the smallpox outbreak in Calgary [during which they were targeted by mob violence], their existence was generally tolerated by the white citizens until the end of the First world War." Following the passage of the Immigration Act of 1923, often called the Chinese Exclusion Act, few Chinese immigrants were allowed into Canada. Until its repeal in 1947, most married Chinese men were unable to send for their families, and lived an isolated existence as they worked at their businesses. In 1939 there only were 26 Chinese women in Edmonton. During the Great Depression relief payments were discriminatory, half that for non-Chinese. What emerged in the Boyle area was a distinctive community in which many Chinese men worked in laundries, cafes, restaurants and other businesses, but this group would not become an identifiable presence in any publicly significant way until 1967, when a point system was introduced, removing racial discrimination in most cases, and allowing businessmen and women immigrate in greater numbers.

[Andy Gee and Murphy Gee, Historical Resources and Research Committee, The Gee Society of Edmonton, *Edmonton Journal* 5 March 2000; Senator Vivienne Poy," Alberta: the Chinese Canadian Perspective past and present," The seventh annual Canadian Pacific Railway Lecture in Western Canadian History, Centennial Lecture, University of Alberta, 24 October 2005]

The garment district:

Many people who lived in the Boyle Street area worked in the neighbourhood as well. The first Great Western Garments (GWG) plant was a two-storey factory where cutting and sewing were completed by local labour in the same room. This was located at 528 Namayo Avenue, but in 1913 it expanded into a larger factory at 10438 Namayo, where skylights provided some additional light for the close work being done by the women there. In 1917 GWG moved to the big three-storey factory at 10305 Namayo. Prior to this it had been built in stages between 1910 and 1914 as the Caledonian department store, where many local women also worked as clerks. The garment district grew up north of Jasper along Namayo to Griesbach (105 Avenue). The garment district supplied much of the employment, especially for women workers. LaFleche Bros., Emery Manufacturing, James B McCormack, Kays Overall Manufacturers and Courtney and Northwester Manufacturing also employed many in the garment district between 1906 and 1916. Many other sources of employment included the many independent dressmakers, tent makers, dry cleaning and retail clothing stores. When a fire hit the GWG plant in 1926 it worked a real financial hardship on the community, whose workers were out of work until repairs could be completed, and the factory returned to full production after about three months. A wartime expansion in 1940 allowed GWG to employ 500 workers. In 1953 GWG had opened a second plant at 85 Street and 106 Avenue, still close enough to employ many from the Boyle Street area, although the existing plant was purchased by Army and Navy department stores shortly after.

[Catherine C. Cole, "Factories," Edmonton Public Library website]

Residents of the study area:

A survey of Lowe's and Henderson's city directories for the study area give an idea of how the Boyle Street area developed over time. Similarities and patterns can by identified by such surveys.

1899

Most of Edmonton's commercial development was located along Jasper Avenue, described by *Lowe's Directory* 1899 as the main business street," and Namayo Avenue by 1899. However, the east Edmonton business district was becoming well established on Kinistino, running north from Jasper Avenue to Rat Creek, as well. TO the south vacant lots still were the rule, south of Jasper and for the first two blocks north, except for the Robert Hockley and Herbert Bowen residences on the east side of Kinistino, at the intersection with 2nd Street. Stanislaus LaRue, who had built the first house on Kinistino, lived next to Alf Brown, an agent for the Calgary Brewing Company, on the west side of the street just north of Jasper Avenue. W.H. Cooper and M. Pereault, a painter, lived north of 2nd Street on the west side, Archie M. Beckett, a teamster and butcher, was the only resident between 2nd and 3rd Streets. James McLeod, a farmer, lived on Kinistino near 5th Street.

[Lowe's Directory of the Edmonton District, 1899]

The study area located between Syndicate Avenue (95 Street) and Kinistino Avenue (96 Street), and north of Boyle Street (103A Avenue) and the railway right of way, was a well-established commercial and residential district by 1910. On the east side of Syndicate Avenue north of Boyle Street lived Thomas Page (#609), Marshall W. Fair, an engineer (#617), Charles McLean (#625), Stephen Ferguson, a mail carrier (#629), Charles Gustafson, a labourer (#635), and Percy McCallum, foreman of meter and operations for the City of Edmonton Water Works Department (#637). Further north across 104 Avenue on the east side of Syndicate lived Herman Carl, a carpenter (#707), Martin Lynch, and employee of the Canadian Northern Railway (#717), Williams Tompkins, a carpenter (#725), V. Schleinbein, a shoemaker (#741), and Philip Eichenlaub, another carpenter (#751). Many shoemakers lived and worked in this working class neighbourhood, where workmen had to make their boots last. An advertisement in the Edmonton Bulletin in 1908 called on Scots, whether actual, or merely those canny with their finances. "To Scotsmen – Have your shoes repaired by practical Scotch shoemaker, corner Clark [105] Avenue] and Namayo [97 Street], close to railway track." Further north between 105 Avenue and the Grand Trunk Pacific and Canadian Northern Railway tracks lived Melvin Kendall, a painter (#803) and William H. James, a real estate agent (#823). On the west side of Syndicate buildings began to appear north of 105 Avenue. Edward Brice, a barrister with Dawson, Hyndman and Hyndman (#708), Samuel Klapstein, a sawyer (#718), Ashley E. Bradford, a foreman [presumably in construction] (#724), Allan and Andrew Wilkie, bricklayers (#744), and Kilmuior House, owned by Miles S. McPhee, who also lived on the site (#750-752)

[Edmonton Bulletin, 17 October 1908 p. 6]

Just to the west on Kinistino Avenue you would find on the east side north of Boyle Street William Semaka, who operated a butcher shop there, but lived at 240 Morris Street (106A Avenue) (#615), Charles L. Griffin, manager of the shoe department at the Hudson's Bay Company department store (#637), and John Nikiforuk, who lived at 1251 Syndicate Avenue, but operated his blacksmith shop at #643 Kinistino Avenue. Further north on the east side, across 104 Avenue, lived Thomas Fuyarchok, a labourer (#705), Alexander C.P. Fisher, a bartender (#709), Charles Taylor, a labourer (#719), Frederick How (#723) and the Edmonton Iron Works (#751), which employed many in the immediate area. Beyond this were the

GTP and CNR tracks, with sidings serving the Edmonton Iron Works. On the west side of Kinistino north of Boyle Street lived Richard G. Holloway, a "traveler" for the Edmonton Produce Company (#618), Sam Wo's laundry (#624), George Countryman (#630), a clerk at Huxley and Countryman, tinsmiths, which he operated with William R. Huxley at 1033 Jasper West), John Hermiston, foreman of the job department of the Edmonton Bulletin Co. Ltd. (#638), Geary Brothers Meat Market, owned by Frederick J. Geary and John A. Geary, which also operated a large business in the City of Strathcona (#640), and William P. Maw, a driver for Potter and McDougall, a flour and feed operation at 231 Rice Street run by Albert E. Potter and Jesse McDougall (#644). North of 104 Avenue on the west side of Syndicate lived W.H. Fitchmiller (#718), Charles Flemming (#720), Ernest Seymour (#722) and the Twin City Manufacturing Co. Ltd. (#728), with its plant adjacent to the tracks.

On the south side of Boyle Street, from west to east, was a vacant lot (#109), Edmund Hassard (#115), Mrs. G. O'Brien, widow of R. O'Brien (#119), another vacant lot (#121), J.N. Patriquin, a carpenter (#127), and Thomas Clark, a machinist (#131), Martin J. MacPherson, a teamster (#135), Henry S. Joy (#137), Abel Baker (#141), another vacant lot (#145), Mrs. Susan Stirling, widow of Daniel Stirling (#147), Mrs. W. Parkhill (#151), Wilbert Creelman (#153) and a corner lot, vacant at #159. On the north side was located the new Edmonton Public Hospital, dominating the block of simples houses largely vacant, or occupied by widows, single women and labourers who left little if any information about their lives.

There still was nothing built on the south side of Isabella Street (104 Avenue), but on the north side lived Frederick Dawson (#514), T.H. Gardiner (#520), Henry Richard, a labourer (#528), John Kerswell, a carpenter (#530), a vacant lot (#532), J.H. Cooper, a janitor (#538), John Thompson (#544), E.A. Ford, an engineer (#548), Michael Metsler, a mill hand (#550), another vacant lot (#554), Anderson Z. Blackmon (#556) and Mrs. Susan Watson, widow of George Watson (#568).

Still further north on the south side of Clark Street (105 Avenue) was found a vacant lot (#527), John Furnival, a painter (#529), E.C. Blair, a photographer, and at the rear of the same building Peter Hollinger, a teamster (#537), John Carlisle (#539), Henry Brund (#543), Frederick Furjarchuk (#549), Daniel Benkies, labourer (#555) and Alfred Pigeon, porter (#557).

Two years later, in 1912, when the prewar building boom was peaking, the study area also was booming. A comparison with the 1910 Henderson's Edmonton directory clearly indicates the rapidly changing nature of those living in the area as well. This year saw many single men living in this working class area, and several brothels had appeared in the area. When the first Ukrainian Book Store opened on Kinistino Avenue in 1912 it opened next to a brothel. Magistrate I.S. Cowan also meted out convictions for the running of a "disorderly house" at the Maple Leaf Rooming House, located at #436 and #438 Kinistino Avenue in September 1908. Building was running at a great rate in 1912, and the Belmont Apartments were built at 10767 Syndicate Avenue that year, with room for working men above the Mitchell Pharmacy. The new Catholic School was in full operation on Kinistino as well. The study area was a hotbed of political discussion, and political debates and speeches an early form of participatory entertainment. September 1908 the *Edmonton Bulletin* announced that a "citizen's meeting" in the form of a smoker would be held in the hall at the corner of Kinistino and Elizabeth (102 Avenue), to be addressed by Alderman Lee, who was running for the mayor's chair. Such meetings were usually well attended.

[Edmonton Journal 18 October 2004; Edmonton Bulletin 12 July 1912, Glenbow NC-6-1127; Glenbow NC-6-395]

On the east side of Syndicate Avenue now resided Samuel M. Haycock, a real estate agent (#609), Walter Collingwood, a miner (#617), Thomas S. Reid (#625), Andrew C. Little, a porter with T.D. McLaren (#629), Robert B. Currie, a warehouseman at Graham and Reid (#635), Benjamin S. Muttart, the building contractor and forerunner of an important Edmonton business (641), and Percy McCallum, foreman at the Water Works Department (#647). A new house at #641, built by Ben Muttart, led to renumbering on this block. McCallum was the only resident who was in the same location as two years earlier.

Further north on the east side of Syndicate, between Isabella and Clark Streets, lived Joseph Spanton's grocery store (#703), Spanton's residence next door at #705, Fred Morrison, a painter (#707), William Stubbe, a real estate agent (#717), Annie Doherty, widow of Daniel Dohery (#725), Sylvester A. Shell, Canadian Northern Railway conductor (#731), Fred V. Stevens, operating the Greater Edmonton Realty Company (#735), William Murdock, stable man for the City of Edmonton stables located nearby

(#741), Philip Eichenlaub, boilermaker's helper at the Canadian Northern Railway (#751), Allan Wilkie, bricklayer now operating without his brother (#744), and William A. Ward's boarding house, as well as a grocer and proprietor of the Kilmuir House at #750 Syndicate Avenue (#752). Ward seems to have purchased the Kilmuir from Miles McPhee by 1912. New houses had filled in this block, and Philip Eichenlaub, while no longer a carpenter, was the only remaining resident of the block remaining in the two years between 1910 and 1912. Across Clark Street Melvin Kendall and William James had been joined by Dr. James F. Adamson, a physician occupying a new house near the tracks.

On the west side of Syndicate Avenue north of Boyle Street lived between Isabella and Clark lived Thomas S. Davis (#708), Esther Helminck (#718), John W. Mowbray (#724) and William Ward's grocery (#750). Further north near the tracks now could be found the Capitol Construction Co. Ltd. [Joseph Ash, president, who lived on the site; E.R. Scott, secretary-treasurer; H.R. Hussey, managing director] (#816) and North West Wood Work Co. Ltd. [Ellis Kaufman, secretary-treasurer, lived at 815 Government Avenue; Andrew Levine, manager, lived at 1625 – 28 Street] (#824). These businesses were among those clustering along the tracks in an emerging industrial strip.

The east side of Kinistino Avenue north of Boyle Street was becoming more filled in by 1912. Wesley George, a blacksmith lived at #611 and Alex Himeluk, a shoemaker, was located at #613. George Lazaruk had a grocery store at #617. (See the section on Ukrainian influence for additional material on the Lazaruks.) John W. Hermiston, a mono operator at the *Edmonton* Bulletin, at #637, John Nikiforuk, a blacksmith at #643. On the same side of the street toward the tracks were Thomas Fuyarchuk, of Rudyk and Fuyarchuk, one of the important businesses of Paul Rudyk, a principal builder of the Boyle Street area [See section on Ukrainian-Canadian influence on Boyle Street area] (#705). Charles Sutter, bartender at the Queen's Hotel, now occupied the house of Alex Fisher, another bartender (#709). The Queen's Hotel, which opened on Jasper East in 1893, and was managed by Mrs. B. Hetu, was one of the city's most successful, and a significant employer for many living in the study area. It stood at 9733 Jasper Avenue until 1974. The National Gravel Roofing Ltd. shared an address with Charles E. Taylor of Fairchild Jones Taylor, consulting engineers [Charles C. Fairchild, R.W. Jones and C. E. Taylor, with office at 608 Tegler Building (#719). Thomas E. Norton, a blacksmith at the

adjacent Edmonton Iron Works, lived at #723; Edmonton Iron Works Ltd. was located at #751.

On the west side of Kinistino north of Boyle Street could be found the Canadian Publishing Company (#602), with the residence of Michal Bellegay, editor at the Canadian Publishing Company and manager of the Ruthenian Book Store.Further along lived Earl Green (#616), John A. Fairbairn, the blacksmith, the Victoria "Chinese" Laundry, Charles Colgee, labourer (#630), Chekaluck and Ferby, real estate [Prokop Chekaluk and Wasyk Ferby, who lived at 1130 Kinistino] (#634), a house merely indicated as "occupied" at #638, Thomas Morton, grocery at #640, and William F. Bullock, a carpenter employed by the City of Edmonton (#644). The listing for #510 Kinistino Avenue, "Foreigners," is indicative of the attitudes of the time and the district.

A house at #110, on the north side of Boyle Street, is simply listed as "occupied." The hospital is still listed as "vacant." North on 104 Avenue, along the north side, lived Emily Erswell, widow of William Erswell (#520), John Kerswell, carpenter (#530), James Conlin (#532), Abraham VanGoor, a clerk, who lived here with Jacob VanGoor, a tailor, and Julia VanGoor, a "tailoress" for the Robinson Company (#538), Frederick S. Carr B.A., principal of Edmonton High School, located at 2nd Street at the corner of Churchill Avenue (108 Avenue) (#544), Elizabeth Conlin, widow of James Conlin (#548), Michael Metzler, mill hand (#550), an "occupied" house (#554), Anderson Z. Blackmon, a plasterer (#556) and Albert I. Frewing, another plasterer (#568).

On 105 Avenue, along the tracks, were Henry ("Harry") Kirkwood, foreman of the City of Edmonton Stores and works Department [Located at 10527 – 96 Street] (#554), and sharing the rear of the same address was Malville Meredith, a real estate agent with E.F. Peacock and Company, financial, rental and real estate agents, located in the Imperial Arcade at 64 Jasper East. The City warehouse was located next door.

The 1914 Henderson's Edmonton directory was compiled in the fall, close to the time hostilities were beginning in Europe. The next four years of global war would destroy many dreams in Edmonton, as would the devastating Spanish influenza pandemic, and the slow stagnant growth. Since 1912 Edmonton had amalgamated with the City of Strathcona and North Edmonton, and suffered the first sharp downturn in the latest construction and real estate boom in 1913. Many changes were hitting the city. Many residents of the study area soon would enlist for service in the armed forces, while others in the Boyle Street area would be singled out as "enemy aliens" and have their property held by Enemy Alien Estates.

Along Syndicate Avenue's east side north of Boyle Street some residents had settled in and were making progress with their businesses, while others were ruined by the 1913 slump. The store at #603 (10337 – 95 Street) now was vacant. William Spooner, grocer, was residing next door at #607 (10339 – 95 Street), and John Skinner at #609 (10341 – 95 Street).

John Skinner lived at his home at 10341 - 95 Street until his death in November 1947. A Scottish immigrant, he came to Canada in 1873, and as a carpenter moved west through Winnipeg, following the booming building trade, and arrived in Edmonton in 1895.

[Edmonton Bulletin 24 November 1947]

Mrs. Harriett W. Ross widow of H.F. Ross, at #617 (10349 – 95 Street), Mrs. Hannah M. Hoyle at #625 (10353 – 95 Street), William Haining at #629 (10359 – 95 Street), Benjamin S. Muttart was still at #641 (10365 – 95 Street), and Walter Collingwood at #647 (10369 – 95 Street). North across104 Avenue on the east side were the Grand Trunk Grocery, named for the nearby railway tracks and yards, at #703, and the Grand Trunk Meat Market next door at #705. Fred Morrison lived at #707 (10407 – 95 Street), John Edgar at #717 (10411 – 95 Street), a vacant house at #725 (10417 – 95 Street), Sylvester Shell still at #731 (10421 – 95 Street), Thomas A. Waldie, one of the many contractors in the area, at #735 (10425 – 95 Street), Herman A. Wulff at #741 (10427 – 95 Street), and another vacant address at #751 (10433 – 95 Street). Between 105 Street and the tracks were to be found Hiram F. Knabbe, shoemaker, at #803, John Merrigan at #817 (10511 – 95 Street), and David Tree at #823 (10515 – 95 Street).

Building along the west side of Syndicate began north of 104 Avenue. Hugh W. Aird lived at #708 (10406 – 95 Street), Charles B. Borg ran a boarding house at #718 (10414 – 95 Street), John W. Mowbray remained at #724 (10418 – 95 Street), Sam Chung ran his laundry at #744 (10428 – 95 Street), A. Hake and Company real estate agents were located at #759 (10432 – 95 Street), while the renamed Kilmuir Temperance Hotel remained at #752 (10434 – 95 Street). The first Masonic Lodge was established in the Kilmuir on 19 February 1910, when a number of Scottish Masons met to discuss the formation of a lodge in the capital, where many masons were working on construction of the new Legislature Building. Across 105 Avenue on the west side of Syndicate were the Domestic Wood and Coal Company at #816 (10514 – 95 Street), and a vacant house at #824.

The east side of Kinistino Avenue north of Boyle Street was where Neilson and Reed, blacksmiths, were located at #611 (10341 – 96 Street), Alex Himeluk, shoemaker, at #613 (10343 – 96 Street), George Lazaruk's grocery at #617 (10345 – 96 Street), a vacant house at #637 (10359 – 96 Street), and the much expanded Edmonton Iron Fence and Wire Works at #643 (10361 – 96 Street), owned by John Nikiforuk. North of 104 Avenue the new St. Petersburg Hotel, built the previous year, stood on the corner of Kinistino at #701 (10401 – 96 Street), next to a vacant house at #719 (10413 – 96 Street), the John Thomas house at #723 (10415 – 96 Street), with the Edmonton Iron Works Ltd. plant just north. This plant soon would be working hard to fill wartime demands, and offering employment to the diminishing manpower resources of the city. The Edmonton Iron Fence and Wire Works plant was located at #643 Kinistino. Company letterhead in 1914 indicates that its specialties as fire escapes, ornamental iron fences bank and office railing, wire screens and general blacksmithing.

[Edmonton Iron Fence and Wire Works, City of Edmonton Archives RG 8 A96/59 Box 10 File 505]

On the west side of Kinistino Avenue "The Canadian" still stood at #602 (10336 – 96 Street), with Lloyd Harris' barber shop next door at #612 (10342 – 96 Street). Max Abramovich's confectionery was next to the barber shop, at #618 (10348 – 96 Street), and Alexandra Rooms at #620 (10350 – 96 Street). The Victoria Laundry remained at #624 (10352 – 96 Street), although #630 was now vacant. Calgary Messenger Service had its office at #634 (10358 – 96 Street), Prokop Chekaluk lived at #638, sharing an address with Michael Gilbert, confectioner, at #638 (10360 – 96 Street). St. Mark's Church of the First Born stood at #640 (10362 – 96 Street), with

the teamster George Turner living next door just to the north at #644 (10364 – 96 Street).

Along Boyle Street's south side between 95 Street and 96 Street lived Dr. Herman L. McInnis, a retired physician, businessman and politician, at #157 (9513 – 103A Avenue). Dr. McInnis, one of the founders of the Edmonton Hospital in the study area, was born in St. John, New Brunswick, later moved to Winnipeg, taking a degree in medicine at Manitoba University, then moved to Edmonton in 1886 to set up practice. He pursued further medical studies in Germany in 1891-1892. Dr. McInnis would serve as an Edmonton alderman during 1908-1912. McInnis retired, "devoting the major portion of his time to his lumber and contracting businesses and to civic affairs," the *Edmonton Journal* reported in 1910.

[The Toronto Mail, 1 October 1892; Edmonton Journal, 6 December 1910]

Further west lived Peter A. McKenzie, carpenter, at #153 (9519 – 103A) Avenue), William Daniel Graham at #151 (9521 – 103A Avenue), Morris Goldstein at #147 (9525 – 103A Avenue), Patrick Earl at #145 (9529 – 103A Avenue), Benjamin J. Chevalier at #141, James Wilson at #137 (9535) – 103A Avenue), John F. Hickingbottom, painter, at #135 (9537 – 103A) Avenue), William H. Salter at #131 (9541 – 103A Avenue), Jacob Baltzan at #127 (9543 – 103A Avenue), Jacob Strassburger at #123 (9547 – 103A Avenue), George H. Shaw at #121 (9549 – 103A Avenue), with Charles H. Hickey, insurance agent, at #119, sharing an address with Mrs. Edith Gibberd at #115 (Separate units at 9557 – 103A Avenue). Real estate agent George A. Johnson lived at the rear of #117, sharing the address with Roy E. Johnson, electrician (9555 – 103A Avenue). William Liefke lived at #109 (9561 – 103A Avenue). The Edmonton Children's Day Nursery had been constructed on the north side of Boyle Street in the previous two years, at #274 (9548 – 103A Avenue). Michael Kuchinski had his grocery store next to the day nursery, at #110 (9562 – 103A Avenue).

There still was only one residence on the south side of 104 Avenue in the study area: Eli Bodnarink, at #563 (9507 – 104 Avenue). On the north side lived Albert Dalton at #568 (9508 – 104 Avenue), John Rosan, carpenter, at #556 (9514 – 104 Avenue), James Moore, porter, at #554 (9518 – 104 Avenue), Steven Neffust at #550 (9520 – 104 Avenue), Gordon Roller at #548 (9524 – 104 Avenue), Joseph Spanton, general merchant, still at #544 (9528 – 104 Avenue), G.Y. Hosmer at #538 (9534 – 104 Avenue), while James Colin shared an address with another lodger at #532 (9538 – 104

Avenue). George A. McLeod lived at #530 (9544 – 104 Avenue), Arthur Wood at #520 (9552 – 104 Avenue), James Lewis, a cattle dealer, at #516 (9554 – 104 Avenue), and Thomas Fuyarchuk at #510 (9562 – 104 Avenue). The Grand Trunk Pacific freight shed were located just across 96 Street.

Along 105 Avenue lived Alfred Pigeon, porter, at #557, Frederick Benke, printer, at #555 (9513 – 105 Avenue), and Charles Gotlib, junk dealer, at #553 (9515 – 105 Avenue). Harry Hillaby, a teamster, lived at the rear of #543, sharing the address with William J. McCausland (9507 – 105 Avenue). Albert A. Schulz, printer, lived at #539 (9529 – 105 Avenue), next to Peter Hollinger at #537 (9531 – 105 Avenue). Alex Ross, a horse dealer, lived at #529 (9537 – 105 Avenue). North of here the Tudhope-Anderson warehouse, another local employer, stood across 106 Avenue.

1915

Henderson's Edmonton directory for 1915 indicates the following changes from the previous years. The increased number of vacant houses, and the growth of the Russian and Japanese businesses further south of the study area are of interest; both Russia and Japan were wartime allies in 1915. The focus of this directory survey covers both 95 Street and 96 Street north of Jasper Avenue to the study area, to give a clear idea of the commercial development in place by 1915.

96 Street, east side:

96 Street (formerly Kinistino Avenue) between 104 Avenue (formerly Isabella Street) and 105 Avenue (formerly Clark Street)

10401 (formerly #701) – 96 Street	St. Petersburg Hotel
10413 (#719)	vacant
10415 (#723)	Odessa Russian Boarding House
10419 (# 751)	Edmonton Iron Works Ltd.
96 Street, west side:	
10402-96 Street	Edmonton and Clover Bar Sand Company occupied entire block

96 Street north of 103 Avenue to 104 Street, east side:

10301 (#501) – 96 Street	East End Bakery [Frank Kramer, proprietor, lived next door]
10309 (# 515)	Frank Kramer
10311 (# 519)	vacant
10313 (# 521)	vacant
10315 (#523)	Stephen Nichka grocery store and residence
10317 (# 525)	Hong Chong laundry
10321 (# 531)	Austrian Barber Shop, Samuel Prokop, proprietor

10325 (# 537)	Metropolitan Rooms, John Baroeff and John Chaherich, proprietors
10329 (#543)	Royal Hall and Royal Pool Room, William Lifki, proprietor – lived at 10333 Kinistino Avenue
10333 (# 549)	Royal Rooming and Bath House, William Lifki, proprietor
North of 103 Avenue:	
10341 (# 611)	Neilson and Reed Blacksmiths
[Samuel Neilson lived at 1215 Ottawa; Manford Reed lived at 9657-103A Avenue]	
10343 (# 613)	Alex Himeluk, shoemaker
10345 (# 617)	George Lazaruk, grocer and general store, residence at 10516-93 Street
10359 (# 637)	William M. Russell, proprietor of Calgary Messenger Service, residence
10361 (# 643)	Edmonton Iron Fence and Wire Works, John Nikiforuk, manager
96 Street north of 103 Avenue to 104 Street, west side:	
10302 (#502)	So Different Café
10304 (# 510)	vacant
10306	Takajiro Fukui Shooting Gallery (residence above the gallery)
10308	vacant
10310 (# 512)	Kinistino Pool Room
10312 (# 514)	Merrill Nazar, labourer
10314 (# 516)	Adam Reif, shoemaker

10316 (# 518)	William Hober, general store and residence
10318 (# 530)	Skandia Rooms
10320 (# 532)	Michael Kuchinski, general store [lived at 9562-103A Avenue]
10322 (# 534)	Cosmo Tailors
10324 (# 536)	Square Deal Café
10326 (# 538)	Mike Rudyk Barber and Pool Room

[Mike Rudyk lived at 10266-92 Street]

North of 103A Avenue (Boyle Street):

10336 (#602)	The Canadian [Michael Bellegay, editor, lived at 10837-93 Street; Nick Bellegay, compositor, lived at the Kinistino Avenue newspaper itself.]
10342 (# 612)	Lloyd Harris, barber's residence only
10348 (#618)	Max Abramovich, confectionery and residence
10350 (# 620)	Alexandra Rooms [Amond E. Lilleboe, manager]
10352 (# 624)	Victoria Laundry (Chinese laundry)
10354 (# 630)	vacant
10358 (# 634)	Calgary Messenger Service [William M. Russell, proprietor, lived at 10359-96 Street)
10360 (# 638)	Prokop Chekaluk, labourer, and Michael Gilbert, confectioner, residences. The confectionery also seems to have operated here.
10362 (# 640)	St. Mark's Church of the First Born
10364 (#644)	vacant

10368 vacant

96 Street (Kinistino Avenue) from Jasper Avenue north to 102 Avenue, east side:

#111 Kinistino Avenue (south of Jasper Avenue) John R. Hamilton residence; operated Hamilton and Son, with Milford M. Hamilton, a flour and feed business, located north on Kinistino at 9656-105 Avenue, with a branch at 11736-82 Street.

North of Jasper Avenue, east side:

10141 (# 205)	Robert Summers, foreman, City of Edmonton employee
10165 (#245)	Alex J. Macdonald, assistant manager of D.R. Fraser and Company

North of Jasper Avenue, west side:

10146 (# 218)	Sarah E. Chapman, widow of William Chapman
10156 (# 232)	Emily Hopkins, widow of David Hopkins
10164 (# 244)	Alfred Brown – no information

96 Street (Kinistino Avenue) between 102 Avenue and 103 Avenue, east side:

10211 (# 318)	vacant
10217 (# 325)	vacant
10219 (# 329)	vacant
10225 (# 337)	vacant
10227 (# 341)	B C Café
10229 (# 343)	National Rooms
10231 (# 345)	Gold Seal Liquor Company Ltd.
10235 (# 353)	Kwong Lee Laundry

North of 102A Avenue, east side:

10243 (# 411)	Vancouver Laundry
10245 (# 417)	Bulls Eye Rifle Range
10247 (# 417)	S Nakamura, barber
10249 (# 417)	vacant
10251 (# 421)	Petrograd Café
10253 (# 423)	"Japanese" [?]
10255 (# 429)	vacant
10257 (# 431)	vacant
10259 (# 433)	Shooting Gallery
10261-63 (# 435-437)	Balkan Rooming House
10265 (# 439)	Balkan Pool Room
10269 (# 443)	vacant
10273 (# 451)	Mercantile Grocery
Kinistino Avenue between 102	2 Avenue and 103 Avenue, west side:
10204 (#304)	John Sanders
10216 (# 326)	vacant
10228 (# 344)	vacant
10232 (# 348)	Alberta Printing Company
10234 (# 350)	Canadian Importers Ltd.
North of 102A Avenue:	
10238 (# 360)	vacant
10242 (# 416)	vacant
10244 (# 416)	vacant
10246 (# 418)	Savoy Hotel
10250-52 (# 422-424)	Vasil Evanoff, pool

10254 (# 426) Mrs. Jessie Bell

10256-58 (# 430) Russian Café

10260-62 (# 436-438) Moss Rose Lunch Room

10264 (# 440) Moss Rose Express and Messenger Service

10266 (# 446) vacant

10268 (# 448) Henry Lerch, shoemaker

10272 (# 450) Vasil Evanoff, confectioner

With the 1913 financial and real estate decline, First World War, influenza pandemic, and struggling postwar economy weathered, the Boyle Street area continued to struggle. A look at the population of the study area indicates that some residents had dug in and even expanded their businesses.

The east side of 95 Street was the location of Jacob Milner's Grocery, at 10337-95 Street; Milner lived at 9346 – 104 Avenue. John Skinner remained at 10341-95 Street, Leon Oleinek, barber, lived at 10349 – 95 Street; his barbershop was at 10316 – 97 Street. Orin Crocker lived at 10353 – 95 Street, John M. Strange, an employee at the John Deere Plow Company, at 10357 – 95 Street, William Watson, painter for Imperial Oil, at 10359 – 95 Street, George Stotts at 10365 – 95 Street, and Frank Miller, electrician, at 10369 – 95 Street.

Across 104 Avenue to the north was John J.T. McCreath's grocery store at 10401-03 - 95 Street; McCreath lived at 11328 – 97 Street. McCreath, a Scotsman, came to Canada in 1905, and to Edmonton in 1909, setting up this store in the burgeoning business district. He later expanded to a second store at 96 Street and 111 Avenue. In the 1920s he purchased the Triangle Jam factory. He became the manager of the Retail Merchants Association in later years. McCreath also served on City Council from 1930 and 1938, a popular voice for the small businessman at a time of financial distress.

[J.T. McCreath obituary, Edmonton Journal 4 February 1964]

Further north on the east side of the street Thomas Longworth, Alberta Liquor Control Board inspector lived at 10407-95 Street. David Binder, truck driver for the Dominion Bottling Works, lived at 10411-95 Street, next to George Baker, at 10417-95 Street. Charles H. David, proprietor of the American Fur Company at 10657 Jasper Avenue, lived at 10421-95 Street, next to Thomas Bailey at 10425-95 Street. Across 105 Avenue Herman Kaminski, who lived at 9356-105 Avenue, operated his shoemaking shop at 10503-95 Street, Charles L. Lehman, plumber, lived at 10511-95 Street, and Henry E. Williams, a Canadian National Railways porter, at 10515-95 Street. On the west side of 95 Street lived Ernest Seymour, a CNR checker, at 10406-95 Street. Iver M. Stordahl, of the Edmonton Poultry Ranch, lived at 10414-95 Street, John Sollanych, an employee at Canadian Printing Company, lived at 10418-95 Street, while the Sam Chung Laundry remained at 10428-95 Street.

Along the east side of 96 Street was found the McQueen Institute (Sunday School) at 10341 – 96 Street. Union Meat and Grocery, owned and operated by George Lazaruk and Thomas Stechison, was next door at 10345 – 96 Street. Mrs. Edith Bryant lived next door to the meat market at 10359 – 96 Street, next to the Edmonton Iron Fence and Wire Works at 10361 – 96 Street. Between 104 Street and the tracks the National Hotel (formerly the St. Petersburg Hotel and Petrograd Hotel) at 10401 – 96 Street, a vacant building at 10315 – 96 Street, and the Edmonton Iron Works plant. On the west side of 96 Street was the Canadian Ukrainian Printing Company, managed by Thomas Tomashevsky, and the publisher of Our Progress; this company was located at 10336 – 96 Street. The house at 10338 was vacant; Gust Lind lived at 10341 – 96 Street; another vacant house was at 10348 – 96 Street, while Mrs. Fanny A. Torrance managed another boarding house at 10350 – 96 Street. The Victoria Laundry remained at 10352 – 96 Street, with Mah Tai, the proprietor living at the same address. John S. Williams operated an "auto wash stand" at 10354 – 96 Street. Thomas Haccy, a CNR labourer, lived at 10360 – 96 Street, next to Eula Sulivan at 10366 – 96 Street, and a vacant house at 10368 – 96 Street.

The south side of 103A Avenue housed workers and small business owners. Fred Nelson, carpenter, lived at 9513 – 103A Avenue, Mrs. Frances Kushner at 9519 – 103A Avenue, Nathan Lurie secretary at a hardware store at 10123 – 103A Avenue, at 9521 – 103A Avenue, a Mr. Bell at 9525 – 103A Avenue, Israel Robinowicz at 9529 – 103A Avenue, Harry Bernstein, proprietor of the Liberty Clothing Store, at 9531 – 103A Avenue, William McMaster, truck driver for Lake of the Woods Milling Company, at 9537 – 103A Avenue, George Watts at 9541 – 103A Avenue, and Jack Saslow, who worked at the Edmonton Furniture Exchange, owned by Jacob Baltzan, another Boyle Street area entrepreneur, lived at 9543 – 103A Avenue. The Edmonton Furniture Exchange was located at 10170 – 100 Street. Edward Dringemberg, labourer, lived at 9547 – 103A Avenue, Roy Johnson, an agent for Prudential Insurance Company, lived at 9549 – 103A Avenue, and Constable F.V.G. MacGillycuddy, RCMP, lived at 9551 – 103A Avenue. Joseph Davies, another agent for the Prudential Insurance Company, lived at 9553 – 103A Avenue, while George A. Johnson, now an undertaker, lived at 9555 – 103A Avenue. George Emmett, proprietor of the Edmont Taxi Company, lived at 9557 – 103A Avenue, while the house at 9561 – 103A Avenue was vacant. Only John Moon, cashier for Dominion Express, lived on the north side of the avenue at 9562 – 103A Avenue.

Only Eli Bodnaruk, a postal carrier, lived on the south side of 104 Avenue between 95 Street and 96 Street, at 9507 – 104 Avenue. On the north side lived Emanuel Michajluk, at 9508 – 104 Avenue, Mrs. Marie Blacklock at 9514 – 104 Avenue, Stefan Neveczis, an employee at Edmonton Iron Works, at 9520 – 104 Avenue, a vacant house at 9524 – 104 Avenue, Harry G. Shevchishin, a clerk with the provincial government, lived at 9528 – 104 Avenue, and Mrs. Margaret Thompson at 9534 – 104 Avenue. Daniel Proniuk, proprietor of Expert Tailors, lived at 9540 – 104 Avenue. William Swan, a CNR employee, lived at 9544 – 104 Avenue, Mrs. Jospehine Sanderson at 9546 – 104 Avenue, and Fred A. Conroy, a real estate agent with an office at 201, 10113 – 101 Street at 9552 – 104 Avenue. The house at 9554 – 104 Avenue was vacant. Frank Patton, a CNR labourer, lived at 9562 – 104 Avenue.

Along the south side of 105 Avenue lived Samuel Holma, labourer, at 9511 – 104 Avenue, Daniel Benk, labourer, at 9513 – 104 Avenue, John Climie, labourer, at 9515 – 104 Avenue, Mrs. Isabella Crawford at 9525 – 104 Avenue, Charles Cowan, poultry dresser, at 9529 – 104 Avenue, and Fred Max, labourer, at 9531 – 104 Avenue.

By the middle of the 1920s the neighbourhood held more vacant homes, fewer residents, but more evidence that local business owners were succeeding in growing their enterprises. More labourers also were working at businesses identified as being at neighbourhood locations, such as Edmonton Iron Works.

1949

Boyle Street was an active organic neighbourhood in 1949. Three hundred young people flocked to the Boyle Street Community League that winter for the Ice Carnival, and Rose Slobidnk was crowned the Community Queen. Entertainment was provided through a talent show and magic, fire-eating and ventriloquism performed by a neighbourhood performer.

[Edmonton Journal 24 February 1949]

Woodland Grocery 10277-95 Street opened by Charles King and his wife – Edmonton residents for 25 years and grocers for 15 years "Modern, and prepared to supply every shopping need in the meat, grocery and confection lines, the Woodland Grocery is a self-service store." Woodland Grocery also had a milk bar – ice cream cones, sundaes, milk shakes, and bright, fluorescent light.

[Edmonton Journal 17 June 1949]

Postwar changes in the study area:

By the 1950s the study area was becoming entrenched in the public mind as the area where crime was becoming a more significant problem - a dangerous area. Debate about the De'Lite Lunch, located at 10310 - 97 Street, brought this into sharper focus in 1953. A petition requesting the cancellation of that café's liquor license by local business owners that summer was presented to City Council and the Commissioners were requested to get a report from the Police Chief. The Chief reported that the cafe "is well known to members of this Department as a rendezvous for many of the low class element." He reported many disturbances and arrests, in terms reflective of the prejudices of the day:

I should mention that the proprietor, a Chinese, has been there for some thirty years, and for many years no trouble out of the ordinary was experienced there. However, during the war, and subsequently it has been frequented by the class of people I mention. Liquor is taken, not obtained, there.... [They] would be thankful to be rid of these people, mostly half breeds, who cause the so much trouble.

[City of Edmonton Archives, RG 11 Class 66 File 82 C.R. No. 28 August 10, 1953; 10 August 1953]

A Special Constable was posted to the area around 97 Street and 103 Avenue, while Morality Detective V.A. Taylor put extra effort into monitoring the district. Conditions did not entirely improve, however. The owner of the Palm Confectionery (10277 - 97 Street) wrote to Mayor Hawrelak: "This condition is getting to a point where its intolerable ad a shame to us businessmen of 97th." John Slemko, Empire Garage (10302 – 97 Street), added his voice to the concerns, concluding in letter to Mayor Hawrelak, "the Petitioners feel quite peeved about your slow action in this regard." Detective-Sergeant W.A. Smith reported that the De'Lite owners had hired their own "special constable," Miroslious Dmetro Petryk, to enforce order at the café before closing time. Sam Dolinko, owner of the Canadian Furniture Store, wrote to Mayor Hawrelak, "the resulting publicity has cause us to lose business." John Slemko summed up the growing tension between the business community and many of those living in or visiting Boyle Street.

In spite of our requests to date we have not seen any improvements. The forementioned district requires more protection than it has received. It is not our fault as individuals that this district is congested with drunks, bums, vagrants and all other classes of questionable morals, but it is the duty and responsibility of the city council to take such measure that will

adequately insure the safety of lives and property of all citizens and business premises within this area. In this respect the city council has failed for since the beginning of this year in this area, there have occurred numerous brawls, thefts, and even murder (McCoiselter case). In spite of the numerous occurrences of law breaking that occur in this area at times, it is impossible to get the police department to respond to respond to fights, and other incidents.... This situation is getting to such a point that it is almost impossible to carry on a legitimate business in this district, without having to contend with interruptions from drunks, brawls and every other infraction of the law.

[City of Edmonton Archives, RG 11 Class 66 File 82 John Slemko to Mayor William Hawrelak and City Council, 27 August 1953]

Mayor Hawrelak replied to Slemko's letter, stating that a regular patrol would now cover the area between 8:00 a.m. and 11:00 p.m., approximately when most of the disturbances actually began to break out.

The De'Lite controversy was a turning point of sorts, "branding" Boyle Street more strongly as a troubled area.

[City of Edmonton Archives, RG 11 Class 66 File 82 passim.]

Residents in the study area 1967:

Businesses on 95 Street north of old Boyle Street (103A Avenue) included the Pinky Coin Operated Laundry at 10339 – 95 Street, apartments at 10341 – 95 Street, Maia Antonio at 10349 – 95 Street, and the Boyle Street Community League at 10350–95 Street. Emanuel Burdeine lived at 10353 – 95 Street, another apartment was located at 10357 – 95 Street, Mrs. Katie Mah lived at 10359 – 95 Street, James E. Melnychuk at 10363 – 95 Street, George Poirier at 10365 – 95 Street, and James S. Taylor at 10369 – 95 Street. Across 104 Street stood the Serv-Rite Grocery at 10401 – 95 Street, operated by Mrs. Maria Quinn. Walter Klem lived at 10406 – 95 Street, Robert M. Graham at 10407 – 95 Street, Mrs. Emma Giroux at 10411 – 95 Street, William Rahal at 10414 – 95 Street, Joseph McManus and Antonio Cosmano at 10417 – 95 Street, Edward Phillips at 10418 – 95 Street, Peter Szchechina at 10421 – 95 Street, William Wanchylak at 10425 – 95 Street, Shannon Glass Ltd. at 10426 – 95 Street, Bradburn Printers Ltd. at 10433 – 95 Street, and the Butte Apartments at 10434 – 95 Street. North of 105 Avenue lived Dmytro Rizum at 10511 – 95 Street, and Mrs. Clavda Moosut at 10515 - 95 Street.

More businesses had filled in along 96 Street. Armada Services rug and upholstery cleaners, operated by Norman F. Kretz, was located at 10336 – 96 Street, an apartment at 10338 – 96 Street, , and the International Barber Shop at 10340 – 96 Street. May E. Treit lived at 10342 – 96 Street, while Dun-Rite Cleaners, managed by John Medgin, operated at 10345 – 96 Street. Windsor Rooms, operated by Mrs. S. Skarynski, stood at 10348 – 96 Street. The house at 10352 – 96 Street was vacant. John S. Williams lived at 10354 – 96 Street, Alberta Printing Company stood at 10355 – 96 Street, while the house at 10360 – 96 Street was vacant. Expanded Metal Company of Canada Ltd. was located at 10361 – 96 Street, and National Service Station next to it at 10364 – 96 Street. North of 104 Avenue was the York Hotel, with the York Café, at 10401 – 96 Street, Shugarman's Ltd. warehouse [Industrial Metal and Hardware Ltd. and Edmonton Supply Co. plumbing] at 10419 – 96 Street, and Maco Ltd., owned by M. Agostino, building supplies and wholesale distributors, at 10423 – 96 Street.

103A Avenue had 18 structures between 95 Street and 96 Street, all residences except the Bissell Memorial United Church (All People's Mission) at 9560 – 103A Avenue. Twelve residences remained on 104 Avenue between 95 Street and 96 Street, and three structures on 105 Avenue: the Army and Navy warehouse at 9510 – 105 Avenue, Mrs. L Bernardo

residence at 9511-105 Street, and Mrs. Joyce McGill residence at 9515-105 Avenue.

Boyle Street Renewal in the 1960s and 1970s:

Grand schemes for imposing a plan on downtown Edmonton had existed for some time. The 1913 plan, grandly European in it outline, gave way to a more North American vision by the 1960s. The *Edmonton Journal* reproduced the latest plan on 4 July 1967, with the caption: "Resembling the Brazilian capital of Brasilia, it shows the present civic centre with high-rise buildings to the east."

The Urban Renewal Act was passed in the United States in 1948, and led the way in a grand initiative to clean up the inner cities. Lessons were learned from the example set by early American urban renewal that featured the razing of inner city communities and construction of high-rise housing projects. Prominent critics like Lewis Mumford and Jane Jacobs drew attention to the shortcomings of this approach.

The Canadian federal government launched its own ambitious national plan for urban renewal in 1964. The plan called for the federal government to provide 50 percent of the required funding for inner city renewal, while provinces would provide 30 percent and the affected municipal governments 20 percent. Edmonton quickly decided to participate, and Boyle Street seemed the appropriate place to begin. Senior Urban Renewal Planner Dave McCullagh and his staff moved into a building at the corner of 98 Street and 102 Avenue to coordinate efforts for the area. McCullagh cautioned against the excesses of the US experiment in urban renewal from the beginning.

The Alberta Housing Committee granted approval for two urban renewal plans in May 1966, both of which would have an impact upon the Boyle Street area. The provincial and federal governments approved the start of a survey of a civic centre concept, as well as a comprehensive social survey of the Boyle Street area, "which is considered a pilot study to be used in coping with blight problems in other major Canadian cities," the *Edmonton Journal* reported. This set in motion a series of studies and proposals that the urban planners hoped would transform the community. The three levels of government saw this as a test case with national implications.

["Urban Studies Backed," Edmonton Journal 28 May 1966]

In August 1966 E. Stuart Bishop, executive director of the Edmonton Welfare Council, and the City Commissioners, recommended to City Council that Larry I. Bell, a prominent expert involved with urban renewal

in Vancouver and director of Vancouver United Community Services, be commissioned to conduct a survey in the Boyle Street area. The survey would cover the area between 93 Street and 97 Street, and from the river valley to the Canadian National Railway tracks. "There must be a combination of control of quality of accommodation with a concentrated program to assist in relocation," Bell noted, but cautioned: "You can't take people from the inner core and put them on the periphery of the city. They don't fit in and they don't want to."

[Edmonton Journal 6 August 1966; Lynne Cove, "Concept of Skid Road Distorted – Economist," Edmonton Journal 27 September 1966]

Some of the old-time residents voiced mixed feelings about urban renewal in their area. Sam Klimove and his wife, who still operated a war surplus store in the area, moved to Canada from Russia in 1912, and had lived in the area in their own house for forty years. While Sam Klimove felt that it might be a good idea to clear out all the old buildings," his wife seemed to feel more attachment to their house. "I guess if that happens, ...there's nothing we can do about it."

[Dona Harvey, "Plight of Boyle Street, Renewal Brings Fresh Problems," Edmonton Journal 25 March 1967]

Dr. George Kupfer, a sociologist at the University of Alberta, directed a study under the urban renewal section of City Hall in the summer of 1966. His work was published as the white paper Community Opportunity Assessment by the Alberta government. Dr. Kupfer surveyed 750 people living between 93 Street and 97 Street, and from the river valley to the Canadian National Railway tracks. The Kupfer study indicated that 65 percent of those surveyed in the Boyle Street area were living in poverty, that is with an annual income below \$3000. Dr. Kupfer suggested that the prevalence of low rent in the area might save many from the effects of acute poverty. The study also found that 26 percent had annual family income below \$1000, while another 23 percent had to make do on between \$1000 and \$2000. Most area residents were older than 61 years of age, almost 80 percent of who lived in poverty. Very few children lived in Boyle Street at the time. There was an unemployment rate of 56 percent in 1966, with most of these people in need of some form of social assistance. The Kupfer survey indicated that in 1966 only 4 percent of area residents described themselves as "Indian" or Metis, while 24 percent were of Ukrainian descent, 19 percent of "English" descent, Eastern Europeans 11 percent, and southern

Europeans 7 percent. A rich mix of Chinese, Japanese, Germans and Scandinavians completed the picture. Dona Harvey, in an article in the *Edmonton Journal*, described the area as a mixture of "crowded houses with cardboard windows and buckling wall..., row upon row of cluttered stores..., and groups of little hoes with painted shutters, cramped into tiny lots."

[Dona Harvey, "Boyle Street Area: No Living Cheaper, Urban Renewal Planned For District," *Edmonton Journal* 23 March 1967]

Dr. Kupfer cautioned the City of Edmonton that its push to complete urban renewal in the Boyle Street area within five years was risky. "Edmonton is in no way prepared to handle the consequences of the continued changing land use in the downtown area," he warned. Citing the Bell survey, conducted by a student under supervision, Kupfer stated: "The data are inadequate to answer even basic questions about low-income families in the area." While supporting the description of physical problems, Kupfer concluded "the [Bell] questionnaire falls far short of providing any light on social dimensions and consequences of urban renewal."

The lack of adequate statistical data upon which to make decisions was acknowledged by David McCullagh, Senior planner in urban renewal for the City of Edmonton: "Sometimes you can search for days to find the statistics you need." However, he defended the Bell survey, and while indicating that a system of data gathering was in the works as a result of the urban renewal initiative in the inner city, noted that the city had "just finished the first phase of a two-phase attack on the problem. There will be much more information to come." McCullagh stated the dilemma of urban renewal:

With all due respect to people at the university, it's my firm belief that they are sheltered and oriented to a theoretical plane. You can sometimes research too long and too hard—and never get anything done.... There is a conflict between the necessity of a politician to show something is being done right now, and the need for the planner to move slowly and carefully.

[Dona Harvey, "Plight of Boyle Street, Renewal May Bring Mess, Critic Warns." *Edmonton Journal* 27 March 1967]

The spate of academic studies in the mid-1960s, replete with internecine sniping, led to hostile response from some quarters of the community. In

particular, the Boyle Street Community League took issue with the series of articles by Dona Harvey in the *Edmonton Journal*.

Alex Szchechina, league vice-president, stated this view at a meeting in March 1967.

No one denies there are problem sots in the Boyle Street area. But to call the whole district 'blighted' is to give an unfair picture of it.... Urban renewal needs the co-operation of resident property owners. To brand their district as a slum area either makes them hostile or hastens thoughts of moving away.

[Dona Harvey, "Plight of Boyle Street, Residents Charge Journal Unfair To Boyle Street," *Edmonton Journal* 27 March 1967]

Mayor Vince Dantzer also voiced some skepticism about complete urban renewal in Boyle Street within five years. Staff shortages delayed the first report to City Council until April 1967. Mayor Dantzer commented: "If the planners say five years, it could take ten. That has sort of been our experience to date." David McCullagh also noted sensibly that "[you] will get better results over the long haul if you go slowly."

[Dona Harvey, "Plight of Boyle Street, New Life May Be Years Away, Mayor Doubts Transformation Will Be Made In Five Years," *Edmonton Journal* 28 March 1967]

Urban renewal already was becoming controversial as some of its shortcomings were emerging in American inner cities. The Planning Department took pains to reassure Edmontonians that it had no plans "to move everyone in the Boyle Street area into high-rise public housing." Low-income families with children would be placed in "patio-style public housing scattered throughout the city," while the elderly would be "put in high-rise units in the same area."

Staff Inspector E.F. Roberts voiced the police view of urban renewal.

Some people are the way they are, and you'll never change them. The creeps will go some place else. Probably west of the Boyle Street area. They'll go wherever there are facilities for them. There will always be that element in society. But perhaps urban renewal will help the rest of the people in the Boyle Street district.

[Dona Harvey, "Plight of Boyle Street, New Life May Be Years Away, Mayor Doubts Transformation Will Be Made In Five Years," *Edmonton Journal* 28 March 1967]

The Boyle Street Social Seminar was held at the Chateau Lacombe in mid-June 1967 in order to manage the emerging alienation of some area residents. Eighteen experts discussed the project, and ways to involve area residents more fully. "No definite solution to the problem was found or suggested, but there were many proposals by participants from other Canadian cities." The fact that the Boyle Street area was occupied by mostly single and older people was discussed at this seminar, with more transients and few home owners than in other Canadian inner cities. When Dr. Albert Rose, a professor of social work at the University of Toronto, submitted a report based on the seminar. The chief recommendation was that the City of Edmonton develop a specific structure within the city administration for the preparation and implementation of urban renewal, as well as an organization to gather public opinion and act on behalf of the community during any urban renewal. The report emphasized the need to include area residents in any planning for the area through a program aimed toward this end, and the general need for more detailed research.

[Edmonton Journal 28-29 June 1967; "Urban Renewal Faces Big Problems – Report, Professor Urges More Research On Boyle Street," Edmonton Journal 1 September 1967]

The urban renewal concept was presented to City Council on 29 May 1967, with a proposed cost of \$27 million to cover "acquisition and clearing" of the area. Public housing would result in additional costs. An immediate start on the first public housing project was recommended. Lynne Cove reported on the rapidity of the planned timeframe in the *Edmonton Journal*:

There are 1,070 persons to be relocated from the Boyle Street area and housing must be provided for them before renewal can start. The renewal program is expected to take five years. It will progress as the residents of the area are relocated.

[Lynne Cove, "Boyle Site Clearance Will Cost \$27 Million," Edmonton Journal 19 May 1967]

A heated public debate erupted when City Council rejected a proposal for Canadian Furniture Ltd. (10255-97 Street) to build a \$100,000 extension, fearing it would set a precedent in the renewal area. Mayor Dantzer stated at an urban renewal conference addressing the Boyle Street plan shortly after that urban renewal would probably transform the concept that private property was sacred and untouchable, and that as urban municipalities became more involved in urban renewal, society might no longer allow private property to be disposed of at will by individual owners. The Boyle

Street plan, Dantzer stated, "will map the direction in which the city will go for the next 20-30 years."

[Guy Demarino, "Aldermen Reject Boyle St. Area Renovation Bid," *Edmonton Journal* 20 June 1967; *Ibid.*, 26 June 1967]

By August 1967 a phalanx of lawyers made representation to the Urban Renewal Advisory Committee on behalf of property owners in the area. Joseph Shoctor represented Grosvenor Park Shopping Centre Ltd., which planned to develop a trade centre between 98 and 99 Streets and 101A and 102 Avenues, and vowed to "fight any attempt at urban renewal" in the area. Jack Agrios also resisted urban renewal on behalf of Canadian Furniture Company (10255-97 Street) as did Sam Agronias, owner of the Archibald Block (9832 Jasper Avenue). Lucien Maynard represented owners of the New Edmonton Hotel (10150-97 Street) protested the city "freezing" land in the area and felt the owners should be allowed to develop the property before "outsiders." George Kirk, a Boyle Street property owner and developer, complained that 96 Street was like the Berlin Wall: "East of it no private developers will venture while present owners are afraid to remodel or buy other property in the absence of firm plans by the city." The committee agreed under the onslaught that it would reconsider the boundaries of the urban renewal area. The existing boundaries of the proposed urban renewal area were 95 Street and 99 Street and 101 Avenue and 104 Avenue at this time. Only one individual resident made a submission to the committee before the 30 June deadline, while 10 were made by groups, businessmen, or their lawyers.

[Edmonton Journal 2 August 1967; Ibid., 30 August 1967]

In September Urban Renewal Advisory Committee Chair Alderman Neil Crawford submitted its report after holding 14 public meetings, making ten recommendations. These included a detailed urban renewal plan, immediate compliance of the renewal area with a Minimum Property Standards Bylaw soon to be submitted to City Council, as well as the need for funding for adequate social services and purchase of properties flanking the renewal zone.

["Urban Renewal Committee Urges Start of Boyle Street Program," Edmonton Journal 20 September 1967]

In October 1967 City Council approved the recommendations of its Urban Renewal Advisory Committee that a competition be held to select a design for the Boyle Street project. The Municipal Planning Commission opposed the competition, fearing delays. The CMHC also opposed the plan. At this time the renewal project was described as having three five-year phases, although David McCullagh expressed "hope the first five-year scheme will act as a catalyst to private redevelopment so no further public action will be necessary." McCullagh also stated that the city intended to rely heavily on conservation and rehabilitation of buildings in the area by encouraging property owners to renew their buildings. City council also decided to appoint an economic feasibility expert to evaluate land use proposals in the renewal concept report, as well as an implementation manager to establish a redevelopment office in the renewal area and to inform all stakeholders of planned developments and programs, and a social worker and assistant. The Urban Renewal Advisory Committee had recommended two sites to accommodate dislocated Boyle Street people at the Alberta Protestant Home for Children and on land adjoining Beechmount Cemetery.

["Boyle St. Renewal Concept Approved, City to Seek Architectural Competition," *Edmonton Journal* 17 October 1967]

Setbacks began to appear at the height of the renewal idea for Boyle Street. In 1968 the City of Edmonton applied for an increase in its funding in light of a revised budget which allowed for an enhanced economic feasibility study and architectural concept for the area. Paul Hellyer, Housing Minister, had decided to freeze public housing and urban renewal projects in the middle of his own housing task force study. By the summer of 1969 Robert Andras was the new Housing Minister, and while he renewed some funding, it was decided to focus on certain flagship projects while most of the more than 100 such projects in Canada were stopped. In December 1969 Andras informed Edmonton that it could expect no further funding until at least 1982. This proved a devastating blow to plans for Boyle Street renewal. By 1970 Edmonton urban renewal was considered a dead issue.

A study in 1971 indicated that 77 percent of residents of the Boyle Street area were living under the poverty level as defined by the Economic Council of Canada (\$3000). Twenty percent of housing in the area was not fully serviced by light, gas or water. Absentee landlords accounted for 71 percent of accommodation. Edmonton Superintendent of Social Services Keith Wass stated that rent gouging was done by those "who have almost made a business of buying up old houses on the speculative market and holding them, and in the meantime they soak whoever they can for whatever they can." The 1971 report led to a federal grant of \$24,000 for social services.

Not much had changed over the decade, and things were back to stopgap measures.

[Nick Hunter, "Boyle Street a district of heartaches," *Edmonton Journal* 8 August 1972]

Bob Francis, Rehabilitation and Redevelopment Planner, began to see a solution in another direction by 1972. "This is the last area in the city we would look at in terms of rehabilitation.... Even if the homeowners are willing to rehabilitate, years of overcrowding and poor maintenance have made it almost unfeasible.... I think you have to go to institutional use rather than commercial or residential. A major institution al stimulus there can provide a stimulant for development on a private basis."

[Nick Hunter, "Planners want to preserve Boyle Street's character," Edmonton Journal 9 August 1972]

The City of Edmonton continued to purchase and assemble land in the area during the 1970s. David McCullagh, Manager of City Housing Development and Property Management, explained in 1974 that this policy was "an effective check against things happening piecemeal. The city can become, in effect, a partner to more efficient and appropriate redevelopments of benefit to the whole city." By the mid-1970s a greater sensitivity to the views of residents was becoming evident. The abandoned 1966 plan had taught several lessons. Bob Francis, Acting Director of the City of Edmonton Rehabilitation and Redevelopment Branch, felt that there should be no definite plan. "Planning's a process. There's a whole collection of individual social problems in the area – they can't be solved by one official plan. From my view, it's better that there's not a plan."

[Jan McMillan, "City core facelift coming but makeup still mystery," Edmonton Journal 14 September 1974]

Many were looking to the planned Northeast LRT Corridor and the development of the Convention Centre to shift "skid road" further northeast from its centre along Jasper Avenue between 95 Street and 97 Street. David McCullagh hoped this development would "stabilize and increase the viability of strip commercial areas along 96th and 97th Streets...."

[Jan McMillan, "Northeastward shift foreseen for city's skid road," *Edmonton Journal* 16 September 1974]

Alice Hansen, Boyle Street Co-op, described how the area was being transformed as development drifted following the collapse of the urban renewal initiative of the 1960s. She pointed out rooming in the area was rapidly disappearing after 1974. The Ritz, Astor, and Alberta Block were razed to make way for the Remand Centre and other development in 1975 and 1976. Hansen pointed out that 75 people had lived in the Astor, and asked: "[Where] do they have to go? Nothing new is going up. The crowding, lack of rooms is terrible. When the city destroys this area, they will have more problems. The people who drink here will drift westward to the downtown bars that will accept them." The United Church Men's Overnight Shelter, the provincial Single Men's Hostel, and the Women's Shelter were crowded out most of the time. Armin Preiksaitis, with the Rehabilitation and Redevelopment Branch, wrote a proposal during budget debates, which resulted in a grant for a further study of the Boyle Street and McCauley areas that might suggest solutions.

["Boyle Street groups seek over-all plan," Edmonton Journal 21 April 1977]

Social Service agencies in the study area:

Several "social service" agencies have become closely associated with work in the study area over the years.

Student Legal Services:

Student Legal Services of Edmonton (SLS) was first organized at the University of Alberta by 14 law students in 1969. It opened its offices on 1 May 1969 at the Boyle Street Community Services Cooperative and the Edmonton Day Centre. SLS members were very active in establishing the Boyle Street Co-Op, helping to draft its bylaws and establish its legitimacy with federal funding agencies. In 1972 SLS moved out of the Bissell Centre and into the new Boyle Street Co-Op facility. In 1973 one of its major projects aimed to force the City of Edmonton to demolish many condemned houses still standing in the Boyle Street area, and its website states that this "had much success." In 1985, with the Boyle Street Co-Op looking to move into another location, and the opening of its new McLeod Office, SLS moved out of Boyle Street. A study indicated that it was no longer having the same success in reaching the Boyle Street residents, but rather large numbers of downtown and northeast residents, as well as impaired drivers seeking assistance. SLS retained its connection with Boyle Street however, and in 1986 renewed its efforts to cooperate with community groups, and its Legal Reform Project worked with the Boyle Street Co-Op to find ways to deal with solvent abuse in the area. In 1988 it cooperated with the new Boyle Street Co-Op Pilot Project.

Boyle McCauley Health Clinic:

The Edmonton Local Board of Health received a grant from the Medical Services research Foundation of Alberta to undertake a study of health services in the Boyle Street area. Research was conducted by the Department of Community Medicine, University of Alberta, and the report, authored by David McDonald, was submitted in April 1977. The McDonald Report concluded that medical services to Boyle Street were sometimes provided inefficiently due to overlap, and recommended one solution as a single facility providing medical, dental, social outreach and residential services. It should also provide for acute short-term conditions such as intoxification and detoxification, and overnight observation.

["Report urges Boyle Street health centre," Edmonton Journal 14 April 1977]

A report on inner city health care resources indicated that while there were several clinics located outside the city core, many residents or transient occupants of the area were reluctant to visit them because of embarrassment or intimidation due to the "middle class" atmosphere. Many had to wait until their health deteriorated to the point that they would be admitted to the Royal Alexandra Hospital emergency clinic. Residents finally took the initiative in the fall of 1979 and organized a community-run clinic with the assistance of the Medical Mission Sisters, which had opened its first house in Edmonton in 1978. The Medical Mission Sisters were founded in 1925, and operated in thirty countries. Sister Michelle Normand, Sister Teresa Arac and another sister helped the local group put forward their case for a clinic. Dr. J.M. Howell, the City Medical Officer, stated: "The sisters appeared at an opportune time. Without their help it would have taken much longer to get the project rolling." Dr. Howell also took a very active role in coordinating efforts to establish the clinic.

["Catholic order provided spark for health centre," *Edmonton Journal* 18 October 1979]

In addition to the clinic, a drop-in centre and outreach program using two nurses visiting homes in both communities were planned. The clinic would serve the area north of the river valley to 111 Avenue, between 82 Street and 101 Street.

[Medical Services Research Foundation, Community Health Resources for the Inner City of Edmonton; "Health centre seeking funds," Edmonton Journal 17 April 1980]

In May 1980 the Boyle McCauley Health Clinic, the first of its kind in Edmonton, opened its doors in a renovated office building at 10604-96 Street, after several delays due to funding problems. A similar clinic existed in Calgary by this time. The Clinic planned to provide services to those living in the inner city area. Before this, there was only one doctor serving the 15,000 people in the Boyle-MaCauley neighbouhood. This doctor lacked hospital privileges. At the time the average in Alberta was one doctor for every 700 people. Even so, the clinic had to rely upon a temporary physician when it opened.

["Proposed storefront clinic \$20,000 short of funds," *Edmonton Journal* 31 January 1980; Helen Melnyk, "Housecalls: some kind words and follow-up care," *Edmonton Journal* 6 December 1980, C12; *Ibid.*, "Clinic opens Monday," 15 May 1980; *Ibid.*, "Clinic looking for staff," 27 December 1979]

The first clinic almost foundered under the onslaught of drug abusers, many of them quite manipulative and aggressive, recalls Dr. Moshen Abdalla, one of the first physicians.

[Helen Melnyk, "The People's Clinic," *Edmonton Journal* 6 December 1980, C12]

Life in the inner city was uncertain, and in April 1984 a news report indicated that many who used the medical clinic were without medical coverage because they remained confused about the Alberta Health Care system. Ron Otten, a worker at the Boyle McCauley Centre, estimated that about 30 percent of people who came to the clinic had no "blue cards." "They don't have the skills to get through the red tape and they don't know their rights," he stated. Most of those he assisted were relying upon unemployment insurance, or were Unemployment Insurance (UIC) "exhaustees" who no longer qualified for welfare. Many did not know that they qualified for partial or even complete subsidies, or were afraid to apply because they were arrears in premium payments. The provincial Hospitals Department initiated an education program, but this crisis simply emphasized the importance of the clinic to the Boyle McCauley area. Alice Hanson observed: "When your life falls apart, you get panicky. When you can't make your mortgage payments and you have difficulty buying food for your family, it affects your judgement." [Edmonton Journal 5 April 1984]

Dr. Hari Chana, a physician at the clinic expressed the view in 1985 that at least 70 percent of his patients there suffered from malnutrition. Most of his patients were the elderly, "street people," or the working poor or those on social assistance. Dr. Chana voiced particular concern regarding proper prenatal nutrition for those using the clinic. [Edmonton Journal 15 February 1985]

The Boyle McCauley Health Centre, which was treating about 14,000 "city-core" residents, almost had to close its doors in February 1986 when it appeared that it could no longer obtain insurance. A last-minute reprieve from the insurance company on 5 February allowed the clinic to remain open. [Edmonton Sun 6 February 1986]

The Bissell Centre:

The Bissell Centre has a long history in the study area. Rev. William Henry Pike was sent to Edmonton by the Methodist Church in the fall of 1910 to work among the Ukrainian population. The mission soon included most of the "foreign" residents of east Edmonton. The All People's Mission was established in a rented store front at #602 Kinistino, and a Sunday School, Sunday Service in the Ukrainian language, and a typesetting and business office for The Canadian, a weekly publication in Ukrainian published by the Methodist Church. A reading room also attracted many of the many labouring men living in the densely packed rooming houses in the study area. During the First World War much of this work was discontinued, although Rev. Pike worked in Andrew and Chipman to improve his Ukrainian language skills. Mission work was resumed in 1919, in cooperation with the Presbyterian Church, whose church and the adjacent Bursa hall were jointly operated on Kinistino. Across from #602 was located a run down blacksmith shop, which was purchased by the Home Missions' Board and opened as the McQueen Institute after 1920. Many joined the Sunday School, as well as Summer Vacation School, morning Kindergarten boys' and girls' clubs, mothers' meetings, and "Fresh Air Camps" at Lake Wabamun in the summer. This work carried on during the 1920s and the 1930s, and was especially valued during the Great Depression. The expanded T.E. Bissell Memorial Institute replaced the McQueen Institute in 1936. Goodwill Industries was set up at the Bissell. In 1989 the Bissell Centre was moved to its present location.

Heritage buildings in the study area:

Three existing structures are of particular historical interest in the study area. These form a contiguous streetscape on the east side of old Kinistino Avenue (96 Street) between 104 Avenue and the old Grand Trunk Pacific and Canadian Northern Railway trackage (the present LRT route). The buildings of particular interest in this grouping are the Edmonton Iron Works plant and the York Hotel. The smaller structure joining these two buildings dates from a later period.

Edmonton Iron Works:

With the din of hammering iron, the dull rumble of machinery in motion and flying sparks from the flaming forge; with sturdy men in the scantiest attire engaged in casting, welding and shaping all kinds of iron goods, the work in the Edmonton Iron Company's foundry is being carried forward, providing employment for a score or more of skilled workmen and supplying repairs for the machinery in the majority of the factories ad shops in this city and the towns in the surrounding districts.

With these words the *Edmonton Daily Bulletin* heralded the opening of the Edmonton Iron Works in May 1908. W.J. Brewster had started the foundry at the corner of Namayo Avenue and Elizabeth Street in about 1900, and he operated it for about three years as the Brewster Foundry. Brewster built the first foundry and "a small plant installed." Edmonton businessmen then took over, and organized Edmonton Iron Works, Limited in September 1903. James K. Cornwall, the famous "Peace River Jim," was the company president, and T.J. Cornwall its manager and secretary. T.J. Cornwall had worked for about two decades at foundries in Brantford, Dundas, St. Catherines, Cleveland and Milwaukee at this time. J.P. Shore, from Ottawa, was the new shop foreman. Edmonton Iron Works, Limited "enlarged considerably" the original building. The plant installed between 1903 and 1908 was valued at \$35,000 in 1908. Up to 25 men worked at the foundry by this date. Foundry workers earned between \$3 and \$5 daily.

Lieutenant Colonel James Kennedy Cornwall was born in Brantford, Ontario, in 1861, and by the time he died in 1955 was virtually a legend of northern development. He served as a Member of the Provincial Parliament in 1909-1910, and at the outbreak of war in 1914 served overseas with distinction.

The Edmonton Iron Works was well equipped with turning lathes, a shaping planer, two drill presses, a steam-powered hammer, power saws, band saws

for making patterns, and a ten-ton blast furnace "which is probably one of the largest in use in Western Canada." This equipment was mostly imported from Galt, Ontario and Rockford, Illinois. A joiner for the pattern shop was added in May 1908.

The Edmonton Iron Works established a market for iron and brass work and general repair for machinery such as the large agricultural steam tractions engines and ploughs in use at the time. The foundry was established at the height of the agricultural settlement and commercial urban booms preceding the First World War, and its products reflected this fact. Iron building supplies, water works castings, and general repair work on machinery and boilers were among the greatest demand placed upon the business. A large storehouse held mill supplies like steel shafting and pulleys required by shops and factories in the Edmonton district. Casting was done on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays in 1908.

The Edmonton Iron Works receive orders from all the mills, shops and factories in the city. Besides this they do work for the towns on the C.N.R. [Canadian Northern Railway] and C.P.R. [Canadian Pacific Railway] as far south as Red Deer. At the present time they do practically all the work for the town of Red Deer. In Edmonton they have received large orders in connection with the construction of the Griffin packing plant. In one week last summer they turned out 60,000 castings for use on this building alone. A great deal of material is also supplied the City of Edmonton. At present they are engaged in turning out 10,000 clips for the street railway tracks, now being laid. They do not supply water pipe, however, which is specially manufactured by an eastern firm. The government also provides them with some work, and 12,000 hollow iron stakes for survey posts are now being prepared.

Pig iron was brought in by rail from Hamilton and Vancouver. Scottish pig iron came via Vancouver after shipment around Cape Horn. Twenty carloads of pig iron were required annually by the Edmonton Iron Works by 1908.

Coke was imported from British Columbia at \$11.00 per ton for use in the blast furnace, since the light bituminous and lignite coals found in Edmonton, "when subjected to the draft used to make a sufficiently hot fire would be blown out the chimney and cause great danger from fire."

In January 1908 the engine and boiler were replaced by a ten-horsepower motor, and all the machinery was converted to electrical power.

By May 1908 demand on the Edmonton Iron Works was so severe that plans were put in place to construct a larger foundry on the east side of Kinistino Avenue at Clark Street, just south of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway tracks. This location would allow the new plant to develop a series of railway sidings in a small, attached yard to unloading and loading pig iron, coke and its products. The purchased property measured some 300 feet by 120 feet, and plans were put forward to build a foundry in the fall valued at between \$12,000 and \$15,000. "When completed the plant will be worth in the neighborhood of \$60,000," the *Bulletin* reported. "New machines will be installed and the size of the plant will be greatly increased."

["The Industries of Edmonton," Edmonton Daily Bulletin, 16 May 1908]

Funding apparently took a bit longer than anticipated to organize, but Edmonton Iron Works applied for and was issued a building permit for a "machine foundry" on 20 March 1909 (Building Permit 101/1909). The new plant was to be located on Kinistino Avenue on Lots 21, 22, 25 and 26, Block 13, River Lot 14. The project was valued at \$35,000. Although a large project, no architect is named on the building permit. Pheasey and Batson were the builders of record, attesting to their prominent position in the construction trade at the height of the Edmonton boom.

"The development of the West calls for a vast amount of structural steel work and immense supplies of machinery," the *Bulletin* observed in a special edition devoted to the businesses of Edmonton in 1910. By this date Edmonton Iron Works, Ltd. had grown as the city grew, and were contractors on large projects like the new City Power House. The new foundry was equipped with electric cranes for assembling the heavy castings. The work force had grown to 35 men.

[Edmonton Bulletin, Special Issue, 1910]

The Edmonton Iron Works remained the largest foundry on the Canadian prairies north of Calgary or west of Brandon in 1926. It covered almost three acres of land, including a railway yard with several spurs along which could be seen "hills of coke and blacksmith's coal, sheet iron, structural steel and cold rolled sheeting in racks awaiting treatment, tier after tier of heavy wooden boxes in which the various castings are moulded and masses of pigiron – later to appear as plows and mine cars."

["Blazes Industrial Trail, Local Concern Produces Structural Iron and Steel for 'the City and Plow'," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 1 March 1926]

A large warehouse held the pattern department on its upper floor. "Here on long rows of shelves is \$35,000 worth of wooden models – 12,000 in all – neatly racked and catalogued so that when a rush order comes in for a traction engine pinion or a shafting gear the right model is produced on the dot and within an hour, its representation in metal ready for further treatment."

[Ibid.]

In the foundry a giant cupola disappears into the smoky spaces of the roof. This, fed with iron billets and stoked with coke, presently shoots a stream of molten metal into a great pot; an overhead arm reached down, hooks the red hot container and in another second the hissing liquid iron is being poured about into a mould from which it will later emerge in the shape of a rough looking gas engine frame or an 800 pound pile driver hammer. Next the casting is placed in a "tumbler" where it is whirled about and surfaced, other machines grind and polish it, and then it is ready for further attention.

The clang of electric-driven hammers fills the blackened building, red forge fires gleam, the "bull-dozer" exerting its mammoth strength, twists great bars of iron into the required shape, a power-driven "scissors" neatly shears off iron sheets three inches thick. A din of clanging, rattling and hammering deafens the ears. Why go to the Clyde or the St. Lawrence for mechanical thrills? See Edmonton first!

[Ibid.]

The article quoted above reported in March 1926 that there was hardly a building in Edmonton in which there could not be found some steel or other product manufactured by the plant. The article singled out the King Edward Hotel, the Royal George Hotel, the Merchants Bank, the Adams Block, Jackson Block, Empire Block, Ashdown Block, Mortlake Block, the Swift Canadian plant, the Canadian National Railway Station and many others. "It also supplied most of the structural steel used in building the bridges along the lines of the E.D. & B.C. [Edmonton, Dunvegan and British Columbia] and A. & G.W. [Alberta and Great Waterways] railways," it observed. The foundry also was manufacturing the large shakers for the many Edmonton district coalmines.

The machine shop saw the final manufacture of an array of products like sawmill pulleys, steel industrial shafts, executed by the many lathes, drills and planers installed there.

Thousands of the smaller machine parts were stored in a separate stock room. A motor mechanics department catered to cars and gas engines, which were reconditioned here, "this section catering largely to garages, mills, elevators, etc., at outside points."

Many Van Slyke plows were manufactured by Edmonton Iron Works. This Alberta invention by a Red Deer district farmer, became very popular after its introduction. Painted a distinctive green and red, it was favoured by farmers intent on breaking the tough prairie sods with its thick fibrous roots. Its design prevented the matted sod from falling back into the furrow.

The entire plow is made by the company – raw steel to finished breaker – and it is turned out in models for either horse or traction engine use. The Edmonton Iron Works consider that this machine will be one of the great factors in brings the wooded areas of the north under cultivation....

[Ibid.]

A reorganization of the company took place in early 1926. Senator P.E. Lessard now became president, while T.J. Cornwall remained as managing director. A. Boileau was the new Secretary. J. Woods Adair also joined the board of directors.

[Ibid.]

The Maple Leaf Steel Company took over Edmonton Iron Works in October 1926. S. Swanson, Maple Leaf's president and a famous lumberman, planned "an extensive development of the plant, which will be enlarged and made up-to-date and capable of handling all manufactures of iron and steel for Western Canada," it was reported. "Various patent rights are also being acquired by the company, including the Van Slyke plow, of which the 1926 output was 200." Swanson stated that he planned to increase production of the Van Slyke plow to a thousand units in 1927. "It is proposed to add to the existing buildings, to speed up production and to carry a full line of heavy machinery, requirements for mines, logging camps and oil fields."

Senator Lessard was the vice-president of the new company, with A.S. Matheson and J.W. Adair as directors. A.H. Anderson was also involved.

Swanson was full of optimism for the future:

Our field is practically unlimited, as with the additions which we propose to make to the plant we can handle the Western American market just as easily as we can handle the Western Canadian market, and it is our intention to put organizations in all this territory.

["Maple Leaf Steel Co. Takes Over Edmonton Ironworks," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 4 October 1926]

Swanson indicated that he had plans for a heavy winter's work making preparation for the coming spring activity. But three years later, the Great Depression descended on the world, and things would not recover for some time.

Today the plant stands essentially intact, and merits further study as a significant component of the industrial built heritage of Edmonton.

The York Hotel:

The St. Petersburg Hotel was built in 1913 near the Grand Trunk Pacific and Canadian Northern Railway tracks and yards, and the industrial strip along the railway right of way. It served travellers and working men who were employed in the area in its restaurant and accommodations. During the Russian Revolution the hotel was briefly renamed the Petrograd, suggesting the political views of the district and the hotel owners. In the postwar anti-communist atmosphere it became the International Hotel during the 1920s. York was a popular name of the period, and 96 Street north of 111 Avenue was named York Street until 1914. The National Hotel was renamed once more as the York Hotel, a name that it retains today.

The York Hotel remains one of a diminishing number of small city hotels that once were quite common and filled a vital niche in the accommodation of travelers in early Edmonton. Hotels like the Cecil, for example, started as quite prestigious hostelries, and with the passage of time fell into the seedy decay with which they were associated at the end of their days. This public perception made their demolition easier as the city progressed, but like grain elevators and corner stores, while they once were common, today a few reminders of their presence and function are in order.

Henderson's Edmonton directories indicate that the future site of the York Hotel was occupied by several structures before the hotel was built. Thomas Fyjarczuk, who was listed as a labourer, lived at #705, on the future location of the hotel as early as 1907. Mike Rudyk, brother of ---- Rudyk, occupied the next house north of that corner on the east side of Kinistino Avenue (#723). Thomas J. Cornwall, the manager of the Edmonton Iron Works plant, had his residence at #747 near the site of

that factory, and at the northern end of the block, just south of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway and Canadian Northern Railway tracks. An advertisement in the 1907 Henderson's directory for Edmonton describes Edmonton Iron Works Limited as an "iron and brass foundry, machinists and general blacksmithing, [with] iron columns, castings of all kinds, boiler and engine repairing a specialty."

In 1908 Cornwall was listed as living at #751 Kinistino Avenue, which soon would become the address for the Edmonton Iron Works (until the house-numbering system changed in 1914). Cornwall was described as the proprietor of Edmonton Iron Works in the 1908 directory, with his work address listed as 440 Elizabeth Avenue. Thomas Fuyarchuk (the spelling by which he would become well known and established in the local business community) remained at #705 Kinistino Avenue. Gottlieb Zink, a shoe repairer, who had a shop at #935 Kinistino Avenue, was listed at #719 Kinistino Avenue.

In 1909 a new resident appeared on the block. George Burns, a farmer, now lived at #709, next to Thomas Fuyarchuk. Mike Rudyk is no longer described as merely a "labourer," but as a "pool marker." In 1910 the future York site still was occupied by Thomas Fuyarchuk (#705) and Alexander C.P. Fisher, a bartender at the Queen's Hotel (#709). Charles Taylor, a labourer, lived at #719 Kinistino Avenue; this appears to have been a new house. Frederick P. How, who worked on 1st Street as a photographer, lived at #723, and Cornwall remained at #751.

Nothing changed on the east side of Kinistino Avenue between 104 Avenue and the railway tracks until 1912, except that the Edmonton Iron Works was first listed at #751 in 1911, perhaps indicating changes in the scale of the construction there. Thomas Fuyarchuk was in the partnership Rudyk and Fuyarchuk; and Charles Sutter, another bartender at the Queen's Hotel, a significant employer in the community, now lived at #709; Charles Taylor continued to live at #719, while operating the National Gravel Roofing Company out of the same location. Thomas E. Norton, a blacksmith at the Edmonton Iron Works, had replaced Frederick How, the photographer, at #723.

Nothing is listed on the site of the new hotel in the 1913 directory, but the fire insurance map for Edmonton shows the hotel in May 1913. The first business north remained Charles Taylor's National Gravel Roofing Company at #719. The fire insurance map describes this small building as "old." Thomas Norton, the Edmonton Iron Works employee, remained at #723. This was a larger 1 ½ storey house. At this time No. 3 Fire Hall was located just north across the tracks, as well as the City Stores and Works Department, important employers for the neighbourhood.

In 1914, at the opening of the First World War, a new hotel was first listed at #701 Kinistino Avenue. The St. Petersburg Hotel was the first name of what would become the York Hotel. The war brought other changes. The National Gravel Roofing Company had vacated its premises. A man named John Thomas now lived at #723, although this site would become the Odessa Russian Boarding House, opening immediately adjacent to the St. Petersburg Hotel in 1915. The address changed from #701 to 10401 Kinistino Avenue in 1914. The name Kinistino would remain in use until after the end of the war, when it changed to 96th Street. During the war only the hotel, boarding house and iron works remained on the east side of Kinistino. However, in 1917, with the coming of the Russian Revolution, the hotel name was changed to Petrograd Hotel. It remained the Petrograd Hotel until 1922, when its name was changed to the National Hotel, and Frederick Williams became its manager.

Things were slow to recover after the war. In 1921 Lorenz Slidinski, a blacksmith at the Edmonton Iron Works plant, moved into the vacant premises at 10415-96 Street (formerly #723 – the Odessa Russian Boarding House). Edmonton Iron Works first shared its premises with A.R. Williams Machinery Co. Ltd., a Winnipeg firm, in 1921. In 1922 the Edmonton Iron Works shared its premises with Martin Electric Welding Co., George D. Martin, proprietor. By 1923 no other business was listed at the plant site. In 1927 the Edmonton Iron Works plant was listed as the Maple Leaf Steel Mills Ltd., J.W. Heaton, manager (who lived at 9719-77 Avenue). In 1929 it is listed as Waterous Ltd., Reuben C. Switzer, manager (lived at 11111-84 Avenue).

Across the railway tracks to the north, No. 3 Fire Hall is indicated as being closed in 1920, but reopened as the Woodland Dairy Garage the following year.

The story of the lots between the iron works plant and the hotel was quite varied. Mrs. May DeBriggs, a widow of William Briggs, occupied 10415-96 Street in 1922, Fred Maks, a labourer, in 1923, and it was

vacated from 1925 until 1929. Andrew Hrycko took up residence that year, and was joined by Harry Hrycko in 1930, staying there until 1936; both were labourers. Mrs. Jennie Hrycko was listed as the sole resident in 1936, changing her name to Mrs. Jennie Pentyliuk the following year, and remaining a resident at #10415. Tony Tymochko took over the house in 1939, and during the Second World War John Tymochko also lived here. Tony Tymochko was a section man for Canadian National Railway, while John Tymochko was a labourer for the CPR. This house seems to have disappeared shortly after the war, as nothing is listed between the hotel and the iron works by 1946.

In 1934 the National Hotel was renamed the York Hotel, with Roy Stoyko its new manager. Roy Stoyko lived at 9345-103A Avenue, the old Boyle Street. By 1935 the York Hotel and Waterous Ltd. were the only occupants of the east side of Kinistino at this block. In 1942 the York Coffee Shop also was listed at the hotel. Sometime during the war Dominion Livestock Production Services was listed as being located at an unspecified address just south of the York Hotel.

The York Hotel apparently tried the name "New York Hotel" in 1955, but reverted to York Hotel by the following year. IN 1956 Carl's Café replaced the York Coffee Shop. In 1960, however, the New York Hotel Co. Ltd. was the Henderson's listing at 10401-96 Street. (A search of the Alberta Corporate Registry could cast further light on this progression.)

An unspecified structure at #10403 was listed in the 1955 Henderson's as "occupied," suggesting something was built or remained there. Otherwise nothing was located between the Waterous site and the York Hotel after the Second World War.

In 1958 the Waterous site was listed as "vacant", but in 1959 R. Angus (Alta) Ltd. moved into the sprawling premises. It was listed as vacant again in 1961, and "no return" in 1962. Other businesses moved into the factory: Shugarman's Ltd; Edmonton Supply Co., plumbing and oil well equipment. In 1965 only Shugarman's and the plumbing supply remained.

Conclusions:

Much of the original historical streetscape in the study area no longer exists. However, it is important to the civic memory of Edmonton that the area east of the present downtown was the real birthplace of the modern urban development of the city. Boyle Street remained an organic and functioning community for decades, with its rich mix of businesses, churches and significant ethnic and racial cultural institutions and traditions. But this early community would vanish over the years, and by 2001 the federal census indicated that just over 57 percent of occupied private dwellings in the neighbourhood were built in the 1970s and 1980s. The Municipal Census (2005) indicated that 80 per cent of dwelling units were apartment style structures, with a further 15 per cent described as rooming houses or collective residences. By 2005 the residential fabric of Boyle Street was virtually gone. It is therefore doubly important to retain any significant buildings that may survive today. In the study area these include the streetscape located between 104 Avenue and 105 Avenue on the east side of 96 Street, in particular the Edmonton Iron Works plant (1913) and parts of the façade of the York Hotel, one of a disappearing type of small city hotel once so common and important to the life of Edmonton. This community has largely disappeared, but it is important to retain our shared municipal memory of the Old Boyle Street area. In particular, further study of the origins and development of "Boyle Street" within its wider context is important to the history of the city. In particular, the history of Namayo (97) Street) as well as Kinistino and Syndicate, outside the immediate study area of this brief report, would add a great deal to the understanding of how the city grew. Many surviving buildings in the Jasper East district, and on 97 Street, constitute the remaining core of that chapter in our history. Their documentation within a broad context would be of great assistance in evaluating and preserving this area in future years. The history of the study area should be documented and communicated to the public for years to come, as it remains an important dimension of Edmonton history. The Planning and Development Department would be an appropriate place for such a study, as it would complement much of the work done in the area already by its Heritage Officers.

Appendix A:

John Robert Boyle (1871-1936), the man behind the name:

John Robert Boyle was born on 3 February 1871 at Sykeston, Ontario, near the city of Sarnia. His father was William Boyle, an Ayrshire Scotsman who married Annie E. (nee McClean) Boyle, whose family were Irish immigrants. John Boyle was raised on his father's farm, and attended the school located across the road from the family farm. In 1884 William Boyle died, leaving young John the responsibility for a family of nine while only fourteen years of age. Although he had to leave school at an early age, Boyle was able to continue his education on his own initiative, and was able to complete his high school while attending Sarnia Collegiate Institute during 1888 and 1889.

Although John Boyle had already determined to practice law, from financial necessity he had to begin his career as a teacher after finishing high school in Sarnia. He began teaching in Lambton County, near Sarnia, but in 1894 travelled west to attend the Regina Normal School. After this move he continued teaching in order to finance his legal education, and taught three months at Pilot Butte, Saskatchewan, even before attending Regina Normal School. During 1894 and 1895 Boyle apprenticed to the Regina law firm of Mackenzie and Brown, while teaching at Rosebud School, located near Gleichen in southern Alberta, during 1895 and 1896. He continued to study in preparation for his legal education during what spare time he was able to set aside.

In 1896 John Boyle moved to South Edmonton [renamed Strathcona in 1898], and took up residence in the Hotel Edmonton [renamed the Strathcona Hotel in 1899]. At first he taught at the Partridge Hills School near Fort Saskatchewan, as well as acting as a correspondent for the Toronto Globe. During the summer of 1896 he was able to have his apprentice's articles in law transferred to the firm of Hedley C. Taylor. He continued to teach at Partridge Hills for several months, until he was admitted to the Bar of the Northwest Territories.

When J.R. Boyle was admitted to the Bar on 10 August 1899 he began a distinguished legal career which would see him named a King's Council on 4 May 1912, and in 1924 receive an appointment as Judge of the Supreme Court of Alberta, Trial Division. He began as a barrister in partnership with the firm of Taylor and Boyle. [H.C. Taylor was later appointed a Judge as well]. A branch of Taylor and Boyle opened in Strathcona, with Boyle maintaining the south-side office. At this time he lived in the Strathcona Hotel, where he made the friendship of his fellow lodger Bob Edwards, the famous humourist "Eye-opener" Bob. While courting Dora Shaw in 1901 he purchased a house in Strathcona, where he lived briefly with his new bride in 1902. His partnership with H.C. Taylor underwent several changes during the following years, including Taylor, Boyle and Gariepy, and Taylor, Boyle and Parlee. On 16 September 1907 he was admitted to the Bar of the Province of Alberta. By 1913 Boyle was sufficiently successful to allow him to contract the prominent Edmonton architect Roland Lines to design a business block for him. The Lambton Block, named for Lambdon County in Ontario, where he was born, was built at 11035 - 97 Street in

1913, at the end of Edmonton's great building boom, and still stands at that location.

J.R.Boyle began his political career shortly after arriving in the Northwest Territories. He campaigned for Frank Oliver, the influential Liberal editor or the Edmonton Bulletin, during the federal election campaign of 1896. John Boyle lost his position as teacher at the Rosebud School for his part in the election campaign, as the school trustees all were Conservative supporters. However, Boyle met with Oliver at his Edmonton office shortly thereafter, to ask advice about choosing a law firm where he could continue his legal studies. It was Oliver who introduced him to H.C. Taylor, his future partner, and arranged for his position as the *Toronto Globe*'s Edmonton correspondent, which allowed him to report to eastern readers the excitement of the Klondike gold rush as it affected that city. Boyle was associated with the Liberal Party in Edmonton from this time on, and became an active member of the Edmonton Liberal Association; he also served as Secretary of the Young Men's Liberal Association of Edmonton, and was named Honourary President in 1900. In that same year Boyle also acted as Secretary of the Royal Grain Commission, an important federal commission which understandably attracted much attention as it crossed Canada at a time when the west was largely dependent upon the booming wheat economy. When the Commission adjourned for six months on the eve of sailing to England, Boyle felt that he had to resign his position in order to return to his legal practice for financial reasons.

In 1904 Edmonton was incorporated as a city, and Boyle made his first direct entry into the political arena. With the completion of the Low Level Bridge in 1902, he sold his house in Strathcona and moved across the North Saskatchewan River to Edmonton, where he purchased a house at #376 - 109 Street [later #9838 -109 Street; this location is now the Jarvis Building parking lot]. In November 1904 public notice was given that a meeting of electors of the new city would be held in the Fire Hall to nominate candidates for the postitions of mayor and aldermen.

Boyle was nominated, and on 12 December 1904 was elected to a two-year term on Edmonton's first city council. He received 349 votes, exceeded only by Charles May's 471, a mark of his solid political base in his constituency. At the same election H.C. Taylor and Wilfrid Gariepy, his partners in law, were declared elected as trustees on the Edmonton Protestant Public School Board and St. Joachim Roman Catholic School District respectively. Boyle had withdrawn his name the previous year when he was nominated for alderman on the town council. Clearly he and his associates had been successful in building their political support during the succeeding year. One of Boyle's most noteworthy accomplishments while an alderman was to recommend the direct-dial telephone exchange which he and two other aldermen examined in Chicago during a fact-finding tour. As a consequence Edmonton's system was considered much in advance of other municipal systems in Canada for many years.

With the proclamation of the new province of Alberta, Boyle entered into the most significant and active period of his political career. First elected to the Alberta Legislature on 9 November 1905, he would represent the constituency of Sturgeon until defeated during the general election of 18 July 1921. He then served as the Leader of the Official Opposition from 1922 until 1924, when he was appointed to the Supreme Court of Alberta. During his term in office Boyle was re-elected by acclamation on 22 March 1909, during a by-election following the Alberta Great Waterways crisis on 27 May 1912, and during subsequent provincial elections on 17 April 1913 and 7 June 1917. He served as Deputy Speaker from 15 March 1906 until 25 February 1909. Following his central role in leading the Liberal "Insurgents" during the railway debates, he was appointed Minister of Education by Premier A.L. Sifton on 4 May 1912, a position confirmed through his re-election during the by-election of 27 May. Boyle held this portfolio until 23 August 1918, on which day he was appointed Attorney-General of the Province of Alberta; he held this portfolio until defeated during the general election of 18 July 1921, when he lost to S.A. Carson, the United Farmers of Alberta candidate. There were many accomplishments during his time in the cabinet. As Attorney-General he was responsible for establishing the first registration and licensing of motor vehicles in the province. As Minister of Education during a period of extremely rapid expansion, he introduced such innovations as a circulating library for the use of isolated rural schools, an initiative praised by progressive public figures such as Emily Murphy.

The highlight of Boyle's public career undoubtedly was his role in the great railway scandal debates in the Legislative Assembly during 1910. This debate centred on the guaranteeing of the bonds to build the Alberta and Great Waterways Railway to northern Alberta, and the questionable details of the agreement struck by the Liberal government and the railway company to allow its construction. When the railway company sold the bonds to J.P.

Morgan and Company in 1909, and the "House of Morgan" quickly resold them at a tremendous profit, the people of Alberta became incensed. J.R. Boyle and D. Warnock put forward a resolution to expropriate the rights of the railway company and vest them in the province. John Blue, the Provincial Librarian, wrote in 1924 that the Boyle Resolution "precipitated thle most furious and acrimonious debate that has ever taken place in the Alberta Legislature." He noted that public feeling ran very high on the issue, "and hundreds more than could be accommodated in the galleries struggled for admittance at every sitting." R.B. Bennett, the young Conservative Member of the Legislative Assembly from Calgary, and future Prime Minister of Canada, was one of Boyle's most able supporters during the subsequent debate.

Boyle remained one of the most popular Liberal Members of the Legislative Assembly during his public career, and was finally defeated only by the growing perception that the Liberal government was ineffectual in dealing with the problems faced by the Alberta farmer. During most of his career, however, Boyle did very well at the polls. In November 1905 he polled 721 of 939 votes cast, or 77%. He was acclaimed in 1909, and received 66% of the vote during the 1912 by-election. In 1913 he polled 62%, and in 1917 received 47%.

From 1905 until 1921 Boyle remained a very active member of his cabinet, as well as serving as a member of Select Standing Committees on Railways, Telephones and Irrigation [1906-1907, 1913-1924]; Municipal Law [1906-1913, 1915-1924]; Legal Bills [1906-1915]; Privileges and Elections, Standing Orders and Printing [1906-1921]; Agriculture, Colonization,

Immigration and Education [1910]; Standing Orders [1910]; Private Bills [1910, 1913-1921]; and Public Accounts [1913-1924]. He also served on Special Committees on Rules, Orders and Forms of Proceedings [1906, 1916]; Library Committee [1906-1908, 1912-1917, 1919-1920]; To Consider the Medical Profession Act [1911]; House Committee [1911, 1913]; Regarding Condolences on the Death of the Right Honourable Wilfrid Laurier [1919]; and Proportional Representation [1921].

In addition to his very active political career, Boyle was involved in the social and religious life of his community. For years he served as Chairman of the Board of Management for the Presbyterian Church in Edmonton. He also was active in various fraternal orders and service clubs such as Edmonton Lodge No. 9, Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons, as well as the North Star Chapter, Royal Arch Masons; the Edmonton Preceptory, Knights Templar; Al Azhar Temple, Ancient Order of Nobles of the Mystic Shrine; Independent Order of Oddfellows; and the Edmonton Club. Such affiliations were indespensible during the the first part of the century for successful business, professional and political careers.

His personal friendships and family responsibilities also played an important role in Boyle's life. He married Dora Christina Shaw, daughter of John Shaw of High River, on 22 July 1902; they had three children: Helen Murray Boyle, Frederick J. Boyle and Jean Boyle. His first wife died in 1924 while at the Mayo Clinic in Rochester, Minnesota. In 1930 he married Ethel Roache of Calgary. During his time on the Bench his health suffered, and he relied more upon summer time at his Kapasiwin cottage to restore his energy. In 1933 Judge and Mrs. Boyle took an eight month world tour,

three months of which were spent on shipboard. However, while this had some beneficial effect, during the years following 1933 poor health continued to cause problems for him. In 1935 he decided to take another trip, this time to the West Indies. Illness forced him into hospital in Ottawa while on his way to the Caribbean, and he eventually succumbed to bronchial pneumonia on 15 February 1936. His body was returned to Edmonton, and on 20 February hundreds of fellow Edmontonians attended a public funeral to honour his contribution to the civic life of the province during its first three decades. It was said at the time that he had taken part in the framing of almost all of the significant legislation of the new province during those years. He was interred at the Edmonton Cemetery.

From 1902 until his death in 1936 J.R. Boyle lived in Edmonton. His first house was located at #376 - Ninth Street. This house was renumbered #9838 - 109 Street in 1914. The site is now the parking lot located across from the Bowker Building. In 1912 the Boyles moved to #435 Seventh Street, which in 1914 was renumbered #9919 - 107 Street. The site is now the Jarvis Building parking lot. During the First World War he lived between Dr. George Malcolmson and the Hon. J.D. Hyndman, Justice of the Alberta Supreme Court, and across from Colonel Robert Belcher's residence. In about 1934 Judge Boyle moved into the Glenora neighbourhood and lived at 10332 - 132 Street until his death two years later.

Lasting reminders of Judge J.R. Boyle's life are the names Boyle Street in Edmonton, and the town of Boyle, named for him in 1914. Boyle was located on the Alberta Great Waterways Railway; it was J.R. Boyle's role in

revealing the A.G.W. scandal in 1910 which brought down the Rutherford government, and which led to the decision to offer A.L. Sifton the position of party leader and ultimately that of premier.

Kapasiwin was the name of J.R. Boyle's cottage at Lake Wabamun, and as such gave its name to the first incorporated summer village in Alberta when incorporation occurred on 28 August 1918. Previously the community had been known as Wabamun Beach; by 1918 Boyle's cottage and his influence were sufficiently important to warrant the change of name. Helen Boyle, J.R. Boyle's daughter, later recalled that he "got the name for the cottage - Kapasiwin - from a Catholic priest, Father Beaudry, whom he met when he first came to Edmonton." Kapasiwin means "camp" in the Cree language.

When J. R. Boyle built his cottage in 1913 he already was an important political figure who was launching a public career soon to become one of the most significant in the formative years of a new province. "Kapasiwin", as he named the cottage, would become more important as a meeting place for legal, political and social gatherings and planning sessions as his public career progressed. Emily Murphy, a friend and advisor, describes Boyle as "possessing a look of happy materialism - a deep-chested, thickset man, and broad at the belt like the picture of John Bull by Sir John Teniel." In an article in the *Canada Monthly*, she goes on to place this hearty politician in his element at Kapasiwin. "As a raconteur Mr. Boyle probably excels any other member on the Government side of the House, but to hear him at his best, you must visit him at his summer home on the beautiful Lake Wabamun when the teachers, trustees, and scholars have alike ceased from troubling and the weary are truly at rest."

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