THE SOHO STORY

A REPORT ON THE HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF LONDON'S SOHO NEIGHBOURHOOD

MACKENZIE K. BODNAR, EMMA BRONSEMA, EMILY CLINK, JESSICA HUGH, NIĠEL KLEMENČIČ-PUGLISEVICH, HANNAH MANTEL, EMMA MACDONALD, ZAHRA MCDOOM, PAIGE MILNER, SARAH POINTER, AVRAHAM SHAVER, KEELY SHAW, MADELINE SHAW & DANIELLE SINOPOLI

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2. INTRODUCTION

2.1 Executive Summary

Convened by the London Community Foundation, the Vision SoHo Alliance (VSA) is a partnership between six non-profit housing developers–Chelsea Green Home Society, Homes Unlimited, Indwell, Residenza Affordable Housing, London Affordable Housing Foundation, and Zerin Development Corporation. The alliance will create 680 units, of which 50% will be affordable, in seven buildings on the former South Street Victoria Hospital property. Most buildings, including two heritage buildings–the Faculty of Medicine and War Memorial Children's Hospital–will be located on the block bounded by Waterloo, South, Colborne, and Hill streets. Another will be constructed at the northeast corner of South and Colborne.

Proposed VSA buildings, 2023. Courtesy of the VSA.

In 2021, the VSA tasked Western's MA Public History program with researching and compiling stories of St David's Ward, now known as the South of Horton, or SoHo neighbourhood (bounded by the Canadian National Railway, Adelaide Street, and the Thames River as a natural south-west barrier), the former Western Faculty of Medicine (1921), and the

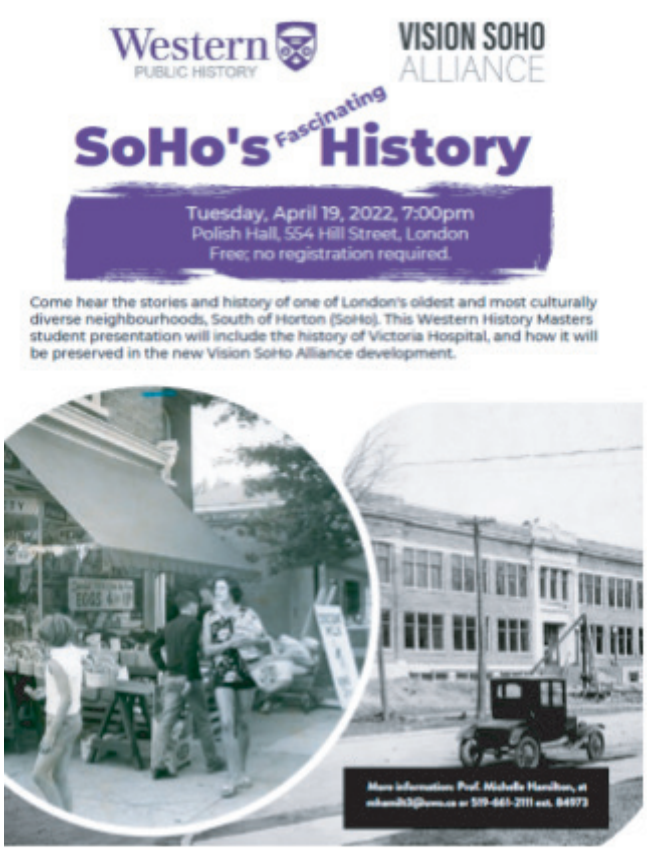
War Memorial Children's Hospital (1922). This research included interviewing Londoners who have or had ties to the neighbourhood. This effort aims to preserve the history of one of the oldest and most culturally diverse areas in London, and one which changed demographically after the medical school moved to Western's main campus in 1965, the moving of many factories, and the closing of War Memorial in 1985 and Victoria Hospital in 2013. With the city of London, Western's MA Public History students will use the compiled research and recordings to curate digitally-interactive historical signs installed in the green spaces of the alliance's property. Ultimately, the VSA signs will create a sense of place through history for future tenants and help them invest in their new homes.

The goals of this report are to:

- Document the history of SoHo, including Indigenous presence, British and European immigration, and neighbourhood culture;
- Create a thematic overview of the neighbourhood, the medical school, and War Memorial Children's Hospital;
- Compile associated stories, memories, and photographs provided by the public.

2.2 Methodology

Each year the Master's in Public History program partners with a community organisation to create a historical product of use to Londoners. In summer 2021, the Vision SoHo Alliance approached us with an idea to curate interpretive historical signage for the green spaces of its new development on the grounds of the former Victoria Hospital on South Street. This idea stems from the alliance's wish to create a sense of place through history for future tenants and in turn bolster their pride and investment in this new community. The alliance tasked the Public History program with researching the life of its two heritage buildings–the Faculty of Medicine and War Memorial Children's Hospital–and the broader history of the SoHo area, with an emphasis on its ethnic and cultural diversity. We completed two years of research in spring 2023, producing a first-year research report in 2022, and now this one in 2023. We publicly presented our research at the end of each year. Curation of the interpretative signs, including digitally interactive elements, begins later this year.



Poster for Public Presentation, 2022. Courtesy of the VSA.

The Faculty of Medicine and the War Memorial Children's Hospital left behind a wealth of archival information, now mostly cared for by Western's Archives and at the Westminster campus of Victoria Hospital. Museum London holds many artifacts and assorted photographs.

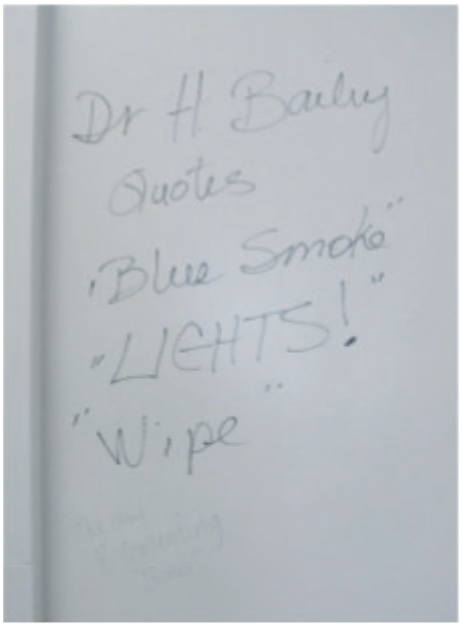
Writing the broader history of SoHo is trickier. While local historians have researched the area for decades, no published community history exists, unlike other London neighbourhoods. Instead we dug into censuses, diaries, city directories, scrapbooks, factory and church records, newspapers, and old oral histories, and invited Londoners to tell us their stories.

We called for stories through the press, radio, social media, and word of mouth, with an overwhelming response from local historians, former and current SoHo residents, community organisations, and doctors, nurses, alumni, and staff of the medical school and hospital system. In summer 2022 undergraduate intern Cristi Jerez researched the SoHo men and women who participated in the First and Second World Wars to illustrate the context of the location and expansion of the War Memorial Children's Hospital. Paige Milner interviewed Londoners about the history of hosiery factory work, focusing on women's work, under the auspices of the Heritage London Foundation. In fall 2022 graduate research assistants Mary Summerby and Mabel Gardner sought out pictures of veterans and helped us read the Black-authored *The Dawn of Tomorrow* newspaper from beginning to end. Full audio recordings and transcripts of all our interviews will be deposited at the Archives and Special Collections at Western. We hope that in the future, historians and Londoners will mine them to research other community projects.

Faculty of Medicine (later Health Services Building) and the War Memorial Children's Hospital along South Street, 2022. Courtesy of Michelle Hamilton.

2.3 Looking Back

In January 2014, Dr Roya Etemad-Razi revisited an empty Victoria Hospital. The London Health Sciences Centre hosted an open house and invited the public to walk through Victoria Hospital one last time.With a foreboding gloom hanging in the air and the dread of coming demolition, its rooms seemed like hollow shells of their former life. Nurses, doctors, staff, former patients, and neighbourhood residents arrived that January morning to pay tribute to the buildings that symbolised their careers, education, and community. The culture of Victoria Hospital impacted Dr Etemad-Razi who fondly remembered her radiology residency there between 1996-97.



A "love letter." Courtesy of Sandra Miller, Celebrating South Street, Facebook page

The experiences that that old building held. I never expected to have such an emotional reaction, but what that building used to be, what it meant to me, in my first year, and everything I learned, all the people that I knew. A lot of people who worked there, they had a connection, so it was not just an old building, I mean, it was home for us, you know you spend so many hours there.

Londoners experienced similar emotional connections to the building. During the open house, visitors used the white hospital walls as a canvas to share their memories and messages. Dr Etemad-Razi affectionately described these written stories as a "love letter to the building."[1]

While most of Victoria Hospital has since been demolished, the former medical school (later the Health Services Building), the War Memorial Children's Hospital, and the Colborne building still stand as a reminder of South Street's former legacy as a medical hub and bustling centre for research and medical care.

[1] Dr Roya Etemad-Razi, Interview with Madeline Shaw and Avraham Shaver, November 18, 2021.

3. THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

3.1 Indigenous Presence, Treaties, and European Settlement

Before European settlement, the Attiwandaron (Neutral), Anishinaabeg, Huron-Wendat, Haudenosaunee (Five later Six Nations Confederacy), and the Lūnaapéewak (Munsee-Delaware) inhabited the area at different times. Although there are many smaller sites, archaeologists have excavated three villages in London: the Praying Mantis site in Byron, Norton site in Kensal Park (c1400), and the Lawson site (c1500), now at the Museum of Ontario Archaeology. Although no village site has been found specifically in SoHo, the Thames River and its banks were important sites for agriculture, trading, and travel.

In the early 1600s the Haudenosaunee, at that point living outside the edges of the Dutch colony New Amsterdam (later New York), displaced and adopted the Attiwandaron. In 1613, the Haudenosaunee and the Dutch negotiated the Two Row Wampum treaty. According to Indigenous knowledge keepers, as the Dutch entered Haudenosaunee territory and began clearing the land, representatives from both groups agreed how the nations would relate to one another.[2] The resulting Two Row Wampum treaty is a legal agreement that recognizes the coexistence of the Haudenosaunee and the Dutch settlers through text and the words beaded into Two Row Wampum Belt. This belt is considered a 'living treaty' and a model for relationships between the Haudenosaunee and other nations.

Gaswéñdah or Two Row Wampum. Courtesy of www.onondaganation.org/culture/wampum/two-row-wampum-belt-guswenta/

The wampum belt shows two rows, or boats, representing the Haundenosaunee and European peoples, navigating the river of life side-by-side without overlapping or interfering with one another. This agreement allowed both parties to maintain their own respective authority,

[2] Karine Duhamel, "Peace, Friendship and Respect: The Meaning of the Two Row Wampum," Canadian Museum for Human Rights (2022), https://humanrights.ca/story/peace-friendship-and-respect (December 20, 2022).

beliefs, and laws without imposing influence or control over each other. The treaty stressed the three principles of friendship, peace, and respect through an everlasting agreement. As long as the sun always makes it bright on earth, the waters flow in a certain direction and the wild grasses grow at a certain time, the agreement will continue.[3]

In 1701, the Haudenosaunee and the Anishinaabeg ended decades of war with the Dish with One Spoon agreement in which all parties agreed to share and steward the resources of the Great Lakes area without giving up sovereignty. The Dish with One Spoon wampum belt uses a purple dish to represent the land and resources provided for all. A spoon rather than a knife represents peaceful co-existence.[4]

Dish with One Spoon Wampum Belt replica. Courtesy of University of Windsor's Leddy Library. https://leddy.uwindsor.ca/featured/treaties-recognition-week-0

The same year, the Haudenosaunee entered into the Nanfan Treaty which signed over the Beaver Hunting Grounds, including what became southwestern Ontario, for protection by the British Crown.[5] Decades later, following the McKee Treaty 2 in 1790, the crown gained more control of the land, including that south of the Thames River.[6]

The British government created the province of Upper Canada in 1791. Two years later in 1793, Lieutenant-Governor John Graves Simcoe decided that the forks of the Thames River, then

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[3] Rick Hill, "Talking Points on History and Meaning of the Two Row Wampum Belt," March 2013, http://honorthe.wwwmi3-ss62.a2hosted.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/TwoRowTalkingPoints-Rick-Hill.pdf (December 20, 2022); "Two Row Wampum – Gaswéñdah," Onondaga Nation, https://www.onondaganation.org/culture/wampum/two- row-wampum-belt-guswenta/ (May 3, 2022).

[4] Dean M. Jacobs and Victor P. Lytwyn, "Naagan ge bezhig emkwaan: A Dish with One Spoon Reconsidered," *Ontario History* 112, 2 (2020): 194-200.

[5] Nanfan Treaty, Transcription, *Iroquois Indians: A Documentary History*, ed. Francis Jennings, William N. Fenton, Mary Druke Becker (Woodbridge: Research Publications, 1984), Reel 6, 908-11.

[6] For treaties relevant to London and Middlesex, see Stephen D'Arcy, "London (Ontario) Area Treaties: An Introductory Guide," 2018, https://works.bepress.com/sdarcy/19/ (May 3, 2022).

known as the Deshkan Ziibi (Antler River) by the Anishinaabeg or La Tranche (the Trench) by French fur traders, should be the capital of Upper Canada. Consequently, the British Crown and the Anishinaabeg signed the London Township Purchase or Treaty 6 in 1796. The treaty states that land was "sold and disposed" for some $9000 worth of goods. Oral traditions today state that the written document does not reflect the original spoken agreement.

The north shore of the Thames River formed the boundary of this agreement. Settlement was slow and it was not until 1826 that London was officially founded, and named after Great Britain's capital. The last treaty specific to the London area is the Huron Tract Treaty of 1827, or Treaty 29, between the Crown and eighteen Anishnaabe chiefs covers approximately 2.2 million acres of land. This includes parts of Middlesex, Perth and Huron counties.

Indigenous peoples remained in the area and still live in London. In 2011, about 2% of London's urban population reported Indigenous identity, and the National Household Survey estimated that 5,165 Indigenous adults (fifteen years+) lived in London.[7] In 2016, Statistics Canada's census indicated 8,410 Indigenous adults (eighteen years+) in the city. However, national censuses undercount Indigenous peoples. Only 14% of Indigenous adults in London completed the 2011 census and only 9% completed the National Household Survey. Our Health Counts London study findings indicated 17,108 to 22,155 Indigenous adults in London in 2018, about three to four times more than estimated by Statistics Canada.[8] While it is difficult to pinpoint exact numbers for urban Indigenous people in London, these statistics show a growing presence nonetheless.

Many Indigenous residents come from the three communities located nearby. In 1760, the Deshkan Ziibiing Anishinaabeg (Chippewas of the Thames First Nation) established a community approximately twenty kilometres southwest of London along the Thames River. They are also a part of the Three Fires Confederacy with the Odawa and Bodaywadami, two other Indigenous groups in Ontario. In 2023, Deshkan Ziibiing Anishinaabeg registered just over

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[7] Andrea Cox, "Change-Makers Honoured through Fundraiser for Women's Shelter," *Londoner*, October 2, 2018, https://www.thelondoner.ca/news/local-news/change-makers-honoured-through-fundraiser-for-womens-shelter (May 3, 2022).

[8] Michelle Firestone, Brian Dokis, Raglan Maddox, Gertie Mai Muise, Kristen O'Brien, Janet Smylie, and Chloé Xavier, "Our Health Counts London: Adult Demographics," 2018, https://soahac.on.ca/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/OHC-02A-Adult-Demographics-2.pdf (December 20, 2022).

3000 residents with one third on reserve.[9] The Minisink Lunaape (Munsee-Delaware Nation) settled along the Thames River in the 1780s. In 1840, the Onyota'a:ke (Oneida Nation of the Thames), one group of the Haudenosaunee, moved from the United States and purchased land along the Thames River eastern shore about thirty kilometres south of London.[10] Today Onyota'a:ke is home to about 2,221 residents but includes around 6,376 members.[11] Each of these Indigenous communities have their own governance and administration, and provide various support for community members both on and off reserve.

St. David's Ward, as SoHo was originally named, lies immediately south of London's core, bordered by the Canadian National Railways line on the north, Adelaide Street on the east, and on the other two sides, the curving Thames River. One of the first areas of the city to be developed, the area was included within the boundaries of an 1816 sketch of the city.[12] An 1824 plan shows the streets of the ward, built on a grid system, with the only irregular borders being the Thames.[13] Later, Hamilton Road was constructed diagonally through the north-east corner of the neighbourhood. Except South Street which was also known as Ottaway Street, currently all of the streets have retained their names from the original 1824 plan.

In 2021, the city of London announced it would review existing street-naming policies and explore renaming problematic streets, buildings, and parks across London. This comes after growing global debates around "what's in a name?" and the decolonisation of public spaces. Vancouver was the first city in Canada to aggressively address this issue with its "150+Place Naming Project" in 2017.[14] This project brought to light how renaming Indigenous land was not only used to claim land and to celebrate colonial figures but also to erase the visibility of thousands of years of Indigenous habitation. Land along the Thames River with archeological

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[9] Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs, Chippewas of the Thames First Nation, Registered Population, 2023, https://fnp-ppn.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/fnp/Main/Search/FNRegPopulation.aspx?BAND_NUMBER=166&lang=eng (November 11, 2023).
[10] D'Arcy, "London (Ontario) Area Treaties," 8.
[11] Oneida Nation of the Thames, https://oneida.on.ca/ (December 20, 2022).
[12] *Sketch of the fork of the River Thames, shewing(sic) the site for the City of London, 1816* (London?, 1816), Map and Data Centre, Archives and Special Collections, Western University (hererafter ASCWU), https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/mdc London-maps/6/ (May 3, 2022).
[13] Quebec, Department of Crown Lands, *Plan of London* (1824), Map and Data Centre, ASCWU, https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/mdc-London-maps/15/ (May 3, 2022).
[14] Vancouver Council, "Motion on Notice: b2. 150+ Place Naming Project," March, 28 2017, https://council.vancouver.ca/20170328/documents/motionb2.pdf (December 20, 2022).

findings and Indigenous oral stories show that it was an important area of Indigenous habitation, trade, and travel. No street names in SoHo honour this history. Instead, streets like Bathurst, Horton, Clarence, Hill, Wellington, Richmond, Maitland, Adelaide, William, Grey, and Colborne streets are named after British colonial officials and members of the royal family. Waterloo reminds Londoners of the British triumph over Napoleon in 1815. Simcoe Street is named after Lord John Graves Simcoe, Upper Canada's first lieutenant-governor. Simcoe also renamed Indigenous waterways, roads, and communities in Upper Canada. This included renaming the "Antler River" (Deshkaan-ziibi /Eshkani-ziibi) the Thames in 1793 after the River Thames in England. Thames Street, just east of the river, takes its name from Simcoe as well.[15]

Issues around the naming of streets, such as Dundas Street, concern other minority groups, especially London's Black community through the commemoration of those involved in the slave trade. The city of London has begun consultation with community experts and the public to establish new street-naming policies that use a critical anti-racist and anti-oppressive lens. This plan will also include a list of problematic names around the city that require further historical investigation. The city aims to have a new policy developed by spring 2023 and a budget plan for 2023-24.[16]

[15] Harriett Priddis, "The Naming of London Streets," *London and Middlesex Historical Society Transactions* (1909): 7-30.
[16] Megan Stacey, "The Long Road to London's New Policy for Changing Street Names," *London Free Press* (hereafter *LFP*), November 23, 2021, https://lfpress.com/news/local-news/the-long-road-to-londons-new-policy-for for-changing- street-names (December 20, 2022).

3.2 Transportation and Infrastructure

The Thames River bounds SoHo on the south and west. Several bridges connected the neighbourhood to Westminster Township which lay to the south of the Thames. Built in 1826, the first to cross the Thames was Westminster Bridge, which today connects York and Stanley streets. In the late 1800s, the city built two more bridges–one at Wellington known as Clark's Bridge and a rail bridge slightly north of Bathurst known as the South Branch Railway Bridge. In the early twentieth century, the city built bridges at Ridout, Richmond, and Adelaide.[17]

Map of SoHo, 2022. Courtesy of Keely Shaw.

Great Western, Grand Trunk, and London and Port Stanley railways laid track in the early 1850s. From Great Western, the first train arrived in London in 1853, and stopped at the new station near Bathurst Street. The station was originally named after the Great Western Railway,

[17] Thames River Background Study Research Team, *The Thames River Watershed: A Background Study for Nomination under the Canadian Heritage Rivers System* (London: Upper Thames River Conservation Authority for the Thames River Coordinating Committee, 1998), 79; Nathan Holth, London South Branch Railway Bridge, HistoricBridges.org, https://historicbridges.org/bridges/browser/?bridgebrowser=truss/ londonsb/ and Victoria Bridge--Ridout Street Bridge, HistoricBridges.org, https://historicbridges.org/bridges/browser/?bridgebrowser=russ/ridout/ (April 10, 2022).

but when Grand Trunk and Great Western amalgamated in 1882 the owners renamed it to reflect Grand Trunk's ownership. A Canadian National Railways station replaced the original in 1935.

Grand Trunk Railway Depot, c1885, RC80932, Leonard Album. Courtesy of ASCWU.

The London and Port Stanley line began operation in 1856, and transported coal, wood, and other supplies between London, St. Thomas, and Port Stanley. When the city took over operation in 1913, it converted the line to electric. This had the unintended effect of increasing tourism to Port Stanley, as Londoners began using the train to go to the port.[18] Most importantly, all three railways crossed through SoHo. They made the land more desirable to manufacturers as they allowed for easy transportation of goods both to and from factories.

[18] Port Stanley Terminal Rail, A Brief History of the L&PS and PSTR, Port Stanley Terminal Railway, https://www.pstr.on.ca/history.htm (April 4, 2022).

The streetcar system, called the London Street Railway or LSR, began in 1873 with horse-drawn buggies, but switched to electric trolleys in 1895. By 1909, several routes connected SoHo with other parts of the city and nearby Westminster Township south of the river. Routes in SoHo included direct lines south towards Chelsea Green, east on Hamilton Road, and north on Ridout towards downtown. In total, there were two east-west routes and four north-south routes in the neighbourhood, and this variety of connections made much of the city accessible to those without other means of transportation. The city decommissioned the streetcar system in 1940.[19]

Streetcar Opening, c1925, Plate 138, A12-069-001, Way We Were Collection. Courtesy of ASCWU.

[19] *Lines of the London Street Ry Co., London, Ont., 1909* (London: London Street Railway Company, 1909), ASCWU, https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/mdc-London-maps/32/ (April 4, 2022); Adrian Gamble, "Once Upon a Tram: The London Street Railway Company's 60 Year Run in Ontario," *Skyrise Cities*, 2016, https://skyrisecities.com/news/2016/05/once-upon-tram-london-street-railway-companys-60-year-run-ontario (April 10, 2022).

3.3 The Thames River

3.3.1 Major Environmental Events

The Thames River is mostly stable with little meander migration, that is, it does not have the power to eat significantly at its banks or change course. This does not mean that the areas near the river are free from erosion or shifting, but rather that there have not been significant changes in the course of the Thames over the last century. Flooding is a much larger threat, and one Londoners knew well. In SoHo, Nelson, Clarence, Hill, South, Maitland, and Thames streets run quite close to the river banks. Over 120 known floods occurred after 1792, and as the areas around the river became settled, the need for flood control grew. The city built its first dyke in the 1880s, the West London Dyke, on the north side of the forks, but it was ineffective at controlling major floods. In 1904, an ice jam at the town of St. Marys broke, flooding London and surrounding townships despite their efforts at prevention. The city government rebuilt and improved the West London Dyke in 1905 by rebuilding, raising, and extending it. While the improved dykes did not protect all areas from flooding, it mitigated the damage significantly for the next twenty-five years.[20]

The protection did not last. At the end of April 1937, unrelenting torrential rain and the normal erosion of river banks at the end of winter resulted in the worst flood in SoHo to date. The fast-rising water carried away untreated sewage and pieces of scrap metal factories had thrown into the river. In an effort to stabilise the bridges and prevent water from rising further, people threw bricks into the river and sandbagged its banks and around their homes. Ten feet of water flooded Hill Street Park, obscuring benches and fences. On April 27, at the peak of the flood, rising waters stood at twenty-three feet above normal level. The south side of the King Street bridge flooded into Thames Street. The water surged back and forth up the street. The waters rose faster than normal, causing many to retreat to the roofs of their houses, calling for help or firing shotguns for attention. The water destroyed many homes, breaking down doors,

[20] Thames River Research Team, *Thames River Watershed*, 24, 98-99; Upper Thames River Conservation Authority, Flooding on the Thames River, https://thamesriver.on.ca/water-management/flooding-on-the-thames-river/ (April 5, 2022); Upper Thames River Conservation Authority, The City of London Dyke System, https://thamesriver.on.ca/water- management/flood-control-structures/london-dyke-system/ (April 5, 2022); Upper Thames River Conservation Authority, West London Dyke, https://thamesriver.on.ca/water-management/flood-control-structures/london-dyke-system/west-london-dyke/ (April 5, 2022).

tearing structures apart, and in some instances, completely displacing buildings. People fell ill from shock and were injured from the contents of the rising waters. In the aftermath, Londoners struggled to clean up the destruction because the flood had destroyed many hardware and supply stores.[21] Local schools and churches became evacuation centres for the many Londoners who found themselves homeless. Overall, the flood displaced 10,000 landowners and caused over three million dollars of damage across southwestern Ontario.[22]

Improvements in flood control since 1937 have dramatically reduced the risk of similar floods. In particular, SoHo is protected by the Nelson-Clarence dyke, which runs near the bank of the Thames from Hill to Wellington Street. Up river, dams constructed in the 1950s and 60s have also decreased flooding in SoHo. In 1945, the city began a twenty-five year riverbank acquisition plan in which it bought property along the Thames and in floodplains. When this plan ended, the city partnered with the Upper Thames River Conservation Authority to continue buying land near the river. London owned over 800 acres of riverside property in 1986. After acquisition, the city rezoned the land, and many areas became parks or conservation areas. SoHo's Richard B. Harrison Park at the corner of Clarence and South, once the site of the London Soap Company and a few homes, is an excellent example of this kind of flood control—rather than allowing the area to be redeveloped, the city converted it into a park that will face minimal damage if major flooding occurs.[23]

3.3.2 Thames River: Play and Pollution

The river has been a significant component of many residents' lives, offering opportunities for sustenance, wellness, and recreation. Growing up between 1864-81, actor Richard Berry Harrison and his family faced financial hardship and at times food insecurity. Harrison lived on Wellington

[21] Chris Doty and Craig Cole, *Lost April: the Flood of '37* (London: Rogers Community TV, 1997).
[22] Thames River Research Team, *Thames River Watershed*, 98-99.
[23] Thames River Research Team, *Thames River Watershed*, 102-103; Upper Thames River Conservation Authority, Flood Control Structures, https://thamesriver.on.ca/water-management/flood-control-structures/ (April 5, 2022); Upper Thames River Conservation Authority, "2004 Inspection of Flood Control Structures Appendix 3," http://thamesriver.on.ca/wp-content/uploads/FloodStructures/OtherStructures/2004LondonFloodStructureInspection-App-3-InspSheetsMaps-Clarence-Nelson.pdf (April 5, 2022); Upper Thames River Conservation Authority, London Dykes VMP - Preliminary Assessment, http://thamesriver.on.ca/wp-content/uploads/FloodStructures/OtherStructures/10-NelsonClarenceDyke.pdf (April 5, 2022).

Horton Street Flooding, 1950, 8322, Ron Nelson Photography Ltd Collection. Courtesy of ASCWU.

Street near the Thames and fished in the river with a rod he purchased, paying by instalment. To afford the rod payments, Harrison sold fish he caught in the river.[24] Later longtime SoHo residents like Mary Pavia-Melvin also recalled community members fishing in the river, and bringing the fish home to eat.[25]

For hospital patients, the Thames River provided a healing landscape. Nineteenth-century medicine theorised that fresh air and visual experiences of nature helped heal physical and mental health diseases.[26] The city built London General Hospital in 1875 to face the river,

[24] Mary Turner, "R.B. Harrison Returns Home: Noted Colored Actor is Native of This City: Cast of 92 in Show: Bygone Days Recalled and Old Scenes Revisited," *LFP*, nd, Historical Scrapbook Series 26, 50, Ivey Family London Room, London Public Library (hereafter IFLR).
[25] Mary Pavia Melvin, Interview with Niġel Klemenčič-Puglisevich and Sarah Pointer, February 19, 2023.
[26] Claire Hickman, "Cheerful Prospects and Tranquil Restoration: The Visual Experience of Landscape as Part of the

offering patients additional health benefits from their interactions with the landscape. On its opening day, visitors delighted in the beautiful sunrooms connected to the private and public wards which offered a panoramic view of the Thames and nearby farmland.[27]

Children played along the river. Famous tap dancer Joey Hollingsworth recalled hunting for snakes along the Thames for fun.[28] Rob Burns played in the river during his summers in the 1940s, exploring the naturally made beaches or one of the 'islands' in the Thames. In the winter, Burns remembered floating downstream on large chunks of ice.[29] Mary Pavia-Melvin recalled similar experiences in her teenage years. Children developed their own routes weaving through the neighbourhood to avoid busy roads to reach the river. Once there, Melvin and her friends jumped off the trestle bridge near Chelsea Green into the water.[30]

Melvin also recounted the darker story of pollution in the Thames River from nearby businesses which dumped debris and chemicals into the river. She recalled chemicals coming from businesses such as Vanadium Alloys-Steel Canada Ltd on Philip Street and General Steel Wares (formerly McClary's) on Adelaide. In some instances, the Thames frothed up from the excess yeast coming from Labatt Brewery. Large debris was also common in the river, presenting additional environmental hazards and safety issues.[31]

Locals made limited efforts to clean up the river over the years. In the 1930s, longtime London Mayor George Wenige published campaign advertisements in *The Dawn of Tomorrow.* Addressing the campaign to the Black community, Wenige promised to "clean up the river Thames by relief labour paid in cash" if elected.[32] This concern did not dissipate, as he again promised to clean up the waterfront in his 1937 campaign.[33] Wenige's outreach to the Black community highlighted that this issue was important to these residents. There is unfortunately no record of these promises materialising during this period. It was not until the 1980s that interest

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Therapeutic Regime of the British Asylum, 1800-60," *History of Psychiatry* 20, 4 (2009): 425-26.
[27] John R. Sullivan and Norman R. Ball, *Growing to Serve… A History of Victoria Hospital, London, Ontario* (London: Victoria Hospital Corporation, 1985), 64.
[28] Joey Hollingsworth, Interview with Zahra McDoom and Sarah Pointer, February 17, 2023.
[29] Ron Burns - 75 Wellington Street, *Hear, Here London*, https://www.hearherelondon.org/stories/ron-burns/ (March 30, 2023).
[30] Melvin, Interview with Klemenčič-Puglisevich and Pointer, 2023.
[31] Melvin, Interview with Klemenčič-Puglisevich and Pointer, 2023.
[32] "Vote for G.A. Wenige," *The Dawn of Tomorrow* (hereafter *DoT),* November 1934, 7.
[33] "Get London in March with the Step of Time," *DoT,* December 1937, 3.

groups began cleaning up the river.[34] Today, there are ongoing issues with pollutants in the Thames River, negatively impacting water quality.[35] This has affected Indigenous communities downstream including Oneida of the Thames Nation, under a boil-water advisory since 2019.[36]

[34] Melvin, Interview with Klemenčič-Puglisevich and Pointer, 2023.
[35] Megan Stacey, "The latest on London's battle to keep sewage from the Thames River," *LFP*, April 21, 2021, https://lfpress.com/news/local-news/the-latest-on-londons-battle-to-keep-sewage-from-the-thames-river (April 12, 2023).
[36] Andrew Lupton, "Oneida Nation of the Thames gets $43m from Ottawa for Clean Drinking Water," CBC News, March 23, 2023, https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/london/oneida-nation-thames-clean-drinking-water-ottawa-funding-1.6788184#:~:text=A%20boil%2Dwater%20advisory%20has,state%20of%20emergency%20in%20December (April 12, 2023).

3.4 Work and Labour

Residents of SoHo often worked in the neighbourhood, at various factories and manufacturers, on the railway, and at Victoria Hospital.

3.4.1 City Mills

Some of the earliest factories in London were Labatt Brewing Co., founded by John Labatt, and City Mills, founded by Charles Hunt. These two businesses sat on the eastern bank of the Thames between Simcoe and Grey streets. Today, Labatt has expanded to take up this entire area, but John Labatt originally sold the land City Mills sat on to Hunt in 1853. Hunt built a dam that channelled water along a millrace between the two businesses, pulling water from the river towards the mill to spin a waterwheel. The mill produced approximately 215 bushels of flour a day, which was sold both at the Golden Sheaf, Hunt's store on Richmond Street, and abroad. As the company expanded over time, the property came to include a cooperage, a granary, and cottages for the mill's workers. When Hunt passed in 1871, his sons took over the business and renamed it Hunt Bros Ltd. The two moved the business from its original location to a new facility on Nightingale Street outside of SoHo, in 1917.[37]

Winter view of Hunt's Mills, c1925, Regional Photograph Collection, RC40686, AFC 49-34A. Courtesy of ASCWU.

3.4.2 Small Businesses and Women's Work

The 1871 census of Canada recorded businesses, the number of employees, the supplies they used, its products, capital invested into the business, and wages and profits. This census included large well-known SoHo companies, like Labatt, and McClary Manufacturing on

[37] GWH Bartram, "Charles Hunt, 1820–1871," *London and Middlesex Historical Society Transactions* XVI (1967): 55-85; Freeman Talbot, London: its Manufactures and General Progress, *Western Ontario History Nuggets* 13 (1947): 7; James Sutherland ed., *City of London and County of Middlesex General Directory for 1868–9* (Toronto, 1868), 277; Archie Bremner, ed., *City of London*, *Ontario*, *Canada*; *the Pioneer Period and the London of Today*, 2nd ed. (London, 1900), 68, 143.

Adelaide near the river, but also small businesses. For example, William Dyson owned a tin and coppersmith shop that produced only cheese vats. A man named Amos Weldon peddled pumps in both the city and country. He owned one horse and a pine buggy, which he used to travel with his wares. Even people who only took commission work appeared in the census as independent businessmen and women. One example that stands out is Sara Wilson, a dressmaker. Wilson's business was very small, particularly compared to other dressmakers in the area. She had one employee other than herself, another woman. Each woman's average monthly wage was $12.50, and the business's yearly profit was $300. $12.50 was not a large monthly wage. In comparison, forty-two of the seventy-one recorded businesses in the same area paid over $20 a month. Another woman who stands out is Fanny Seddon, who worked as a gilder, applying gold, silver, and other high value metals to objects such as furniture or picture or mirror frames. In 1871, Seddon was a fifty-year-old widow. Her eighteen-year-old son helped in her work, though he was not an official employee. They turned a yearly profit of around $3200 in 1871.[38]

This census also shows that while the majority of workers in SoHo were men, women and children also worked. Only specific businesses employed women; most were companies that did sewing or hand-work, such as tailors, dress-makers, book-binders, or cobblers. These industries closely align with what many considered 'women's work,' or needed women's smaller hands. Many did not think these jobs took the same physical toll as heavy factory work. However, there is also evidence of foundries, meat factories, cabinet manufacturers, and mills employing women, although in much lower numbers compared to men. The employment of girls was exceptionally limited, with only five girls being employed in SoHo in 1871–two of whom worked at a ladies' shop that only employed women. Potential jobs for boys were not as limited as girls but happened less often. Most boys were employed by factories, as well as tailor shops and cobblers.

[38] This and the following data was obtained through the database created by the University of Guelph's Canadian Industry in 1871 Project (1982-2008), http://www.canind71.uoguelph.ca/ (April 10, 2022); Canada, Census of Canada, 1871, Schedule 1, Ontario, London, Ward 3, page 18, https://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.item/?app=Census1871&op=pdf&id=4396677_00392 (April 10, 2022); Canada, Census of Canada, 1871, Schedule 1, Ontario, London, Ward 3, North Division, page 28, https://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.item/?app=Census1871&op= pdf&id=4396677_00480 (April 10, 2022).

3.4.3 Labatt Brewing Co.

In 1834, John Kinder Labatt and his wife Eliza Kell moved to British North America to live free of discrimination against the Irish they faced back home in England. Labatt claimed 200 acres of land and for the next decade, tended to the fields of his farm. By 1847, Labatt had entered into a partnership with Samuel Eccles who had recently bought the London Brewery on Simcoe Street.[39] As Labatt became the leading business partner, the public began to associate the London Brewery with the Labatt name. The forest city proved to be an ideal location to launch his beer empire as Labatt took advantage of the surrounding wilderness for building materials, firewood, and the help of local farmers for malting barley.[40]

Labatt Truck Fleet, A08-053-1197, 95, Labatt Brewing Company Collection. Courtesy of ASCWU.

A key factor in Labatt's success was his ability to recognize the benefits of transportation to the sale of beer. The arrival of the Great Western Railway in 1853 allowed Labatt to ship his products to Canada's bigger cities.[41] Labatt later invested in the manufacturing of branded transport trucks. The trucks not only provided a unique advertising strategy, but allowed Labatt to sell his beer to populations not accessible by train. The Labatt-owned truck fleet meant that

[39] Matthew J. Bellamy, "Labatt: A Closer Look," Labatt Brewing Company Collection, virtual exhibit (2017), https://labattheritage.lib.uwo.ca/closer-look/the-birth-of-a-brewery (February 23, 2023).
[40] Fred Israels, ed., *Londoners Remember Part Two: A Collection of Reminiscences* (London: Ad Ventures in History Inc., 1989), 87.
[41] Bellamy, "Labatt," Labatt Brewing Company Collection, virtual exhibit (2017), https://labattheritage.lib.uwo.ca/closer-look/the-birth-of-a-brewery (February 23, 2023).

the company did not have to outsource their transportation needs. This proved to be crucial during the prohibition movement in the early 1900s. Having the ability to produce and transport its own product allowed Labatt to become one of the most successful bootlegging operations in all of Canada.[42]

Trucks were not the only way Labatt was remembered in SoHo. Music played an interesting role both in advertising and employee morale. In the 1940s, employees compiled a songbook as part of a morale boosting initiative. This book includes popular folk songs edited to include Labatt lore such as the song *Beer Stories:*

The earth was made in six days and finished
on the seventh,
According to the contract it should have
been the 'leventh.
The carpenters got drunk and the Masons
wouldn't work,
So the cheapest thing to do was to fill it
up with dirt.

While Labatt was first and foremost a beer company, to residents of SoHo it was so much more. One Londoner said that "Labatt's were very good to their employees. In the old days it seemed like Labatt's was a family. Everybody knew everybody. You could go up to Mr. Labatt and say hello."[43] It not only employed many SoHo residents, but created communities outside of work to connect people on a personal level. Ron Edwards remembered the kindness of Labatt when his father was an employee: "When my father took sick, the generosity of the people was amazing." He described one winter in which Labatt made his family feel truly appreciated: "Soon another knock came and it was the head of the union at Labatt's where my dad worked. He had a big hamper of food and toys for us kids. That was one of the nicest Christmas' we've ever had."[44]

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[42] Bellamy, "Labatt," Labatt Brewing Company Collection, virtual exhibit (2017), https://labattheritage.lib.uwo.ca/closer-look/the-challenge-of-prohibition (February 23, 2023).
[43] Fred Israels, ed., *Londoners Remember: A Collection of Reminiscences* (London: Ad Ventures in History Inc., 1989), 17.
[44] Israels, ed., *Londoners Remember*, 17.

Labatt paid special attention to its employees' children, giving them opportunities for leisure and fun, education, and professional development. One program in particular, *Smile Across Canada*, was a summer exchange program to sponsor children of employees to live with a host family in another province.[45]

In the summer, Labatt employed many students, especially children of employees. One of those lucky students was Tanya Weigelt who spoke of her summers with a sense of nostalgia: "getting a summer job with Labatt was like winning the lottery!"[46] As a young woman, Weigelt worked in different roles. She remembered the satisfaction of the rhythmic machinery sounds on the assembly line, and the fun she had as a forklift driver. For her, a summer job with Labatt was so much more than work. She remembered socialising with her colleagues at the after-shift bars around the brewery, as well as employee camping trips to Sauble Beach. She said that her time at Labatt was particularly unique as her father, Karl Weigelt, worked as a long-time mechanical engineer. His career with Labatt started a month after Weigelt was born in 1969 and he stayed until 2008. Growing up as a child of a Labatt employee was special, and Weigelt described her father's colleagues as a second family. She remembered the warmth and the fun at work events, such as Christmas parties for families. Weigelt worked for the company for four summers, enjoying every minute of it.

Labatt's Mobile Disaster Service rescue fom a demolished building. A08-053-197, 57, Envelope 1, Labatt Brewing Company Collection. Courtesy of ASCWU.

[45] Bellamy, "Labatt," Labatt Brewing Company Collection, virtual exhibit (2017), https://labattheritage.lib.uwo.ca/closer-look/a-team-the-people-of-labatt (February 23, 2023).
[46] Tanya Weigelt, Interview with Jessica Hugh, February 7, 2023.

Labatt's also cared for the community as a whole. During the flood of 1948, Labatt employees helped with sandbagging, pumping, and rescue operations. Shortly after the flood, the company created the Labatt Mobile Disaster Service to help with future accidents and natural catastrophes such as fires and floods.[47]

While the company often improved the work lives of their employees, the impact of the Labatt workers' union should not be ignored. The Labatt marching band, the Clown Syncopaters Local No. 1, was a union band which often performed at company events and parades. Post Second World War, clowns were a common sight in Labour Day parades. Older union members felt that Labour Day parades were becoming too commercialised, and pandered to audiences' demand for entertainment instead of promoting worker solidarity.[48] A band made up of proud union workers adorned in flashy clown costumes worked as a compromise. They were extravagant enough to hold the attention of their audience while also demonstrating the benefits that came with union membership.

Labatt Clown Band marching in a labour day parade. A08-053-1211
LAGR0015, Folder 2 Labatt Brewing Company Collection.
Courtesy of ASCWU.

During the Second World War, the Labatt factory contributed to the Canadian war effort.

[47] Bellamy, "Labatt," Labatt Brewing Company Collection, virtual exhibit (2017), https://labattheritage.lib.uwo.ca/chapter/commitment-to-canadian-communities/the-spirit-of-1000-pounds (February 23, 2023).
[48] Craig Heron and Steve Penfold, *The Workers' Festival: A History of Labour Day in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 227.

The company is most well known for shipping thousands of gallons of beer overseas to Canadians on the front lines and creating print and radio advertisements with patriotic messages to support troops and encourage Canadians to raise money for the war effort. Much like other companies across Canada, the factory refitted to produce ammunition and supplies for the Canadian army. Its largest contribution to the war occurred in 1941 with the establishment of the Motor Mechanics Army Trade school, often referred to as "Labatt's Army Trade School." This initiative transformed the company garages into training facilities for soldiers to learn mechanical skills.[49]

Labatt factory women working on War Savings Certificates. Box A08-053-1197, Labatt Brewing Company Collection. Courtesy of ASCWU.

As war continued in Europe, conscription left Labatt severely understaffed. In 1943, women started to work at the brewery for the first time and some even stood in for family members serving overseas. Before the war, women only worked as office staff for Labatt.[50]

Labatt Army Trade School. File 27, LAGR001, Box A08-053-1197, Labatt Brewing Company Collection. Courtesy of ASCWU.

Toward the end of the war in 1945, workers at Labatt prepared care packages for Canadians overseas. Labatt employees eventually returned to their jobs at the brewery when they arrived home.

[49] Bellamy, "Labatt," Labatt Brewing Company Collection, virtual exhibit (2017), https://labattheritage.lib.uwo.ca/closer-look/supporting-canadas-troops (March 5, 2023).
[50] "The Women in Our Life," *Spearhead*, June 1943, timeline, Labatt Brewing Company Collection, virtual exhibit (2017), https://labattheritage.lib.uwo.ca/chapter/supporting-canadas-troops/the-world-goes-to-war-again/874/859 (March 5, 2023).

3.4.4 Holeproof Hosiery and London Hosiery Mills

By the 1920s, societal changes resulted in the growth of the hosiery industry. It flourished because of an improved standard of living which rejected the idea of mending one's stockings as well as a changing fashion that showed one's legs and ankles.[51] Holeproof Hosiery was one large hosiery manufacturer in SoHo which for many decades helped meet this increasing demand for delicate socks and stockings. Carl Freschl, a young man who immigrated from Europe to the United States in 1872, founded Holeproof in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in 1886.[52] He coined the Holeproof guarantee: "six months without holes, or a new pair free." The company came to London in 1910 after JW Little bought the right to manufacture Holeproof products in Canada.[53] While not its original location, the Holeproof branch in London eventually moved into SoHo, to 203 Bathurst Street, in 1919. Its first products were socks for men, women, and children. By 1927, the factory also made full fashioned hosiery for women, a style of hose meant to be worn with a garter belt, as the hose only came to the top of the thigh. It also had reinforced heels and toes, and its iconic seam down the back of the hose.

The employees who made the hosiery were primarily women. Margaret Ward, who started working at Holeproof in 1962 at the age of nineteen, and Trudy Van Buskirk, who began working in the factory office in 1965 at the age of fifteen, both described gendered work at Holeproof. The repairmen and supervisors were men while the running of the machinery and the office work was done by women.[54] Ward admitted that "there was no guys that did any of our jobs, they wouldn't have lasted. Or they wouldn't have done it." Ward explained, in detail, the machinery work that women did at Holeproof. She recalled working eight-hour night shifts at the knitting machines during which she was responsible for making sure over thirty machines were well stocked with thread, inspecting the hosiery for runs, and collecting the socks to be sent

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[51] Frederick Arthur Wells, *The British Hosiery and Knitwear Industry: Its History and Organisation* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1972), 171; Benjamin S. Scott, "The Economic and Industrial History of the City of London, Canada: From the Building of the First Railway, 1855 to the Present, 1930" (Masters thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1930), 255-56.

[52] *Better Hosiery: The Story of Holeproof* (Milwaukee: Holeproof Hosiery Company, 1924), 6, https://content.wisconsinhistory.org/digital/collection/tp/id/47138/ (July 4, 2022).

[53] Arthur McClelland, "A Run for the Money: Holeproof Hosiery Company, 1911-1989," presentation, *A Forgotten Story of London* series, London Public Library, October 11, 2011; Scott, "The Economic and Industrial History of the City of London," 261.

[54] Margaret Ward, Interview with Paige Milner, June 29, 2022, Heritage London Foundation; Trudy Van Buskirk, Interview with Paige Milner, June 1, 2022, Heritage London Foundation.

upstairs for dyeing and finishing. She described how "you were constantly on your feet, up and down, up and down… it was just go, go, go." These machines sat in rows in large rooms with open windows which allowed for bats and birds to fly around while the women worked. To every two women there was a repairman to fix the machines whenever something went wrong.[55]

London Hosiery Mills just before it closed in 1983. LFP 1983-09-09. Courtesy of ASCWU.

In 1955, Holeproof Hosiery (both London and Milwaukee sites) merged with Julius Kayser & Company which the CH Roth Company then purchased a few years later.[56] The hosiery department at the Bathurst factory stopped operations in 1971 but the fabric division remained until the entire factory closed completely in 1989.

While Holeproof was the only hosiery factory technically within the bounds of SoHo, it was one of six hosiery factories in London during the twentieth century. Residents of SoHo likely also worked at London Hosiery Mills–a factory located just outside the area–north of the train tracks at the Adelaide and York street intersection. The company was established in 1915 by

[55] Ward, Interview with Milner, June 29, 2022, Heritage London Foundation.
[56] McClelland, "A Run for the Money."

RL Baker and within the first fifteen years of business, he built two additions to the original building to accommodate growth, and its workforce increased four times.[57]

Like Holeproof, London Hosiery Mills had a workforce made up of primarily women, who were generally split between working the knitting machines, in the finishing room, and in the sample room. Helen Stoddart, who started at the mill around 1951 at the age of seventeen and stayed until 1958, was responsible for about twenty-one machines and spent ten-hour days walking up and down the aisles, between the machines, keeping them running, inspecting the finished socks, and even repairing the machines. She described how you needed a dozen pairs of socks in a bundle and so, because the socks just poured out of the machine "you would tear it [the sock] off, you'd put your hand in it, turn it inside out, throw it over your shoulder…. Until you had twelve on your shoulder again… and then you'd tie them up." The working environment was dangerous due to the remarkable noise made from the machines as well as the slippery oil that dripped from the machines, sometimes covering parts of the floor in puddles.[58]

When women like Stoddart were finished with the socks, they went up to the finishing room where other women readied them for sale. Clarice Sargent worked in the finishing room during her second stint at the factory from the age of twenty-two to twenty-nine, during 1960-67. Women paired, folded, packaged the socks and nylons, stamped the packaging, and mailed them off to fulfil orders.[59]

In 1983, London Hosiery Mill was scheduled to relocate to Stratford, Ontario, and to close shortly after this. Even years beforehand, as early as 1981, employees sensed the mill was destined for closure. Many machines were broken, and there was a lack of operators to work them and mechanics to fix these intricate machines.[60] In 1987, the building was demolished and the hosiery mill gone for good.

At both Holeproof and London Hosiery Mills, pay varied between jobs and gender. At Holeproof, Van Buskirk started at thirty-five cents an hour but eventually after four years of working for the company made approximately seventy-five cents an hour.[61] Ward, on the other

[57] Scott, "The Economic and Industrial History of the City of London, Canada," 263.
[58] Helen Stoddart, Interview with Paige Milner, June 30, 2022, Heritage London Foundation.
[59] Clarice Sargent, Interview with Paige Milner, June 29, 2022, Heritage London Foundation.
[60] Ted Collins, Interview with Paige Milner, July 22, 2022, Heritage London Foundation.
[61] Van Buskirk, Interview with Milner, June 1, 2022, Heritage London Foundation.

hand, was paid both an hourly wage and by piece work. Altogether, she remembered making "a lot less than $1.81 an hour."[62] At London Hosiery Mills, Stoddart started at around seventy-five cents an hour but with piece work added, she recalled the most she ever made, near the end of her time at the factory, was $1.05 an hour.[63]

Women likely working in the finishing department at Holeproof Hosiery, packaging stockings. LFP 1950-01-13. Courtesy of ASCWU.

There were two main reasons why these women came to work at both hosiery factories– and neither was because of the pay. For some, it was the result of family connections. Many had siblings or parents who already worked at the factory and got them an easy job when they needed money.[64] For others, it was the only job they could find.[65]

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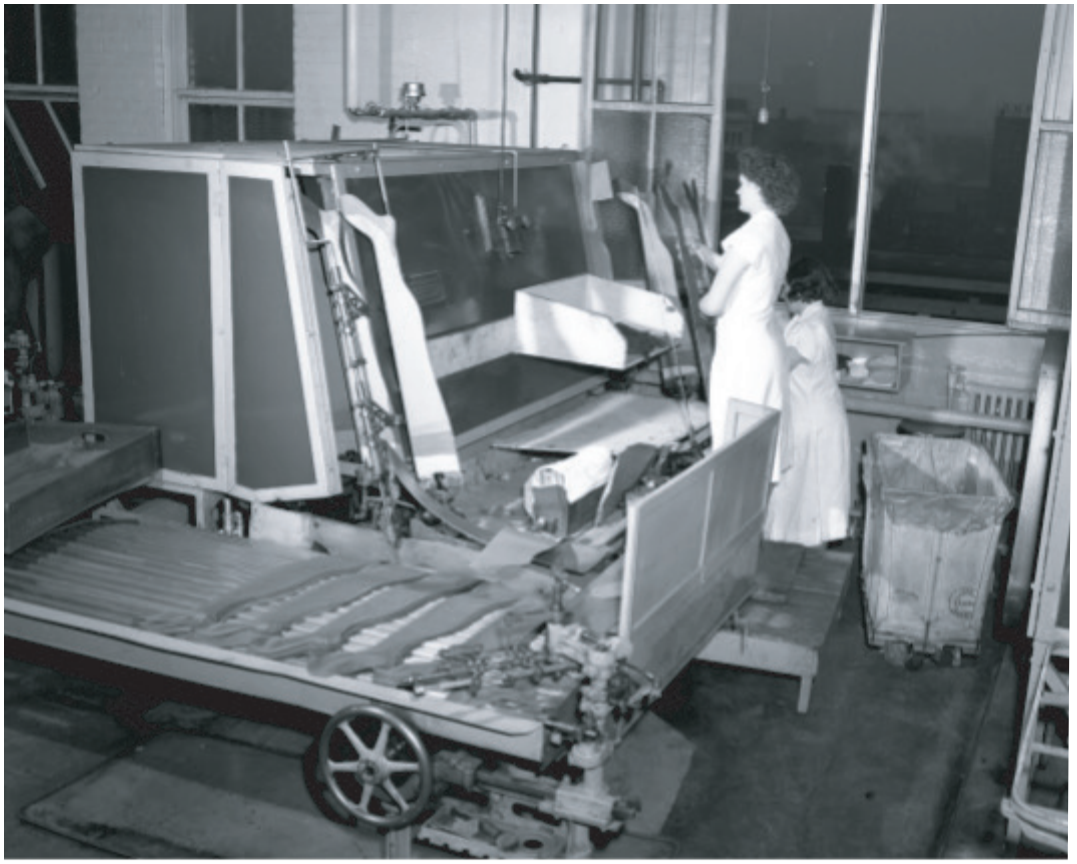
[62] Ward, Interview with Milner, June 29, 2022, Heritage London Foundation.
[63] Stoddart, Interview with Milner, June 30, 2022, Heritage London Foundation.
[64] Annecke Somann, Interview with Paige Milner, July 26, 2022, Heritage London Foundation; Stoddart, Interview with Milner, June 30, 2022, Heritage London Foundation; Van Buskirk, Interview with Milner, June 1, 2022, Heritage London Foundation.
[65] Ward, Interview with Milner, June 29, 2022, Heritage London Foundation; Mitchell, Interview with Milner, June 21, 2022, Heritage London Foundation.



Women at Holeproof Hosiery working a machine which steamed and pressed stockings into their desired shape. LFP 1950-01-13. Courtesy of ASCWU.

Regardless, these women shared the reality that their pay cheques, no matter how small, were incredibly important. Their work was undeniably necessary for either their survival, their family's survival, or their future. For most, their wage helped augment their husband's wage; this additional income allowed the family to get a mortgage on a new house, buy a car, pay for their children's daycare, or even purchase a new television.[66] For the women who had yet to marry, it financed their way through university or allowed them to move away from home and feed themselves better than at home.[67]

These female factory workers shared two main feelings regarding their employment. The first was the expression of intense work and exhaustion they experienced while working.

[66] Stoddart, Interview with Milner, June 30, 2022, Heritage London Foundation; Ward, Interview with Milner, June 29, 2022, Heritage London Foundation; Mitchell, Interview with Milner, June 21, 2022, Heritage London Foundation.
[67] Van Buskirk, Interview with Milner, June 1, 2022, Heritage London Foundation; Somann, Interview with Milner, July 26, 2022, Heritage London Foundation.

Stoddart described how "I was afraid I was going to work myself to death sometimes."[68] However, this exhaustion was tempered with a general love for their job, their co-workers, and their work. Van Buskirk, who was a university student near the end of her time at Holeproof, recalled how her co-workers were all incredibly supportive of her schooling, considering that they had never gone to university themselves. She reminisced how "they were all proud of me."[69] Billy Mitchell who described the experiences of his mother Ethel Maud Mitchell, who began working at the mill around the age of sixteen in 1929, said that "she loved it. She thought that it was the best place to be. Her whole life she thought that was great."[70] Similarly, Sargent said enthusiastically, "And I loved it. I just loved it and that was the end of that."[71]

The Second World War changed the labour force of many factories in SoHo. While Holeproof primarily employed women since its opening, most of the other factories in SoHo did not. Textile factories historically used women as their primary labour force, but breweries, foundries, and other factories did not. The war necessitated adaptation. The Canadian government encouraged women to enter the labour force so that factories could meet wartime production needs. By 1943, war industries employed over 261,000 women. Many women left work at the end of the war, but their efficacy as employees during wartime proved to many employers that women could be valuable workers in a variety of industries. This did not necessarily equate to large masses of women working in heavy industry after the war, but did open doors for women who sought employment in those areas in later years.[72]

3.4.5 McClary Manufacturing/General Steel Wares

McClary Manufacturing (later General Steel Wares) began humbly in SoHo. Founder John McClary embarked on his career as an apprentice tinsmith in London. Following his participation in the California gold rush, McClary returned to London and together with his brother, Oliver, established J&O McClary in 1850, specialising in the production of tinware.[73]

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[68] Stoddart, Interview with Milner, June 30, 2022, Heritage London Foundation.
[69] Van Buskirk, Interview with Milner, June 1, 2022, Heritage London Foundation.
[70] Billy Mitchell, Interview with Milner, June 21, 2022, Heritage London Foundation.
[71] Sargent, Interview with Milner, June 29, 2022, Heritage London Foundation.
[72] Jean Bruce, *Back the Attack! Canadian Women During the Second World War, At Home and Abroad* (Toronto: MacMillan Publishing Canada, 1985), 54-58.
[73] WA Craick, "Eighty-four Years Old, Still at Helm: How John McClary Found the Elixir of Perpetual Efficiency," *MacLean's Magazine*, May 1, 1914, 23-24; Christopher Andreae, *The Industrial Heritage of London and Area*

The first firm was located in a house on the corner of Wellington and York streets. Demand for tinware was not high enough for the company to grow, so the McClarys diversified in 1854 by manufacturing stoves, for which they would become most known. Within a year, McClary employed over forty men. At first, mostly pedlars sold the products, travelling by horse and buggy through the rural regions surrounding London—as many as seventy-five pedlars were employed by McClary at one time. The arrival of the railroad in London allowed for easier transportation of products to multiple major cities as demand grew. In 1869, to raise capital for expansion, McClary formed a joint stock company and sold shares. By the mid-1870s, the company had purchased the Verity Company of Exeter and added its products to the McClary line. McClary was far from stopping—in 1877, the company branched out into farming equipment such as harrows and ploughs. This was a short-lived diversification, as a few years later it dropped farming equipment in favour of producing more stoves.

General Steel Wares Block. AFC 177-S1-SS3-F3422, 1956, LFP Collection. Courtesy of ASCWU.

In 1881, the company officially incorporated and was renamed McClary Manufacturing Co. Ltd. Geographically, the factory covered much of the block between Wellington, Clarence, York, and King streets. Demand grew so high that by 1901, McClary had opened a warehouse in St John, New Brunswick, and planned a nation-wide distribution system. Further branches were to open in Vancouver, Calgary, Saskatoon, and Winnipeg. With the factory working hard to keep up, McClary opened a large complex on both sides of Adelaide immediately north of the Thames, on the south-eastern border of SoHo, in 1904.[74]

(London: Ontario Society for Industrial Archaeology and London Historical Museums, 1984), 21.
[74] Mike Hand, *Where Did They Go?* (London, 2013), 23-24, 25, 29.

In 1927, McClary Manufacturing merged with several other companies to become General Steel Wares. The Adelaide Street plant remained in operation into the 1980s and has since been demolished.[75]

3.4.6 Canada Bread

Another major manufacturer in SoHo was the Canada Bread factory at 258 South Street. A bakery business had been located on this spot as early as the 1880s, as shown on fire insurance plans. Johnston Brothers Bakery of the early twentieth century gave way to Canada Bread by mid-century. Jim Payne, a former employee, worked as a baker there for fifteen years. His father and grandfather had both been bakers, and he followed in their footsteps. For a portion of his time at the factory, he made dough. The job was stressful, requiring him to run constantly between three mixers to monitor the dough. He also baked the bread and recalled the frenzy of loading and unloading the oven. Payne remembered workers unloading fresh loaves from the oven onto rolling racks. They then moved these racks to another room for the bread to cool. Moving the rack sometimes resulted in loaves falling off onto the floor. The bread was picked up by one of the men working, dusted off on

Canada Bread Factory, 1948. AFC 177-S3-SS13-F2485, LFP Collection. Courtesy of ASCWU.

[75] Craick, "Eighty-four Years Old," *MacLean's Magazine*, May 1, 1914, 23-24; Andreae, *The Industrial Heritage of London and Area*, 21.

their white pants, and placed back on the cooling rack. When he visited the factory twenty-three years after he quit, Payne remembers being shocked by the changes. More men worked in both the dough and baking areas, and he called the new employees 'machine operators' rather than bakers. The mad scramble Payne remembered from his time working there was no more. Even with technical innovations that increased production, the factory shut down in 2003. The site has since been cleared.[76]

3.4.7 London Soap Company

The London Soap Company factory stood on the corner of Clarence and South streets for 100 years. It opened in 1875 under Thomas Churcher. In the early 1900s, Churcher sold the factory to the Phillips family who operated the plant until 1978. In 1980, the city bought the factory as part of its flood prevention programs, though it rented the space to tenants until 1984.[77] In 1985, many considered the building to be the oldest standing soap factory in Canada. However, it caught fire April 13, 1985, destroying the building. A monument to the factory, a large toilet soap milling machine salvaged from the fire, now marks the site. Included in the monument is a plaque explaining the history and value of the old factory.[78]

Factories shaped people's experiences in the neighbourhood. SoHo residents, whether they worked in the local factories or not, knew and engaged with them in a variety of ways. They dealt with debris from the factories during floods, saw trucks and trains, smelled and shopped for bread and beer, and told time by the factory whistles heard during the day. Factories were part of the neighbourhood, and thus part of the lived experience.[79] Manufacturing never fully left SoHo, but it has radically decreased in recent years.

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[76] Jim Payne, *Hear, Here London*, https://www.hearherelondon.org/stories/jim-payne/ (April 5, 2022).
[77] "London Soap Factory," Alice Gibb Files, London, Ontario; Alice Gibb, "Soap Factory Destined to Become Museum," Alice Gibb Files; Andreae, *The Industrial Heritage of London and Area*, 21.
[78] Chris Andreae, *Hear, Here London*, https://www.hearherelondon.org/stories/chris-andreae-london-soap-factory/ (April 5, 2022).
[79] Jane Moffat, Interview with Keely Shaw, April 1, 2022; Marion Hall, Interview with Madeline Shaw, March 15, 2022.

3.5 Schooling

Both general education schools and ethnic language schools existed in London. What makes SoHo public schools particularly interesting is how they broke down barriers between different groups. Children of all backgrounds shared classrooms and recreational spaces at the Waterloo South Primary School, Aberdeen Public School, Simcoe Street School, and St. John's French Immersion Catholic School. Our narrators explained that these shared spaces created friendships among children of various cultural, ethnic, and religious backgrounds. At the same time, kids called post-Second World War immigrants 'DPs,' short for 'displaced persons,' or refugees from their home countries. This term was considered a slur.

Ken Chute, Kids at Governor Simcoe School, 1967, AFC 177-S1-SS15-F3861, LFP Collection. Courtesy of ASCWU.

Communal environments nourished in these schools allowed for sports team rivalries, academic competitiveness, and social engagements all of which enriched childrens' experiences.

Many community members recalled their time at school fondly, remembering playing street hockey, going to dances, and exploring the neighbourhood with other students.[80]

3.5.1 Waterloo South Primary School or the Old 'Ward School'

The very first school in SoHo was Waterloo South Primary School, otherwise known as the old 'Ward School.' Reverend Benjamin Cronyn, the superintendent of education for London, established the school in 1842. The school represents a key point in London's educational reform, constructed when the city was divided into wards with corresponding school districts. The city had tasked Cronyn with creating public school districts, and rather than draw up new boundaries he used the municipal ward boundaries and assigned corresponding school districts. The boundaries of SoHo fell into ward three, and the school opened at 186 Waterloo Street. The school zone was vast and encompassed many homes with school-aged children. Consequently, overcrowding in classrooms was a problem familiar to both students and staff. One of the teachers, Phoebe Martindale, sometimes taught seventy students in one class. The city closed the school in 1890, and split students between two new public schools: Hamilton Road School (now Aberdeen Public School) and the Simcoe Street Model School. St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church Mission preserved the old ward school which can still be seen today, part of the Cornerstone United Reform Church. It is one of the oldest schools still standing in the city.[81]

3.5.2 Hamilton Road School/Aberdeen Public School

Hamilton Road opened in 1883 as a four-room school. As the population grew, the school added four more rooms to create a south wing, and converted a cottage on the property into a kindergarten. While the original schoolhouse faced Hamilton, in 1914 the building was reconstructed in its current location (580 Grey) with the front doors facing Grey Street. The city renamed the school after Lord Aberdeen, the governor general of Canada, who visited London in 1893. Ironically, when he and Lady Aberdeen visited, they stopped at Simcoe Street School

[80] Ernie Segleneiks, Interview with Keely Shaw, December 13, 2021; Mike Delaney, Interview with Keely Shaw, April 3, 2022; Penny Evans, Interview with Keely Shaw, December 13, 2021.
[81] Amelia Eqbal, "London Neighbourhood Histories: SoHo - Built to Last, with Room to Grow," *LondonFuse,* https://londonfuse.ca/london-neighbourhood-histories-soho (December 9, 2020); Alice Gibb, Waterloo South Primary School, An Architectural Gem, SoHo Community Association, 2010, https://soholondon.ca/waterloo-south-primary-school-an-architectural-gem/ (April 5, 2022).

rather than Hamilton Road School. Their arrival on October 24, 1893, garnered much celebration. The *Free Press* dedicated two and a half columns to their visit on the first day, and another one and a half the next.[82]

In 1895, Aberdeen started a nighttime program aimed to educate girls who worked during the day. The *Ontario Factories' Act* of 1884 prohibited boys and girls under fourteen from working in factories, and labour was limited to ten hours a day and sixty hours a week. This did not necessarily stop girls from working long hours or in factories, as parents sought out forged age certificates. In an attempt to keep children in school, the province also mandated that children between the ages of seven to twenty-one attend a minimum of 100 days of school a year, though some public-school inspectors made exceptions in the case of extreme poverty and lowered the number of required days to fifty. These measures did little to curb the hours children worked, as they did not restrict work for children in shops or in family businesses, nor did inspectors regularly enforce the law.[83]

The Board of Education added another two rooms to Aberdeen in 1896 as the school population grew, bringing the total number of classrooms to ten. Even still, the school needed more classrooms, and the board approved the construction of a new sixteen-classroom building in 1913. The new building opened in 1914 and had new manual and domestic training labs. These labs hosted classes similar to modern trade and home economic classes. The Honourable Justice Mayer Lerner attended Aberdeen between 1912-18 and remembered being one of the first to learn in the new school: "I was in one of the first classes to enter the new school. Its design, the most modern of the day, was common to several schools built at that time in London."[84] Because Aberdeen was the only school in SoHo to have these facilities, students from the Simcoe Street School travelled to Aberdeen to take their manual or domestic training classes. Lerner remembered the playful tension between Aberdeen students and their visiting rivals from Simcoe.

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[82] "Welcomed to London, Lord and Lady Aberdeen Royally Entertained," *LFP*, October 24, 1893, 2; "The Viceroyal Drive," *LFP*, October 25, 1893, 2.
[83] Ontario, *Ontario Factories' Act*, 1884, s1, 146; Lorna F. Hurl, "Restricting Child Factory Labour in Late Nineteenth Century Ontario," *Journal of Canadian Labour Studies* 21, 2 (1988): 93-94.
[84] John A. Maycock, *Memories of Rods and Lines: A Historical Collectanea, in Celebration of the 100th Anniversary of Aberdeen Public School* (London, ON: 1983), 96.

Other than more advanced classroom spaces, the new Aberdeen was also one of the first schools to have a dentist office for students. Justice Lerner remembered his parents insisted he be seen by Dr Fuller. While he may have resented his parents then, Lerner became lifelong friends with Dr Fuller. Many years later, as Dr Fuller lay in his deathbed, he revealed to Justice Lerner that he considered him as close as a son.[85]

At this time, the school also offered special classes for Russian and Jewish immigrant students.[86] Jewish immigrants from both western and eastern Europe have long been a part of the history of SoHo, starting with the arrival of German Jews in the 1850s with subsequent waves of immigration throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. As such, it was important that schools accommodated cultural-specific curriculum needs, such as language barriers and religious holidays and services.[87]

Field trips were another element of school that students often remembered with fondness, and alumni of Aberdeen were no different. One of the most common field trips was picnics at Springbank Park. Edna Nicols was a student at Aberdeen between 1905-11 and remembered the picnic as the silver lining in a cloudy sky of budget cuts and self-reliance that marked her youth: "There were only 35,000 people in London when I went to school so it was possible to get all the school children into the park at once. We met at the school with our lunch. The teachers made lemonade. Then we boarded the street cars to Springbank." This field trip became a longstanding tradition. Ruth Irene White was a student at Aberdeen in the 1920s and remembered her first time at the annual school picnic: "It was impressive to see all the city of London school children gathered together in one place. And - there were races. And - there were prizes - money prizes. What a day!"[88]

In 1949, Arthur Elder became principal at Aberdeen. All who knew Elder held him in high regard. Being the son of a clergyman, Elder took an interest in the wellbeing of all those around him. He was known for activity books he kept, meticulously recording the on-goings of student life at Aberdeen, including lists of athletic and academic achievements from the early

[85] Maycock, *Memories of Rods and Lines*, 96.
[86] Alice Gibb, Aberdeen Public School, Soho Community Association, https://soholondon.ca/aberdeen-public-school/ (November 3, 2009).
[87] Maycock, *Memories of Rods and Lines*, 96.
[88] Maycock, *Memories of Rods and Lines*, 98, 97.

1950s to the mid-1960s. These records highlight the perseverance of Aberdeen students to succeed at a time when their peers were falling victim to measles, chicken pox, and the mumps.[89]

Music often has the power to evoke emotions and bring back memories, and such is true for students who attended Aberdeen. Leighanne dePapp attended Aberdeen in the late 1960s and remembered Miss Monger's folk dancing lessons, Mr Zielenski's violin lessons, and her friends Della and Nancy's baton act. She also recalled playing her violin for her peers in the school's auditorium. Sports were another way in which Aberdeen students demonstrated their talents. Senior students, often the most invested in school rivalries, chanted at games against rival schools:

Rotten potatoes, rotten potatoes,
Fifty cents a peck
Simcoe, Simcoe
Get them in the neck![90]

While this rendition was clearly intended to intimidate students of Simcoe, students adjusted the third line to fit the name of whatever school Aberdeen played that day.

3.5.3 Simcoe Street School

Simcoe Street School was built in 1887 and demolished in 1976. It was located on the south side of Simcoe Street, east of Clarence. The school had two playgrounds–one for girls and one for boys.[91] Split playgrounds were common in London schools. It is not clear when the two merged, though interviewees who attended in the 1960s remember the split.[92] But this did not stop romantic interactions between students. Born in 1898, Simcoe alumni Ewart Mapletoft cherished one Valentine's Day more than others: "I

Grammar lesson at Governor Simcoe School, 1891. Courtesy of ASCWU.

[89] Maycock, *Memories of Rods and Lines*, 80.
[90] Maycock, *Memories of Rods and Lines*, 96, 97.
[91] Carole Mason-Taylor, *Hear, Here London*, https://www.hearherelondon.org/stories/carol-mason-taylor-2/ (April 5, 2022).
[92] Hall, Interview with Shaw, March 15, 2022.

remember one thing that I'm bragging about! I got a valentine from every girl in grade eight at Simcoe School. I got an awful roasting about that from the boys."[93]

Bill Hodgman, a Simcoe student during the 1920s, looked back on his time fondly. Hodgman remembered the impact of the First World War on the student body, and how faculty made efforts to support their community:

> The principal was Mr Wallace … He got a project going where we put up a memorial on the front lawn of the school for the first war veterans. Many of the kids had older brothers who had been in the war. He brought in a piece of granite from the farm, had it polished, and had all of the names of the veterans put on it. It was mounted on a cement base. We had a teacher named Mr Secord who had been in the war.[94]

Simcoe School War Memorial, now at 241 Simcoe Street. Courtesy of Niġel Klemenčič-Puglisevich

3.5.4 St John's French Immersion Catholic School

The neighbourhood also had a Roman Catholic school, St John's French Immersion at 449 Hill Street. Similar to surrounding schools, St John's had a relatively even split between male and female students.[95] The teachers of St Johns were all nuns, and alumna Mary Pavia Melvin remembered one in particular: "And the nuns are just, they were mean... No, I lied. They weren't mean. We had one sister and it was sister and Louise, and she was the most precious nun you could have ever." The school fit well into the diverse neighbourhood of SoHo and St John's student body was made up of Italian, Maltese, Irish, and Polish students.[96]

St John's moved in 2017 and the building was demolished several years later. In 2022, Nshwaasnangong Child Care and Family Centre, an Indigenous-led day care centre was constructed at this location.

3.5.5 Language Schools

The other type of schools in SoHo taught languages. In 1927, Polish immigrant Stanislaw

[93] Israels, ed., *Londoners Remembers Part Two*, 39.
[94] Israels, ed., *Londoners Remembers*, 28.
[95] Dave Moczulski, *Hear, Here London*, https://www.hearherelondon.org/stories/dave-moczulski-2/ (April 5, 2022).
[96] Melvin, Interview with Klemenčič-Puglisevich and Pointer, February 19, 2023.

Walczak started a Polish Youth Group with fifty members interested in learning the Polish language. The establishment of this group led to the creation of a Polish language school. Taught by volunteers from the community, students gathered four times a week to learn the Polish language, culture, and history. The school was funded by the Polish Combatants' Association and the Polish National Alliance.[97] It has since moved from SoHo to Holy Rosary Catholic School on Herkimer Street. Classes are only taught on Saturdays, conducted by the nuns of the Our Lady of Czestochowa Church who have been at their parish on Hill Street since the 1970s.[98] Today, London's Polish School has eighty students from kindergarten to grade eight and meets every Saturday for two and a half hours.[99]

Before the establishment of a formal Hebrew School for the Jewish community, language classes were typically held within the synagogue. In 1918, classes were conducted at the B'nai Israel Synagogue located on the corner of Grey and Wellington streets. These classes were for the entire Jewish community, merging children from the B'nai Israel congregation with children from the B'nai Moses ben Judah Synagogue, located on the corner of Horton and Colborne streets. Young Jewish girls, formerly not allowed to participate in language classes, were now able to attend. This attempt to incorporate the two Jewish congregations into one language school was short-lived as parents preferred to keep Jewish education within their respective synagogues and these classes ended in 1919.[100]

In 1927, a Jewish community group called the B'nai Brith Lodge opened a Talmud Torah School at 324 Hill Street.[101] A Talmud Torah offers classes in the Hebrew language and on Jewish customs, ethics, and history.[102] Similar to the classes offered at the B'nai Israel Synagogue from 1918-19, the B'nai Brith Lodge established the Talmud Torah with the intent of bringing together the two congregations of SoHo's synagogues. It failed as a Talmud Torah because SoHo's Jewish community was split between the B'nai Israel Synagogue, which

[97] History, Polish School London, http://www.polishschoollondon.com/history2.html (March 19, 2023)
[98] Magda Hentel, Interview with Keely Shaw, March 9, 2022.
[99] Home, Polish School London, http://www.polishschoollondon.com/home.html (March 19, 2023).
[100] Dr Isidore Goldstick, *Canadian Jewish Reference Book and Directory: The Jews of London, Ontario The First One Hundred Years*, Bill Gladstone Fonds, 2011-6-3, Ontario Jewish Archives, Toronto, Ontario (hereafter OJA).
[101] Rosa Orlandini, "Scrap, Salvage, and Sell," (2021), https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/b0cabc80844649779d14e9866e9a8c27 (May 3, 2022).
[102] Talmud Torah, Congregation Or Shalom, https://www.orshalomlondon.org/talmud-torah/ (March 19, 2023).

practised the traditional, Orthodox style of Judaism and B'nai Moses ben Judah Synagogue, which practised the more reformed, conservative style of Judaism. For this reason, parents preferred to keep Jewish education at their respective synagogues. The building on Hill Street instead served SoHo's Jewish population into the 1960s as an education centre and gathering place for the community.[103]

In 1966, the Jewish community established a new language school called the Hebrew Day School located downtown on Waterloo Street.[104] This school was affiliated with the newly established Or Shalom Synagogue which finally amalgamated the congregations of the B'nai Israel and B'nai Moses Ben Judah synagogues. Once more members of the Jewish community left SoHo for North London, the Hebrew Day School relocated in 1979 to a new building on Epworth Avenue.[105] The school on Hill Street became an apartment building as it is today.

[103] Goldstick, *Canadian Jewish Reference Book and Directory*, Gladstone Fonds, 2011-6-3, OJA; Eqbal, "London Neighbourhood Histories"; Bill Gladstone, *A History of the Jewish Community of London Ontario: From the 1850s to the Present Day* (Toronto: Now and Then Books, 2011), 107.
[104] Gladstone, *History of the Jewish Community of London*, 176.
[105] "Leading Jewish Citizen leaves London," *London Jewish Community News,* September 18, 1985, Ronnee Alter Fonds, 2017-6-9, OJA.

3.6 Religion

3.6.1 Churches

Religion shaped SoHo's built heritage. There are several churches in the area, many of which are historic. The first church built was until recently known as the 'Fugitive Slave Chapel' built on Thames Street by its congregation of Black freedom seekers in 1848. Circa 1851, the Black community was deeded land for the construction of the Second Baptist Church at 260 Horton Street. In 1855, the city directory included a map that noted three different churches in the area, two near the train station—Baptist and Presbyterian—and this one at the northeast corner of Wellington and Horton.[106] By 1888, the number of churches had grown. This included two new churches on Wellington (Wellington Street Methodist Church and Christ Anglican Church), St Mary's Roman Catholic Church at 449 Hill Street, Beth Emanuel at 430 Grey Street, and Hamilton Road Methodist Church.[107] Several of these churches still operate but with different congregations. This includes the structure at 465 Horton Street, now the Holy Transfiguration Orthodox Church and Christ Anglican which closed in 2014 and is now Jesus is Lord Church, a Filipino church.[108] The Catholic church on Hill Street burned in 1901 and the property became St John's Catholic French Immersion School.

Christ Anglican Church

Christ Anglican Church is the only Anglican church in SoHo's history. Prior to opening in 1863, Reverend GM Innes was appointed missionary to the area south of York Street. He originally held service at the Central School House and sometimes preached outside the school atop a hollow

Christ Anglican Church c1950. Courtesy of Diocese of Huron Archives, Huron University College.

[106] *Railton's Directory for the City of London, C.W., Containing a Mass of Useful Information, British, Provincial, and Local, with the Advertisements of the Principal Business Men, and a Classification of Their Trades and Professions. Also a Map of the City. 1856-1857* (London, CW: Geo Railton, 1856), unpaginated map, view 1-3.
[107] Fire Insurance Plan, London, Ontario, 1881 (Montreal, rev. 1888), sheets 6, 12, 17, 25, 28, 29, ASCWU.
[108] Holy Transfiguration Orthodox Church, https://www.holytransfiguration.ca/history/ (April 10, 2022).

tree stump. On one occasion, it is said that during his service on the stump, a few young boys filled the stump with dried leaves and set it afire. He had to make a quick escape from his makeshift pulpit.[109] Allegedly, the location of this stump, now 138 Wellington Street, is the exact spot where the pulpit of the church was built.[110] Funds for the construction of the church were raised by Reverend Innes and the Women's Committee at St Paul's Cathedral. London's city engineer, William Robinson, was hired as the architect for the design of Christ Church. Robinson was a well known architect who designed many churches and some of London's most beautiful Victorian buildings. He constructed Christ Church in a High Victorian Gothic style, much like many of his other churches. The congregation grew quickly following its completion in 1863. Ten years after opening, the congregation numbered over 600 and the Sunday school taught over 350 children.[111]

Christ Church has an intriguing connection to the founding of Western University. In February 1877, alumni and professors from Huron College met at Christ Church to discuss the founding of a university in London. Resolutions passed at this meeting meant the local bishop was required to get involved. Bishop Isaac Hellmuth obtained the charter for the university and aided in fundraising.[112]

SoHo's religious spaces also acted as social spaces. Christ Church hosted a wealth of clubs and activities, including a choir, Girls' and Women's Auxiliary, Anglican Young People's Association, Mother's Club, Women's Guild, and more.

St Mary's Roman Catholic Church

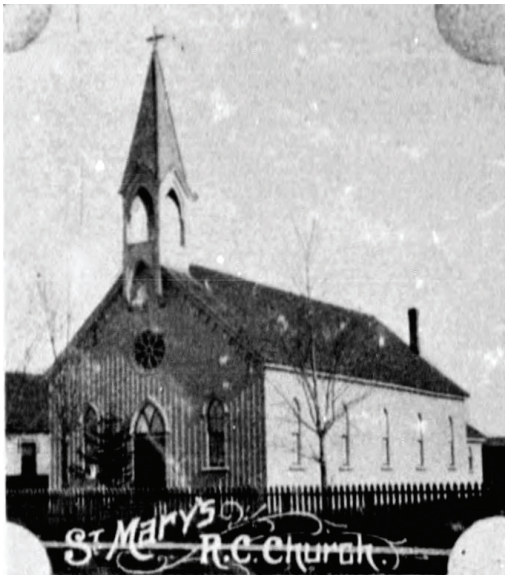
In 1874, St Mary's Roman Catholic Church opened at 449 Hill Street to serve as a mission church of St Peter's Cathedral. The rapidly growing Catholic population had long waited for this new church. The *London Advertiser* reported that the Right Reverend Bishop Walsh would perform the customary dedication service, a significant event for the Catholics in southeast

[109] Mary Mitchell and Peter Timmins, "The Life and Times of Christ Church," Christ Church Fonds, 21/393/20, Verschoyle Phillip Cronyn Memorial Archives, Huron University College, London, Ontario.
[110] "No. 10 — Christ Church, London, ONT," *Canadian Church Magazine and Mission News*, July 1887, 310, Verschoyle Phillip Cronyn Memorial Archives, Huron University College, London, Ontario.
[111] Mitchell and Timmins, "The Life and Times of Christ Church," Verschoyle Phillip Cronyn Memorial Archives, Huron University College, London, Ontario.
[112] CH James, "Christ Church, London," *Huron Church News*, September, 1, 1953, Christ Church Fonds, CH-2005-13-01, Verschoyle Phillip Cronyn Memorial Archives, Huron University College, London, Ontario.

1874 Christ Church Choir. Christ Church Fonds 21/393/20. Courtesy of Verschoyle Phillip Cronyn Memorial Archives, Huron University College

London. The Diocese of London purchased the site on which St Mary's was built, between Maitland and Colborne, for $600 in 1872. Construction began almost immediately with an architectural plan by Robinson and Tracey, but a windstorm in 1873 damaged the structure of the church and delayed its opening.

The new white frame church was completed with a small belfry above the dark oak-stained front door. The vestibule ran crosswise and the entrance was divided into



St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church, c1900.

two doors with stairs on the east side. A red curtain separated the choir loft, and the pews were dark pine with movable kneeling benches. A confessional with bright red curtains was close to the Blessed Virgin's altar, and two large coal heaters were located at the entrance.

The small frame church was not built to pass the test of time. In 1889, under Reverend Joseph Kennedy, repairs were undertaken and St Mary's reopened in September with new shingles and newly introduced gas lamps.[113]

Bishop Walsh and priests from the Roman Catholic Diocese of London in front of St Mary's on Hill Street, c1880. Courtesy of the Roman Catholic Diocese of London Archives.

As the only Catholic church in SoHo, the congregation outgrew the size of the church. During a visit by Bishop McEvay in 1899, he announced plans to build a new church to better suit its needs. In the meantime, the bishop appointed a resident priest, Father Traher, who now lived on Hill Street and opened St Mary's from 7am until sundown each day, with a daily mass. This meant that the Catholic population of SoHo no longer needed to travel to St Peter's

[113] Mary Turner, *St. Mary's Parish, London Ontario, 1872-1942* (London, ON, 1942), 7, 9.

Cathedral for larger devotional services, since St Mary's now hosted services for Lent, Advent, and even Midnight Mass on New Year's Eve.[114]

The Catholics of SoHo enjoyed a relatively peaceful period at St Mary's during the turn of the century. Unfortunately, fire broke out at the church in April of 1901. Father Traher managed to rescue the Blessed Sacrament but the flames destroyed the organ, altar vessels, and a large painting of the crucifixion gifted to the church by Archbishop Walsh. The overall damage was irreparable. It was later discovered that a lamp had fallen from its place on the sanctuary wall and likely started the fire.[115] Bishop McEvay announced plans to build a new church immediately. Despite the damage, services were held in the church until its replacement could be constructed. Many other local churches offered their buildings to Father Traher for service, but the congregation stayed in their little frame church as long as they could.

In 1901, it was announced that a new St Mary's would be constructed on York and Lyle streets, just north of SoHo, and that it would be a Gothic structure with a seating capacity for over 600.[116] During the Second World War, St Mary's acted as the official Catholic church for soldiers on duty in London.[117] The congregation was almost solely Italian and Maltese in the 1960s.[118] Today, this church continues to serve SoHo's Catholic community of Irish, Italians, Maltese, and more.

St Mary's, Lyle Street, c1901. Courtesy of the Roman Catholic Diocese of London Archives.

[114] Turner, *St. Mary's Parish,* 15, 17.
[115] Turner, *St. Mary's Parish,* 17.
[116] Turner, *St. Mary's Parish,* 21.
[117] "It was a Time of Nostalgia at London Parish Centennial," *Catholic Register*, October 14, 1972, 21, Roman Catholic Diocese of London Archives, King's College, London, Ontario.
[118] Melvin, Interview with Klemenčič-Puglisevich and Pointer, February 19, 2023.

Our Lady of Czestochowa Polish Catholic Church

Our Lady of Czestochowa c1954. Courtesy of the Roman Catholic Diocese of London Archives.

Members of the clergy and the Polish community outside of Our Lady of Czestochowa, c1954. Courtesy of the Roman Catholic Diocese of London Archives.

In 1954, the community built Our Lady of Czestochowa Polish Catholic Church at 419 Hill Street. The building still stands today, although with some modifications. Church leadership made few changes to the church until 1983, at which point Father Mitchell Kaminski took leadership. Kaminski organised significant renovations of the original church to meet the needs of the growing Polish community.[119] One attendee of the church recalled that for services before the renovation, people arrived early to get seats and many stood at the back when seats filled up.[120]

The community's growth was not incidental. There was a Canada-wide surge of Polish immigration in the 1970s and 80s, and Our Lady of Czestochowa sponsored thousands of Poles to come to London. At this time, Canadian immigration policy allowed private groups to sponsor immigrants. One narrator recalls the efforts made by church members to welcome and settle new immigrants in and around London, as well as the sense of community the church offered when she immigrated.[121] The Vatican recognized the importance of this community and its church. Pope John Paul II held an audience with the Youth Eucharistic League of Our Lady of

[119] Our Lady of Czestochowa Polish Catholic Church, Parish History, http://ourlady.cloudaccess.net/en/parish/parish-history.html (April 5, 2022).
[120] Hentel, Interview with Keely Shaw, March 9, 2022.
[121] Hentel, Interview with Keely Shaw, March 9, 2022.

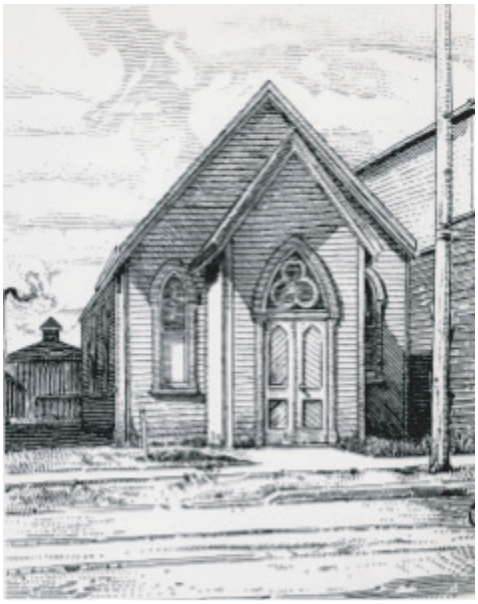
Czestochowa in 1986.[122] The church continues to offer Polish Language School on Saturdays and remains a part of many Polish Londoners' lives.

Cornerstone laid for the new Polish church, 1954 AFC 177-S1-SS3-F2168, LFP Collection. Courtesy of ASCWU.

[122] "London Church Group has Audience with Pope," *LFP*, April 2, 1986, File London Our Lady of Czestochowa - General, Roman Catholic Diocese of London Archives, King's College, London, Ontario.

3.6.2 Black Congregations

The Second Baptist Church



Second Baptist Church. AFC 20-S8-F60-16, Edwin Seaborn Fonds. Courtesy of ASCWU.

One of the first Black congregations in London was the Second Baptist Church at 260 Horton Street. The congregation held its first meetings in private homes beginning in 1848. By 1851, AB and Aurelia Jones deeded land, on which was built the Second Baptist Church. During the 1860s, the church offered two services, one at 11am and the other at 6pm. The services were well attended, with an average of fifty locals. The Sunday school hosted thirty students and three instructors, one of whom was white.[123] In 1919, the congregation moved to a new building and was renamed the Hill Street Baptist Church, where the Polish Hall currently sits at 554 Hill Street.[124] The church congregation actively contributed to the abolitionist movement, hosting meetings for members of the Canadian Anti-Slavery Baptist Association.[125]

The Fugitive Slave Chapel and Beth Emanuel Church

The 'Fugitive Slave Chapel' was a wood frame African Methodist Episcopal (AME) church at 275 Thames Street built in 1848 by its congregation. The origins of the AME church are linked to Bishop Richard Allen in Philadelphia. Allen and other Black church goers faced hostility inside St George's (white) Methodist church when the group was forbidden to pray downstairs and pulled into the upstairs gallery. The determined group organised their own Black congregation and struggled for recognition until the AME church was founded in 1816.[126] Allen believed African Methodism to be a key part of abolition and Black freedom.[127]

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[123] "Little Churches of London No. 9: Horton Street Baptist (Colored)," *London Advertiser,* March 23, 1914, 3.
[124] Alice Gibb, "SoHo Community History Project," Gladstone Fonds 2011-6-3, OJA.
[125] "Baptist: Minutes," *The Voice of the Fugitive*, October 21, 1852, 4.
[126] Angela EM Files, *African Hope Renewed Along the Grand River* (Brantford: Taylor Made Printing, 2004), 121.
[127] Dennis C. Dickerson, *The African Methodist Episcopal Church: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 31-37.

Black freedom seekers brought the AME vision, self determination, and practice to London. Circuit pastors led services here.[128] Many AME churches in Canada, including the London congregation, joined the new British Methodist Episocopal (BME) denomination founded in 1856. The BME name reflected the attitudes of the congregation that used expressions of loyalty to the British crown to denounce the failures of the American republic. Shortly after, the congregation of the Fugitive Slave Chapel began building a new yellow-brick church in the 1860s at 430 Grey Street, now known as Beth Emanuel British Methodist Episcopal church.[129] The congregation needed a site built on higher ground, away from the danger of flooding from the Thames River. Like the Fugitive Slave Chapel, this church became central to the Black community.[130] In the 1920s, the congregation at Beth Emanuel included the founders of *The Dawn of Tomorrow*, a Black newspaper devoted to the "Interests of the Darker Races" and the founders of a Black rights organisation, the Canadian League for the Advancement of Coloured People. Beth Emanuel was home to many social groups. Groups like the Dunbar Social Guild in the 1930s offered youth a collegial opportunity to participate in performances and social gatherings such as poetry, singing spirituals, and playing instruments for the church.[131] The Willing Workers, a musical ladies group, was active at least until 1962.[132] In 1934, the Willing Workers hosted a garden party along with the Salvation Army Citadel Band, fundraising enough to purchase new carpet for the church.[133] In 1983, the federal government designated the Gothic Revival church as a heritage building.[134] In 2013, members of London's Black and heritage communities rallied together to save the Fugitive Slave Chapel from demolition and the church moved from Thames Street to Grey Street next to its sister church, Beth Emanuel. In 2022-23, the London Black History Coordinating Committee, the Chapel

[128] Winks and Clarke, *Blacks in Canada: A History,* 355.
[129] Natasha L. Henry, *Emancipation Day: Celebrating Freedom in Canada* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2010), 14; City of London, *Report to London Advisory Committee on Heritage: Request for Designation of 432 Grey Street by the Trustees of the London Congregation of the British Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada* (September 12, 2018), https://pub-london.escribemeetings.com/filestream.ashx?DocumentId=50026 (April 18, 2023).
[130] Beth-Emmanuel British Methodist Episcopal Church, Canada's Historic Places, https://www.historicplaces.ca/en/rep-reg/place-lieu.aspx?id=8429 (April 15, 2022); Eqbal, "London Neighbourhood Histories."
[131] "London Notes," *DoT*, April 12, 1933, 2.
[132] "London Notes," *DoT*, August 1962, 8.
[133] "London Notes," *DoT*, July 13, 1934. 5.
[134] Beth-Emmanuel British Methodist Episcopal Church, Canada's Historic Places, https://www.historicplaces.ca/en/rep-reg/place-lieu.aspx?id=8429 (April 15, 2022).

Committee, Congress of Black Women of Canada, and Black Lives Matter London worked with the City of London and Fanshawe Pioneer Village to move the chapel to the village for restoration and future educational programming.[135]

3.6.3 Synagogues

London's Jewish community did not have a formal synagogue until 1899. Between the 1880s and 1890s, they met for Saturday morning service in homes or above local businesses. In 1898, the Jewish community conducted religious services in a building known as "Hurd's Hall" located at 261 Wellington Street above a grocery store. One year later, the community constructed the first synagogue on the northeast corner of Richmond and Simcoe streets, called the Hebrew Benevolent Synagogue.[136] In 1917, the congregation moved to an old church located at the corner of Grey and Wellington streets. It was called the B'nai Israel Synagogue. The congregation at B'nai Israel practised the traditional, Orthodox style of Judaism until 1945 when the congregation switched to Conservative.[137] The building at the corner of Grey and Wellington was the home of the B'nai Israel congregation until 1960 and today it is London's First Church of the Nazarene.[138]

Family gathering inside B'nai Moses Ben Judah Synagogue at Horton and Colborne. Courtesy of Dr Beryl Chernick.

In 1904, Moses Leff and a small group of new Jewish arrivals separated from B'nai Israel to explore less traditional ideas within Judaism. They decided to worship at Leff's house until 1906 when Moses, his son William, and other members of the community purchased a small church

[135] Colin Butler, "A 174-year-old Fugitive Slave Chapel and Historic Landmark on the Move," CBC News, November 22, 2022, https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/london/slave-chapel-london-ontario-1.6660386 (March 17, 2023).
[136] Mayer Lerner, London's History, Gladstone Fonds, OJA.
[137] Alice Gibb, SoHo Community History Project, Gladstone Fonds, OJA.
[138] Gladstone, *A History of the Jewish Community of London*, 90.

on the corner of Horton and Colborne streets for $300 and founded the B'nai Moses ben Judah Synagogue.[139] This church was formerly the St Paul's United Evangelical Church, which conducted services in German.[140]

B'nai Moses ben Judah Congregation, c1942.
Courtesy of the Ontario Jewish Archives.

After the First World War, the Jewish population grew and required a larger building to accommodate the congregation. Instead of moving to another building, the congregation tore down the synagogue and built a larger, more convenient building on the same site in 1924.[141] This building is now N'Amerind Friendship Centre.[142]

In the late 1950s-60s, many members of London's Jewish community left SoHo and moved to North London. Since the community was In the late 1950s-60s, many members of London's Jewish community left SoHo and moved to North London. Since the community was starting to relocate, synagogues were built in North London to accommodate the community. In 1960, the B'nai Israel Congregation built a new synagogue on Huron Street. Six years later, the B'Nai Moses ben Judah congregation joined B'nai Israel and the synagogue was renamed Or Shalom.[143] This synagogue practised the more reformed, conservative style of Judaism.

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[139] *Dedication B'nai Moses Ben Judah Synagogue 1955, The Birth and Growth of Congregation B'nai Moses Ben Judah Synagogue*, File 19, Series 5, Fonds 64, OJA.
[140] *Vernon's City of London: Street, Alphabetical, Business and Miscellaneous Directory 1915* (Hamilton: Henry Vernon & Son, 1915), 772.
[141] *Dedication B'nai Moses Ben Judah Synagogue 1955, The Birth and Growth of Congregation B'nai Moses Ben Judah Synagogue,* File 19, Series 5, Fonds 64, OJA.
[142] Eqbal, "London Neighbourhood Histories"; Orlandini, *Scrap, Salvage, and Sell*; Gladstone, *History of the Jewish Community in London*, 153.
[143] Congregation Or Shalom, About Us, https://www.orshalomlondon.org/about-us/ (May 5, 2022).

In 1965, a new synagogue on the corner of Adelaide Street and Kipps Lane opened. Named the Beth Tefilah, it provided a gathering place for Jewish immigrants who arrived after the Second World War to practise the traditional, orthodox style Judaism. In 1990, there was a pitch to relocate the orthodox congregation of Beth Tefilah and the conservative congregations to the same space. At the time, the Or Shalom Synagogue and the community centre could suit the needs of the new congregations. This proposal divided the congregations over a concern that their differences, including dietary and religious practices, between the two congregations were too great. Ultimately, both synagogue congregations voted yes and the group from Beth Tefilah relocated to the Or Shalom Synagogue.[144]

[144] Fanny Goose and Janet Fridman, *Rising from the Holocaust: The Life of Fanny Goose* (Washington, DC: Believe Books, 2007), 119.

4. SOHO RESIDENTS

4.1 Indigenous Communities

Indigenous peoples lived in London for work opportunities, and to join family members, but also because of loss of Indian status. Beginning in the 1860s, an increasingly restrictive series of Indian Acts allowed the Canadian federal government to strip Indian status from Indigenous peoples should they live off-reserve, or of Indigenous women who married non-Indigenous men. Similarly, status could be revoked if the government granted an Indigenous individual full citizenship and the right to vote. Before 1983, Indigenous women were vulnerable to loss of status if they married non-Indigenous or non-status men. They and their children also lost band membership and benefits. In turn, a prolonged absence away from a home reserve meant the federal government could strip status from an Indigenous person and bar them from living at home.[145] Residential institutions, such as the Mount Elgin (or Muncey) Institute on the Chippewas of the Thames reserve, further disrupted and destroyed community connections. Survivors and their subsequent families may have moved from reserves and into London's urban space because of the intergenerational trauma and disconnect these institutions created between Indigenous peoples and their communities.[146] Others left the reserve to protect their children from being removed from their home and enrolled in residential schools.

Indigenous people migrated back and forth to London for work and used community networks to survive in the city. For example, the 1911 census shows John and Lucy Schulyer, an Oneida married couple, and their seven children living at 221 Clarence, a two-storey wooden house. Schuyler worked for the city as a lamplighter, lighting the gas lamps along the streets of London. The family also boarded nine young single men, aged from late teens to mid-thirties, from Oneida. These men worked as labourers, doing "odd jobs," one of the most financially precarious types of employment.[147] `

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[145] Ken Coates, "Being Aboriginal: the Cultural Politics of Identity, Membership and Belonging Among First Nations in Canada," *Canadian Issues* (2002): 23-41.
[146] Mary Jane McCallum, *Nii Ndahlohke: Boys' and Girls' Work at Mount Elgin Industrial School, 1890-1915* (Altona: Friesen Press, 2022).
[147] Canada, Census of Canada, 1911, http://automatedgenealogy.com/census11/SplitView.jsp?id=152032 (November 4, 2023).

Indigenous people in London were policed. Al Day, an Oneida traditional chief and Executive Director of the N'Amerind Friendship Centre, remembered that when police encountered Indigenous people off reserve, they checked for confirmation they had the Indian Agent's permission through a pin they had to wear on their clothing.[148] Between the 1960s and 1980s, Indigenous children were forcibly removed ("scooped away") from their birth families and communities, and then adopted into predominantly white, middle-class families all across North America. This is now called the "Sixties Scoop." It had less to do with child welfare and more about removing Indigenous children from their cultural traditions and languages to assimilate them into a non-Indigenous society. An estimated 16,000 children were displaced across Canada because of the Sixties Scoop. Some of these children were taken in and around London.

One of these children was William "Bill" Charles Groat. Between 1951-54, Groat was under the care of the Children's Aid Society of the City of London and County of Middlesex. Less than a year old, Bill Groat, and his brothers and sister were taken from their home on Simcoe Street to a shelter because their home conditions were noted as "neglected" within the meaning of the *Children's Protection Act*. He was then admitted to Victoria Hospital not long after for a stomach flu. In 1952, he was moved to a boarding home in Newbury, Ontario. During this period, the municipality ordered his parents to pay the cost of the care of their children. Wardship to the Children's Aid Society was extended until the family proved it had secure adequate accommodation. The children returned to their mother in 1954.[149]

In 1969, during Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's administration, he and the Minister of Indian Affairs, Jean Chretien, proposed *The White Paper.* If passed, this policy would dismantle the *Indian Act* and end the legal relationship between Indigenous peoples and Canada. Many Indigenous leaders, including Al Day, pushed back, legitimately concerned that the policy would accomplish Canada's goal of assimilation of Indigenous peoples into mainstream society. The policy contained no recognition of treaty rights or the inclusion of Indigenous participation in policy making. When the *White Paper* was proposed at a meeting in London, among the other Indigenous leaders, Al Day stood up to Trudeau Sr., arguing the legitimacy of the Two Row

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[148] Al Day, Interview with Michelle Hamilton and Keely Shaw, December 2, 2021.
[149] Bill Groat, Interview with Cody Groat, February 2022.

Wampum and Nanfan Treaty.[150]

No government policies addressed urban Indigenous populations and the problems they faced. Instead, friendship centres opened to fill in social service gaps. In 1971, the Ontario Federation of Indigenous Friendship Centres formed. It created a place for social service provision and cultural revitalization. The organisations are charitable non-profit organisations and contain Indigenous-based programming that incorporate traditional approaches in services. There are a total of five community-run Indigenous organisations in London.[151] The founding one, called N'Amerind Friendship Centre, is now located in SoHo. This particular centre, established in 1967, originally operated out of a house near Victoria Park. As remembered by her daughter Donna Phillips, Dorothy Day, the Indigenous woman for which N'Amerind's learning centre is named, opened her Simcoe Street living room to the Indigenous community as a gathering place. Many of these visitors dropped in when visiting the city and waiting for hospital appointments. Deciding that Indigenous people needed a larger safe place to gather in the city, Day and a few other individuals founded N'Amerind.[152] In the beginning, it primarily served as a drop-in centre, offering coffee and a newspaper, and provided a safe space for Indigenous community members to gather.[153]

Dorothy Day's daughter, Donna Phillips, co-founded the Native Women's Association (NWAC) in 1974. Five years later, she served as its elected president.[154] NWAC is a non-profit organisation which addresses all aspects of society, from policy analysis to economics to culture from an Indigenous point of view, and to support Indigenous well-being. The NWAC especially advocates for women and members of the LGBTQ+ community.[155] This included lobbying the government to return Indian status to women who lost it through marriage to non-Indigenous men, an effort which culminated in Bill C-31 in 1983. [156]

In 1981, N'Amerind moved to the former Jewish Synagogue turned Roman Catholic Church on Colborne Street. They bought and tore down the house next door to build a

[150] Day, Interview with Hamilton and Shaw, December 2, 2021.
[151] Emily Pitts, "A House of Healing: Importance of Friendship Centres to Urban Aboriginal Populations" (Masters Thesis, Western University, 2018), 17, 1.
[152] Donna Phillips, Interview with Michelle Hamilton and Keely Shaw, December 2, 2021.
[153] Day, Interview with Hamilton and Shaw, December 2, 2021.
[154] Phillips, Interview with Hamilton and Shaw, December 2, 2021.
[155] Native Women's Association of Canada, *Action Plan,* 2021, https://www.nwac.ca/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/NWAC-action-plan-FULL-ALL-EDITS.pdf (May 3, 2022).
[156] Phillips, Interview with Hamilton and Shaw, December 2, 2021.

gymnasium. With an increased staff of forty-five, they run over twenty-five programs and focus more on social services. In addition, these friendship centres provide a home and a place to help foster a sense of identity. This is especially important for a second generation, one born in the city and displaced from Indigenous reserves. Some younger people have one or two parents who attended residential schools, such as the Mount Elgin (or Muncey) Institute, and therefore do not have access to traditional teachings or language. For many in urban areas, there is a disconnect between their culture and home. A significant portion of the clients who visit N'Amerind are exploring their identity and family background. N'Amerind provides a needed safe space that is designed specifically to incorporate Indigenous heritage in counselling and activities. While N'Amerind provides support for urban Indigenous communities, it is also a centre where rural Indigenous peoples living on reserve can come into the city for more support and community. For those who attended Mount Elgin (or Muncey) Institute on the Chippewas of the Thames reserve, N'Amerind provides support weekly survivor meetings for healing. As Al Day described, it is a "reserve" in the middle of the city. Lastly, in an effort to address and continue the decrease in substance abuse, there is a strict substance ban in the centre.[157]

N'Amerind is also a place where Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in and around London can come together in the process of Truth and Reconciliation. On September 30, 2022, the National Day of Truth and Reconciliation, N'Amerind unveiled their seven-panel mural–all together titled *We are Still Here*–on the side of their building by Ojibwe artist and educator Michael Cywink. In partnership with the City of London, the London Arts Council, local Indigenous youth artists, and a women's residential school survivors' group, Cywink's mural stands to honour those affected by the residential school system.

Following the panels through a rich storyline connecting the past, present, and the future, the overall story overall is about everyone, not just Indigenous communities, coming together to make things right.[158] The first panel titled *Story Tellers* shows two howling wolves sitting on top of Turtle Island and two figures below sitting around a fire. The image represents the tradition of

[157] Day, Interview with Hamilton and Shaw, December 2, 2021.
[158] Michael Cywink, Interview with Michelle Hamilton and Emma MacDonald, December 2, 2022.

Reveal of We are Still Here murals, September 2022. Courtesy of Michelle Hamilton.

passing down teachings and stories through storytelling; it is also the beginning of the story. The second panel titled *Where We Were* represents original ways of being and connection to land, water, animals, ceremonies, and the responsibilities that go along with them. The third panel *Our Creation Stories*, not only tells aspects of the creation story but shows how it takes everyone working together for reconciliation. The fourth panel titled *215* has 215 stars painted in the sky by local residential school survivors in honour of the 215 graves of children found at the Kamloops residential school in British Columbia in May 2021 and the children found since then. It speaks to the impact of the residential school system on Indigenous peoples up to the last school closing in 1996 and the intergenerational trauma that impacts people, communities, and families to this day. The fifth panel titled *Breaking the Cycle*, looks at how Indigenous communities can break the cycle and heal intergenerational trauma by planting the seeds for the next seven generations. This piece was inspired by Amanda Polchies who stood up to the RCMP with nothing but her eagle feather, her spirit, and her love for the land in 2013 at an anti-fracking oil protest in 2013. The sixth panel titled *Now* suggests we move forward in this world, walking together carrying love and peace. The final panel titled *Great Tree of Peace*, ends the story by representing a time when all the nations were fighting. To end the fighting, all the nations met underneath a great pine tree and buried their weapons and bound their arrows, signifying peace and an unbreakable bond. The eagle on top of the tree guides and protects the nations. It shows

that Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples need to work together to support and love each other. Michael Cywink's overall message for the murals is that "we need to work together to move forward together. Pieces of who we are, our way of life and understanding our relationships are vital in creating a safer, better world for all of us."[159]

Atlohsa Family Healing Services, a not-for-profit organisation, runs the Zhaawanong Women's Shelter in SoHo. The name Zhaawanong, Ojibwe for south, holds significant meaning. The direction south represents warmth and renewal, a reflection of what the organisation looks to promote. Since opening their doors in June 1992, the shelter serves as a safe space for women and their children who are at risk of violence and homelessness.[160] As a twenty-four hour emergency shelter, they meet immediate basic needs and offer support, including emotional housing, and security. They work with their visitors to understand that intergenerational trauma, a consequence of colonialism and residential schools, has resulted in domestic violence.[161]

[159] Indigenous London Arts Council, "'We Are Still Here' mural by artist Mike Cywink, installed at N'Amerind Friendship Centre," September 30, 2022, https://www.indigenouslondonarts.ca/post/we-are-still-here-mural (December 20, 2022).
[160] Atlohsa, Zhaawanong Women's Shelter https://atlohsa.com/zhaawanong-2/ (April 15, 2022).
[161] Andrea Cox, "Change-Makers Honoured through Fundraiser for Women's Shelter," *Londoner*, October 2, 2018 https://www.thelondoner.ca/news/local-news/change-makers-honoured-through-fundraiser-for-womens-shelter (May 3, 2022).

4.2 Immigration Policy

SoHo experienced numerous waves of immigration into the neighbourhood. For 150 years, between 1830s-1980s, SoHo became home for various migrant groups, most prominently Black, German, Italian, Irish, Jewish, Polish, and Ukrainian communities. The neighbourhood included smaller immigrant communities from Russia, China, Greece, Portugal, Romania, Malta, Lebanon, Syria, and Palestine. These immigrants brought with them cultural practices, languages, and traditions that contributed to the neighbourhood's cultural richness and diversity.

Prior to the introduction of the national *Immigration Act* in 1869, preferred types of immigrants were not specified although certainly farmers from England and Scotland were targeted. The 1869 act was not focused on restricting immigration, but instead aimed to ensure the safety of immigrants as they travelled to Canada and protect them from exploitation once arrived. The government amended the act in 1872 to prohibit criminals and issued an order-in-council in 1879 to prohibit 'destitute' immigrants.[162] By the early 1880s thousands of single Chinese men, who sought out work with the Canadian Pacific Railway, immigrated to construct the transcontinental railway. Once construction was completed the Canadian government introduced discriminatory policies to prevent Chinese immigration. Passed by the Canadian government in 1885, the *Chinese Immigration Act* became the first act to exclude immigrants on the basis of race. Rather than outright ban Chinese immigration, the government imposed a $50 'head tax' on each Chinese person entering Canada. The government raised the tax in 1900 to $100, and again in 1904 to $500, significantly hindering Chinese immigration.[163] Despite these exclusionary barriers, the 1911 census recorded over seventy people in London as Chinese, thirteen of whom were single men living in SoHo working in hand laundry businesses.[164]

The *Immigration Act* of 1906 expanded the list of prohibited immigrants, created a formal deportation process, and empowered the federal government to make judgements on admission. It did not explicitly restrict immigration by one's culture but allowed the government to prohibit

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[162] Valerie Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2007), 52, 71-73.
[163] Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates*, 71-73; Kenneth M. Holland, "A History of Chinese Immigration in the United States and Canada," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 37, 2 (2007): 150-52.
[164] Canada, Census of Canada, 1911, https://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/census/1911/Pages/1911.aspx (May 3, 2022).

any class of immigrants when 'necessary.' A 1908 agreement between Canadian Minister of Labour Rodolphe Lemieux and Japanese Foreign Minister Tadasu Hayashi aimed to restrict Japanese immigration to Canada. Under this agreement, the Japanese government limited the number of immigrants to Canada to 400 individuals a year. 1908 also brought about the *Continuous Journey Regulation*, mandating that all immigrants travel directly from their native country to Canada, which effectively banned immigration from India. In 1911, after many years of unofficial policies that barred Black immigration, the government formally banned immigration of Black persons based on supposed 'climatic unsuitability.'[165]

The First World War created a slump in immigration numbers. First, the war cut off travel. Second, the federal government considered many who had already immigrated to be 'enemy aliens,' and required them to register as such. Over the war, the government interned over 8,500 immigrants. The public virulently distrusted certain foreigners. For example, the city of Berlin renamed itself Kitchener in 1916 due to anti-German feeling. The *Wartime Elections Act* of 1917 disallowed people of enemy alien birth and those whose primary language was an enemy alien language, including German, Ukrainian, and other languages associated with enemy countries from voting. After the war, widespread unemployment and anti-foreigner sentiment resulted in continuing difficulties for potential immigrants. By 1923, the Canadian government banned all Chinese immigration with the *Chinese Exclusion Act*, making them the only ethnic group in history to be exclusively banned.[166]

The Great Depression further hindered immigration. In 1930, the federal government suspended immigration from Europe with the exception of those with sufficient money to start and maintain a farm, or wives and minor children of men already in Canada. The government further restricted immigration in 1931 to only those who had guaranteed employment, farmers with sufficient capital, and British or Americans who had enough savings until they secured a job. Immigration plummeted from over 1,000,000 immigrants between 1921-31 to less than 150,000 between 1931-41. The Second World War brought the reinstatement of early wartime policies, including restrictions on immigration and internment of enemy aliens.[167]

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[165] Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates*, 107-10, 119-21, 169.
[166] Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates*, 127-30; Holland, "A History of Chinese Immigration," 152, 153.
[167] Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates*, 142-54.

Discriminatory immigration policies based on ethnicity remained in place. The *Chinese Exclusion Act* was not lifted until 1947.[168] Other immigration policies based on ethnicity including the *Immigration Act* of 1919, remained until 1962, at which time the government introduced new regulations based on education and skill. Policies remained somewhat discriminatory, as only immigrants from select nations in Europe, the Americas, and the Middle East could sponsor children over the age of twenty-one and members of their extended family. Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's government reversed some restrictions in the 1970s as his policies promoted multiculturalism and respect of the cultural contributions of immigrants.[169]

These policies, as well as the political, cultural, and economic circumstances of home countries, shaped immigration. The first large wave of immigrants to Canada occurred in the early 1800s and consisted of largely Irish, Scottish, and English people. The loss of land in Ireland and Scotland, as well as the Potato Famine of 1845-52, pushed people to leave.[170] This is clearly reflected in early census records of SoHo–the vast majority of people claimed one of these three ethnicities. There was also a wave of Black freedom seekers and freed Black people from the United States arriving via the Underground Railroad. The next wave of immigration in London was the Jewish wave of the 1850s. A large portion of these immigrants came from Germany and Russia, fleeing persecution.

Immigration remained relatively steady until the late 1890s and early 1900s, with immigrants coming from a variety of countries. Among those found in census records are Germans, Ukrainians, Russians, and Poles. This period did not have large surges in immigration so much as a steady trickle. However, at the turn of the century both Italian and Polish immigration surged. Both surges were cut short by the First World War and the Great Depression. However, immigration rose again after the Second World War when restrictions loosened, leading to a second wave of Italian and Polish immigrants to SoHo. Italians sought work in the booming Canadian economy as well as distance from the toll of the Second World War.[171] Many Poles who came to Canada had been Polish soldiers during the wars, imprisoned

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[168] Holland, "A History of Chinese Immigration," 153.
[169] Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates*, 103, 143, 186-201.
[170] Bruce Elliott, *Irish Migrants in the Canadas: A New Approach* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004), 106-10.
[171] Sonia Cancian, *Families, Lovers, and Their Letters: Italian Postwar Migration to Canada* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2010), 23; Bruno Ramirez, *The Italians in Canada* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1989), 5, 9.

by Nazis, or were political refugees of communist Poland.[172] A third wave of Polish immigration occurred in SoHo between the 1960s-80s, at which time there was also a wave of Portuguese immigrants to the area.[173]

[172] DH Avery and JK Fedorowicz, *The Poles in Canada* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1989), 12-14.
[173] Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates*, 161, 185; Magda Hentel, "Veterans of the Polish Second Corps who came to London, Ontario, Canada after WWII" (unpublished manuscript, 2022); Hentel, Interview with Shaw, March 9, 2022.

4.3 Black Community

SoHo was an active hub of Black community life beginning in the early 1800s. During this period, Black migrants largely arrived as freedom seekers or their descendants. 'Freedom seekers' comprised those who were 'fugitive slaves' (having fled a plantation in the south), those who had become free 'fugitive slaves' (by purchasing their freedom or through self-emancipation), and those who were 'free-born'(born in the north and never enslaved). The American *Fugitive Slave Act* of 1850, which permitted the pursuit of freedom seekers into the north to return them to slavery, heightened fears. The act did not allow a 'fugitive slave catcher' to cross the international border into Canada, but many did. This caused freedom seekers to move away from the border and further inland in southern Ontario to places like London. Freedom seekers travelled alone or on routes of the Underground Railroad, a loosely organised system of safe people and places.[174]

The African Methodist Episcopal Church, Beth Emanuel Methodist Episcopal Church, Second Baptist Church, and Hill Street Baptist church, all with Black congregations, are or were located in SoHo. The churches acted as sites of worship, political organising, and community life. Freedom seekers and their descendants experienced prejudice, discrimination, and hostility but they met these challenges with resourcefulness, determination, and commitment to better futures. These attitudes shaped many accounts of community efforts and expressive arts.

4.3.1 Black Life in the Nineteenth Century

In 1793, the *Act to Limit Slavery in Upper Canada* made it illegal to bring slaves into the provinces, but did not free those already enslaved, or ban their sale into the United States. Any children born into slavery after 1793 would only be freed when they turned twenty-five years of age.[175] Emancipation Day marked the end of slavery in all British colonies. The British *Abolition*

[174] Cheryl Thompson and Julie Crooks, "Race, Community and the Picturing of Identities: Photography and the Black Subject in Ontario," *Unsettling the Great White North: Black Canadian History,* ed. Michelle A. Johnson and Funké Aladejebi (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2022), 438, 439. This report follows Johnson's and Aladejebi's capitalisation "Black" and "Blackness" to "indicate constructed and identifiable identities within diverse communities of African descent" and white is not capitalised "to signify its relationship to the racialization of Black/Blackness." See Michelle A. Johnson and Funké Aladejebi, "Introduction," in *Unsettling the Great White North*, 8.

[175] Natasha Henry, "Where oh where is Bet: Locating Enslaved Black Women on the Ontario Landscape," *Unsettling The Great White North*, 86-88.

of Slavery Act of 1833 set enslaved people of African origin free on August 1, 1834, thanks to the tireless work of abolitionists and those enslaved on both sides of the ocean. It was an exuberant occasion, and newly emancipated people hosted celebrations to commemorate the end of institutionalised slavery. The act, however, only freed children under the age of six. Older children and adults served a four to six year apprenticeship before becoming free. Nevertheless, since 1834, Emancipation Day celebrations have occurred in towns across Ontario. In areas where greater numbers of freedom seekers settled, the celebrations were grand.[176]

The Black community in London hosted many festive Emancipation Day events. In 1862, Black Londoners gathered at the Second Baptist Church to discuss their plans. They invited residents from Chatham, Buxton, Dresden, Ingersoll, Woodstock, Windsor, and other nearby communities. On August 1, 1862 a parade began at the courthouse square and headed north toward St Paul's Anglican Church. Unlike other churches in London at the time, St Paul's offered integrated church services.[177] The grand marshall was Milton Waggoner, who was identified in the census as "colored," Baptist, American-born, and husband.[178] The parade featured music performed by the city artillery band. At 6pm, attendees gathered for a dinner and speeches. The night ended with a festival in the Mechanics' Hall. Admission to the event was twenty-five cents.[179]

In 1885, London's Emancipation Day event had more than 400 attendees. The city welcomed multiple Black musical groups including the Brantford Independent Band to join the celebration. Black Londoners met guests at the train station where the procession began, and marched to the Crystal Palace for a meal and performances. Later, the group attended a ball at City Hall with visitors from Cleveland and Detroit, and from nearby towns in southern Ontario like St Thomas and Ingersoll. In 1895, several Detroit church choirs sang gospel music for the crowds.[180] Other highlights included the wedding of a young Black couple, Mary Preston and Isaiah Wright of Ingersoll, married on the main stage. The day was a huge success, with over 2,000 people in attendance.[181] Emancipation celebrations still occur today.[182]

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[176] Natasha L. Henry, *Emancipation Day: Celebrating Freedom in Canada* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2010), 15, 72.
[177] Henry, *Emancipation Day*, 74.
[178] Canada, Census of Canada, 1861, https://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/census/1861/Pages/results.aspx?k=cnsSurname%3a%22Waggoner*%22+AND+cnsGivenName%3a%22Milton%22+AND+cnsProvinceCode%3a%22CW%22 (April 8, 2023).
[179] "Emancipation Day!" *The London Free Press and Daily Western Advertiser*, August 1, 1862, 2, 3.
[180] Henry, *Emancipation Day*, 75.
[181] "Emancipation's Anniversary: Colored People Celebrate the Memorable Event," *LFP*, August 2, 1895, 6.
[182] Henry, *Emancipation Day*, 77-79; "Emancipation Day Organizer Looks to Build Up London Event: The

By the 1860s, freedom seekers mostly resided on Grey Street east of Wellington, and near the Wellington Street bridge. Many worked labour intensive jobs as waiters, painters, plasterers, and woodcutters for the railway. Black Londoners were also entrepreneurial, opening pharmacies, grocery stores, and cobbleshops among other businesses.[183] Of these entrepreneurs, two early prominent and active members of the Black community, AB and AT Jones, were well known for their many contributions to London. The two brothers escaped from enslavement in Kentucky in the 1830s and settled in London. By 1850, they were both successful businessmen who owned multiple properties. AT Jones began his entrepreneurial ventures with a fruit store in the 1840s. By the 1850s he had opened an apothecary on Ridout Street, learning Latin in order to fill prescriptions for the community. At his home at 551 Ottaway Avenue (South Street), he grew and sold medicinal plants to local physicians.[184]

His brother, AB Jones was equally successful.[185] According to Benjamin Drew, a white abolitionist that recorded the stories of freedom seekers in the 1850s, Jones, a grocer, lived at "Gray St. in a brick dwelling house, as good or better than the average of houses in London. In the front is a garden of choice flowers, and it has a well ordered kitchen garden in the rear."[186] In 1856, he owned many properties, including two stores, and land near the train station. AB Jones was generous, donating land to build the Second Baptist Church, and acting as a trustee.[187] He was also an abolitionist, working with the Anti-Slavery Society of Canada, an organisation active between the 1850s-60s. The group, originally based in Toronto, advocated for abolition and supported freedom seekers who settled in Canada. It drew the attention of American and British activists, including abolitionist Frederick Douglass who spoke at one of the organisation's events in Toronto in 1851.[188] By 1852 the organisation introduced additional chapters, including one in London. AB Jones was an executive for the London chapter which formed during a tour stop of Black abolitionist Samuel Ringgold Ward at the Irish New Connexion Methodist Church.[189]

Organizer behind an Emancipation Day event in London says he hopes to keep growing the annual commemoration," *LFP*, August 1, 2022, https://lfpress.com/news/local-news/emancipation-day-organizer-looks-to-build-up-london-event (January 26, 2023).

[183] Henry, *Emancipation Day*, 72-73.

[184] Tracey Adams, "Making a Living: African Canadians Workers in London, Ontario, 1861-1901," *Labour/Le Travail* 67 (2011): 9, 10; Edwin Seaborn, *March of Medicine in Western Ontario* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1944), 45.

[185] Adams, "Making a Living," 9, 10.

[186] Benjamin Drew, *Narratives of Fugitive Slaves in Canada* (Toronto: Coles Publishing Company, 1981), 151-52.

[187] Adams, "Making a Living," 9, 10.

[188] Allen P. Stouffer, *The Light of Nature and the Law of God: Antislavery in Ontario, 1833-1877* (Montreal: McGill-Queens, 1992), 109-13; Henry, *Emancipation Day*, 73.

[189] Henry, *Emancipation Day*, 73.

Jones also attended meetings from 1852-54 of the Canadian Anti-Slavery Baptist Association, an organisation of churches that condemned slavery and sought opportunities to discuss faith as a group.[190]

The Black population quickly grew, and by the 1850s there were approximately 500 Black individuals living in the city. The Great Western Railway hired many of these individuals to work on the construction of rail lines in 1851-53. Jobs clearing land, and building warehouses, sawmills, churches, residences and other buildings, came as a result of the railway. Although London provided Black men business opportunities and seemed more accepting than their former homes, they still faced prejudice.[191]

Samuel Ringgold Ward spoke of his interactions with Black Londoners in his 1854 autobiography. Ward drew attention to the successes of Black trade workers and artisans, highlighting Nelson Moss of London, who was known for his cordwaining abilities. He shared stories of other successful Black Londoners, including the Jones brothers. However, Ward also drew attention to racism. Ward described white "lower class" Londoners as rather hateful towards Black Londoners.[192]

In 1854, abolitionists from the Church of England's Colonial Church and School Society founded its Mission to the Fugitive Slaves in Canada under Reverend Marmaduke Dillon, an anti-slavery supporter who wished to open schools for those who escaped slavery.[193] In 1855, Dillon wrote of London: "when we arrived here last November there were but eight hundred colored persons in London, they now number more than two thousand… Between three to four hundred out of this number are now under our immediate instruction, either in the day, night, or Sunday schools, or at Cottage lectures." The mission school focused on salvation and taught

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[190] "Baptist: Minutes," *Voice of the Fugitive*, October 21, 1852, 4; Canadian Anti-Slavery Baptist Association, *The Constitution, By-laws, Minutes, Circular Letter, Articles of Faith of the Canadian Anti-Slavery Baptist Association* (1854), 10. For additional information on the Canadian Anti-Slavery Baptist Association see James K. Lewis, "Religious Nature Of The Early Negro Migration To Canada And The Amherstburg Baptist Association," *Ontario History* 58 (1966): 128, 130.

[191] Henry, *Emancipation Day*, 72; George Emery, "Blacks in a White Place: Ingersoll, Canada West/Ontario, 1840-1921" (unpublished manuscript, 2022), 48, 55, 14; Adams, "Making a Living," 11.

[192] Nina Reid-Maroney, "History, Historiography and the Promised Land Project," *Promised Land: History and Historiography of the Black Experience in Chatham-Kent's Settlements and Beyond*, ed. Bolou de b'Beri et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), 62-65; Samuel Ringgold Ward, *Autobiography of a Fugitive Negro, His Anti-Slavery Labors in the United States, Canada, & England* (London: John Snow, 1855), 192, 209-10.

[193] Nina Reid-Maroney, *Reverend Jennie Johnson and African Canadian History* (Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2013), 36.

scripture but it also added lessons in mathematics and grammar. RM Ballantine, a main teacher and head of the school, reported on the students at the school located at the former artillery barracks (now Victoria Park). He stated they had "92 Scripture Readers, 77 Junior Readers, 62 Spelling and Alphabet, 72 Writing on paper, 65 writing on slates, 160 arithmetic."[194] The school ran from 1854-59.

As these schools were integrated it is unclear how many students were Black. Dillon later acknowledged resistance by the white population towards integrated schools.[195] Even though Black families paid their school taxes like whites, Black children were not allowed to attend local schools. AT Jones and others opposed segregated schools; he argued his eight children were born British citizens and entitled to the same rights as white children.[196]

In 1864, under the auspices of the Mission to the Fugitive Slaves, the principal of Huron College appointed two students to visit the London homes of Black families to read and pray with them. New to their task the students wrote, "we were ignorant to the location of any of their residences… after passing through the city we fell in with two females." The women appeared cautious of the white strangers, but took them to a Black residence; the younger women "left us as we passed the house in which she was a servant." The older woman took them to the house of "two Black gentlemen" and they sat in "their little sitting-room" and prayed together. Later the students wrote, "We have visited thirty-seven coloured families containing 162 souls. We have frequently visited those families… On the 12th June I visited their Sunday-school in the 'Hollow.' There were about forty present. All were very cleanly dressed, and seemed very attentive; indeed their attention might cause some of your white children to blush." The reports of the mission contained stances of privilege that did not recognize the history of slavery and its inequitable impacts. For example, Reverend T. Hughes of Dresden complained of the disinterest of the Black population in educating their children, after a small fee was introduced, with no regard to the discriminatory conditions the Black population faced.[197]

In the 1860s, SoHo continued to house many Black families, including the musically

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[194] West London Branch of Colonial Church and School Society, *Mission to the Free Colored Population in Canada*, Occasional Paper 4 (London?, 1855?), 5, 9.
[195] Reid-Maroney, *Reverend Jennie Johnson*, 36-38.
[196] Henry, *Emancipation Day*, 73.
[197] Colonial and Continental Church Society, *Mission to Fugitive Slaves in Canada* (London, 1864), 9, 22-24, 11.

gifted Pryor family. In the evening, residents could hear the family practise their songs in the backyard of their home located near Wellington Street. Some members of the family formed the Pryor Band, moving to Detroit, but returned regularly to London to perform at galas. Other Black families lived near the hospital grounds on South and Colborne streets. The Mackeys and Nelson-Epison families, resided near Hill and Wellington, next door to the family of Richard Berry Harrison. Unfortunately, there are also tales of Black families experiencing loss at this time, such as the death of the Baptist minister, Reverend D. Ogilvie of 144 William Street, likely due to an outbreak of smallpox in his home.[198] In the 1864 *Report To The Freedmen's Inquiry Commission* in the US, AT Jones reflected on racism in London, explaining "there is a mean prejudice here that is not to be found in the States." John Shipton, also of London, echoed this sentiment, adding that only the law prevented further harm to Black residents.[199]

The migration of white American southerners during and after the Civil War racism in London. Many of these individuals were associated with hate organisations like the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), and possibly could have re-organised in London.[200] There was speculation that the childhood home of Richard Berry Harrison burned down in a racially motivated attack, potentially by the KKK, immediately after the family moved to Windsor. Another possibility is that local teenagers committed the crime, as a group of adult Londoners came forward in later years claiming they had been responsible for burning down the home.[201]

Yet Black Londoners demonstrated resilience, and created a community culture, which included sport. In the late 1860s two Black baseball teams, the Goodwills and the Lincoln Nine, produced a number of skilled athletes.[202] In August 1869, the Goodwills entered a tournament in London, playing against another Black team, the Detroit Rialtos. This monumental event is the

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[198] Seaborn, *March of Medicine,* 215-16, 219, 218, 220-21.
[199] Samuel G. Howe, *Refugees From Slavery In Canada West: Report To The Freedmen's Inquiry Commission* (Boston: Wright & Potter, 1864), 43-46.
[200] Brian Martin, *From Underground Railroad to Rebel Refuge: Canada and the Civil War* (Toronto: ECW Press, 2022), 222-24.
[201] Ron W. Shaw, *London Ontario's Unrepentant Confederates, the Ku Klux Klan and a Rendition on Wellington Street* (Carleton Place: Global Heritage Press, 2018), 163; "Comes Back Home Tomorrow: City will Welcome Noted Colored Actor on Return Sunday," *London Advertiser*, October 29, 1934, Historical Scrapbook Series, vol. 26, 47-48, Ivey Family London Room, London Public Library, London, Ontario (hereafter IFLR).
[202] William Humber, "Mixed Outcomes: Canada's Black Baseball Legacy," Society For American Baseball Research, https://sabr.org/journal/article/mixed-outcomes-canadas-black-baseball-legacy/#calibre_link-241 (March 29, 2023).

first confirmed time that a Black-organised team played in a tournament in Canada.[203] That same month, the Lincoln Nine played against white teams, including The Eagle Base Ball Club and the Wide Awakes.[204] These teams represented the start of an extensive history of successful Black teams in London.[205]

Baseball was a complex place. In the 1870s, white teams like the Guelph Maple Leafs played the Ku Klux Klan team one day and Black teams like the St Louis Black Sox the other. Despite willingness to play Black teams, there was no desire to integrate Black players. There are examples of this in London, as the Tecumsehs refused to compete against integrated teams in 1878.[206] In later years, Black teams in London were predominantly excluded from the written record.[207]

By the turn of the century there was increased inclusion of Black players. At that time, Black teams still could not play in the same leagues as white teams, but they were able to participate in exhibition games. However, true inclusion did not begin until Jackie Robinson broke the colour barrier playing in the Major League in 1947. This ushered in a period of integration.[208]

4.3.2 Black Life in the Twentieth Century

At the start of the twentieth century, the Ball family moved to London. Then prominent Reverend Richard Amos Ball became minister at Beth Emanuel Church London (BME) between 1905-08.[209] RA Ball had been born in St Catharines, Ontario in 1845. His father, Henry Ball,

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[203] William Humber, *Diamonds of the North: A Concise History of Baseball in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1995), 142.
[204] Humber, "Mixed Outcomes: Canada's Black Baseball Legacy."
[205] Humber, *Diamonds of the North*, 142; Alan Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play: The Emergence of Organized Sport, 1807-1914* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1987), 95.
[206] Humber, *Diamonds of the North*, 142.
[207] Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play*, 95.
[208] Humber, *Diamonds of the North*, 147-48.
[209] *Foster's London City and Middlesex County Directory* (Toronto: JG Foster & Co., Publishers, 1905) and *Vernon's City of London, Ontario, Miscellaneous, Business, Alphabetical and Street Directory* (Hamilton: H. Vernon & Son, 1908.

arrived as a freedom seeker from Virginia and his mother's name was Sophia Hussey Ball.[210] The town of St Catharines was a terminus on the Underground Railway. RA Ball worked as a barber in St Catharines and worshipped at the same church as Harriett Tubman (Tubman was enslaved in Maryland, escaped north, and returned to assist others via the Underground Railway). Ball and his wife, Mary Elizabeth Jackson, attended to escapees at their home in the Black quarter of St Catharines.[211]

Jackson was born in Pennsylvania in 1846, and arrived in St Catharines at age four. As a young couple, they enjoyed singing together. They had eight children. As a musical family, Reverend Ball headed the Ball Family Jubilee Singers. They performed in the tradition of the Fisk Jubilee Singers, a choir from Fisk University, a school for African Americans founded in Tennessee in 1866. The Fisk Jubilee Singers sang Black spirituals, or songs from the times of slavery to raise funds for their struggling university.[212] Baptist and Black Methodist congregations in Canada followed their example to raise funds for Black churches and by extension Black communities.[213] Reverend Ball raised money to pay mortgages of the BME churches and it was said upon his death that no other minister did more for the BME community than him.[214]

Ball Family Singers late 1800s. Front: Sophie Ball. Middle: Mrs Ball, Charles, and Mr Ball. Back: Minnie, Fred, and Winnie Ball. Courtesy of St Catherines Museum. T2008.16.15

[210] Afua Cooper, "Ball, Richard Amos," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* 15, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/ball_richard_amos_15E.html (February 19, 2023).
[211] "Toronto Minister, the Son of a Slave, Knew Uncle Tom, Saw Exodus to Canada," *Toronto Star Weekly*, January 19, 1924, 23.
[212] Henry Louis Gates, *The Fisk Jubilee Singers: Perform Spirituals and Save Their University* (2019), https://www.youtube com/watch?v=ylD4zvvN79Y (November 4, 2023).
[213] Angela EM Files, *African Hope Renewed Along the Grand River* (Brantford: Taylor Made Printing, 2004), 86.
[214] "Unsung Heros," *DoT,* January 2, 1926, 2.

Ball's children were part of the Ball Family Jubilee Singers. They sang spirituals such as "Way Over Jordan"" and illustrated the story of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, a 1852 novel popular at the time with abolitionists, with lime-light pictures (an early stage lighting) and rendered accompanying jubilee melodies. Newspapers across Canada remarked on the children's voices as cultivated, sweet, and marvellous.[215]

Ball's eldest son Reverend Richard Randoulph Ball (1871-1946) also ministered at Beth Emanuel Church in 1900 before moving to Rochester, New York.[216] Fred Ball remained in London and actively supported the Canadian League for the Advancement of Colored People in the 1920s and sang at its first convention in 1927.[217] Later, RA Ball became the minister at Toronto's BME church but he regularly visited family, friends, and Beth Emanuel in London. His granddaughter, Helen Louise Ball, later joined the Black Elites Girls baseball team.

Another figure who nourished Black community life was Paul Lewis. Lewis was a political organiser for Black rights, a shoeshine man, member of Beth Emanuel's congregation, tenor singer, and community theatre actor. Lewis was born Philadelphia in 1889 to Canadian parents.[218] He came to London in 1914, reputedly for one week, and stayed until his death in 1974. Shortly after his arrival Lewis became a porter and shoeshine man at White's barber shop on Dundas Street. One of his early residences was 330 Hill Street.[219]

Lewis was involved with Black rights. Lewis worked closely with James F. Jenkins, the founder of both the Black newspaper *The Dawn of Tomorrow,* and one of the founding members of the Canadian League for the Advancement of Colored People (CLACP), during the 1920s. Jenkins was born in Georgia around 1875 and came to London by 1913.[220] *The Dawn of Tomorrow* paper aimed to uplift the Black community by providing a place for Black voices and by challenging injustice, particularly in employment and education. The front page, under the

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[215] "Brock Street Church Concert," *Kingston Daily News*, December 15, 1896, np; "The Ball Family at the Methodist Church" *Weekly Herald*, Calgary, April 27, 1892, 5.
[216] *Foster's London City and Middlesex County Directory* (Toronto, 1901).
[217] "Canadian League for the Advancement of Colored People Convened Here," *DoT*, November 5, 1927, 8.
[218] Canada, Census of Canada, 1921, https://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.item/?app=Census1921&op=pdf&id=e002942248 (November 4, 2023).
[219] "Paul Lewis, 81, Gets Civic Honor," *LFP*, April 21, 1970, Clippings File, London-Londoners-Paul Lewis, IFLR; *Vernon's City of London, Ontario, Miscellaneous, Business, Alphabetical and Street Directory* (Hamilton: H. Vernon & Son, 1916).
[220] Melissa N. Shaw, "Jenkins, James Francis," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* 16, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/jenkins_james_francis_16E.html (March 24, 2023).

title banner, reads “Devoted to the Interests of the Darker Races.” In the inaugural issue of *The Dawn of Tomorrow*, Paul Lewis’ name appeared with the editor, James F. Jenkins.[221] In 1924 his name was replaced by the Reverend FO Stewart from Beth Emanuel, who was listed as “Business Manager,” a label which may point to Lewis' early role with the paper.[222]

In 1923, White’s Restaurant on Dundas Street refused service to a Black man, WD Franklin of Kitchener. Mayor George Wenige contacted *The Dawn of Tomorrow* to locate Franklin in order to apologise.[223] In the 1920s, the newspaper reported critically on the workings of the KKK both locally and in the US. An editorial in 1923 condemned Klan meetings in Woodstock and Brantford.[224]

Paul Lewis on the steps of Beth Emanuel, LFP Collection, 1970-04-26. Courtesy of ASCWU.

At a large meeting at Ulster Hall in 1923, Lewis advocated that *The Dawn of Tomorrow* was not about “agitation” but rather “a Race pride that no member need to be ashamed of.” The meeting emphasised that seeking rights, justice, and equality was a fair and worthy goal. A musical program followed political speeches, in which Lewis rendered the popular song

[221] “The Dawn of Tomorrow,” *DoT*, July 14, 1923, 2.
[222] “Dawn of Tomorrow,” *DoT*, February 23, 1924, 2.
[223] “London’s Mayor Refuses to Draw Color Line,” *DoT*, July 28, 1923, 1.
[224] “Editorial: KKK in Canada,” *DoT*, August 29, 1925, 2.

"On The Road to Mandalay."[225]

In 1927, CLACP named Lewis its first vice president. The previous year, the Canadian National Railways had banned Black waiters from serving in train dining cars, replacing them with white waiters. *The Dawn of Tomorrow* reported that "300 coloured people have been directly affected… [and] the remaining colored waiters and cooks have been made to feel uncertain about their future." Lewis voiced opposition to the minister of railways and fought for the rights of Black workers.[226] In 1942, Lewis was re-elected president of CLACP and helped gather $500 which supported Beth Emanuel church and Black families in need of coal, groceries, and school supplies."[227]

In 1968 Lewis attended an Emancipation Day picnic in Springbank Park; he had never missed one for over fifty-four years.[228] In 1971 he took ill and the *London Free Press* reported that he might be unable to do his annual Christmas rounds collecting with his little Black book in hand for "his beloved Beth Emanuel Church." The newspaper reported that he also worried about whether he could get out to vote for the city elections on Tuesday. When Lewis passed away in 1974 and Londoners remembered him fondly.

In the 1920s African-Canadian civil rights work coalesced around CLACP. CLACP was born within the environment of pan-African movements, such as the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and the NAACP.[229] Most CLACP branches were in Ontario towns and cities like Windsor, Chatham, Dresden, and Toronto. A 1924 ad in *The Dawn of Tomorrow* announced a meeting at Ulster Hall. It invited people to attend to discuss questions like: "Since it is generally conceded that the Colored Man is one of Canada's most loyal citizens, is he being given equal opportunities with other races; if not, why not? … Do our boys and girls, who specially prepare themselves for service, find positions; if not, why not?"[230] These questions point to experiences of unequal opportunities and discrimination. One founding member, James F. Jenkins saw Black

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[225] "Big Mass Meetings Held in London, Buxton and Chatham," *DoT*, August 18, 1923, 1.
[226] "A Timely Protest," *DoT*, September 4, 1926, 2.
[227] "Year of Progress Reported by the League for the Advancement of Colored People," *LFP*, April 10, 1942, Clippings File, London-Londoners-Paul Lewis, IFLR.
[228] "Children Galore: London Negros Hold Annual Picnic," *LFP*, August 6, 1968, Clippings File, London-Londoners-Paul Lewis, IFLR.
[229] Reid-Maroney, *Reverend Jennie Johnson*, 106.
[230] "Important Announcement," *DoT,* August 2, 1924, 1.

church congregations and their leadership as allies for Black activism.[231] Indeed the birth of CLACP centred around Beth Emanuel and the Hill Street Baptist Church as many of the congregation members joined. Some of London's white leaders, such as Mayor George Wenige, local dairy businessman AE Silverwood, and journalist EJ Carty, supported CLACP's calls for better conditions.

Black adults advocated for better lives for their children. In 1925, CLACP organised a children's program at the YMCA with poems and songs by Black creators, an event *The Dawn of Tomorrow* described as a first of its kind. Hilda Carter, a SoHo resident originally from Dresden studying at the Normal School for teachers, recited her own original poem.[232]

In 1927, CLACP held its first convention in the old City Hall. Hundreds of people from across southwestern Ontario were welcomed by Acting Mayor James McCormick. McCormick thanked the London branch for bringing the convention to London. According to *The Dawn of Tomorrow*, one of the strongest speakers was Mrs Bowles, the delegate from Windsor, who spoke "on race prejudice, and also on unemployment" amongst the Black population. At the end of the afternoon the group adopted three resolutions:

> 1. That we seek, with the assistance of fair-minded white citizens, to banish petty prejudices which bar our youth from positions for which he has prepared himself. 2. That we prepare our boys and girls for positions in life for which they are best fitted by nature and endowment, regardless of race or color. 3. That we seek with the assistance of friendly white citizens, to stop the flow of youth to the United States by finding employment for them here in Canada.[233]

Improving conditions for work and education by removing colour barriers received focused attention by the delegates.

After the early death of founder James F. Jenkins in 1931, the league pressed on and held its eighth annual meeting at Beth Emanuel church. Guest speaker Colonel Walter James Brown from the University of Western Ontario, recounted his visit to Alabama's Tuskegee University where he saw classes of 700 Black girls and 900 Black boys being taught by Black professors. This story aimed to inspire people as Black students and professors were rare in education due to

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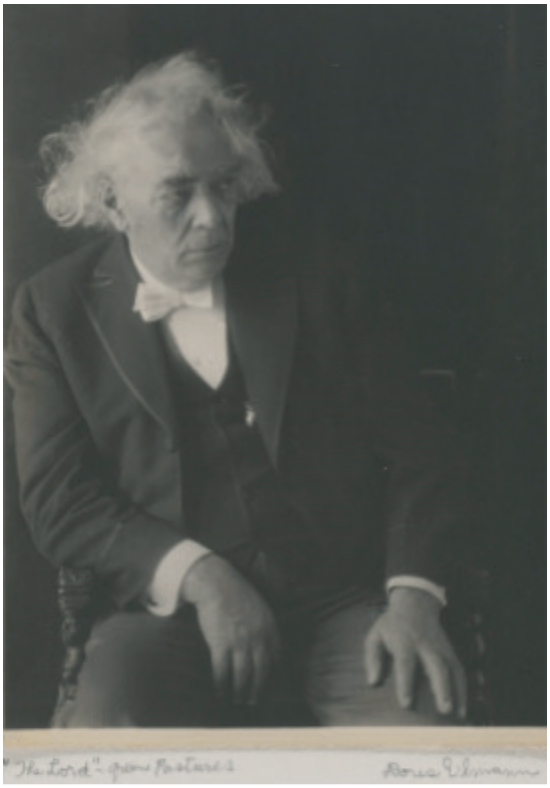
[231] Reid-Maroney, *Reverend Jennie Johnson*, 106-107.
[232] "London Notes," *DoT,* October 11, 1924, 3; "Children's Programme Features League Meeting," *DoT,* March 14, 1925, 1.
[233] "Canadian League for the Advancement of Colored People Convened Here," *DoT*, November. 5, 1927, 1, 8.

discriminatory practices. At the same meeting, Mrs Jenkins, the secretary, reported on the donations of food, clothes, and shoes made to those in need in the Black community. The evening ended with a chicken supper at the home of Mrs Drake at 208 Simcoe Street to raise money for the Christmas Cheer Fund.[234] The Hotel London Bell Boys Orchestra entertained for the evening.[235]

SoHo was also home to a number of Black individuals known internationally for performance arts. Richard Berry Harrison played on Broadway in the 1930s. He starred in the Pulitzer Prize winning play *Green Pastures* playing the role of "De Lawd." Harrison was born in London in 1864 to freedom seekers living on Wellington near Hill Street.[236] His mother had been enslaved by the Choteau family in Missouri and his father by the Bullock family in Kentucky. They were said to have arrived on the Underground Railway. His parents brought food traditions from where they fled, and his mother was known by neighbourhood children for her hot biscuits. Harrison sold the *London Advertiser* on city street corners to make money, but recounted his first "real thrill" was reciting Shakespeare at Waterloo Street School. At seventeen years old his family moved to Windsor and he found work in Detroit as a Pullman porter and bellhop.[237] The money he earned he used for theatre school to study under famous masters.[238] After studying dramatic arts he eventually became head of the drama department



Richard Berry Harrison, 1932. Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution.

[234] "League Holds Eighth Annual Meeting," *DoT,* November 30, 1932, 1.
[235] "London Notes," *DoT*, November 30, 1932, 7.
[236] "Actor Returning to Home Town," *DoT*, September 1934, 1.
[237] "City Will Welcome Noted Colored Actor on Return Sunday," *London Advertiser*, October 29, 1934, Historical Scrapbook 26, 47, IFLR.
[238] "Mayor's Father was his Partner," *LFP*, October 30, 1934, Clippings File-Londoners-Harrison, Richard Berry, IFLR.

of the Agricultural and Technical College of Greensboro, North Carolina, until his call to Broadway. [239]

In 1934, *Green Pastures* opened at the Grand Theatre in London. Harrison used this opportunity to visit Beth Emanuel church, where his father and mother had been married, and where he was christened. He spoke of how his family had been "poor but honest," and how he fished in the Thames with a pole from a Mr Gurd's store that he paid off in instalments. The Black choir of *Green Pastures* performed songs, moving everyone to tears. Paul Lewis performed a solo before the group retired to the basement for refreshments.[240] Mayor Wenige bestowed upon Harrison the Freedom of the City award that recognized esteemed residents and their achievements. Harrison died soon after. *Time Magazine* featured Harrison on the cover on March 4, 1935, naming him one of the best Black actors of his time.[241]

Joey Hollingsworth, the first Black man on Canadian national television, is a tap dancer with international acclaim. He appeared on the Ed Sullivan Show, performed benefit concerts for Black civil rights, and was a longstanding talent on *Mister Rogers' Neighborhood* which debuted in 1967.

Jean and Cecil Hollingsworth adopted him as a toddler from Windsor and raised him at 527 Simcoe Street. In the early years they lived in three rooms: a living room, a kitchen, and a bedroom. An Irish family of eight lived in the three rooms below. Hollingsworth recalled that growing up poor both families shared a single bathroom. He fondly recalled his dad as 'Mr. Fixer,' who transformed the run-down house by replacing the pipe and pail with a kitchen sink, adding a kitchen window for his mother, redoing the verandah, and eventually buying the house freeing up rooms for his family.

Jean Hollingsworth worked in a Chinese-owned laundromat. She committed her child to dance, starting Hollingsworth tapping at three and a half years old at the Holloway School of Dance on Hamilton Road. His mother wanted a Shirley Temple but had to settle for a BoJangles. Eventually, Hollingsworth went downstairs away from the eyes of his "stage mother" and her

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[239] "City Will Welcome Noted Colored Actor on Return Sunday," *London Advertiser*, October 29, 1934, Historical Scrapbook 26, 47, IFLR.
[240] Mary Turner, "R.B. Harrison Returns Home: Noted Colored Actor is Native of This City: Cast of 92 in Show: Bygone Days Recalled and Old Scenes Revisited," nd, Historical Scrapbook Series 26, 50, IFLR.
[241] *Time*, March 4, 1935, Time Vault, https://time.com/vault/year/1935/ (February 15, 2022).

hand-written notebooks with detailed dance directions. From his young years his mother encouraged him to dance on beats one and three, like dance school teachers, but he always danced on the two and the four. Hollingsworth said: "Black people always move off the beat… they would swing and walk that way, talk that way… sing that way… and tap dance that way." At twelve, he practised five hours a day. "When I broke my steps down… I had different sounds… I started tapping with the sounds of tap, I loved doing it… cause I was learning… when I emerged when I was fourteen, I was a tap dancer."[242]

He danced backstage with Bill BoJangles Robinson at the London Arena in 1946. Before the show, young Hollingsworth practised so much in his yard that a pebble broke his tap shoe making it flap when he danced for Robinson. Even still, Hollingsworth was able to dance and mimic steps he had just watched on stage from a master tap dancer. An autograph from BoJangles arrived at his house on Simcoe Street, from Harlem, three months later.

Performance surrounded Hollingsworth. Although he never knew her as an adult, his birth mother was Arizona Brown, a drummer in a three-piece band with a piano player with a wooden leg. His older cousin Bud Henderson who, when older, lived next door on Simcoe, was a drummer and pianist. They worked the circuit in southwestern Ontario when Hollingsworth was in his early teens. Hollingsworth's dedicated father sewed costumes at night making him white satin tails with a matching white top hat which became his signature outfit. Cecil Hollingworth picked up a drum from the junkyard and installed a floor on it merging the sounds of drums and tap. Hollingsworth tapped on the drum at a lively show at Beal Tech London.[243]

Hollingsworth regretted that his dad was very smart but because he was Black he never had the opportunity to work "using his brains." He worked in the coal yards in London and after a work injury he took on short term jobs. His mother and father worked as washroom attendants at the swanky Brass Rail on Dundas Street where patrons wore tuxedos and evening gowns.[244] Even though money was tight, Hollingsworth went to see live shows at the London Arena (built 1923 at the corner of Ridout and Bathurst streets). At a young age he attended shows by

[242] Hollingsworth, Interview with Zahra McDoom and Sarah Pointer, February 17, 2023.
[243] Hollingsworth, Interview with McDoom and Pointer, February 17, 2023.
[244] Hollingsworth, Interview with Zahra McDoom and Sarah Pointer, March 17, 2023.

exceptional Black performers like Nat King Cole, Louis Armstrong, Billy Eckstein, Sarah Vaughn, and Peg Leg Bates.[245]

Seeking to become a performer himself, Hollingsworth left for Toronto with his friend and country music singer Tommy Hunter in 1956 and rented rooms at the YMCA. By Christmas he had a spot on a CBC special *Christmas with the Stars* directed by Norman Jewison. After the live spot, he returned home to Simcoe Street to celebrate Christmas with his parents.[246] In 1963, Hollingsworth performed in Toronto for a benefit show for Martin Luther King Jr with legends like jazz pianist Oscar Peterson and singer Harry Belafonte. Belafonte replaced Martin Luther King Jr when King was called away to support striking Black garbage workers in Alabama.[247] At a time when there were few spots on television for Black performers, Hollingworth performed regularly on *Mister Rogers' Neighborhood* in episodes with long tap sequences. On a trip to Japan,

Joey Hollingsworth performing in London, LFP Collection, 1976-12-17. Courtesy of ASCWU.

[245] Hollingsworth, Interview with Zahra McDoom and Sarah Pointer, April 14, 2023.
[246] Hollingsworth, Interview with McDoom and Pointer, February 17, 2023.
[247] Hollingsworth, Interview with Zahra McDoom and Sarah Pointer, February 24, 2023

Hollingsworth had his tailor make a suit for puppet "King Friday" and mailed it back to the set. *Mister Rogers'* wrote a good story about Joey, the travelling salesman, being off in Japan.[248] In the 1990s, he starred in the comedic opera *Hot Mikado*, in Atlanta, Georgia, singing and tapping, backed up by Broadway stars, in a rendition of this Gilbert and Sullivan's play. Hollingsworth was inducted into the Forest City London Music Hall of Fame in 2017. In 2018 Hollingsworth received the Ontario Black History Society Lifetime Achievement Award.[249] Hollingsworth, a soft-spoken and modest man, gives witness to multi-generations of Black experience from the heights of tap, to civil rights, to inside the community of SoHo.

Everyday lives in SoHo can be gleaned through the *London Notes* column in *The Dawn of Tomorrow*. For example, it reported: "A birthday party was given at the home of Mrs. A. Smith, 755 Grey Street on Monday, July 23, [1923] in honour of her niece, Pernice Logan, it being the occasion of her 10th birthday. Guests numbering twenty-one boys and girls helped her celebrate. The table was beautifully decorated with pink and white, the center decoration being a large bouquet of pink and white sweet peas."[250] A youthful photograph of Madame Berry Hunter appeared on the cover of *The Dawn of Tomorrow* in August 1923; she was a graduate of a Teachers Institute in Kentucky and directed the Hill Street Baptist choir.[251] In 1923, Mr and Mrs Clayton Fox of Ann Arbor, Michigan and their five children visited their grandmother, Mrs Frank Budd, of 110 Clarence Street.[252]

A new generation of star Black baseball players in SoHo rose in the 1920s. Notably, in June 1924, the church started the Beth Emanuel Baseball Team to compete in the Church Baseball League in London. That month the team proved successful, beating the Anglican All Saints Church team 7-5. This was its second win of the week, with another win under their belts from the game against The Latter Day Saints, a Mormon team. *The Dawn of Tomorrow* reported that despite a slow start to the season, the team was on track to win the championship for a city-wide non-denominational church baseball league.[253]

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[248] Hollingsworth, Interview with McDoom and Pointer, April 14, 2023.
[249] "Tap Dancer Joey Hollingsworth Receives Ontario Black History Society Lifetime Achievement Award," CBC News, January 28, 2018, https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/hollingsworth-lifetime-achievement-1.4507784 (February 16, 2023).
[250] "London Notes," *DoT*, July 28, 1923, 4.
[251] "Madame Berry Hunter of London Ontario," *DoT*, August 25, 1923, 1.
[252] "London Notes," *DoT,* September 8, 1923, 4.
[253] "London Notes," *DoT*, June 28, 1924, 4.

Another exciting development occurred in the 1920s with the creation of the Colored Stars, the first recorded Black men's baseball team in London since the 1860s.[254] The Colored Stars played competitive and exhibition games against other city and area teams. In July 1923, the team played an exhibition game at Labatt Park against the Perrins factory team in the London Manufacturers League.[255] That same year, the team achieved a winning streak in August. It began on August 8, when the Colored Stars defeated the Arkona Giants.[256] The Colored Stars' next game offered another impressive performance, beating the Mitchell Giants.[257] They continued their winning streak on Labour Day with a 3-2 game against the West Lorne team. The Colored Stars were also talented performers, playing two concerts at their games that year. One show was joint with the Elite Girls team at the Arkona game, attracting a crowd of 500 people.[258] In 1924, they hosted a benefit concert for a hospitalised community member, George Chandler. Unfortunately, there is no record of the team after their 1924 season.[259]

Colored Stars after defeating the Arkona Giants. Dawn of Tomorrow. August 11, 1923. Courtesy of ASCWU.

Harry Coursey, Dawn of Tommorrow. August 2, 1924. Courtesy of ASCWU.

Harry Coursey, a talented Black athlete, broke barriers throughout his career, demonstrating skill and athleticism. Coursey pitched for the Colored Stars, leading the team to its winning streak during the 1923 season. Notably, during an August

[254] "Conquerors of the Arkona Fast Giants: Colored Star Baseball Team of London," *DoT*, August 11, 1923, 1; Humber, *Diamonds of the North*, 142; Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play*, 95.
[255] "London Notes," *DoT*, July 28, 1923, 4; Mike Dove, email message to Zahra McDoom and Sarah Pointer, November 11, 2022.
[256] "London Notes," *DoT*, August 11, 1923, 5.
[257] "London Notes - Sports," *DoT*, September 1, 1923, 5.
[258] "London Notes," *DoT*, August 11, 1923, 5; "Colored Stars are again Victorious," *DoT*, September 8, 1923, 1.
[259] "London Notes," *DoT*, August 2, 1924, 3.

game against the Arkona Giants, Coursey struck out fifteen batters.[260] Coursey also led the Colored Stars to success during their Labour Day 3-2 win against West Lorne.[261] Coursey was also skilled in track and field competing in the 100 metre dash, and qualifying for the Paris Olympics in 1924. He opted to not compete in the Olympics, on the advice of his trainers to "improve his style" and continue practising. Coursey continued to hone his craft back in London.[262]

In 1925, Coursey managed the McCormicks factory team, making him the first Black man to manage an Ontario Baseball Association team.[263] The next year, Coursey reached another milestone as the first Black man to play for the London Braves (Majors).[264] In the 1930s, he was the president of the popular Hotel London team and occasionally subbed in for players.[265] Coursey had close ties to SoHo, living in the community on and off throughout the 1930s-40s at 114 and 201 Clarence Street, and 508 Phillip Street.[266] Growing up, Coursey lived at 745 Grey Street, now known as Little Grey just outside of the SoHo boundaries.[267] In the later years of his life, Coursey remained in London.[268]

In the 1920s, the Elite Girls baseball team also played London and area games. In 1923, Beth Emanuel held its annual picnic in Port Stanley, where the team played against the London Service Lamp Company team. The Elites claimed victory. Sir Adam Beck, a former London mayor and a Member of Provincial Parliament, pitched several rounds at the game and donated two dollars towards the team's uniforms. London mayor George Wenige also donated and the team drew a large crowd and raised an impressive $15.85.[269] The following week, the Elites played a "snappy" game against the Spark Plugs team.[270] To continue fundraising, the Elites

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[260] "London Notes," *DoT*, August 11, 1923, 5.
[261] "Colored Stars are Again Victorious," *DoT*, September 8, 1923, 1.
[262] "Harry Coursey," *DoT*, August 2, 1924, 1.
[263] "Harry Coursey," *DoT*, May 2, 1925, 1.
[264] Dove, email message to McDoom and Pointer, November 11, 2022.
[265] "London Hotel Ball Team Scores Again," *DoT*, July 8, 1933, 1.
[266] *Vernon's City of London: Street, Alphabetical, Business and Miscellaneous Directory 1935* (Hamilton: Henry Vernon & Son, 1935), 131; *Vernon's City of London: Street, Alphabetical, Business and Miscellaneous Directory 1934* (Hamilton: Henry Vernon & Son, 1934), 130; *Vernon's City of London: Street, Alphabetical, Business and Miscellaneous Directory 1941* (Hamilton: Henry Vernon & Son, 1941), 242.
[267] Canada, Census of Canada, 1911, https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/home/record?app=census&IdNumber=13260417 (February 23, 2023).
[268] Dove, email message to McDoom and Pointer, November 11, 2022.
[269] "London Notes," *DoT*, July 21, 1923, 4.
[270] "London Notes," *DoT*, July 28, 1923, 4.

played a concert at Ulster Hall in August 1923 and friends were encouraged to come out and show their support.[271]

The identity of two players in the group photo can be established from other sources. In 1924, Helen Louise (Ball) Pryor is pictured in *The Dawn of Tomorrow* with four generations of the Ball family shortly after the birth of her daughter.[272] From this photo we can ascertain that Helen Lousie Ball is sitting front row centre in the photo holding the two baseball bats. Helen Ball is the child of Fred Ball, and her great grandfather is Reverend Richard Amos Ball of the Ball Family Jubilee Singers. Seated behind and to the left of Helen Ball is Pearl Brown. Pearl Brown is pictured in CLACP's 1927 convention program where she is listed as "secretary" of the London branch.[273] The Elite Girls team offers a rare glance into local Black women's lives in the 1920s.

The Elite Girls c1923.
Courtesy of the Ball family.

Later, in the 1930s the Hotel London team gained "city wide popularity" during the 1933 season, winning half of their games by June. The next month they played the Canadian Coloured Champions at an annual picnic at Springbank Park.[274] In July, the team battled against Broughdale defeating them 7-1, with an audience of 3,000 people watching. The team proved particularly committed, given that most of the players were dealing with substantial injuries. That day, they also played an exhibition game against the Hamilton Road Merchants, demonstrating a strong philanthropic commitment by donating $40 to support unemployed Londoners.[275] By 1934, the team had changed its name to the Harlem Aces and acquired new

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[271] "London Notes," *DoT*, August 25, 1923, 5.
[272] "London Notes," *DoT*, January 5, 1924, 1.
[273] "Officers of London Branch; Miss Pearl Brown, Sec'y.," New York Public Library Digital Collections, https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47df-f875-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99 (March 23, 2023).
[274] Black players in 1933 season included Harry Coursey, M. Moxley, Ken Moxley, Jim Moxley, Harry Anderson, Roy Anderson, Allen Anderson, Herb Wilson, Harry Bird, Floyd Smith, A. Moxley, J. Coursey, Ed Wiffin and WJ Arnott; "London Hotel Ball Team Scores Again," *DoT*, July 8, 1933, 1; "London Notes," *DoT*, June 30, 1933, 5.
[275] "London Hotel Ball Team Scores Again," *DoT*, July 8, 1933, 1.

management.[276]

Outside of sport, Black residents of SoHo participated in the community through a wide range of occupations. According to the 1921 census, there were around eighty-five Black residents in SoHo. Annie and Frank Budd, for example, lived at 110 Clarence Street in 1921. Frank Budd worked as a porter. At 229 Maitland, lived the Drake family. Samuel Drake, the father, was a clergyman. One of his sons, Stanley Drake worked as a labourer and one of the daughters, Alice, worked as a printer. His remaining children were still school aged. At 97 Wellington Street, Sarah Brown, a widow, lived in a small wood home. She was fifty-six years old at the time of the census, and worked in a laundry. On Clarence Street lived a widowed mother Louisa Washington, who, with her oldest daughter, Emma, worked in the laundry industry. At home, Louisa supported one other child, an adopted Irish girl named Sella (age 4).[277] Some worked in local SoHo businesses, like McClary's Manufacturing. Wes Fountain, interviewed in 1953, worked with the firm for many years as a plumber. His father, John Wesley Fountain, also worked for McClarys as a stationary engineer. Fountain fondly recalled joining his father at McClarys, where he allowed his sons to "start the big steam engine which he tended."[278] By the mid-1950s Black Londoners were represented in almost all fields, as nurses, social workers, athletes, government employees.[279]

In 1957 tenor singer Garnet Brooks, whose father lived at 466 Horton Street, won medals at the annual Canadian National Exhibition in vocal competitions.[280] A year earlier his father, Jim Brooks, was recognized by Shell for working at its gas station at the corner of Horton and Maitland for twenty-five years, eventually becoming a lessee.[281] The family attended Beth Emanuel where Garnet Brooks' grandmother was known for her "rocking piano." Joey Hollingswoth would clap his hands and his mom would try to settle him down. In London, Hollingsworth and Garnet Brooks performed together for the benefit concert for Selma,

[276] "London Notes," *DoT*, April 6, 1934, 5.
[277] Canada, Census of Canada, 1921, https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Search?DataSource=Genealogy%7CCensus&ApplicationCode=137&EthnicOrigin=Negro&ProvinceCode=ON&Place=London&SubDistrictName=Ward%201~Ward%203& (April 15, 2023).
[278] "Helped Make Ontario's Wash Boilers, Tubs, and Pails," *DoT*, March 1953, 5.
[279] "Editorial," *DoT*, June 1955, 2.
[280] "London Singer Wins at Toronto," *DoT*, September 1957, 2.
[281] "Jim Brooks with Shell Twenty-Five Years," *DoT*, January 1956, 3.

Alabama, where Black American marched en masse for their voting rights. Brooks sang opera and Hollingsworth tap danced and played the congo drums. Brooks later performed in operas in Europe.[282]

In the 1940s-60s *The Dawn of Tomorrow* published stories on civil rights issues in London and beyond, raising awareness and advocating for equality. In 1946, the paper reported on incidents of segregation in sport, hotels, and other public spaces nation-wide. At this time, despite changes to legislation in Ontario, segregation was actively enforced with signs stating "restricted patronage" in businesses.[283] This occurred near local municipalities including Dresden in the 1950s, which reported the enforcement of segregation in local restaurants. This prompted an amendment to an existing act which banned businesses from keeping their business licensing if they were found to have segregation policies.[284] In 1950, a Supreme Court of Canada judgement ruled that a racial covenant clause on a property purchased by Bernard Wolf, who lived in London, was invalid, a decision that set a new precedent for discrimination in the sale of real estate. The racial covenant clause contained an agreement between a group of property owners to never sell the property to any racialized person, or anyone with "colored race or blood." Wolf successfully led the litigation, expressing relief that the covenant was invalid stating "my faith in democratic Canada has been upheld."[285] Discrimination in employment was also common, with the school board in 1959 being accused of racist hiring practices. Providing a disappointing response, senior management announced that they had hired a single Black Londoner.[286] In the 1960s ongoing civil rights issues centred around discriminatory treatment in housing, employment and accommodation. While discriminatory practices were no longer legally supported, there is still evidence of it occurring, although sometimes in secrecy.[287]

Black Londoners lived varied and vibrant lives in SoHo, although this complex history is harder to document as Black communities faced exclusion. More nuanced histories are developing as Black communities continue to resist, redefine and reshape the narrative.

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[282] Hollingsworth, Interview with McDoom and Pointer, February 17, 2023.
[283] "Fight Race Hatred in Ontario," *DoT*, December 18, 1946, 1.
[284] "Editorial," *DoT*, March 30, 1950, 2.
[285] "Minority Groups Hail Judgement as Landmark in Land Sale Invalid," *DoT*, December 1950, 8.
[286] "No Color Bar Here in School," *DoT*, December 1959, 1.
[287] "We Need the Shield and the Sword in Safeguarding our Human Rights," *DoT*, December 1963, 11.

4.4 Chinese Community

For Chinese immigrants to Ontario in the late nineteenth century, life was extremely challenging. They were predominantly male due to the nature of immigration policies, meaning that the growth of the community was delayed significantly.[288] Between 1885-1949 approximately 100 individuals arrived in London, most of whom faced a $500 head tax. Their occupations consisted of laundrymen, labourers, merchants, and students.[289] In 1901, according to census data, there were only twenty-seven Chinese people in the city. Of these individuals approximately eleven lived in SoHo. All were young men working in hand laundry, many at the same businesses. By 1911, there were seventy-one Chinese people with similar demographics, mainly men working in laundries. The population experienced growth between 1911-21. The population increased to over 334 Chinese individuals in London, with 148 of them living in and around SoHo.[290]

Laundryman as an occupation was common among Chinese immigrants in Canada. Considerable employment discrimination limited opportunities, so many opened hand laundries and other businesses like small stores. Laundry owners charged low rates to wash and iron clothes. Employees had to accept wages that were less than the bottom 20% of annual wages in Ontario in 1901.[291] The work was also physically demanding in hot and steamy conditions, with owners washing, ironing, and packaging clothes, chopping wood for the water boilers, and dropping off deliveries on a daily basis.[292] Chinese laundries in Ontario towns reported eighteen hour days, and some lived in their business to cut costs.[293] An example of this is the laundry at

[288] Zhongping Chen, "Chinese Minority and Everyday Racism in Canadian Towns and Small Cities: An Ethnic Case Study of Peterborough," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 26, 1 (2004): 76, 74.
[289] Immigrants from China 1885-1949, https://library-archives.canada.ca/eng/collection/research-help/genealogy-family-history/immigration/pages/immigrants-from-china-1885-1949.aspx#a3 (April 9, 2023).
[290] Data obtained through the census databases by Library and Archives Canada for 1901, 1911, and 1921 by searching the keyword "Chinese" in Wards 1 and 3. These wards contain SoHo residents, but also encompassed the surrounding areas. See https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Search?DataSource=Genealogy%7CCensus&ApplicationCode=28~4~137&EthnicOrigin=Chinese&ProvinceCode=ON&Place=London&SubDistrictName=Ward%201~Ward%203& (March 15, 2023).
[291] Chen, "Chinese Minority and Everyday Racism," 76.
[292] Ban Seng Hoe, "Enduring Hardship - Chinese Hand Laundry," *Canada Hall - Virtual Exhibit,* Canadian Museum of History, 2000, https://www.historymuseum.ca/cmc/exhibitions/hist/phase2/mod5e.html (April 9, 2023).
[293] Chen, "Chinese Minority and Everyday Racism," 77.

531 South Street.[294] Lee Jung, who immigrated in 1899 as a young man in his twenties, lived here in 1921, an address marked as a Chinese hand laundry on fire insurance plans.[295]

Other Chinese SoHo residents included Yung Lung who lived at 206 Wellington and worked as a laundry man. In 1901, he was twenty-five years old and rented this small four-room building which served as both his business and home.[296] Other laundry men in the 1920s included two single men, Willie and George Lee, who lived at 247 Clarence, and at 82 Wellington, Charlie Frank and lodger Frank Lee.[297] Immigration halted in the years that followed due to the *Chinese Exclusion Act* of 1923.

[294] Fire Insurance Plan, London, Ontario, 1912 (Montreal, rev. 1922), Sheet 37, ASCWU.
[295] Canada, Census of Canada, 1861, http://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.redirect?app=census&id=64541558&lang=eng (March 23, 2023); Fire Insurance Plan, London, Ontario, 1912 (Montreal, rev. 1915), Sheet 37, ASCWU.
[296] *Vernon's City of London: Street, Alphabetical, Business and Miscellaneous Directory 1907-1908* (Hamilton: Henry Vernon & Son, 1908), 121; Fire Insurance Plan, London, Ontario, Sheet 28, ASCWU; Canada, Census of Canada, 1901, https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/home/record?app=census&IdNumber=36145268 (March 16, 2023); Ontario, Assessment Roll for the Third Ward, 1896, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV0 -F3CV-J9XR-8?cc=4130007&personaUrl=%2Fark%3A%2F61903%2F1%3A1%3A66CX-SX1F (March 17, 2023).
[297] Canada, Census of Canada, 1921, http://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.redirect?app=census&id=64492326&lang=eng and http://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.redirect?app=census&id=64540953&lang=eng (March 18, 2023).

4.5 Irish Community

There were two large influxes of immigrants to London from Ireland. Sponsored by government organisations, the first came after the Napoleonic Wars in 1803-1805. Experiencing economic hardship, many looked elsewhere for opportunities.[298] One of these men was Richard Talbot, a soldier turned immigration agent. In 1818, Talbot and other Anglicans from Tipperary County, Ireland, settled at the forks of the Thames in the newly surveyed London Township. Subsequent Irish immigrants settled in SoHo and the township, forming social and religious enclaves.[299]

The second large influx of immigrants, totalling over 1,500, were poorer and more likely to be Roman Catholic. They came during and after the great potato famine of 1842-52, and this sparked a degree of controversy for the settled immigrant population of London. Many arrived sick with cholera. Much to the disgust of locals, the Irish were housed in immigration sheds at the block between Wellington, Waterloo, York, and Bathurst, just on SoHo's northmost border.[300] This first shed measured roughly forty feet in dimension and housed the healthy Irish—it was crowded with people and their belongings. The sickly Irish were sent immediately to a hastily built hospital shed, measuring about the same as the one for the healthy. The sick, dying, and dead rested on pallets on the dirt floor, or even directly on the floor when staff ran out of pallets. A final shed was constructed for cooking and washing. This was organised by London's Board of Police, which also rented houses surrounding the block for the doctor, medical dispenser, and nurses. The president of the Board of Police and the chairman of the Board of Health, Dr Hiram Davis Lee, was appointed as the on-site physician. Locals volunteered their services as nurses and others housed the Irish in their homes as they recuperated.[301]

In 1847, cholera conditions worsened amongst the Irish and all five of London's physicians began working side-by-side at the hospital shed, including Dr Henry Going and Dr Thomas Philips, who were Irish themselves. Cholera killed two volunteer nurses in August and September and then Dr Lee himself in October. Dr Going succeeded him as head physician and conditions slowly improved by November. The number of total Irish who died in the sheds is unknown, but the corpses were anonymously hauled away on farm carts to be buried

[298] Elliott, *Irish Migrants in the Canadas*, 116.
[299] Daniel James Brock, "Richard Talbot, the Tipperary Irish and the Formative Years of London Township: 1818-1826," (MA Thesis, Western University, 1969), 3, 82, 84.
[300] Seaborn, *March of Medicine,* 116.
[301] Willard Francis Dillon, "The Irish in London, Ontario, 1826-1861," (MA thesis, Western University, 1963), 36.

unceremoniously in a gravel pit outside city limits.[302] In 1849, town council moved to remove the hospital since it no longer provided a purpose and that it was in the way of the local inhabitants and farmers. Later that month, fire destroyed the hospital shed, which authorities suspected to be arson fuelled by fear of the disease spreading outside of the shed.[303] Those who survived the emigrant sheds often took on domestic service or prostitution, and some ended up on pauper rolls or in prison.[304]

By 1861, a significant portion of the working class in London consisted of the Irish.[305] In 1862, Edward Winder, a house painter, and his family settled in SoHo. Winder and his brother built a store and home in 1872, now 129 Wellington Street at the corner of Hill. This is one of the first buildings designed to have a shop and living quarters on the bottom floor, and extended living quarters on the second. The Back from the Brink project restored the property, known locally as the 'Red Antiquities Building,' in 2011 and it remains a landmark in the neighbourhood.[306]

As of 1881, Irishman John Winnett lived at 411 Grey Street in SoHo.[307] He was a Methodist born in Ireland who immigrated to Canada in 1848. The census listed him as a lumber merchant and married to Susanna Gordon, also born in Ireland.[308] They had twelve children. Her tenth child, William H. Winnett lived at 406 Grey Street and continued the family tradition of working in lumber and coal.[309] When William Winnett's finances increased, he moved to a larger house on King Street and rented 406 Grey to various tenants with a range of occupations from a milkman to stained glass worker. Willam Winnett was elected to London city council as an alderman.[310] His son, Albert Winnett, spent his childhood years at 406 Grey, before training as a

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[302] Dillon, "The Irish in London, Ontario, 1826-1861," 37.
[303] Seaborn, *March of Medicine*, 117.
[304] Orlo Miller, *The Donnellys Must Die* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1962), 36.
[305] Dillon, "The Irish in London, Ontario, 1826-1861," 107-11.
[306] London Heritage Council, The Red Antiquities Building, March 28, 2011 https://heritagecouncilblog.wordpress.com/2011/03/28/the-red-antiquities-building/ (May 4, 2022); Alice Gibb, The Antiquities Shoppe Soho Landmark Threatened with Demolition, Soho Community Association, December 3, 2010, https://soholondon.ca/the-antiquities-shoppe-soho-landmark-threatened-with-demolition/ (May 4, 2022); Eqbal, "London Neighbourhood Histories."
[307] *White's City of London and County of Middlesex Directory* (London, 1881), 8.
[308] Canada, Census of Canada, 1871, https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Search? DataSource=Genealogy%7CCensus&ApplicationCode=2~29&FirstName=john&LastName=winnett&ProvinceCode=ON&Place=london& (October 30, 2023).
[309] *History of the County of Middlesex Canada* (Toronto: Goodspeed, 1889), 1051.
[310] "Ex-Alderman Dies" *LFP*, June 18, 1928, 1.

dentist and joining the Canadian Army Dental Corps during the First World War.[311] The Winnett family continued to own and rent houses in SoHo, accumulating property as a method to generate wealth, a strategy common to other immigrant groups.

[311] Lieutenant-Colonel Albert William Winnett, Canadian Great War Project, https://canadiangreatwarproject.com/person.php?pid=119185 (November 26, 2022).

4.6 Italian Community

Italian immigrants to Canada came in two main waves. The first occurred between 1900-14, during which time approximately 119,000 Italians arrived. Young men made up eighty percent of this wave, and they primarily worked as labourers in mines, lumber-camps, or railway crews. Those who lived in cities primarily worked in construction and factories, but also as artisans and food merchants.[312] London had a well-connected Italian community by 1900, at which point the Marconi Club of London was born.[313] The 1901 census shows a population of almost 200 Italians in London, and by 1911 that number had grown to over 400. Of this 400, over 100 lived in SoHo, and the majority were single men working as labourers, though there were a few families.[314] The large population of single men is not surprising, as early Italian immigration was often not meant to be permanent. Instead, families sent their sons to work elsewhere temporarily. Oftentimes it was not the young men making the decision to immigrate, but their close family.[315]

The Lombardo family was one of the few Italian families in SoHo in 1911. They lived at 202 Simcoe Street between 1904-12.[316] It was in this house that Guy Lombardo began his career in music by playing violin. One resident of SoHo recalled that Lombardo's father intended for him to pursue classical music, but he always played jazz. In an outburst of anger one day, he broke a violin over Lombardo's head.[317] Lombardo went on to become one of the most well-known musicians in Canada, and certainly in London. When he and his brothers returned to London in their expensive convertibles, all the neighbourhood kids gathered to look at the wire wheels and luxury brands.[318] His band, the Royal Canadians, which included his brothers, played for many years in New York City and annually broadcasted a live New Year's Eve concert.[319]

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[312] Ramirez, *Italians in Canada,* 3-7.
[313] Marconi Club of London, About Us, http://londonmarconiclub.com/about-us/ (April 5, 2022).
[314] Data obtained through the databases by Library and Archives Canada for the Census of Canada, 1901 and 1911, by searching the keyword "Ital*" in Wards 1 and 3. The ward boundaries do not exactly match SoHo boundaries, therefore some individuals may actually be outside SoHo.
[315] Robert Harney, "Men without Women: Italian Migrants in Canada, 1885-1930," *A Nation of Immigrants: Women, Workers, and Communities in Canadian History, 1840s-1960s*, ed. Franca Iacovetta, Paula Draper, and Robert Ventresca (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 206-208.
[316] Debora Van Brenk, "Dreams of Guy Lombardo Museum in London Dies," *LFP*, January 14, 2015, https://lfpress.com/ 2015/01/14/dreams-of-guy-lombardo-museum-in-london-dies (April 5, 2022).
[317] Fred Israeli, *Londoners Remember: A Collection of Reminiscences* (London: Ad Ventures in History Inc., 1989), 9.
[318] Israeli, *Londoners Remember*, 8.
[319] Eric Martone, *Italian Americans: the History and Culture of a People* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2016), 380-81.

By 1921, over 200 Italians lived in SoHo.[320] However, between new restrictions on immigration and the Great Depression, immigration lost steam in the 20s and 30s. Even so, around 40,000 Italian immigrants came to Canada during the interwar period.[321] By 1935, Canadian hostility towards fascism had grown, and Canadians directed their anger towards Italian-Canadians. In June 1940 Canada declared war on Italy. The federal government passed the *War Measures Act* which declared the over 31,000 Italians in Canada to be 'enemy aliens.' This included any Italians older than sixteen who were not residents of Canada and any Italian-Canadians who had been naturalised after 1922. The enemy alien designation heightened anti-foreign sentiments, and many Italians lost their jobs, had their shops vandalised, and faced persecution. The federal government also interned over 600 people of Italian descent in camps, one of which was in northern Ontario at Camp Petawawa.[322]

In 1940, the RCMP instructed all naturalised Italian and German citizens since September 1929 in the local region to register as enemy aliens and report monthly, as published by the *London Free Press*.[323] This date is seven years later than the federally mandated date of 1922 for unknown reasons. Just four days prior to this announcement, the RCMP arrested two naturalised Italians in London.[324] The enforcement of these check-ins varied wildly across cities and provinces. In some cases, local officials told individuals to not check in every month. But much of the Canadian public turned against all people associated with enemy countries.[325]

One of the Italians interned from London was Raffaele "Ralph" Louis Antonucci. He was born in Cava dei Tirreni, Campania, Italy, in 1890. Antonucci immigrated to Canada in 1912 at the age of twenty-one and initially tried to board the *Titanic*, but fortunately for him, he was

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[320] Data was obtained through the database by Library and Archives Canada for the Census of Canada, 1921 in London's Ward 1, Sub-districts 3, 4, 5, and 7 and Ward 3, Sub-districts, 27, 32, 33, 36, 37, 38, 39. Again the boundaries are not exact to SoHo.

[321] Franc Sturino, "Italian Canadians," *Canadian Encyclopedia*, 2019 https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/italian-canadians#:~:text=Italian%20immigration%20to%20Canada%20occurred,before%20the%20war%20interrupted%20immigration (April 10, 2022).

[322] Angelo Principe, Roberto Perin, and Franca Iacovetta, *Enemies Within: Italian and Other Internees in Canada and Abroad* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 4-7.

[323] "Register Enemy Aliens in City," *LFP*, June 14, 1940, 1.

[324] Internee List, *Italian Canadians as Enemy Aliens: Memories of World War II*, http://www.italiancanadianww2.ca/tour/internees# (February 22, 2023).

[325] Principe, Perin, and Iacovetta, *Enemies Within*, 42-45; Columbus Centre, Enemy Aliens, *Italian Canadians as Enemy Aliens*, http://www.italiancanadianww2.ca/villa/home (April 10, 2022).

refused passage. Upon arriving in London, he began working for Guy Lombardo's father as a tailor in his shop, which once stood where City Hall is now located.[326] Presumably around this time, he met his wife, Antoinette Baratta, and married in 1918.[327]

Ralph Antonucci in the LFP, April 2, 1966. Photo courtesy of ASCWU.

As the Second World War broke out, Antonucci was arrested as an enemy alien in June 1940, likely in relation to a failure to pay a chattel mortgage in a timely fashion.[328] Price, Waterhouse, & Co. (PwC) stated that Ralph had taken out mortgages on appliances needed for his dry cleaning business, totalling $500, but only had a bank balance of $28.98. The firm determined that the sale of the machinery would not equal the amount of the mortgage and thus his circumstances would not be of interest to the Custodian of Enemy Property, which managed trade with enemy aliens, sometimes including the seizure and liquidation of enemy property. Still, he was interned at Camp Petawawa from the day of his arrest until his release on December 23, 1940. One of the largest and most notorious of these camps was Camp Petawawa, also known as Camp 33. The Canadian Forces Base in Petawawa, Ontario established it shortly after Italy entered the war in 1940. The camp initially held German prisoners of war, but was later converted into an internment camp for Italian enemy aliens. It was the site of most Italian interments in Canada, interning over 400 Italians.[329] The internment of Italian-Canadians during the Second World War profoundly impacted the community. Imprisonment tore apart many families. After being released from the camps these men often found themselves stigmatised and discriminated against, and many struggled to rebuild their lives. At the time of his internment, Ralph's wife, Antoinette, acted as the sole owner and operator of their business, Talbot Dry Cleaners & Dyers.[330] While not a

[326] "Londoner Sends Photographs to Indian Premier Mrs. Gandhi," *LFP*, April 2, 1966, 15.
[327] Ontario, Registrations of Marriages, 1869-1928, Reel 458, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, Ontario.
[328] "Antonucci, Raffaele - Internee [property of]," File 4370, Volume 1995, RG117-A-3, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario.
[329] Enrico Cumbo, "Sports and Inter-Ethnic Relations at Camp Petawawa," *Polyphony* 7, 1 (1985): 31.
[330] "Internee List," *Italian Canadians as Enemy Aliens*, http://www.italiancanadianww2.ca/tour/internees# (February 22, 2023).

resident of SoHo, Antonucci did work there later on at Personal Dry Cleaners on the corner of Richmond and Horton, which was owned by his son.[331]

The other known Italian who was interned was Sebastiano Federico.[332] Federico was born in Italy in 1892. Upon immigrating to Canada, he worked as a tailor for Scotts of London and lived on Queens Avenue with his wife, Helen.[333] Like Antonucci, the RCMP arrested him in June 1940, but released him sooner, in November 1940.[334]

Into the 1960s, the treatment of Italians had not improved exponentially in London. Many felt they had to start their own businesses to avoid discrimination and neglect as employees of larger companies. This was the experience of Sil Palumbo. Upon arriving in London, he found work through the Union Hall, but, like all Italian workers there, found his name continually pushed to the bottom of the joblist, since English workers were prioritised. With financial help from other Italian immigrants, he purchased a house on Simcoe Street; he and his family lived on the main floor and rented out the upstairs until he could afford to turn the house back into a single family home. Like Palumbo, many of the Italians in SoHo were born in the small southern Italian town of San Bartolomeo in Galdo. The Italian migrants from this town have their own social club in London and meet yearly to golf at West Haven Golf Club.[335]

Despite the hostility towards Italians during the war, afterwards Canada received a mass influx of Italian immigrants. London's Italian population surged, and new Italian businesses and clubs formed. The Marconi Club's membership grew significantly during this period, and though it is not in SoHo, Italians from SoHo attended their meetings and events. In 1964, the club moved from its site on Carling Street to a larger facility on Clarke Road.[336]

The London Italian community is an outlier. The settlement pattern is different from other cities. Rather than have their own enclave, Italians integrated into London's neighbourhoods. They lived on a variety of streets alongside other immigrants and workers, and their shops were

[331] *Vernon's City of London: Street, Alphabetical, Business and Miscellaneous Directory 1965* (Hamilton: Henry Vernon & Son, 1965), 91.
[332] Internee List, *Italian Canadians as Enemy Aliens*, http://www.italiancanadianww2.ca/tour/internees# (February 22, 2023).
[333] *Vernon's City of London: Street, Alphabetical, Business and Miscellaneous Directory 1956* (Hamilton: Henry Vernon & Son, 1956), 231.
[334] Internee List, *Italian Canadians as Enemy Aliens*, http://www.italiancanadianww2.ca/tour/internees# (February 22, 2023).
[335] Sil Palumbo, Interview with Michelle Hamilton and Niġel Klemenčič-Puglisevich, December 13, 2022, ASCWU.
[336] Marconi Club of London, About Us, http://londonmarconiclub.com/about-us/ (April 5, 2022).

not clustered together. This is very different from other cities, such as Toronto or Montreal, where there are clear Little Italy communities.[337]

From Vernon's City of London Directory, 1935.

Yet the Italian community both historically and today has its own network of shops, bakeries, and clubs. A popular Italian bakery, Stranos, is located at 87 William Street. Founded in 1934, the Bernardo family operated Bernardo Marble Terrazzo and Tile on Dundas, and another location in SoHo at Maitland and Hamilton. The company at one time employed approximately fifty Londoners. The president and founder, Mike Bernardo, was also the former manager of the Italian Mosaic and Marble Co.'s London office on Maitland.[338] Now closed, Murray's Variety, on Wellington between Horton and Simcoe, served as both a store and a meeting place for the Italian community. Murray's seems to have passed through the hands of multiple owners. One owner, George Bertoia, helped people in SoHo connect with Italians who wanted to immigrate. Bertoia's wife, Katherine Bertoia, took over ownership after her husband.[339] As one of our interviewees noted, "Murray's Variety is key, because it was kind of like the immigrant train, the immigrant connection for the Italian community." Murray's also acted as a place to start job hunts or make living arrangements.[340] While the Italian community did not have its own church in SoHo, many attended St. Mary's on Lyle Street. Community could even be found in workplaces. One person interviewed noted the large community of Italian men working in Victoria Hospital's laundry whilst they learned English, and another noted a group of Italians who worked at Labatt Brewing Co.[341] Another made note of a community working at Canada Bread.[342]

Canada Bread is where one of SoHo's most popular Italians got his start in London. Vincent Bondi immigrated to Canada with his mother aboard the *Vulcania* in 1952 to join his

[337] John Zucchi, *A History of Ethnic Enclaves in Canada* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 2007), 4-5.
[338] "Art of Marble and Terrazzo Work Mastered by Bernardo Craftsmen," *LFP*, August 22, 1961.
[339] Concetta Akins, Maria Bondi, Tony Bondi, and Matilda Edwards, Interview with Niġel Klemenčič-Puglisevich, March 22, 2023.
[340] Mario Circelli, Interview with Emily Clink and Danielle Sinopoli, December 2, 2021.
[341] Nancy and Jeff Jamieson, Interview with Keely Shaw, March 24, 2022.
[342] Akins, Bondi, Bondi, and Edwards, Interview with Klemenčič-Puglisevich, March 22, 2023.

father, who had immigrated two years earlier. His wife followed nine months later. Bondi's mother was a baker in Sicily and upon arriving in London, she began selling pizzas from the family's home on the intersection of Horton and Waterloo Streets. The first pizza the Bondis sold was made without cheese—that first customer requested that the next pizza be made with cheese. Vincent Bondi always had a business-oriented mind and soon developed a business delivering these pizzas. As the business grew, his four other siblings helped when they could between full working days, even as the business grew into a full-fledged restaurant under his parents' home. His children recalled early memories of the restaurant when it would be so full that they would have to seat customers upstairs in Bondi's parents' dining room. All of the Bondi children worked at the restaurant, even managing hat and coat check as children—and making good tips, too.

Bondi's Italian Restaurant and Jazz Club became a hugely popular and influential business in London. Bondi's became the first restaurant in London to obtain a liquor licence, increasing its popularity significantly. Bondi also employed new Italian immigrants to help them get started in Canada.[343] Bondi's is a testament to the driven and close-knit nature of the Italian community in SoHo.

[343] Akins, Bondi, Bondi, and Edwards, Interview with Klemenčič-Puglisevich, March 22, 2023.

4.7 Jewish Community

The history of the Jewish community in SoHo dates back to the 1850s when German Jews first immigrated to London. Fleeing persecution and economic hardships, they sought a better life with more opportunities. These immigrants were a group of businessmen and families, many of whom became store owners and prominent figures in their new community. During the 1880s and 1890s, there was a sudden large influx of Russian-Jewish families fleeing state-organised massacres, or pogroms.[344] During this period, the population of Jewish individuals within Canada increased from 2400 to 6000 as over 600,000 Jews escaped the violence in Russia and fled to North America.[345] Canadian census data reflects that approximately 100 of these Russian-Jews settled in London; the Jewish population rose from around fifty individuals in 1881 to 144 in 1891.[346] Many of these immigrants and refugees were Orthodox and began to outnumber the Reformed German Jewish community in SoHo.[347]

London's Jewish community continued to expand into the early 1900s as Jewish people in Russia and eastern Europe continued to face persecution and violence which forced them to emigrate to Canada. In 1901, London's Jewish population consisted of 206 individuals and increased significantly to 570 in 1911.[348] A large percentage of Jewish immigrants who arrived in this period were extremely poor because they were forced to leave their home countries. These Jews settled close to each other in SoHo near the river on Clarence, South, Maitland and Grey streets. Many worked in cigar factories, or as junk-peddlers when they first arrived in London, since such employment did not require them to speak any English. These industries quickly became dominated by Jewish immigrants in SoHo.[349]

In the late nineteenth century, a successful cigar industry centred in London. Named after themselves, the German Jewish Brener brothers opened a hand-rolling cigar factory in the 1880s,

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[344] Eqbal, "London Neighbourhood Histories."
[345] Dr Isidore Goldstick, *Canadian Jewish Reference Book and Directory: The Jews of London, Ontario The First One Hundred Years*, Bill Gladstone Fonds, 2011-6-3, Ontario Jewish Archives, Toronto, Ontario (hereafter OJA).
[346] Rosa Orlandini, "Scrap, Salvage, and Sell," (2021), https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/ b0cabc80844649779d14e9866e9a8c27 (May 3, 2022); Goldstick, *Canadian Jewish Reference Book and Directory,* Gladstone Fonds, OJA.
[347] Bill Gladstone and Rubinoff family, *A History of the Jewish Community of London Ontario: from the 1850s to the Present Day* (Toronto: Now & Then Books, 2011), 23.
[348] Research Committee of the Canadian Jewish Congress Central Region, *The Jewish Community of London, Ontario: A Self Survey* (Toronto, April 1959), Alan Maurice Cohen Fonds, 2016-12-67, OJA.
[349] Alice Gibb, "SoHo Community History Project," Gladstone Fonds, OJA.

later housed at 184-190 Horton Street. The company hired many Jewish immigrants, and grew its workforce from thirty to 200 by 1912. In the same year, it produced over ten million cigars. With the introduction of cheap cigarettes and automation of the industry during the First World War, cigar consumption declined and Brener Brothers closed in 1922. During the 1980s, the factory building itself was demolished.[350]

The Leff family immigrated during the 1890s Russian-Jewish influx. Moses Leff, the patriarch, was known for his participation in the community, including negotiating with Reverend William Proudfoot for the purchase of land on Oxford Street for the Or Shalom Cemetery. This was a significant victory for the Jewish community as the land originally belonged to the Presbyterian church which did not normally do business with the Jewish community.[351] In addition to these negotiations, Moses Leff co-founded the B'nai Moses Ben Judah Synagogue on the corner of Horton and Colborne in 1906.

Moses Leff's son William started a scrap collecting business, William Leff and Company, in 1898. Starting a business was a common strategy for immigrants because of prejudice against them in hiring practices. At the time, many Jewish individuals owned and worked in the scrap trading business. Considered to be "noxious" and "unhealthy," a 1903 city by-law forbid the operation of rag, bone and junk businesses in downtown and parts of SoHo, a move also aimed to limit Jewish-owned efforts.[352]

The W. Leff & Co. plant c1937.
Courtesy of the Ontario Jewish Archives

[350] "The Brener Brothers Cigar Factory," London Public Library, https://www.lpl.ca/books-digital/explore/london-room/local-history/local-historic-sites/brener-brothers-cigar-factory (May 4, 2022); Gladstone, *History of the Jewish Community of London*, 24.
[351] Gladstone, *History of the Jewish Community of London*, 21.
[352] City of London, By-law 2338, *To Define the Areas within which Rag, Bone or Junk Shops, or other Industries of a Noxious or Unhealthy Character, may not be Carried on within the City of London* (1903).

Leff started his operation in his house at the corner of William and Bathurst streets. Employing largely other Jewish immigrants, Leff and Company became one of the largest scrap yards in London by the 1930s.[353] In addition to cigar-making and scrap collecting, Jewish immigrants worked as tailors, shop owners, merchants, and lawyers.

In the SoHo neighbourhood, there were several meat markets and grocery stores run by Jewish families in the early 1900s. One of the longest running kosher butcheries was the Lapowich Meat Market located at 299 South Street, founded by Zalmon Lapowich in 1910.[354] Lapowich's was a popular spot for all members of the SoHo neighbourhood as it also sold non-kosher meats. The business passed to Zalmon's son Samuel when he passed away in 1960. Samuel Lapowich commented in a *London Free Press* article in 1971 that the family business had allowed him to put his two sons through university and become successful lawyers.[355] Unfortunately, the meat market closed that same year when large, big-box stores replaced smaller, family-run grocery stores.

Three generations of the Silverstein family ran a successful fish market downtown from the early 1920s to late 1980s. Louis Silverstein was a Russian-Jew who came to SoHo in 1905 with his wife Ida, and lived at 96 Clarence Street. Like many other Russian-Jewish immigrants in SoHo, Louis did not know any English and needed a way to support himself and his wife. He started by acquiring a push cart and peddling fish door-to-door, eventually saving enough money to transform an outdoor shed into a smokehouse for fish. In 1922 he purchased a store on King Street and named the business Louis Silverstein and Sons Ltd. Besides running the fish market, Silverstein was a prominent member within SoHo's Jewish community. He was a part of several Jewish organisations, serving as president of the B'nai Moses Ben Judah Synagogue and a member of the Jewish Community Council. Silverstein passed away in 1940 while living at his residence at 219 Ottaway Avenue (South Street) and his sons took over the market until they retired in 1969. A few years later, Louis's grandson Len Silverstein bought back the store on King Street and continued to run the family business until 1987.[356]

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[353] Orlandini, *Scrap, Salvage, and Sell.*
[354] Solomon S. Grafstein, *14th Annual London Jewish Directory* (1950-51), 148, File 14, Series 1, Fonds 38, OJA.
[355] "Bankruptcy Moves Make for a Sad Day," *LFP*, 1971, Gladstone Fonds, OJA.
[356] Gibb, "SoHo Community History Project," Gladstone Fonds, OJA.

Fink Meats and Grocery Store, located on Wellington Street, was another Jewish-run business. In 1965, Rose and Meyer Fink opened their store, operating it until 1977. During these twelve years, it was a successful family business popular among Jewish and Gentile residents alike, becoming a well known-landmark.[357]

Many of SoHo's earliest Jewish immigrants had children who became prominent figures of SoHo's Jewish community. The Siskind presence in London dates back to 1901 with the arrival of Solomon and Rose Siskind and their six children; the family lived at 461 Simcoe Street.[358] Solomon Siskind was born in 1862 in Russia and died in 1929 in London after spending twenty-six years working as a junk peddler.[359] Moses Siskind, the only son of Solomon and Rose, was a pillar in the Jewish community. He was a founder of SoHo's second synagogue, the B'nai Moses Ben Judah Synagogue, helped establish the Talmud Torah Hebrew School, and played a large role in the Hebrew Free Loan Society. Moses Siskind married Rachel Leah Zimmerman and they had six children: Isaac, Abraham, Sam, Max, Betty and Jack.[360]

Photo of AB Siskind. Courtesy of the Ontario Jewish Archives

Two Siskind brothers were well known in SoHo's Jewish community; Isaac was in the insurance and hotel business while Abraham Siskind became a successful lawyer.[361] Abraham started practising law in the 1930s in an office downtown on King Street.[362] He was senior partner in the law firm of Siskind, Taggart, and Cromarty, a lecturer at the Western law school, and president of the Middlesex Law Association. Besides the role he played in the legal world, Abraham Siskind was also a past president of the B'nai Brith

[357] Don James, "Fink Store Closing Up, Seniors Regret Loss," *LFP*, September 1977, Gladstone Fonds, OJA.
[358] Gladstone, *History of the Jewish Community of London Ontario*, 41; 1911 Middlesex County Marriage Record, Gladstone Fonds, OJA.
[359] 1929 Middlesex County Death Record, Gladstone Fonds, OJA.
[360] Gladstone, *History of the Jewish Community of London Ontario*, 41-42.
[361] Del Bell, "Ike Siskind Classic Immigrant Success Story," *LFP*, 1980, Gladstone Fonds, OJA.
[362] About Us, Siskind's Law Firm, https://www.siskinds.com/about-us/?matchtype=b&network=g&device=c&adposition=&keyword=siskinds&ct=y&gclid=CjwKCAiAl9efBhAkEiwA4TorigRec04GIJP4QRtyHY5JQpsPpkUjbgrTGoqbd7AfKqpH2TvYxgGFPxoCutsQAvD_BwE (February 22, 2023).

Lodge, a Jewish community club for men established in 1928.[363] When Abraham passed away at the age of fifty-five in 1963, his son Paul joined the law firm and continued the Siskind family legacy.[364]

In 1899, Max Lerner and his family came to Canada from Bessarabia, or modern day Moldova. In 1904 he married his wife Minnie Rosenthal and started his life in London as a junk-peddler. Lerner became a businessman who worked in the clothing trade, and the coal, tobacco, and real-estate businesses, until he retired in the late 1940s. Max Lerner was also a politician and activist. In 1915 he was elected the alderman for Ward 3 in London which encompassed part of the SoHo neighbourhood.[365] A spokesperson for London's Jewish community, he fought hard to open federal immigration laws for Eastern-European Jews.[366] His two sons, Mayer and Sam Lerner, have built one of the most successful law firms in southwestern Ontario.

Mayer Lerner was born in 1906, and Sam in 1916. They both attended Western law school and established their own firm together in the late 1940s. Since the brothers were ten years apart, they pursued different careers first. Sam joined the Middlesex and Huron Regiment in the Second World War, and he defended his fellow soldiers in police and martial courts. He eventually was promoted to major and became the personal assistant to the quartermaster-general. Although Sam was offered a promotion with the Canadian army, he decided to partner with Mayer to create the Lerner and Lerner Law Firm in 1945. The two brothers enjoyed different roles within the firm as Mayer took on civil and criminal litigation work, and Sam completed most of the administrative work. The firm expanded throughout the 1950s, and by the 1980s, the firm had over 100 employees including twenty-six lawyers. Sam continued his military career while working at the firm and was involved in the militia in the 1950s, retiring in 1963 as a lieutenant-colonel.[367] Mayer became a crown-assistant in London and served as an Ontario Supreme Court justice from 1971 to 1981.[368]

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[363] Goldstick, *Canadian Jewish Reference Book and Directory,* Gladstone Fonds, OJA.
[364] "Prominent Lawyer, A.B. Siskind Dies," *LFP*, Gladstone Fonds, OJA.
[365] "Prominent Londoner, Max Lerner, 83, Dies," *LFP*, 1969, Gladstone Fonds, OJA.
[366] Bill McGuire, "The Lerner Way: How Two Brothers from London Built the Largest Law Firm in South-Western Ontario," 1986, *LFP*, Gladstone Fonds, OJA.
[367] McGuire, "The Lerner Way," *LFP,* Gladstone Fonds, OJA.
[368] Bill McGuire, "Mayer Lerner: When he Speaks People still Listen," *LFP*, March 2, 1986*,* Gladstone Fonds, OJA.

In addition to the Lerner and Siskind families, the Wilensky family have remained a prominent part of London's Jewish community for generations. Brothers Beryl and Mendel Wilensky came to Canada in 1905 and originally settled outside of London on a farm in Rodney. Beryl and his wife Chasa had a son named Hyman in 1907 and shortly after the family relocated to 98 Clarence Avenue in SoHo. The Wilensky brothers and their families later moved to a building on the corner of Maitland and Grey streets where they operated a grocery store and butcher shop on the bottom floor, and the families lived upstairs.[369] Beryl and Chasa's son Hyman studied medicine at Western University, graduating in 1930. After graduation, Wilensky struggled to find himself an internship in London because of his Jewish background. He was forced to take an internship at the Queen Alexandra Sanatorium, which treated tuberculosis patients. Here, Wilensky focused on diseases of the chest and ultimately opened his own medical office in SoHo at the corner of Maitland and Horton.[370] Despite the discrimination and difficulties he faced at the beginning of his medical career, Dr Wilensky ran a successful medical practice as London's first Jewish doctor and was well known throughout the Jewish community.

Dr Hyman Wilensky upon graduation, 1930s. Courtesy of Dr Beryl Chernick.

Dr Hyman Wilensky outside the sanatorium in the 1930s. Courtesy of Dr Beryl Chernick.

Dr Wilensky's daughter Beryl followed in her father's footsteps and became a doctor and prominent figure in London's Jewish community. When Beryl and her husband Noam Chernick

[369] Gladstone, *History of the Jewish Community of London Ontario*, 87.
[370] Dr Beryl Chernick, Interview with Jessica Hugh and Hannah Mantel, January 31, 2023.

attended Western's medical school, they lived in her father's old medical office in SoHo after it was transformed into an apartment. Both focused on reproductive health and during the 1960s, Beryl ran a contraceptive clinic in London before birth control was officially legalised in Canada in 1969. Besides being an advocate for women's reproductive and sexual health, Beryl Chernick also defied gender roles by working full time and pursuing her dreams in medicine while taking care of two young children. When asked if she considered herself to be a social activist, Dr Chernick replied "My parents raised me in such a way that your obligation was to fulfil your potential, it didn't matter what your gender was."[371] Beryl and Noam Chernick were also largely involved in different organisations within London's Jewish community; they were dedicated members to B'nai Israel Synagogue and Beryl participated in Women's Hadassah groups and London's branch of the National Council of Jewish Women.

Beryl and Noam Chernick on their wedding day in 1958. Courtesty of Dr Beryl Chernick

The Jewish community established lively community groups which met for educational, religious, recreational, and philanthropic reasons. These groups allowed Jewish immigrants to maintain their religious and cultural practices, but also helped more recent immigrants settle into a new life in Canada. The Jewish Immigrant Aid Society, or JIAS, was one of these organisations. Originally established in Montreal in 1920 to assist new immigrants and refugees, the JIAS opened a London branch in 1921. The first president was Max Lerner, and Dr Isidore Goldstick, another prominent member of SoHo's Jewish community, served as the organisation's first secretary.[372] Since the JIAS had representatives from all Jewish clubs and groups within London, it was known to be an organisation where Jews of different religious beliefs and even

[371] Chernick, Interview with Hugh and Mantel, January 31, 2023.
[372] Goldstick, *Canadian Jewish Reference Book and Directory,* Gladstone Fonds, OJA.

more "radical" backgrounds worked together to help out their fellow people.[373]

A large group of Russian-Jewish immigrants who arrived in London in the early 1900s came with social and political beliefs which were often considered radical or anarchist due to their mistrust of capitalism. A lot of these 'radical' Russian-Jews did not attend synagogue or participate in religious groups, but they were still involved in philanthropic organisations, such as the JIAS, as they were interested in giving back to the Jewish community. London's radical Jewish community also set up the Hebrew Free Loan Society and the Self-Education Club. The former society, established in 1906, provided Jewish newcomers with an interest-free loan of $50 to help them get settled in London.[374] $50 in 1906 would approximately be worth $1600 in 2023, which was a great help to Jewish immigrants who came to London with next to nothing.[375] The Self-Education Club offered a small library and reading room on Grey Street with free books for the Jewish community. These books were mainly in Yiddish and discussed 'radical' ideas in economics and politics.[376] When the club closed in the mid 1920s, the books were donated to the London Jewish Library.[377]

Several religious organisations were active in SoHo. These included several Zionist organisations, Women's Hadassah groups, B'nai Brith, and several smaller groups connected to the B'nai Israel and B'nai Moses Ben Judah synagogues. Within the congregation of the B'nai Israel, there were leaders in addition to the rabbi who acted as the president, cantor, financial secretary, treasurer, secretary and other roles within the synagogue. B'nai Israel also had a women's group called the B'nai Israel Synagogue Sisterhood established in 1934.[378] B'nai Moses Ben Judah also had a board of directors and a women's auxiliary. Two clubs run out of the synagogue were the Tephillin Club, which met every Sunday for prayer and discussion, and the B'nai Moses Sisterhood. The sisterhood published the annual copy of the *London Jewish Directory,* a book which listed Jewish businesses, community groups, religious congregations

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[373] Research Committee of the Canadian Jewish Congress Central Region, *The Jewish Community of London, Ontario: A Self Survey,* April 1959 (Toronto ON), Cohen Fonds, OJA.
[374] Gibb, "SoHo Community History Project," Gladstone Fonds, OJA.
[375] Bank of Canada, Inflation Calculator, https://www.bankofcanada.ca/rates/related/inflation-calculator/ (March 19, 2023).
[376] *London Jewish Community News,* March 10, 1988, 1, 5, Gladstone Fonds, OJA.
[377] Gladstone, *History of the Jewish Community of London Ontario*, 100.
[378] Goldstick, *Canadian Jewish Reference Book and Directory,* Gladstone Fonds, OJA*;* "Jewish Youth Centre to be Opened Sunday*" LFP,* 1960, Gladstone Fonds, OJA.

and addresses, following the death of the former author in 1951.[379]

In 1913, Morris Fishbein started the Ohave Zion or Lovers of Zion group. Zionism is an international movement that started in the late nineteenth century and supported the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine, and later the formation of Israel. The Lovers of Zion held their meetings at Cullis' Hall located at 257 Wellington Street, a popular meeting place for Jewish organisations. The Zionist group lasted for nearly twenty years and focused mainly on collecting financial contributions for Jewish communities across the world.[380] Fishbein had immigrated to Canada from Ukraine in 1893 with his wife Miriam when there were only twelve other Jewish families in London. The Fishbein family lived on South Street and their home was well known for always having guests on the weekend and for helping new Jewish immigrants get settled in SoHo. The Fishbein family were very involved in the Jewish community; Morris was involved in the Self-Education Club, his daughter Dora started a women's group called the Daughters of Zion, and his wife Miriam was president of the first Hadassah chapter in London.[381]

The history of Women's Hadassah groups dates back over 100 years to the early twentieth century, established to promote Jewish ideas, institutions, and to conduct humanitarian work. Hadassah groups encompassed women from all streams of Judaism and included Zionist and non-Zionist Jewish women.[382] London has had several Hadassah chapters and their meetings mainly took place in private homes. Women involved in Hadassah chapters were also most likely involved in other Jewish clubs, groups, and organisations.[383] Anna Selick and Anna Goldstick founded London's first Hadassah chapter in 1918 with twenty other women enrolled as members. This chapter was known as the Rose Kaplan Chapter, and Miriam Fishbein acted as the first president and one of the most dedicated Hadassah members.[384] Founding member Anna Goldstick served as president, secretary, and was honoured as a Life-Member of the Hadassah-Wizo organisation of Canada in 1955. Anna's husband Dr Isidore Goldstick was also

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[379] Goldstick, *Canadian Jewish Reference Book and Directory,* Gladstone Fonds, OJA.
[380] Research Committee of the Canadian Jewish Congress Central Region, *Jewish Community of London, Ontario: A Self Survey*, Cohen Fonds, OJA.
[381] *London Jewish Community News,* March 10, 1988, 1, 5, Ronnee Alter Fonds, 2017-6-9, OJA.
[382] "Founding of Hadassah: The Women's Zionist Organization of America," Jewish Women's Archive, https://jwa.org/ thisweek/feb/24/1912/hadassah (February 23, 2022).
[383] Chernick, Interview with Hugh and Mantel, January 31, 2023.
[384] Research Committee of the Canadian Jewish Congress Central Region, *Jewish Community of London, Ontario: A Self Survey*, Cohen Fonds, OJA.

involved in various community groups, including Zionist ones, and supported Hebrew education in London.[385]

In 1928, the Jewish community established a second Hadassah group known as the Tabelle Burns Chapter. Membership for this Hadassah chapter eventually reached 125 members, a large part of London's Jewish population of approximately 700 people.[386] The earlier chapter established was known as the parent institution and renamed the Senior Chapter of Hadassah; this chapter lasted until 1957 when the remaining members joined the Tabelle Burns Chapter.[387] Other prominent members of Hadassah groups included Ethel Palef Lerner (Mayer Lerner's wife), Minnie Lerner, Reva Grafstein, and Jennie Leff (William Leff's wife).

In addition to Hadassah groups, Jewish women in London participated in the local branch of the National and International Council of Jewish Women (NCJW and ICJW). The ICJW represents millions of Jewish women in over thirty-five countries and is recognized as a non-governmental international organisation at the United Nations.[388] Established in 1897, the National Council of Jewish Women aided Jewish immigrants. In 1950, the NCJW established a London branch and volunteers aided the Canadian Cancer Society, Canadian Mental Health Association, Ontario Hospitals, London Jewish Youth Association, Canadian Red Cross Association, and local women's groups and shelters, specifically the London Women's Community House (now Anova).[389] London's branch of the NCJW is most well known for its initiative the Block Parent program in 1968, in response to the murder of a London child. A way to provide safe places for children in danger, the London police and school boards supported the program, which eventually spread across the country.[390]

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[385] Goldstick Family File, Gladstone Fonds, OJA.
[386] Alan M. Cohen, The Organization of the Jewish Community of London (1973), Cohen Fonds, OJA.
[387] Research Committee of the Canadian Jewish Congress Central Region, *Jewish Community of London, Ontario: A Self Survey*, Cohen Fonds, OJA.
[388] "Concern is our Tradition," *National Council of Jewish Women*, Ronnee Alter Fonds 2017-6-9, OJA.
[389] Goldstick, *Canadian Jewish Reference Book and Directory,* Gladstone Fonds, OJA; "National Council of Jewish Women- London Section Volunteer Service 'Shopping Guide,'" Alter Fonds, 2017-6-9, OJA; National Council of Jewish Women London Section Newsletter, July 1994, Alter Fonds, OJA.
[390] NCJW, "A Brief History of Block Parents of Winnipeg," Winnipeg Block Parents, https://www.winnipegblockparents.mb.ca/page2.html (March 20, 2023); Gladstone, *A History of the Jewish Community of London Ontario*, 188; "London Block Parents Closing Doors for Good," *LFP,* November 7, 2016, https://lfpress.com/2016/11/07/london-block-parent-program-shutting-down#:~:text=The%20London%20Block%20Parent%20program,deciding%20which%20groups%20receive%20grants (March 9, 2023).

London's B'nai Brith Lodge in 1939. Courtesy of Dr Beryl Chernick.

In 1925, Dr Isidore Goldstick founded another religious group, the London Lodge B'nai B'rith Branch No.1012. Goldstick also served as the lodge's first president. B'nai B'rith included members from the various streams of Judaism. Goldstick was a Zionist; other former presidents of B'nai B'rith included Israel Leff, Julius Cohen, David Wolf, and Isaac Siskind. The activities of the B'nai B'rith were mainly educational. In 1926 it established the Talmud Torah at 324 Hill Street for Jewish youth. In addition to the lodge's interest in Jewish education, they also oversaw all communal activity before the London Jewish Community Council was established.[391]

In 1933, members from several Jewish groups established the London Jewish Community Council to serve as the community's communal organisation.[392] One year later, the council affiliated with the Canadian Jewish Congress, which had been established in 1919 in Montreal. Delegates from each major Canadian city's Jewish community sat in the congress. In 1919, Goldstick and Fishbein served as London's delegates.[393] After the London Jewish Community Council re-organised in 1934, members of the Jewish community elected eighteen members to

[391] Goldstick, *Canadian Jewish Reference Book and Directory,* Gladstone Fonds, OJA.
[392] Goldstick, *Canadian Jewish Reference Book and Directory,* Gladstone Fonds, OJA.
[393] Research Committee of the Canadian Jewish Congress Central Region, *Jewish Community of London, Ontario: A Self Survey,* Cohen Fonds, OJA.

sit on its executive board. The council serves as the executive of all matters within London's Jewish community, and consults for London's municipal government.[394]

After the Second World War, an influx of Holocaust survivors from Europe immigrated to Canada. Approximately forty to fifty Jewish couples and families arrived in London between the late 1940s to 1960s. Overall, London's Jewish population increased from 731 in 1941, to 1,300 in 1961.[395] The local branch of the Jewish Immigrant Aid Society helped this new wave of Jewish immigrants settle.[396]

Dr Isidore Goldstick c1960. Courtesy of the Ontario Jewish Archives.

Since many had lived through the Holocaust, these new immigrants did not identify with the existing Jewish community. They joined London synagogues but also felt the need to establish a new organisation, the Shearit Hapletah, or "'remnants of the people,'" a society which frequently met at the Talmud Torah building on Hill Street for social gatherings.[397]

Fanny Goose, known as the 'First Lady of Downtown,' for her successful clothing business and active role in the community, was one of these post-war immigrants. Both Holocaust survivors from Poland, she and her husband Jerry, or Fanya and Jerszy Gusz, came to London in 1950.[398] Realising that many immigrants struggling with English were too shy to enter clothing shops, she began taking direct orders from both Jewish and non-Jewish immigrant customers. Rather than running a brick-and-mortar store, Goose took orders in person or over the phone, went to wholesale and discount warehouse factories in Toronto, and then delivered the clothing to individual customers. The Gooses expanded their business by purchasing a home on York Street and turning it into both a living space and their first official clothing store.

[394] Alan Cohen, *The Organization of the Jewish Community of London* (London, 1973), 12-13, Cohen Fonds, OJA.
[395] Gladstone, *History of the Jewish Community in London*, 140, 149.
[396] Chernick, Interview with Hugh and Mantel, January 31, 2023.
[397] Gladstone, *History of the Jewish Community in London*, 151.
[398] Gladstone, *History of the Jewish Community in London*, 150.

Eventually she moved the location to 122 Dundas Street, naming the store J. Goose Family Clothing which remained open until 2010.[399]

Between the 1960s-70s, antisemitism rose in London as the Canadian Nazi Party spread anti-semitic ideas and attracted more followers. The national leader of the Canadian Nazi Party, John Beattie, chose London as the party's new headquarters and named Martin Weiche, a land developer, the leader of the party's branch in London.[400] The Nazi Party handed out hate-literature in London's downtown core. These pamphlets commonly depicted swastikas and the Nazi eagle symbol which disturbed the majority of passer-byers who either crumpled the pamphlets up, or handed them in to the local police station.[401] In response, the London Jewish Community Council established a committee to deal with anti-semitism.[402] London's city council expressed concern about the newfound presence of the Canadian Nazi Party and discussed how they could tighten the control over the distribution of pamphlets in the streets. Unfortunately, no existing by-laws could stop Weiche and his followers passing out propaganda.[403] The Jewish Community Council, along with the support of several city councillors and the Royal Canadian Legion, urged the federal government to ban hate literature distributed by the Canadian Nazi Party, with no result.[404] The Canadian Nazi Party in London only ever gained the support of a small group of extremists, but anti-semitic acts persisted. In 1973, gravestones at the Or Shalom Cemetery were knocked over, and its memorial for Jews killed in the Second World War vandalised.[405]

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[399] Fanny Goose and Janet Fridman, *Rising from the Holocaust: The Life of Fanny Goose* (Washington, DC: Believe Books, 2007), 112, 119.
[400] "London Tabbed Future Nazi Stronghold," *LFP,* April 1967, File 31, Series 5-4-8, Fonds 17, OJA.
[401] "Police Halt Nazi Leaflet Distribution,"*LFP,* 1967, File 31, Series 5-4-8, Fonds 17, OJA.
[402] Harold Vaisler, Letter to the Jewish Community of London, 1967, File 31, Series 5-4-8, Fonds 17, OJA.
[403] "Nazis Pass Leaflets while Bylaw Studied," *Globe and Mail*, Toronto, 1967, File 31, Series 5-4-8, Fonds 17, OJA.
[404] "Legion Members ask Ottawa to ban National Socialists," 1967, File 31, Series 5-4-8, Fonds 17, OJA.
[405] "Scrawled Racist Epithets Included in Vandalism at Jewish Cemetery," *LFP*, 1973, File 31, Series 5-4-8, Fonds 17, OJA.

4.8 Lebanese, Syrian, and Palestinian Communities

First Arab immigrants to settle in London, 1921. Courtesy of news.westernu.ca

The first wave of Middle Eastern immigrants to London arrived in the early twentieth century, primarily from Wādī al-Beqaa, Qaraoun, and Baaloul in Lebanon, but also from other towns in Lebanon, Syria, and Palestine.[406] They sought to escape poverty and political instability in their home countries, which were then under Ottoman Empire rule and facing increasing colonial interest from Britain, Germany, and France.[407] Many also emigrated following the Great Famine of Mount Lebanon during the First World War, brought on by Turkish land blockades.[408] These immigrants came to Canada mostly as merchants and labourers. This included Syrian-born Alexander Abdallah and Louisa Abdenour, who operated Abdullah Bros., a fruit business at 225 Bathurst Street in the 1920s.[409] The couple lived on Talbot Street with their daughter Josephine,

[406] Hanny Shousher and Nadia H. Shousher, *Now and Then: An Historical Overview of the Muslim and Arab Communities of London, Ontario* (London: Creation Signs & Printing, 2013), 4.
[407] William Shorrock, "The Origin of the French Mandate in Syria and Lebanon: The Railroad Question, 1901–1914," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 1, 2 (1970): 133-53.
[408] Melanie Tanielian, *The Charity of War: Famine, Humanitarian Aid, and World War I in the Middle East* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2017), 25.
[409] *Vernon's City of London: Street, Alphabetical, Business and Miscellaneous Directory 1920* (Hamilton: Henry Vernon & Son, 1920), 181.

Louisa's sister Thelma, Alexander's sisters Edna and Sarah, and his aunt, Harara.[410]

The Escaf family settled around the same time. Joseph Escaf and Camom Musollum immigrated to London in 1906 from Syria along with their sons, Ragi, Charles, and Abraham, the first of whom would marry Edna Abdallah in 1928.[411] The couple had two sons together, Edward and Fred, and a daughter, Adeline, and the family lived at 296 Thames Street.[412] The two brothers established Friar's Cellar restaurant at the corner of Wellington and Bathurst in the 1940s. The business grew to also include Friars II, a catering business. The restaurant was a popular one among locals, and it employed a good few as well. On busy shifts, the restaurant might have as many as six cooks, six servers, three waiters, and three dishwashers. Escaf was known to most as the high-profile older sibling—he even had a short career in broadcasting. Fire destroyed the restaurant in 1991 and the business then sold to new owners.[413]

Eddie Escaf 1954, LFP Collection, Courtesy of ASCQU.

Community was very important to these early settlers. Both the Abdallah and Escaf families were Roman Catholic and likely attended St. Mary's on Lyle Street, along with many of the other early Syrian and Lebanese families. Many of them also founded the Syrian-Lebanese Club, which met weekly to aid each other with settling into London, as well as to play cards and socialise.[414]

The 1948 Palestine War led to a significant wave of immigration from the Middle East to North America. This conflict displaced hundreds of thousands of Palestinians and Arabs from neighbouring nations, including Lebanon, who fled abroad as refugees. The war began in May

[410] Canada, Census of Canada, 1921, https://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.item/?app=Census1921&op=img&id=e002941527 (February 27, 2023).
[411] Ontario, Registrations of Marriages, 1869-1928, Reel 868, FamilySearch.org.
[412] *Vernon's City of London: Street, Alphabetical, Business and Miscellaneous Directory 1929* (Hamilton: Henry Vernon & Son, 1929), 345.
[413] James Reaney, "My London: Escaf Served Full-course Charm," *LFP*, April 8, 2016, https://lfpress.com/2016/04/08/my-london-escaf-served-full-course-charm (October 30, 2023).
[414] Shousher and Shousher, *Now and Then,* 4.

1948, following the end of the British Mandate in Palestine, and lasted over a year. During this time, Zionist forces fought against Palestinian and Arab armies, resulting in the establishment of the State of Israel.[415] Ayshi, Yehia, Hussein, and Hanny Shousher, along with their widowed mother Fatima, immigrated to London at this time, and were likely among those affected by this refugee crisis. Hussein, Hanny, and Fatima then lived at 88 Wharncliffe Road South.[416] Ayshi lived with her husband, Alex Hassan, just south of SoHo.[417] Hanny began working as a machine operator at McCormick's Factory on 1156 Dundas Street and Hussein worked as a labourer at Labatts in SoHo.[418]

The 1950s saw the founding of the Canadian Moslem Benevolent Society (CMBS) which established a place of worship for the growing population of Muslims in London and to educate community members about Islam.[419] In 1955, London hosted the fourth annual North American Muslim convention, where over 1000 Muslims came to celebrate and learn. It was at this convention that the CMBS announced that they would be purchasing property to open a mosque in London.[420] Whilst this mosque was opened outside of SoHo, many of SoHo's Muslims remained as residents.

[415] Benny Morris, *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem Revisited* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 44.
[416] Shousher and Shousher, *Now and Then,* 8.
[417] *Vernon's City of London: Street, Alphabetical, Business and Miscellaneous Directory 1956* (Hamilton: Henry Vernon & Son, 1956), 269.
[418] *Vernon's City of London 1956,* 437.
[419] Shousher and Shousher, *Now and Then*, 8.
[420] Amna Wasty, "Ontario's First Mosque, Here in London, Laid a Foundation," *LFP,* June 28, 2013, https://lfpress.com/2013/06/28/ontarios-first-mosque-here-in-london-laid-a-foundation (February 27, 2023).

4.9 Maltese Community

Most migrants from the central Mediterranean island of Malta began immigrating to London, and Canada more broadly, between 1948 and the 1980s. There were instances of Maltese individuals and families migrating to other places in Canada prior to this, the earliest of which arrived in 1835, but the numbers were very small. In 1923, the Canadian government issued a Privy Council Order which excluded British subjects in its colony of Malta from immigrating.[421] In 1948, the Maltese Prime Minister announced that an agreement had been met and Canada would accept 500 Maltese men as construction workers under an assisted-migrant-passage agreement. 134 of these first men arrived in southwestern Ontario in May 1948, finding homes in London, St. Thomas, and other nearby towns. The *London Free Press* considered their arrival to be front page news, declaring that the "tanned men from Malta tumbled from their colonist coaches at London C.N.R. Station… on the last lap of the journey from the war-ravaged Mediterranean isle."[422] Larger Maltese communities developed in Canada's metropolitan regions after the Second World War. Most notable is the community of Little Malta in Toronto's Junction neighbourhood. London quickly developed into one of Canada's largest communities of Maltese emigrants and hosted its own variety of Maltese businesses, including Valletta Flowers at 135 Adelaide Street South, named for Malta's capital city, and Maurice Body Shop in south London, owned by former SoHo resident Maurice D'Agostino.[423]

Three versions of a local Maltese-Canadian club have existed in London. A group of men established the second club in the 1950s during a conversation at Charles Pace's barber shop on Dundas Street, which acted as a meeting point thanks to the Maltese barber himself.[424] In the 1950s, membership lists of the club indicate a variety of members living within the boundaries of SoHo, including Emmanuel Agius, Frank Cassar, Felix Cassar, Peter Cassar, Reno Camenzuli, A. Farruci, David Gibson, and Anthony and Emmanuel "Lee" Pavia.[425]

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[421] Lawrence E. Attard, "Emigration," *Malta: Culture and Identity,* ed. H. Frendo and O. Friggieri (Malta: Ministry for Youth and the Arts, 1994), 259.
[422] "134 From Malta Arrive in City," *LFP*, May 21, 1948.
[423] "Valletta Flowers," *Maltese-Canadian Club Newsletter*, January-February 1987, 7, ASCWU.
[424] Mary Pavia Melvin, Interview with Nigel Klemenčič-Puglisevich and Sarah Pointer, February 19, 2023
[425] Membership lists, c1950s, File 6, B4478-003, Maltese-Canadian Club Collection, ASCWU.

Four of these men lived at 263 Adelaide Street, a kind of boarding house owned by Maltese couple Ġużeppi and Ġużeppina Farrugia. The couple had one son, Carmel Farrugia, who worked at the Canada Bread factory in the 1950s.[426] These boarding houses were common among the Maltese community and there appeared to be a few throughout London, including one just north of SoHo at 293 King Street. Incoming Maltese immigrants rented a room from a more well-established Maltese person, usually in SoHo. Oftentimes, the owner of the house was a relative and also acted as the incomer's sponsor, assisting them with finding a job and getting settled.[427]

Lee Pavia on the alto saxophone with the Golden Notes, c1960s. Courtesy of Dan Brock.

One of the earliest Maltese families in London was the Pavia family. Emmanuel "Lee" Pavia was born in Żabbar, Malta, and came to Canada on his twenty-first birthday in 1950. At first, he lived on Waverley Place with his brother John Pavia, who acted as his sponsor, and also resided for a brief period at 263 Adelaide Street with the Farrugia family.[428] He joined what was then known as the Maltese Association of London, the first iteration of a Maltese club in London formed by the initial immigrants of 1948.[429] His first job was with the Canadian National Rail at the roadhouse on Egerton as a welder, and he remained there for a short period before getting fired. Used to a relaxed work schedule at the Malta dockyards, Pavia took his lunch breaks as he saw fit. Upon being terminated, he quickly realised that his former work ethic was incompatible with life in Canada. He soon found new work with General Motors Diesel.

Three years after immigrating, he called for his girlfriend from Malta to join him. Michelina "Lena" Camenzuli arrived in London in January 1953, and the couple married three Saturdays later to prevent her being deported to Malta—coincidentally, this landed on Valentine's Day. That same year, the couple bought their first home in SoHo at 538 Philip Street

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[426] *Vernon's City of London 1956,* 230.
[427] Melvin, Interview with Klemenčič-Puglisevich and Pointer, 2023.
[428] Membership lists, c1950s, File 6, B4478-003, Maltese-Canadian Club Collection, ASCWU.
[429] Dan Brock, "Lee Pavia: London, Ontario's Only Maltese Canadian Band Leader," *The Maltese Presence in North America* (November 2021), 36, https://foreign.gov.mt/en/government/mla/documents/e-newsletters/north-america/032-maltese%20presence-november-2021.pdf (April 19, 2023).

and had their first child, Mary. The Pavia family had Romanian and Polish families as neighbours, the Diedisch and Kaszowski families respectively, and they became close friends. The Pavia family was also close with the Moxleys, a Black family, and Betty Moxley babysat Mary Pavia. She grew close to the Moxleys' daughters as they attended Aberdeen school together and she occasionally joined them at church services at Beth Emanuel. Paul Lewis, the Black activist, shoeshine man, and singer, was also the Pavia family's neighbour on the east side.[430]

Lee Pavia was heavily involved in his community. He co-founded the second Maltese club in London and held various organisational positions. Moreover, he was the only Maltese band leader in all of Canada at the time.[431] He played saxophone, piano, and the drums, though the former was his main instrument. His band, the *Golden Notes*, played every Saturday from Labour Day to the end of June for ten years at the Colborne Community Centre. The band ended every set with a cover of 'Pretty Woman,' which Pavia dedicated to his daughter. He also played in a trio at Bondi's Pizza on Sundays in the late 1960s into the early 1970s.

During an extended strike at General Motors, Pavia found work at General Steel Wares (formerly McClarys)in SoHo. While employed there, his daughter brought him lunch everyday from their home on Philip Street and she would watch the appliances travel down the production line until he could join her.[432]

Religion was very important to the Maltese immigrants and the community formed a strong percentage of the congregation at St Mary's on Lyle Street. The children of Maltese immigrants who arrived in the early 1950s, like the Pavia family, all did first communion and confirmation together at St Mary's, and many got married within a short period of five years.[433] London even had a local Maltese priest, Father Henry Cassano. He held positions at many Catholic churches within London, including St Mary's and St Peter's, but he also offered exclusive services to the local Maltese community.[434] He conducted funeral masses for most of

[430] Melvin, Interview with Klemenčič-Puglisevich and Pointer, 2023.
[431] Brock, "Lee Pavia," 36.
[432] Melvin, Interviewed by Klemenčič-Puglisevich and Pointer, 2023.
[433] Melvin, Interviewed by Klemenčič-Puglisevich and Pointer, 2023.
[434] Dan Brock, "Fr. Henry Cassano (1929-2019): 63 Years a Priest," *The Maltese Presence in North America* (June 2019), 24, https://foreign.gov.mt/en/government/mla/documents/e-newsletters/north-america/003-maltese%20presence-may-june%202019.pdf (March 15, 2023).

the Maltese community in London, including Lee and Lena Pavia, and offered confession in the Maltese language.[435]

The Maltese language is often not taught to the children of immigrant parents and quickly gets lost in multigenerational immigrant families. The Maltese community attempted to start a Maltese Language School at St Peter's Cathedral Basilica in the early 1980s funded by the Government of Canada's Cultural Enrichment Program. Around twenty children registered but the programme only lasted a few years.[436]

[435] Melvin, Interviewed by Klemenčič-Puglisevich and Pointer, 2023.
[436] Melvin, Interviewed by Klemenčič-Puglisevich and Pointer, 2023.

4.10 Polish Community

There have been six significant waves of Polish immigration to Canada, but SoHo only felt three. The Polish community was already present in London in the early 1900s before either of the larger waves of Polish immigration to London in the later half of the twentieth century. In 1901, three Polish families and a few single men appeared on the census. By 1911, London's Polish community had grown significantly, shooting up from around forty people to over 150. The majority lived in SoHo. In 1921, nearly 200 Polish people lived in the city.[437] To stay connected, they formed the Polish National Association. The association funded itself through a small variety store, dances, and concerts, and bought the property at 554 Hill Street, once the Second Baptist Church, to create the Polish Hall.[438] This first group of immigrants was a prelude to the large wave of immigration immediately after the Second World War.

The situation for Polish people was complex at the end of the war. As part of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements, the Allies withdrew support for the Polish government in exile in the UK and instead recognized the government in Poland that became the Polish People's Republic. Additionally, General Wladylaw Anders dissolved the Polish Armed Forces in the west in 1947, leaving soldiers in a precarious position. Soldiers, a large number of civilians who had travelled with the army, and Poles who had been imprisoned by the Nazis, could either choose to return to Poland or immigrate to another country. Due to political uncertainty, soldiers across Europe banded together and founded Polish Combatants' Associations to help navigate the post-war world.[439]

In 1946, 400 Polish veterans arrived in the London area, and in 1947 formed London's first Polish Combatants' Association. Its first meeting had 317 attendees. Polish immigrants continued to arrive en masse into the 1950s. The majority had been either Polish soldiers, inmates of Nazi camps, or political refugees of Communist Poland. By 1950, women began joining the Combatants' Association in larger numbers.[440]

[437] Data obtained through the databases for the censuses of 1901, 1911, and 1921 by Library and Archives Canada. SoHo fell into Wards 1 and 3, but these districts are also slightly bigger than SoHo. The relevant information is for London, Wards 1 and 3. For 1921, we used Ward 1, Sub-districts 3, 4, 5, and 7 and Ward 3, Sub-districts, 27, 32, 33, 36, 37, 38, 39 but again the boundaries are not exact to SoHo.
[438] Polish National Association, About Us, polishhall.org/en/about.htm (April 5, 2022).
[439] Hentel, "Veterans of the Polish Second Corps."
[440] Hentel, "Veterans of the Polish Second Corps."

A variety of other ethnicities appear in the records about SoHo and in accounts from people interviewed for this project. This includes but is not limited to immigrants from Portugal, Greece, Ukraine, Romania, Latvia, Lithuania, the Caribbean, and Japan. Additionally, narrators and records show that these communities lived alongside Indigenous peoples. It is clear that there was a large range of ethnicities in SoHo. This included families who had intermarried between groups, including the Lees and Theurmans. The Lees resided at 295 Hill Street in 1921. At that time, widow Ethel Lee, lived in the home with her four daughters, Leath, Edna, Mary, and Florence, and the girls' aunt Feebie. The census enumerator recorded Ethel and Feebie as English. The home also had a boarder, Lee Chong, a cafe manager, who had immigrated in 1911. The girls' late father and Ethel's husband, a Chinese man named Poy Lee, worked as a laundry man.[441] Another family, residing at 1 Webb Street, housed John Theurman, a "coloured" man with his wife Sophia, recorded as Oneida in the census. The couple had six children, two sons and four older daughters ranging in age from one to fifteen.[442] This diversity did not always equate to acceptance, but the general feeling expressed by residents of the neighbourhood was that the SoHo community was more accepting of diversity than other areas of London.

[441] Canada, Census of Canada, 1921, http://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.redirect?app=census&id=64531474&lang=eng (March 18, 2023); Poy Lee and Effie Brown Marriage Registration, July 2, 1908, Ontario Marriages, 1869-1927 Database, https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:KSZD-1VZ (April 16, 2023).
[442] Canada, Census of Canada, 1921, https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/home/record?app=census&IdNumber=64541889 (April 16, 2023).

5. THE WORLD WARS

5.1 The First World War

London served as a military headquarters for the surrounding area. Over the course of the war, Wolseley Barracks recruited, trained and mobilised over 50,000 members of the Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF).[443] Soldiers from London fought within the 1st, 18th, 33rd, 70th, 135th, 142nd Battalions and the No. 2 Construction Battalion. Over 300 people from the SoHo neighbourhood enlisted.[444] SoHo's soldiers represented the diversity of the neighbourhood as men and women from the Black, Irish, Italian, Indigenous, German, and French communities all enlisted.

When the war began in 1914, many Black Canadians volunteered, but were turned away as local recruiting and commanding officers believed they were unfit to serve based on racist assumptions. Black Canadians continued to pressure their local governments and military headquarters to allow them to serve overseas. Two years into the war, the Department of Defence and Militia decided that rather than integrating Black soldiers into existing military units, a new segregated battalion should be formed. In July 1916, the department formed the No. 2 Construction Battalion under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Daniel H. Sutherland. The No. 2 Construction Battalion was a labour division tasked with digging trenches, supplying lumber to the front, operating the water system for military camps, and later they maintained the electrical system.[445] The battalion recruited men across Canada and left for England in March 1917 with almost 600 soldiers. Then they proceeded to France to assist the Canadian Forestry Corps.[446] Out of these 600 men, three volunteers from SoHo served with the No. 2 Construction Battalion. These men were Russell Miller from 79½ Clarence Street, Harry Alexander Morgan from 424

[443] Soldiers' Aid Commission, *The Khaki Guide: Information of Interest to Returned Soldiers in Military District Number One* (London, 1918), 16-17.
[444] Cristi Jerez, "ArcGIS: Vision SoHo," SoHo Soldiers Mapping Project, presentation to the Vision SoHo Alliance, August 2022.
[445] Historic Sites and Monuments Boards, Backgrounder, Nº 2 Construction Battalion, CEF, National Historic Event, https://parks.canada.ca/culture/clmhc-hsmbc/res/information-backgrounder/bataillon-de-la-construction-battalion (March 22, 2023).
[446] Mathias Joost, No.2 Construction Battalion, Valour Canada https://valourcanada.ca/military-history-library/no-2-construction-battalion/ (March 22, 2023).

Grey Street, and Clifford Phoenix from 749 Grey Street.[447] Although the men of the No. 2 Battalion never saw active combat, their contributions to the First World War were vital. The Allies could have never succeeded without the construction of trenches, maintenance of the water supplies and electrical system, and the creation of roads out of lumber which assisted the movement of supplies and troops.

No.2 Construction Battalion
https://valourcanada.ca/military-history-library/no-2-construction-battalion/

The 18th Battalion Headquarters in Windsor recruited men from across southwestern Ontario. They sailed for England in April 1915 and after months of training the battalion saw action in France in September.[448] Four SoHo men served in the 18th Battalion. They were Harold Raymond Aikenhead of 230 Burwell Street, Thomas Montgomery who resided at 175 Grey Street, William Smith lived at 256 Wellington Street, and Henry Linton Milligan who worked at the McClary's factory. Private Harold Aikenhead served with the 18th Battalion from January 1915, to the end of 1917 when he was then assigned to the Canadian Corps Reinforcement Camp with the Department of Military Services.[449] Aikenhead was known for being a well-liked and

[447] Jerez, "ArcGIS: Vision SoHo," presentation.
[448] Chris Brooker, Guide to Canadian Expeditionary Force Insignia: Part 12 CEF Badges 16-20, Canadian Soldiers, 13-16, https://www.canadiansoldiers.com/insignia/brookerpdfs/Part%2012%20CEF%20badges%2016%20-%2020.pdf (February 24, 2023)
[449] Harold Raymond Aikenhead, attestation papers, Canadian Expeditionary Forces Papers, RG 150, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario (hereafter LAC).

obliging soldier and his fellow soldiers remembered him because of the time he was hit in the head with a bully-beef can when someone was using it to test out a trench catapult.[450] This incident was recorded in Aikenhead's service record as an "accidental head-wound" when he visited a Canadian Field Ambulance.[451]

Henry Milligan was another member of the 18th Battalion. Milligan was an accountant by trade and worked at the McClary's factory before he enlisted in October 1914.[452] He was forty-three years old when he enlisted and had seventeen years of military experience under his belt from serving with the 7th Fusiliers and the Middlesex-Huron Regiment. Upon enlistment, he became second in command at the rank of a major.[453] In July 1916, he was appointed to the rank of lieutenant-colonel and served as the 18th's commanding officer until he transferred in October to the Canadian Training Division.[454] The 18th Battalion, led by Milligan, fought in the Battle of the Somme which took place from July to November 1916 and is known for being one of the deadliest battles of the First World War. Over 300 members of the 18th Battalion were reported missing, injured or were killed in action during the Somme.[455] After the war, Milligan and Aikenhead were involved in the 18th Battalion Association, which was formed shortly after the First

Henry Linton Milligan. https://18thbattalioncef.blog/soldiers-listed-in-diary/milligan-henry-linton-major/

[450] 18th Battalion Association: Windsor and Detroit Branch MEMORIES, War Diary of the 18th Battalion CEF, https://18thbattalioncef.blog/memories-of-the-18th-battalion/3-private-aikenhead-and-the-younger-set/ (February 24, 2023).
[451] Aikenhead, attestation papers, RG150, LAC.
[452] "Wife of 18th Commander Dies After Operation," *Exeter Times*, September 21, 1916, 4; Henry Linton Milligan, attestation papers, Canadian Expeditionary Forces Papers, RG150, LAC.
[453] Col. H. Milligan Dies in London," *LFP,* July 2, 1941.
[454] Summary of Service for Lt.-Col Henry Linton Milligan, DSO, MID, War Diary of the 18th Battalion CEF, https://18thbattalioncef.blog/soldiers-listed-in-diary/milligan-henry-linton-major/ (February 24, 2023); Milligan, attestation papers, RG150, LAC.
[455] War Diary of the 18th Battalion September 1916, War Diary of the 18th Battalion CEF, https://18thbattalioncef.blog/2015/10/20/18th-battalion-war-diary-september-1916/ (March 22, 2023).

World War and had several events and reunions in London. The 18th Battalion Association met until the last veterans of the battalion died, but the memory and spirit of the association is kept alive by an 18th Battalion Facebook Group, and a blog which shares articles and war diaries in memory of the men who served in the battalion.

18th Battalion Reunion at Hotel London in 1946. AFC-177-S3-SS11-F546. Courtesy of ASCWU.

Four brothers of the Pritchett/ Jennings family served in the First World War. Three of the four, Henry and Fred Pritchett, and their half-brother Garfield Jennings lived together at 513 Hill Street and they all listed Lucy Pritchett, who resided across the street at 512 Hill, as their next of kin. The fourth brother, Edward John Pritchett, and his wife Ivy lived on Simcoe Street. Henry and Edward Pritchett both served with the 70th Overseas Battalion whose headquarters was in London. Edward enlisted in August 1915, served in England, and was discharged in 1918 after contracting bronchitis and treated in a military hospital in Sussex. Henry Pritchett enlisted with the 70th Battalion in November 1915 but transferred to the 58th Battalion in France. He was wounded in 1917 at the Battle of Passchendaele, but served until May 1919 when he was discharged. He earned the rank of sergeant and won three sergeant stripes. Fred Pritchett enlisted in August 1914 with Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry and served in France until discharged in 1917 due to an elbow injury. Garfield Jennings enlisted in August 1914 and was discharged in 1916 as medically unfit for service.[456]

Canadian women during the First World War contributed to the war effort; 2800 nurses volunteered their services in hospitals and casualty clearing stations overseas close to the front

[456] Harry Henry Pritchett, Fred Pritchett, Garfield Jennings, and Edward John Pritchett, attestation papers, Canadian Expeditionary Forces Papers, RG 150, LAC; "Part 12 CEF Badges 63-75," Canadian Soldiers, https://www.canadiansoldiers.com/insignia/brookerpdfs/Part%2012%20CEF%20badges%2063%20-%2075.pdf; Fourth brother in casualty list, reported wounded," *London Advertiser*, November 13, 1917, 1.

lines. Canadian nurses served in England, France, the Middle East, Africa, the Mediterranean, and even on hospital ships. These women worked in dangerous circumstances and many of them lost their lives due to enemy attacks, or from contracting contagious diseases from patients.[457]

Women from London most commonly served in overseas hospitals established by members of the Faculty of Medicine at Western. In April 1916, the War Office authorised the formation of the No. 10 Stationary Hospital, to be commanded by Dr Edwin Seaborn, who graduated from Western in 1895. The No. 10 required a team consisting of fourteen male officers, twenty-seven nursing officers, and 118 other ranks and once the unit was authorised, Seaborn mailed out invitations to volunteer to all known graduates of Western's medical faculty and of the nursing programs at St Josephs and Victoria Hospital.[458] Eleven of the No. 10 Stationary Hospital's nurses were trained at Victoria Hospital, including the nursing matron, Helena Elizabeth Dulmage.[459] Dulmage graduated from Victoria Hospital's nursing program in 1906, but worked at the Sarnia General Hospital as the superintendent of nursing until joining the No. 10.[460] Born in 1876, she was forty years old when she went overseas to serve with the No. 10.[461] The rest of the nurses who trained at Victoria Hospital were young women who recently graduated. The nurses left for England in June 1916, and were joined by the rest of the division in August. Eventually the No. 10 was sent to the front in Calais, France, in 1917 and during its time admitted approximately 16,700 patients until the division returned to Canada in 1919.[462]

When Londoners heard that war in Europe officially ended on November 11, 1918, the city erupted in festivities that lasted for a week. London's soldiers started to arrive home at the Canadian Pacific Railway station in December where they were greeted by crowds of family and friends. Decorations were set up along Richmond Street to welcome home veterans. When the 1st Battalion finally arrived back in London, there was a large celebration and parade to make

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[457] Veterans Canada, Nursing Sisters of Canada https://www.veterans.gc.ca/eng/remembrance/those-who-served/women-veterans/nursing-sisters#sisterhist2 (February 25, 2023).
[458] Alexandra C. Istl and Vivian C McAlister, "Western University (No. 10 Canadian Stationary Hospital and No. 14 Canadian General Hospital): a Study of Medical Volunteerism in the First World War," *Canadian Journal of Surgery*, 59, 6 (2016): 371-73.
[459] Full list of Nursing Sisters trained at Victoria Hospital can be found in Appendix A of AMJ Hyatt and Nancy Geddes Poole, *Battle for Life : the History of No. 10 Canadian Stationary Hospital and No. 10 Canadian General Hospital in Two World Wars* (Waterloo: Laurier Centre for Military, Strategic and Disarmament Studies, 2004).
[460] Hyatt and Geddes Poole, *Battle for Life*, 9-11.
[461] Helena Elizabeth Dulmage, attestation papers, Canadian Expeditionary Forces Papers, RG 150, LAC.
[462] Istl and McAlister, "Western University (No. 10 Canadian Stationary Hospital," 371-73.

their arrival special. These festivities across the city reflected Londoners' desire to honour their veterans and the sacrifices made during the Great War. Commemorative plaques were established at schools, churches, cemeteries, and other gathering places across the city. In SoHo, the War Memorial Children's Hospital was erected in 1922 after years of planning in order to memorialise the experiences of soldiers and civilians, especially those from SoHo, during the First World War.[463]

[463] Marvin L Simner, *End of the Great War in 1918 and Its Impact on London, Ontario: Prelude, Celebrations and Aftermath* (London: London and Middlesex Historical Society, 2018), 13, 24, 32.

5.2 The Second World War

On September 10, 1939, Canada declared war on Nazi Germany during the global conflict now known as the Second World War. In 1939, the armouries on Dundas Street and the Carling Heights neighbourhood near the Royal Canadian Regiment became incredibly busy places as men enlisted and trained in these areas. Women were also encouraged to register for the Canadian Women's Army Corps, the Volunteer Aid detachment, or the Red Cross corps. In addition to enlisting, women heavily contributed to the home front as they kept essential industries and assembly lines running.[464] From the SoHo neighbourhood alone, over 1000 men and women enlisted and served in the Canadian Armed forces around the world.[465]

July 23, 1944 - Canadian Nursing Sisters from the No. 10 Hospital during the Battle of Normandy. https://www.veterans.gc.ca/eng/remembrance/those-who-served/women-veterans/nursing-sisters#sisterhist3

Similar to the First World War, doctors and nurses who trained at Western's Medical School and Victoria Hospital were eager to go overseas and treat Canadian soldiers. In 1942, the Department of National Defence authorised the mobilisation of the No. 10 General Hospital, this time commanded by Colonel HP Hamilton of Kitchener. Women made up a large part of the No. 10 Hospital, with more than eighty nursing sisters, several Red Cross volunteers, three physiotherapists, one dietician, and one occupational therapist.[466] The No. 10 Hospital served in England, France, and Belgium and nurses from the division were the first Canadian

[464] William Elwyn Corfield and Hume Cronyn, *The Home Front: London, Canada 1939-1945* (London: Sterling Marketing, 1992), 8, 9, 55.
[465] Jerez, "ArcGIS: Vision SoHo," presentation.
[466] Istl and McAlister, "Western University (No. 10 Canadian Stationary Hospital," 71-74.

nursing sisters to reach France in July 1944 to treat allied soldiers fighting in the Battle of Normandy.[467]

One of the most well-known units sent overseas was the First Hussars, one of the most decorated units within the 1st Canadian Army.[468] Approximately fifteen of SoHo's 1000 Second World War soldiers served with the First Hussars.[469] As soon as war broke out, the First Hussars immediately started training at Wolseley Barracks on Oxford Street. For the first two years of the war, the First Hussars remained in Canada to guard prisoner of war camps in Kingston and Gravenhurst and to train to their full potential. In January 1941, the First Hussars were attached to Canada's armoured division and by November they were sent overseas.

In early 1943, the unit was renamed the 6th Canadian Army Tank Regiment. The First Hussars are well known for their contributions to many significant battles throughout the Second World War. This includes the consolidation of Normandy and the capture of Caen at D-Day, entering Dieppe in 1944 and liberating the French, establishing bridgeheads to liberate the Netherlands, and entering Germany at the end of the war.[470] When the First Hussars returned home in January 1946, the city erupted in celebration as thousands of people crowded the streets. They were the last of London's overseas units to be welcomed back to the city.[471]

Between 1944-46, the Canadian army discharged and sent home troops. These men and women arrived at the train station and large crowds and celebrations welcomed them back. The first soldiers to arrive home came in 1944 after they had suffered a major injury and were no longer fit for military service. Warrant Officer JA Hills of 60 Hamilton Road reached London in July after he had an accident while on overseas service. His wife and mother greeted him at the train station along with a large gathering waiting for the troops to arrive.[472] Once the war in Europe ended in May 1945, large numbers of troops returned by train to London. In August, large crowds of family and friends welcomed back over 300 veterans.[473] One month later, the city

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[467] Veterans Canada, Nursing Sisters.
[468] "Hussars Top Army List For Awards, Decorations," *LFP*, January 16, 1946, 8.
[469] First Hussars, World War Two Nominal Roll, https://www.first-hussars.ca/ww-two-nominal-rool (February 11, 2023).
[470] "Tanks Mobilized September, 1939," *LFP*, January 16, 1946, 8.
[471] "1,500 Western Ontario Families Reunited With Returning Veterans: Celebrations Dot District; Fliers Arrive," and "Confetti Blizzard Greets Hussars on Return Home," *LFP*, January 17, 1946, 12.
[472] "Many London and District Men Return Home from Battle Front," *LFP,* July 7, 1944, 1.
[473] "300 Returning Veterans Given Warm Welcome," *LFP,* August 18, 1945, 15.

planned a homecoming parade for the veterans of the Royal Canadian Regiment who arrived in two special troop trains.[474] In addition to crowds of friends and families, the Canadian Legion welcomed back veterans with a special reception centre that they had built at the CNR station.[475] Local businesses also showed support to soldiers with large signs and advertisements on buildings near the train station. Signs from factories such as McClarys and Holeproof Hosiery can be seen in the background of photos of returning veterans at the train station.[476]

Veterans arriving at the train station in August 1945. AFC-177-S3-SS10-F343. Courtesy of ASCWU.

The end of the war also brought good news to those waiting to hear about family members over- seas. Private Roy Dale of 62 William Street served in the Scottish Regiment of

[474] "Parade Planned For Homecoming of London Unit: Committee Arranges Welcome for Royal Canadian Regiment," *LFP,* September 22, 1945, 1.
[475] Corfield and Hume, *Home Front: London, Canada 1939-1945,* 58.
[476] "District Veterans Return Home," AFC-177-S3-SS11-F627, Archives and Special Collections, Western University.

the Canadian army. German soldiers captured Dale in 1942 after the Dieppe Raid and he was held in a POW Camp until the end of the war. His parents received the news that he was finally back in Allied hands after nearly three years of not hearing from their son.[477]

Throughout 1946, veterans continued to arrive home. Some of the largest celebrations took place in January upon arrival of the First Hussars, in February when 800 veterans arrived and 2000 civilians gathered to welcome them, and finally in June when over 500 troops returned.[478] The festivities that took place in and around the train station were well remembered by Londoners of this period.

[477] "Liberated," *LFP,* May 5, 1945, 2.
[478] "Crowd of 2000 Greets Vets at C.P.R. Station," *LFP,* February 21, 1946, 1; "The C.N.R. Station Was a Busy Place," *LFP,* June 12, 1946, 11.

6. WESTERN'S MEDICAL SCHOOL

6.1 Before South Street

In 1882, the newly-formed Western University absorbed London's medical school. While associated with the university, the professors privately owned the school as shareholders. Together, they initially agreed that the medical school lectures would be held in the large hall and chapel of the Hellmuth Boys' College between Wellington and Waterloo, with the dissection labs conducted in the property's small, five-room cottage. However, the faculty members found the lighting and heating of the large hall inadequate.[479] As a solution, the university senate gave the Faculty of Medicine the five-room cottage and provided sufficient funding to renovate it into a building suitable for classes, with the former drawing room remade into the main lecture hall. The medical school did not provide desks for the students, but built a four-foot-tall riser, with benches the width of the room at each step.[480] On October 1, 1882, Dr William Ebenezer Waugh, professor of anatomy, delivered the first lecture to sixteen students.[481]

From 1882-87, the medical school increased its enrolment to sixty students and rapidly outgrew the small cottage. It was also inconvenient. The cottage was two kilometres away from the London General Hospital (later renamed Victoria Hospital in 1899) on Ottoway (later South) Street, requiring the department to provide students a horse-drawn bus from the London Street Railway Company.[482] In 1888, the professor-shareholders built a new three-storey red brick building on the corner of Waterloo and York streets where the medical school remained for the next thirty-three years.

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[479] Nancy Tausky, *Cultural Heritage Assessment: Building in the South Street Hospital Complex London, Ontario* (2011), 39.
[480] Edwin Seaborn, *March of Medicine in Western Ontario* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1944), 263.
[481] Seaborn, *March of Medicine*, 270; John R. Sullivan and Norman Ball, *Growing to Serve… A History of Victoria Hospital* (London: Victoria Hospital Corporation, 1985), 30.
[482] Sullivan and Ball, *Growing to Serve,* 32.

6.2 Why Rebuild?

Abraham Flexner, an American educator, was most well-known for reforming medical and higher education during the twentieth century. Funded and published by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, Flexner wrote the report *Medical Education in the United States and Canada* in 1910. Flexner investigated the quality of the 156 medical schools between the two countries. Flexner found there was an "over production of commercial, for-profit medical schools" from which students graduated ill trained.[483]

In 1910, Flexner described Western's Waterloo and York medical school as "practically independent" from the university and admonished the school for being "as bad as anything found on this side of the line." During his 1909 visit, Flexner found the medical museum and clinical faculties to be inadequate and the laboratory equipment to be minimal, consisting only of microscopes and unlabelled specimens.[484]

A year following the Flexner report, Western adopted the medical reforms recommended. During 1912, medical school representatives and Western's Board of Directors decided to end the school's private ownership and make it a formal department at the university. In 1913, Western's Board of Governors appointed Dr HA McCallum as the department's new dean of medicine. He accepted the position with the understanding that Western would provide a new building and elevate the quality of medical education. In 1913, construction funds were secured from the Ontario provincial government and three full-time professors were appointed: Dr James S. Dickie, Anatomy, who died and was replaced by Dr Paul S. McKibben; Dr Frederick R. Miller, Physiology, and Dr James W. Crane, Pharmacology and Biochemistry.[485] As well, they agreed that all patients in Victoria Hospital's public wards would be accessible for teaching purposes.[486]

Public hospitals cared for the poor and typically had a high death rate. Those who could afford it purchased private medical insurance and when ill, stayed home and called a private physician. Charitable organizations operated public hospitals, supported by provincial and

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[483] Abraham Flexner, *Medical Education in the United States and Canada* (Boston: Merrymount Press, 1910), x.
[484] Flexner, *Medical Education*, 322, 325, 323.
[485] "The Evolution of the Harvey Club," 1, Harvey Club Fonds, AFC 39-1/1, Archives and Special Collections, Western University (hereafter ASCWU).
[486] Sullivan and Ball, *Growing to Serve*, 104.

municipal funding. These sources were often not enough to meet the hospital's bills. London General Hospital's public ward opened in 1875 and was the only hospital that catered to the poor in southwestern Ontario until the creation of the Ontario Health Insurance Plan in 1972.[487]

The First World War erupted in 1914 and the allocated provincial funds to build the school dried up. Nevertheless, in 1917 the medical school raised $22,000 and purchased land on the corner of Waterloo and Ottoway streets across from the now renamed Victoria Hospital. A month following armistice in 1918, Mayor Charles Sommerville and London's city council put forward a by-law for $100,000 to assist the construction of the new school.[488]

The *London Free Press* pushed for London citizens to vote for this by-law. The city argued for the economic benefit the new medical school would bring to London. The council equated the medical school to be as financially significant as attracting industry to the city: "The Medical School By-law is an expenditure which is calculated to make the city more attractive for desirable people, who share our civic responsibilities and lessen municipal taxes." The advertisement continued, "show your interest in the city and help those who are trying to build a better and bigger London."[489]

As the Spanish influenza pandemic spread across Canada between 1918-19, pro-medical school advertising targeted the emotions of London citizens by highlighting the need for medical infrastructure and equated the heroism of doctors to returning veterans. A *Free Press* reporter wrote that

> This department of the university represents one of the most serviceable of all the activities of life. Too much cannot be said of the self-sacrificing devotion to the needs of the people during the recent epidemic, shown by overworked physicians who were sometimes themselves the victims of the disease they were trying to combat. No call was refused if human strength permitted the physician to respond. In the same spirit as those who have worked so heroically overseas to attempt to meet the almost superhuman demands occasioned by the untold sufferings of the war, our medical men

[487] Marvin L. Simner, "The Story Behind the Ontario Health Insurance Plan and Its Impact on the Public Sector," (2020), 6, Scholarship@Western, https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/historypub/392/ (May 5, 2022).
[488] Sullivan and Ball, *Growing to Serve*, 104, 105.
[489] "The Chamber of Commerce and the Medical School and Industrial By-laws," *London Free Press* (hereafter LFP), December 28, 1918, Collected Clippings of the History of the Faculty of Medicine 1916-1952, R749.U5821, vol. 2, ASCWU.

have been battling with a disease that is by no means easy to overcome.[490]

Pamphlets circulated across the city. The "Why Thinking Voters are Supporting the Medical School By-law" pamphlet stated:

1. It will enable the workingman to give his boy or girl a profession at little expense.
2. Make London an educational centre, thereby increasing local property values.
3. New Medical School will be the property of the citizens of London, as is Victoria Hospital, Public Library, etc.
4. Present students rendered invaluable service during the influenza epidemic, conducting a hospital.
5. Over $90,000 spent in London during the past ten years by out-of-town students alone for living expenses.
6. It will provide better training for doctors and nurses, and, therefore, more efficient medical service for the wives and children of workingmen.
7. Dozens of students are turned away annually because of lack of accommodation.[491]

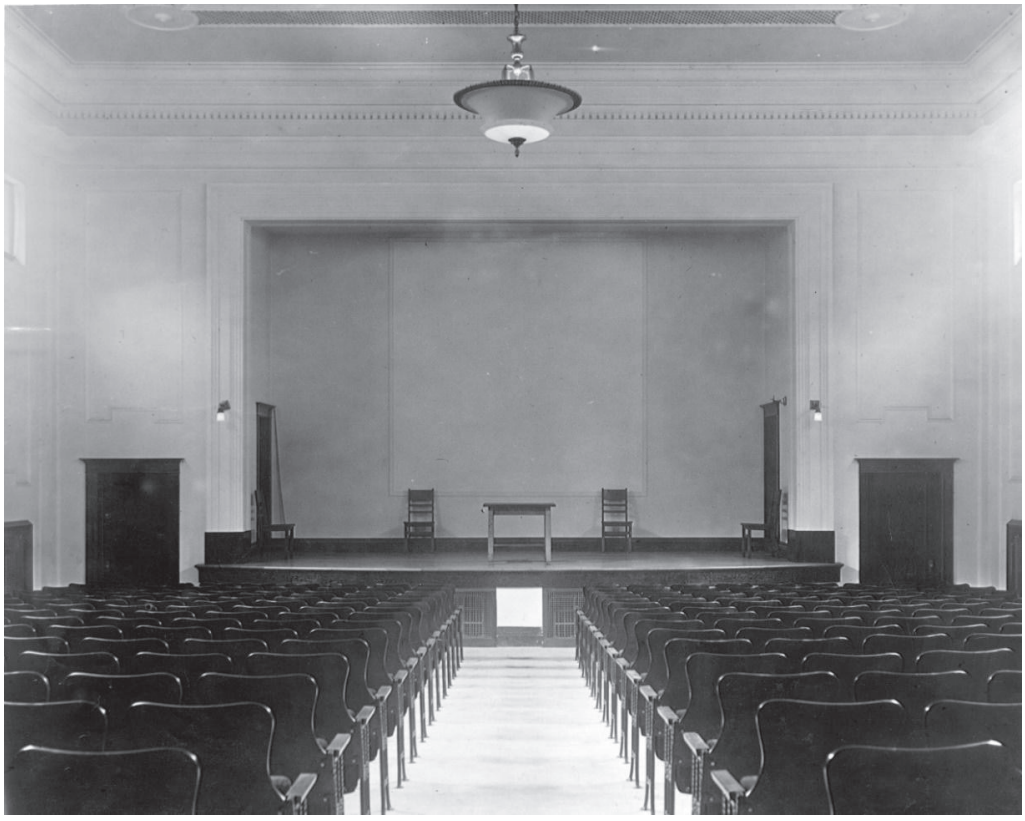
On January 1, 1919, the New Year rang with resounding support and construction for the new medical school was approved. The construction was well underway by fall 1919, anticipating that students could arrive in the new building in time for fall 1920.[492] The new Faculty of Medicine officially opened November 17, 1921 on Ottaway Avenue, where it remained until 1965, when Victoria Hospital converted it into its Health Services Building.[493]

[490] "The Medical School and the University," *London Advertiser*, December 11, 1918, scrapbook, Collected Clippings of the History of the Faculty of Medicine 1916-1952, ASCWU.
[491] "Seven Reasons: Why Thinking Voters are Supporting the Medical By-law," Collected Clippings of the History of the Faculty of Medicine 1916-1952, ASCWU.
[492] Sullivan and Ball, *Growing to Serve*, 105.
[493] Murray Llewellyn Barr, *A Century of Medicine at Western: A Centennial History of the Faculty of Medicine, University of Western Ontario* (London: University of Western Ontario, 1977), 430.

6.3 The New Building

Designed by the London-based architectural firm Watt and Blackwell, the new building was a state-of-the-art school and centre for medical research. Between the War Memorial Children's Hospital and the Gartshore Residence and School of Nursing, the Faculty of Medicine building stood as one of the three properties that created a "handsome streetscape" along South Street.[494]

The building is E-shaped with three wings extending towards the rear, with rows of large, bright windows extending around the circumference of the two floors. These windows were a common design feature in twentieth-century school buildings, which aimed to reduce the amount of artificial light needed.[495] The building is two stories tall but designed so that a third story could be added if necessary. The red brick surface extends the length of the building, contrasted by an ashlar foundation, frontispiece, cornice, parapet, sills, and pilasters made of Indiana limestone.



Auditorium, nd. Western University Medical School Collection, A04-015-002, AFC 409-S3, ASCWU.

[494] Megan Hobson, *Heritage Impact Assessment: Health Services Building and Children's War Memorial* (2021), 10.
[495] Hobson, *Heritage Impact Assessment*, 7.

The main entrance way includes neo-classical elements with an elaborately decorated stone frontispiece, with two stone pilasters enclosing the main doors and a pronounced cornice and parapet, which holds a simple cartouche that functions as a flagpole. Pilasters are spaced between the windows of the corner pavilions, with stone bases, capitals, and brick bodies. Art Deco-inspired stone blocks and diamonds decorate the cornices and parapet of the pavilions. The main entrance way leads to a foyer and an elegant auditorium. East of the auditorium were administrative offices, library, and histology and embryology sections of the Anatomy department. To the west were rooms used by the Department of Pathology. The second floor held the facilities for the departments of Physiology, Pharmacology, Biochemistry, and the rest of the Department of Anatomy. There were three lecture rooms, two on the first floor and one on the second; all three rooms could seat fifty students. Directly below the auditorium was the gymnasium, and the rest of the basement held a students' common room, lockers, and shower rooms, the morgue, a carpentry and machine shop, a heating plant, and living quarters for, at first, the stationary engineer and, later, the building superintendent, with their respective families. The roof included cages for animals used in research.[496]

Anatomy Lab, nd, Western University Medical School Collection, A04-015-002, AFC 409-S3, ASCWU.

[496] Tausky, *Cultural Heritage Assessment*, 121, 125, 123.

6.4 Notable Faculty and Discoveries

The medical school housed notable individuals and their research findings.

Dr Frederick Banting (1891-1941): Sir Frederick Banting, known to the world as the scientist who co-discovered insulin, also made discoveries during the Second World War. Banting researched decompression chambers in collaboration with the Royal Canadian Air Force. Students of the medical school were frequent test subjects. Installed in airplane cockpits, this invention increased oxygen and reduced the likelihood of decompression sickness for pilots. He collaborated with faculty member Dr George Hall, though the entire project was under the supervision of Dr Kenneth Evelyn.[497] Dr Banting died in service during the Second World War when his flight to England crashed in the middle of Newfoundland for causes unknown.[498]

Dr Murray Barr (1908-95): After graduating from Western's medical school in 1933, Barr taught from 1936-77, and made several major discoveries in the field of human genetics. His first, in 1949, was called chromatin, or inactive X-chromosomes found exclusively in female mammals which help indicate sex. He discovered it with his colleague Dr Ewart Bertram. Chromatin was a major discovery in the world of genetics. This finding eventually became known as the "Barr Body." In 1955, his second ground-breaking discovery he called the buccal test. Co-discovered with Dr KL Moore, the buccal test is a smear test from the cheeks which helps geneticists predetermine congenital disease. Barr was elected to the Royal Society of Canada in 1958, and of London in 1971. He won a Joseph R Kennedy, Jr award for his role in helping understand the role of genetics in intellectual disabilities in 1962. He also was nominated for a Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine. [499]

Dr Charles Beer (1915-2010) and Dr Robert Noble (1910-90): Dr Charles Beer came from Oxford University. Dr Robert Noble came from University of Toronto. Together in the Collip Medical Research Laboratory in 1958 they successfully extracted and purified vinblastine–a

[497] Barr, *Century of Medicine,* 443, 444.
[498] Grant Maltman, "Sir Frederick, It is Your Duty to Do So," *London and Middlesex Historian* 21 (1995): 48.
[499] Murray Barr, MD, Canadian Medical Hall of Fame, https://cdnmedhall.ca/laureates/murray barr (March 15, 2022); Paul Potter and Hubert Soltan, "Murray Llewellyn Barr, O. C. 20 June 1908—4 May 1995," *Biographical Memoirs of Fellows of the Royal Society* 43 (1997): 44.

product that worked as a type of chemotherapy by lowering cell counts. It was a breakthrough in the treatment of cancer and Hodgkin's Lymphoma. [500]

Dr Alan Burton (1904-79): Dr Burton began his career at Western in 1945. In 1948, he established the biophysics department, the first of any medical school in Canada. Biophysics is a melding of physics and biology, that is understanding the natural world through the lens of physics. He was known for his research on biological reactions to climate or altitude.[501]

Dr James Collip (1892-1965): Banting's co-collaborator in the creation of insulin as a diabetes treatment, Collip played a huge role in hormone science. He isolated other hormones such as parathyroid which helps regulate calcium in 1925, and adrenocorticotropic in 1933, which helps regulate the stress levels in the human body. He served as the Director of National Research Council in Canada, a role in which he developed rigorous fellowship and grant aid programs to Canadian medical schools and hospitals and increased the amount of research performed at such facilities. He acted as dean of the medical school between 1947-61.[502]

Dr James W. Crane (1877-1959): Dr Crane taught in the department of biochemistry and pharmacology. However, he was best known for his pursuits outside the classroom. He started numerous clubs including the Osler Society, the Harvey Club, and the Meds Merrymakers. The Osler Society was geared towards students, and the Harvey Club was for faculty and practising physicians. Both organisations dedicated themselves to presenting papers on medical history. The Meds Merrymakers was a club dedicated to singing and finding like-minded company. In addition to his student organisation work, Dr Crane started the Medical History Museum which displayed historic medical equipment.[503]

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[500] Charles Beer, MD, and Robert Noble, MD, Canadian Medical Hall of Fame, https://cdnmedhall.ca/laureates/charlesbeer and https://cdnmedhall.ca/laureatesc/robertnoble (April 10, 2022).
[501] Alan Burton, MD, Canadian Medical Hall of Fame, https://cdnmedhall.ca/laureates/alanburton (April 10, 2022).
[502] James Collip, MD, Canadian Medical Hall of Fame, https://cdnmedhall.ca/laureates /james collip (April 3, 2022); Murray Llewellyn Barr and RJ Rossiter, "James Bertram Collip, 1892-1965," *Biographical Memoirs of Fellows of the Royal Society* 19 (1973): 249, 250; Barr, *Century of Medicine*, 505.
[503] Finding Aid, Dr James Wellington Crane, AFC 411, ASCWU.

Dr Charles Drake (1920-98): Another graduate of Western (1944), Drake served as chief of neurosurgery at Victoria Hospital between 1953-59, where he pioneered a procedure to treat basilar aneurysms (a type of brainstem stroke). Called the "Drake Tourniquet," it allowed surgeons to operate on patients with brain aneurysms while they were awake.[504]

Drs Madge (1893-1962) and Charles (1883-1959) Macklin: Dr Madge Macklin was one of the earliest female faculty at the medical school, teaching from 1922-45, at the same time as her husband Charles Macklin. She was a geneticist, and he a histologist. He contributed to the understanding of lung anatomy, presenting his findings in various conferences around the world. She pushed for human genetics to be taught and lectured on genetic factors in human deformities. Students appreciated her lectures for their sense of humour. However, she and her husband were controversial and criticised for their support of eugenics as a means of weeding out undesirable characteristics in humans, especially in their heyday during the 1920s-30s when countries like Nazi Germany used eugenics to justify bigotry.[505]

Dr Angus McLaughlin (1908-87): Dr McLaughlin graduated from Western's medical school in 1932 and was also a Rhodes Scholar. He was the chief of surgery at Victoria and University hospitals. The students he taught praised him for his extensive knowledge and brutally sharp honesty.[506] Beyond London, he served as vice-president of the American College of Surgeons. He was in demand to speak internationally about surgical best practices.[507]

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[504] Charles Drake, MD, Canadian Medical Hall of Fame, https://cdnmedhall.ca/laureates/charles drake (April 3, 2022).
[505] Barr, *Century of Medicine*, 364, 394-95.
[506] Dr Ron Holliday, Interview with Avraham Shaver, January 27, 2022.
[507] Barr, *Century of Medicine*, 482.

6.5 Famous Firsts

The list explores those famous for their role as a 'first' in some capacity.

Dr Irwin Nobert Antone: Dr Antone, from the Oneida Nation of the Thames, was the first Indigenous student in medicine at Western, graduating in 1976. He served his internship at Victoria Hospital, focusing on family medicine.[508] After his internship, Dr Antone served his community as a physician–the primary reason he became a doctor–with an emphasis on diabetes, through the Native Outreach Program of the Ontario Diabetic Association at the Southwest Middlesex Health Centre.[509] He taught at the Northern Ontario School of Medicine and published research on maternity and palliative care, as they relate to Indigenous peoples.[510] One of his biggest accomplishments was being a member of the National Roundtable of the Royal Commission of Aboriginal Peoples in the 1990s, a precursor to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.[511]

Marjorie McKee and Grace Moore: They were the first women faculty. The 1919-20 pre-school announcement listed McKee as a laboratory assistant in pharmacology and Moore as an assistant in chemistry.[512]

Dr PJ McKibben: He was the first dean of the South Street campus. Under his guidance, the Flexner report raised its rating of Western's medical school from a C to an A, but he resigned in 1925 because of poor health.. He remained in London and received an honorary LLD award for his efforts to improve the medical school's facilities.[513]

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[508] "Class of '76 Internships," *University of Western Ontario Medical Journal* 46, 4 (1976): 18.
[509] Anne Gilmore, "Canada's Native MDs: Small in Number, Big on Helping Their Community," *Canadian Medical Association Journal* 142, 1 (1990): 54.
[510] Len Kelly et al., "Palliative Care of First Nations People: a Qualitative Study of Bereaved Family Members," *Canadian Family Physician* 55, 4 (2009): 394.
[511] Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, *The Path to Healing: Report of the National Round Table on Aboriginal Health and Social Issues* (Ottawa: Canada Communication Group, 1993).
[512] Barr, *Century of Medicine*, 281; "Faculty Listings," *Western Medical School Announcement 1920-1921* (London: Western University, 1920), 26, 23.
[513] Dr PS McKibben (1921-1927), History of Medicine, https://verne.lib.uwo.ca/s/historyofmedicinecollection/page/dr-p-s-mckibben-1921-1927 (April 3, 2022).

Dr Kathleen Braithwaite Sanborn: Dr Sanborn was the first female graduate of the South Street medical school, doing so in 1924. She opened a practice in Windsor with her husband Dr Clare Sanborn, also a Western graduate.[514]

[514] Barr, *Century of Medicine*, 292.

6.6 Student Life

Medical students led an active social life during their four years at the medical school. Freshman students experienced initiation hazing. Usually organised by sophomore students, the hazing was a planned attack. Dr Wendell Hughes, later a pioneer of ophthalmic plastic surgery, remembered his 1917 hazing:

> Initiation in those days was a serious ritual. The entire student body were recruited and swooped down on us one day in a well-organized attack. We were bound hand and foot, piled into a truck, and carted a couple of miles to a lonely country road and "given the works." Hair clippers were used to cut a swatch irregularly through the hair, some oily tar applied along with feathers. We were left to get back to the city as best we could.[515]

Created in 1921, the students' Hippocratic Society elected T. Orminston Smith as its first president. This society organised social activities like smoking functions, dances, an annual banquet, and invited distinguished guests for lectures. Dr HW Will, director of Public Health in London, gave the first public lecture about leprosy that year.[516] Remembering the medical school dances, Dr Wendell Hughes wrote: "There were school dances in the old gym on Oxford St where the floor was weak in several spots. However, the music supplied by the Lombardo Brothers, made up for any deficiency in that quarter. That's where 'the sweetest music this side of heaven' got its start."[517]

Four students from each class also had the opportunity to join the Osler Society. Two memorable 1921 public presentations, Dr Frederick Banting's "Life of Louis Pasteur" and Dr JJR MacLeod's "Life of Claude Bernard," hosted at the medical school inspired Dr James W. Crane and Dr Wray Lloyd to create a permanent history of medicine society.[518] Created in 1927, the society aimed to interest students in the history of medicine and provide opportunities for

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[515] Dr Wendell Hughes, Reflection on His and His Father's Medical Education, September 1985, File 9, Box 8, Western University Medical School Collection, AFC 409, ASCWU.
[516] "Meds of Western U Discuss Functions: New Body to Be Termed Hippocratic Society," and "New Body to Be Termed Hippocratic Society," *Gazette*, np, Faculty of Medicine Fraternities and Societies Scrapbook, LJ101.C8 1950, ASCWU.
[517] Hughes, Reflection, September 1985, File 9, Box 8, Western University Medical School Collection, AFC 409, ASCWU.
[518] Robert Linton, "A Brief History of the Osler Society 1927-1959," *Bulletin of the Osler Society*, File 1, Box 1, Osler Society Fonds, AFC 45, ASCWU.

preparation, presentation, and publication of papers. Named after famed Canadian scientist Dr William Osler, Crane and Lloyd received permission directly from Lady Osler in England to name the society after her late husband.[519] The society held monthly meetings and included faculty and alumni as honourary members. The Osler Society also held an annual banquet, the first one at Tecumseh House hotel in 1927. Lloyd, as honourary president that year, delivered the first 'Osler Oration,' a presentation of an aspect of Sir William's life. In 1930, Dr Norman Gwyn, Osler's nephew, served as honourary president. To much excitement, Gwyn presented the society with a gavel made of wood he salvaged from the ruins of the rectory from Osler's birthplace in Bond Head, Ontario.[520]

The medical school's annual barbeque caused controversy in the 1920s. Dean McKibben originally suggested the idea, which was taken up by the Hippocratic Society. Starting in 1923, the annual barbeque day began with a basketball game between the students and faculty in the medical school's gymnasium. The festivities continued with performances in the auditorium. These were silly affairs with each class required to create and perform their own sketches, many often choosing to imitate faculty members. In 1926, the class of 1928 wrote and performed "Liver and Bacon" in which they parodied Dr James and Dr Laughton for their discovery of liver extract in the treatment of high blood pressure. The evenings concluded with the barbeque in the gymnasium, with Dean McKibben in a chef's hat, carving a roast pig. The annual barbeque paused between 1929 and 1935 following an incident in 1928 between a student and the physical education director at a basketball practice. During "A Faculty Meeting in the Stone Age" skit, another student referred to this incident and used an impolite word to describe the physical education director. Consequently, the faculty council forbade future barbeques and reinstated the more formal annual banquet. The Hippocratic Society hosted the banquet the following year with low turnout, and students pleaded for the reinstatement of skits. This incident inspired the student government to have a stronger voice in the organization of social affairs.

Dr Crane further contributed to the social culture of the medical school by creating the

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[519] Dr JW Crane, "Forward: A Brief History of the Osler Society 1927-1959," *Bulletin of the Osler Society*, March 1959, File 1, Box 1, Osler Society Fonds, AFC 45, ASCWU.
[520] Linton, "Brief History," *Bulletin of the Osler Society*, File 1, Box 1, Osler Society Fonds, AFC 45, ASCWU.

Meds Merrymakers in 1927. Medical students and public health nurses gathered weekly on Thursdays in the auditorium for singsongs and camaraderie. During its first few years the Meds Merrymakers followed serious presentations by Dr Skinner, the head of Anatomy and Dr Miller, the head of Physiology. Under Dean Campbell in 1935, the Meds Merrymakers were appointed as the head of entertainment for the whole school. The group organised a barbeque, similar to its predecessor in 1928. The event ensued without incident, but senior faculty members complained to Dean Campbell, and the faculty council voted for the barbeque to end for a second time.[521]

Women were underrepresented as students at the medical school. The first woman to graduate from Western's medical school was Dr Kathleen Braithwaite Sanborn. In anticipation of her admission, the executive council passed a resolution in 1918 that "women be admitted as students to Faculty of Medicine on the same basis as men."[522] Braithwaite Sanborn graduated in 1924. Students remembered that "she bolstered up her courage by we know not what means. We heard that she was fair to lean out the windows for a few gasps of fresh air and to take refuge with the librarian for comfort."[523]

In 1927, six female students, calling themselves the Medettes, started their own women-only society, an antithesis to the Hippocratic Society, called the Hormone. To the dismay of the women, they were relegated to sharing a 2x4 office space with the librarians and office girls called the "Ladies Settin' Room." The space was tight and congested with the students storing their books and equipment here. The Medettes fought for their own space against Dean McKibben, the Hippocratic President and everyone else within reach, insisting that empty spaces were available in the medical school's basement.[524] Librarian Miss Ethel Sullivan came to the Medettes' rescue and located a room for the women, which became their refuge. Upon determining what to name this space, they decided tongue-in-cheek on 'No Man's Land.' No longer crowded, the women had room to decorate, store their items, and host tea parties and other social events.

During the Second World War, Western University barred all social activities, including

[521] Barr, *Century of Medicine*, 401, 402.
[522] Barr, *Century of Medicine*, 403, 402, 291. In comparison the University of Toronto allowed women to attend medical school alongside men in 1905.
[523] *The Hormone*, 2, Scrapbook of Women Medical Students, R692.L5 1927, ASCWU.
[524] *The Hormone*, 4, Scrapbook of Women Medical Students, ASCWU.

the Osler Society and the Meds Merrymakers. However, the Hippocratic banquet continued at the students' insistence. For six years the Osler Society ceased to exist, but returned in 1948 with the guidance of the Hippocratic council which appointed a committee to restart it. At the meeting, Dr Crane stressed the value of gaining experience in presenting and publishing papers.[525] The Meds Merrymakers returned in 1945 and revived their noon-hour sing-songs in the medical school's common room. In 1947, they staged *Meds Merrymakers '47* in the Grand Theatre downtown London. This performance was a minstrel show entitled "Show Boat."[526] These variety performances continued as an annual tradition for the Merrymakers in the decades following, usually including songs and plays that satirised the medical field and faculty.

Tachycardia, another student-run event, began in 1955 and followed the traditions of the former barbeque performances.[527] *Tachycardia*, meaning a fast and irregular heart beat, was performed in the medical school auditorium. In a compilation of skits, songs, and sketches, students mocked faculty and poked fun at student life and medical school culture. The performances were risqué and raunchy at times.[528]

In 1919, Drs Crane and Spence created the Harvey Club, named after William Harvey, the renowned sixteenth-century English physician who discovered blood circulation. Like the Osler Society, the objective of the Harvey Club was to promote the preparation, presentation, criticism, and publication of papers, but for faculty.[529] It held meetings every two weeks, originally at the Tecumseh House following a full course dinner. Their dinners are held on the closest Friday to William Harvey's birthday on April 1.

Membership was exclusive. The Harvey Club has had a majority male membership since its inception and it considered the suitability of the doctor's wife as part of the membership decision. By the Second World War, membership stalled. The club made drastic changes after the war to increase membership, such as reducing the number of meetings a year, holding them with dinner, and organising talks about broader, non-medical topics. In 1962, the club revised its

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[525] "Osler Society. November 3, 1948," Meeting Minutes, File 1, Box 1, Osler Society Fonds, AFC 45, ASCWU.
[526] "The Hippocratic Society of Western University Presents the Meds Merrymakers of '47," Program, Box 1, Hippocratic Society Fonds, AFC 426, ASCWU.
[527] Barr, *Century of Medicine*, 515.
[528] Holliday, Interview with Shaver, January 27, 2022.
[529] "The Hippocratic Society of Western University Presents the Meds Merrymakers of '47," Program, Box 1, Hippocratic Society Fonds, ASCWU.

constitution to encourage among members a spirit of comradeship and stimulate interest in sciences, humanities, and the world at large.[530] The Harvey Club is currently the oldest active medical club in Canada.

The Harvey Club owns two interesting and symbolic items. Club lore indicates the president's gavel is made of wood obtained from the staircase of William Harvey's home in Folkestone, England. The wooden case that holds the wooden gavel also has an interesting history. Dr Harvey Lloyd McAnich was impressed when the British Urological Society prepared a gavel and box for the Canadian Urological Society. The wood came from the College of Surgeons' Building in London, England, and that sparked Dr McAnish's inspiration for a similar gavel and box. When Victoria Hospital came into possession of the medical school in 1965, an extensive renovation took place. Dr McAnich happened to come into the building during construction and found three of the solid oak auditorium doors off their hinges, lying in the main corridor. McAnich wanted wood from a source with historical medical significance. McAnich asked one of the workers, who without any authorization told him McAnich could take the door. McAnich went back to Victoria Hospital and rounded up a few urology residents to help him carry the solid wood door to his truck. McAnich then brought the door to the London Furniture Company and had a carpenter design the box. As the story goes, a few weeks later the workmen were instructed to put the doors back on the door frames, but only two of the doors could be found! They instead produced a replica door to fit into the auditorium.[531]

[530] Dr HO Foucar, "The Evolution of the Harvey Club," July 1, 1973, 2, File 1, Box 1, Harvey Club Fonds, AFC 39, ASCWU.
[531] Foucar, "Evolution," July 1, 1973, 4, 3, File 1, Box 1, Harvey Club Fonds, AFC 39, ASCWU.

6.7 The Second World War

War changed the culture of the medical school. Spurred by the conflict, new inventions and more intensive coursework came to campus. First considered for deferment, as war efforts demanded more boots on the ground, the medical school graduated students a year early in their fifth year to meet war-time demands. The students in medical and military training struggled to maintain their good standing in both extracurriculars and regular coursework as very little accommodation was made. In 1941, the Faculty of Medicine instituted summer courses and introduced three-month radio courses for enlisted men. [532] There was a proposal for a rifle range on campus.[533] Surgical students gained experience in treating battlefield wounds, the histology department studied the effect of chemical warfare on lungs, while the pharmacology department researched the effects of cyanide. Very few extracurriculars were offered because of the intense amount of time devoted to war effort research.[534] Notable medical school faculty served in the war, including professors Murray Barr and Angus McLaughlin, who served in the Royal Canadian Air Force and as a battlefield surgeon, respectively.[535] 241 students served in total.[536]

In September 1945, a group of fifty veterans with exceptional grades made up the freshman class. For one year only, veterans released from service were allowed to register mid-year with thirty veterans taking their premedical classes in 1946. The Department of Veterans Affairs paid for the students' tuition and granted $150 yearly for each student.[537]

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[532] OH Warwick, "Changes in Medical Education," *Changes in Medical Education and Other Special Articles on the History, Growth and Progress of the University of Western Ontario Faculty of Medicine* (London: Western University, 1965), 8.
[533] Minutes of the Executive Committee Meetings, March 3, 1941, Board of Governors Fonds, AFC 54-11, ASCWU.
[534] "Western and the War," *Occidentalia* (London: University of Western Ontario, 1943).
[535] Nancy Geddes-Poole, "Vision, Talent, and Wealth: London's Military, Medical and Cultural Legacies," in *Behind the Lines: Canada's Home Front during the First and Second World Wars*, ed. Catherine Elliot-Shaw and Alison Kenzie (London: Western University, 2017), 273-77.
[536] Andrew Theobald, "Western's War: A Study of an Ontario Canadian Officers' Training Corps Contingent, 1939-945," *Ontario History* 98,1 (2006): 52-67.
[537] Barr, *Century of Medicine*, 464.

6.8 Academic Life

Students could apply to medical school following their first year at a recognized university, but others like Dr John Thompson began their medical training following a four-year bachelor's degree.[538] Preclinical studies constituted the first year and half of medical school. Students were required to take Biology, Chemistry, Physics, English and one elective from Philosophy, History, Economics, French, or German. By the second year, students took Organic Chemistry, Physiological Chemistry, Embryology and Histology, Anatomy and Physiology.[539] Victoria Hospital shared its resources, such as space in its lecture halls, with the medical school.

Clinical studies began at two hours a week during the students' second year. This was the students' first interactions with patients. The public wing at Victoria Hospital, along with other London institutions, was available for clinical studies. Clinical work was divided into five disciplines: medicine, obstetrics, paediatrics, surgery, and psychiatry.[540]

Students in their third year spent three mornings a week working in a clinical session, with ten weeks spent in medicine, five weeks for obstetrics, five weeks for paediatrics, eight for surgery, and two for psychiatry.[541] Both Dr Thompson and Dr Ron Holliday described the clinicals during the late 1950s and 1960s as hands off, with clinical heads telling the students the patient's issues and the nature of the disorder. As well, the students did not follow up with patients after the clinical session.[542] Students spent the rest of their third year in lectures given by prominent and knowledgeable faculty. Dr Murray Barr was remembered as a kind professor, and an outstanding lecturer, but one who mumbled at times. Dr Angus McLaughlin was courteous, friendly, and had a wonderful bedside manner with patients. Dr Charles Drake was an internationally-known neurosurgeon whom students greatly admired.[543]

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[538] John Thompson, "John's Story: Medical School at Western, 1957 to 1961," self-published manuscript, 1.
[539] "Curriculum," *Western Medical School Announcement, 1921-1922* (London: Western University, 1921), 18.
[540] GH Valentine, "The New Curriculum," and Warwick, "Changes in Medical Education," *Changes in Medical Education and Other Special Articles on the History, Growth and Progress of the University of Western Ontario Faculty of Medicine* (London: Western University, 1965), 11, 8.
[541] Valentine, "New Curriculum," *Changes in Medical Education*, 11.
[542] Holliday, Interview with Shaver, January 27, 2022; Dr John Thompson, Interview with Madeline Shaw, February 28, 2022.
[543] Holliday, Interview with Shaver, January 27, 2022; Thompson, Interview with Madeline Shaw, February 28, 2022; Dr Sally Stewart, Interview with Avraham Shaver, January 13, 2022.

Apart from a daily 8:00am lecture, students in fourth year had higher clinical responsibilities, with much closer patient contact including physical examinations. Students worked in clinical blocks during this year, spending nine weeks in internal medicine, seven weeks in surgery, five in paediatrics and obstetrics, two in psychiatry, one week in preventative medicine, and one week with anaesthesia in the morning and radiology in the afternoon.[544]

Medical school was rigorous and fierce, with many students flunking out. Dr Holliday remembered that only twenty-eight of the 120 in his chemistry class made it all the way through. He eventually graduated with sixty-six other classmates in 1966.[545]

[544] Valentine, "New Curriculum," *Changes in Medical Education*, 12.
[545] Holliday, Interview with Shaver, January 27, 2022.

6.9 Closing South Street Medical School

The ideal relationship between a university, medical school, and hospital includes having the three institutions located close together. This was not the case for Western's medical school by the 1950s.In 1952 the Board of Governors recommended that the Anatomy, Physiology, Biochemistry, and Microbiology departments of the Faculty of Medicine move to main campus, with students during their pre-clinical studies (the first year and half) to be based there. This decision further separated the culture and working relationship between the medical school and Victoria Hospital. In the last decade of medical studies at South Street, it became increasingly clear that the Faculty of Medicine had exceeded the building's capacity. Originally designed to accommodate thirty-five students per year, classes by 1957 exceeded sixty students, plus approximately forty graduate students, technicians, and research assistants. Students used the theatre and two lecture rooms at Victoria Hospital, but Pharmacology, Physiology, and Biology courses had to share one laboratory.[546]

Cornerstone Laying, Health Sciences Centre, 1964, A04-015-002, AFC 409. Courtesy of ASCWU.

The need for a new medical school was first suggested in 1947. Western's Faculty of Medicine, after forty-four years at South Street, moved in 1965. The medical school officially

[546] *A Study of the Relationships of the Medical School of the University of Western Ontario and Victoria Hospital, London, Ontario* (Toronto: Agnew, Craig and Peckham Firm, 1957), 5, 21.

resumed its role as Western University's medical training facility in October 1965 in the new Health Sciences Centre.[547] Board meeting minutes after the move indicated that a new building was justified. The move allowed the school to hire more faculty, increase its physical facilities, and grow its library resources. [548] Purchased by Victoria Hospital for $137,000, the hospital trust renovated the South Street classrooms and laboratories to house non-medical, London Health Sciences Centre offices, and added an extension for a day care centre called Growing Concerns.[549]

[547] Barr, *Century of Medicine*, 584.
[548] Medical School Committee Minutes, February 15, 1966, Board of Governors Fonds, AFC 540, ASCWU.
[549] Sullivan and Ball, *Growing to Serve*, 153; Christian Zekany, Interview with Avraham Shaver and Madeline Shaw, November 22, 2021.

7. VICTORIA HOSPITAL

London General Hospital, renamed Victoria Hospital in 1899, gave Londoners an education, employment, and community. Being one of the foremost institutions in London, it also provided them with a sense of comfort. Their stories provide a window into what it was like to be a part of this larger community.

7.1 Medical Staff

Among our oral history narrators, technology was a ubiquitous element of hospital work. Ironically, it could be quite antiquated, although hospitals are often the first to adopt new processes. In 1902 the first machinery was installed in the laundry room, however a request for a telephone was refused because administrators thought it would be seen as being too stylish![550] The elevators often malfunctioned in the 1960s.[551] In the 1970s, when elevated mattresses became common in hospitals, doctors and nurses at Victoria Hospital still relied on a physical elevation of patients with prop-ups like sheepskin.[552] In the 1990s, the CT scanner technology was behind the times. If one attempted to rush a scan, it often resulted in burnt and incomplete film.[553] In addition to the technology being behind the times, what one might consider common procedure today was not common back then. A former nursing student recalled how another student slipped on the stairs carrying a glass bottle of blood meant for a transfusion and got their uniform and body covered in someone else's blood.[554]

Though Victoria Hospital's technology fell behind in some capacities, there were some places where it was unique. One example of successful technology was the switchboard system which alerted the staff about their necessary tasks for the day.[555] Another unique aspect were the false stretchers to transport the dead, with bodies hidden underneath, out of respect for other

[550] "Purple Cloth Book Lettered in Gold Published to Mark Jubilee of Victoria Hospital," *London Free Press* (hereafter *LFP*), May 29, 1933, Nursing School Clippings File, Cabinet 6, Ivey Family London Room, London Public Library (hereafter IFLR).
[551] Paula Clark, Interview with Avraham Shaver, March 1, 2022.
[552] John Sutton, Interview with Avraham Shaver and Madeline Shaw, November 29, 2021.
[553] Dr Roya Etemad-Razi, Interview with Avi Shaver and Madeline Shaw, November 18, 2022.
[554] Clark, Interview with Shaver, March 1, 2022.
[555] Serge Lavoie, Interview with Avraham Shaver and Madeline Shaw, November 21, 2021.

patients. Even the physical building itself was past its prime. The ceilings were low, and mice often filled the warm walls at night.[556] The contrast between old systems struggling in the modern age foreshadowed the eventual end of the hospital. Transferring its physical files to the digital sphere was a challenge.[557] Eventually, the building became too old to renovate.[558]

Victoria Hospital hosted testings of many Canadian medical advancements. The most famous was the first artificial kidney machine, developed in 1948. This apparatus, designed by Dutch doctor Jacobus van Noordwijk, had special tubing and connected the patient to a chemical solution that removed any impurities. Another notable first, was called the "Grapefruit Effect," discovered in 1991. Drs David Bailey, Malcolm Arnold, and David Spence found that grapefruit juice inhibited an enzyme from metabolising certain drugs, making them stay in the system longer, with the consequence of too high a drug level in the body at once.[559]

In the early years, decorum and honour prevailed. This included strict attentiveness to presentability.[560] Nurses were required to have spotless uniforms and caps, and if one got dirty, one changed immediately.[561] Hierarchies and understanding one's place was important. Nurses were once required to stand at attention for doctors and remove their caps.[562] As time went on, the line between staff and supervisors still created anxiety, but significantly less than in the past. Dr Roya Etemad-Razi recalled a time when she lost a pager by accidentally flushing it down the toilet and worried that she would get in trouble. Her supervisor laughed and replaced immediately, all in good humour.[563] Though such a system was necessary for order, the professional distance between intern or resident to supervisor grew smaller as the years went by.

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[556] Etemad-Razi, Interview with Shaver and Madeline Shaw, November 18, 2022.
[557] Sandy Levin, Interview with Avraham Shaver and Madeline Shaw, November 28, 2021.
[558] Sutton, Interview with Shaver and Madeline Shaw, November 29, 2021.
[559] David Spence, ""Discoveries at Victoria Hospital," unlabelled clipping, email communication to Michelle Hamilton, April 14, 2022.
[560] Donna Aziz, Interview with Madeline Shaw, January 12, 2022.
[561] Clark, Interview with Shaver, March 1, 2022.
[562] Sutton, Interview with Shaver and Madeline Shaw, November 29, 2021; Aziz, Interview with Madeline Shaw, January 12, 2022.
[563] Etemad-Razi, Interview with Shaver and Madeline Shaw, November 18, 2022.

7.2 Service Workers

Aside from the medical staff, locals worked at the hospital in different capacities. Victoria Hospital provided recent immigrants a stable position, such as being an orderly, working in food service, or in the laundry, to earn money and support their families. Orderlies like John Sutton experienced what would have been an equivalent to a summer internship, working in different facets including staffing the emergency room and intensive care unit, working security, or being a porter transporting bodies and belongings. Orderlies made good money in the 1970s, approximately eight dollars an hour (or approximately fifty-six dollars today).[564]

A food service worker.

Food service was another common occupation and often allowed for social and financial advancement. Serge Lavoie discussed how his father, Maurice Lavoie, eventually rose from a dishwasher to the head chef of Victoria Hospital's kitchen in the 1960s. His mother was a server. Her work involved plating the same food her spouse prepared. Serge Lavoie himself worked in the hospital for five years in various roles, including the food sector as well as the laundry department. He remembered the hospital service industry as a diaspora of post-Second World War Europe, and rivalries between the different nationalities survived in hospital work.[565]

Diane Talbot worked in food service for extra cash as an adolescent in the 1960s, making twenty-five dollars a day. Her three-summer-long position in the food service covered all roles from the preparation of the dishes to serving patients from the food carts. Other times, the

[564] Sutton, Interview with Shaver and Madeline Shaw, November 29, 2021.
[565] Lavoie, Interview with Shaver and Madeline Shaw, November 21, 2021.

workers (predominantly women) in such roles were people burdened by medical debts incurred by the medical care a family member received. Patients in the public ward often could not pay for their treatment. These workers performed menial tasks, such as peeling green beans. This was before the single-payer healthcare system initiated by the provincial Ontario government in 1972.[566]

[566] Talbot, Interview with Madeline Shaw, February 28, 2022.

7.3 Social Life

Workers cherished the close-knit hospital community outside of work hours. For example, the hospital hosted annual Christmas parties and celebrations which included mural decoration contests on hospital windows. Lavoie remembered the time his mother won such a contest.[567] Outside the walls of the hospital, there was the infamous Victoria Tavern on South Street, or as it was more commonly called, 'The Bucket of Blood.' Rumours say locals called it this in homage to either the blood-soaked uniforms staff and students who finished their shifts walked in wearing, or the fights that occurred there on occasion.[568] For interns working in the hospital, there would be a pizza and beer night on Fridays as a small reward. Those who were on call would drink pop so as not be inebriated when performing their duties.[569] This socialisation created camaraderie amongst the workers, helped them unwind, and made lifelong memories. Though the service workers and medical professionals worked in different roles, the mentality of public service was all the same to them. They wanted to provide quality care, help people get better, and ensure the hospital facilities ran smoothly. The nurses ensured that each person was tended individually, including reading stories to blind patients, or playing cards with a recuperating one.[570] Staff believed that Victoria Hospital was one of the best places in Canada for quality and innovative medical care.[571] Our oral history narrators talked proudly about working at Victoria Hospital.[572]

Demolition of Victoria Hospital, South Street campus, began in 2015. Even after the medical school moved to campus in 1965 and its edifice turned into office space, Victoria Hospital remained functional and trained students with interactive, intensive medical education in their residencies. Despite its antiquated features, when the hospital announced its doors were closing permanently, a blended sentiment of sadness and fondness overcame past workers and students. The 'glue' that held the community for so long was gone.[573] They understood the necessity of its demolition, but at the same time, appreciated what the space had provided them:

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[567] Lavoie, Interview with Shaver and Madeline Shaw, November 21, 2021.
[568] Holliday, Interview with Shaver, January 27, 2022.
[569] Dr Miriam Mann, Interview with Avraham Shaver and Madeline Shaw, November 26, 2021.
[570] Shirley Hutchins, Interview with Avraham Shaver and Madeline Shaw, November 26, 2021.
[571] Sutton, Interview with Shaver and Madeline Shaw, November 29, 2021.
[572] Levin, Interview with Shaver and Madeline Shaw, November 28, 2021.
[573] Lavoie, Interview with Shaver and Madeline Shaw, November 21, 2021.

work, education, community. Within the hospital itself, graffiti lined the walls in its last days, all of it written by former employees and visitors.[574] These memories served as a tangible reminder of the meaning of the space.

[574] Etemad-Razi, Interview with Shaver and Madeline Shaw, November 18, 2022.

8. VICTORIA HOSPITAL NURSING SCHOOL

8.1 Nursing Education

In 1883, Sister Florence of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem founded London's first nursing school. It was the third nursing school to be established in Ontario. Prior to this, nursing was typically done by male attendants or untrained wives of men employed in institutions.[575] The program, which spanned two years, trained suitable women as professional nurses and provided skilled nursing for patients in the hospital. The first class was composed of only three students, who lived in quarters within the hospital.[576] During the initial two-month probationary period, applicants underwent evaluation of their reading, penmanship, simple arithmetic, and English diction.

Agnes Walsh, who graduated from the program in 1887, reminisced that at night, only two nurses staffed the hospital, each of whom was responsible for twelve private rooms, a regular ward, and a convalescent ward. Shifts were scheduled from 7am to 7pm.[577] The nursing students did not attend classes; rather, they worked in hospital wards under the guidance of more experienced nurses and lectures were delivered in the main sitting room in the hospital. The hospital held religious services in the old surgery room, with Anglican

Nursing Lecture 1924. Courtesy of Museum London.

[575] Victoria General Hospital, *Annual Report of the Victoria General Hospital for the Year 1915: with an Historical Sketch of London's Hospital from 1847 to 1914* (London: Victoria General Hospital, 1916.
[576] Victoria Hospital, *Golden Jubilee, School of Nursing, Victoria Hospital London, Ontario* (London: Victoria Hospital School of Nursing), 1933, 15.
[577] "Nurse Agnus, Victoria Graduate of 1887 Will Be Honored Guest at Alumnae Reunion," *London Free Press* (hereafter *LFP*), July 30, 1926, Nursing School Clippings File, Cabinet 6, Ivey Family London Room, London Public Library (hereafter IFLR).

services on Sunday mornings and Methodist services in the afternoon.[578]

In 1903, the school launched a three-year program and in 1904, registered with the State of New York, enabling graduates to hold a uniform North American rating. Graduates worked in

Bedside lesson 1924. Courtesy of Museum London.

social services, welfare agencies, medical institutions, nursing school instructors, or as supervisors in nursing homes.

[578] "Area's First Nursing School Marks 75th Anniversary," *LFP*, May 17, 1958, Nursing School Clippings File, Cabinet 6, IFLR.

Between 1939-45, the Second World War caused a surge in demand for trained nurses both domestically and internationally. Consequently, in 1947, the school relaxed the entry requirements for nursing students, including graduates of secondary schools with backgrounds in commercial and home economics courses. Previously, the emphasis had primarily been on candidates with math, science, and Latin courses.[579]

By 1958, nursing students studied a comprehensive curriculum including surgical, medical, obstetrical, paediatric, and communicable disease training taught by fourteen full-time instructors teaching in classroom and clinical environments. In 1970, the nursing program transitioned to a two-year delivery format, in accordance with the proposed plans of the College of Nurses of Ontario. Prior, nursing students completed a third-year internship, which compensated them $325 per month. With the implementation of the new system, students completed their final exams at the end of their second year, and began working with a higher monthly salary ranging from $550-575. This shift resulted in significant cost savings of over $200,000 per year for the hospital.[580]

Following the transfer of responsibility for nursing education to the Ministry of Colleges and Universities, the final graduating class of the Victoria School of Nursing took place in 1974. The nursing school subsequently transferred to Fanshawe College.[581]

Nursing practices evolved in accordance with scientific research and technological advances. In 1892, the hospital began performing antiseptic surgery techniques that utilised chemicals to destroy the germs responsible for causing infections. In 1906, the first caesarean section was performed at Victoria Hospital, during a time when typhoid fever was prevalent and pneumonia was treated by keeping windows open, even in freezing temperatures. In 1918, the hospital performed its first blood transfusion, coinciding with the outbreak of the Spanish influenza. In the 1920s, infectious diseases such as scarlet fever, diphtheria, smallpox, and influenza were of great concern. As protective immunizations for these diseases developed,

[579] "Victoria Eases Requirement for Student Nurse Entry," *LFP*, April 25, 1947, London Hospitals Victoria, School of Nursing Clippings File, Cabinet 6, IFLR.
[580] "Nursing School Drops Intern Year," *LFP*, October 22, 1970, London Hospitals Victoria, School of Nursing Clippings File, Cabinet 6, IFLR.
[581] "Class Has Last Supper For Nursing School," *LFP*, June 8, 1974, London Hospitals Victoria, School of Nursing Clippings File, Cabinet 6, IFLR.

student nurses were among the first to receive them.[582] Following the discovery of the polio vaccine in the early 1950s, student nurses were required to have three polio vaccines before beginning their training.

Nurses spent a large part of their probationary period learning how to prepare medical supplies that today come prepackaged and pre-mixed. Kathleen McIntyre, a nursing student in 1922, detailed in her diary the process of making sponges for various medical applications. The maternity sponges, made of absorbent cotton and roughly the size of an apple, were distinct from gynaecological sponges, which were smaller, and nursery sponges, which were even tinier. Crafting tied sponges, utilised during surgical procedures, was considered particularly challenging. In addition, nurses prepared solutions that involved dissolving medicinal powders in saline solution to enable injections via a needle and syringe. It was crucial for nurses to develop the skill of blending these solutions with the correct ratios.[583]

To relieve chest congestion, nurses applied mustard plasters, and turpentine or linseed oil hot packs treated abdominal pain. After giving birth, patients remained in the hospital and instructed to lie on their backs for ten days. The prevailing philosophy at the time was to provide patients with every possible measure of care, enabling them to conserve their energy for recovery. Nursing students used cupping as a counterirritant by placing heated glass cups on the skin to create suction. Instead of IVs, fluids were administered by needles inserted into tissues. Blood transfusions used multiple syringes with the donor laying beside the patient receiving the blood. Needles were not disposable, but rather sterilised by boiling them over alcohol lamps. However, this practice dulled needles, making injections more painful.[584]

The nursing profession changed in the 1960s and 70s. The feminist movement, in particular, significantly impacted nursing practices. As women challenged traditional gender roles and the unequal treatment of nurses within the medical hierarchy, the blind adherence to authority figures and their orders was questioned. The movement also paved the way for men to enrol in nursing programs, previously seen as a female-dominated profession. 1970 saw the first

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[582] Victoria Hospital, *Golden Jubilee*.
[583] Kathleen McIntyre, Diary, 1922, Western Libraries Digitized Collections, https://verne.lib.uwo.ca/s/wl-digitized-collections/item/5666 (April 19, 2023).
[584] Gladys Erkine, oral interview, June 10, 1983, File 1 #1-34, Box #L75, London's Oral History Heritage Collection, LPL-83-009, IFLR.

male graduate of the nursing program.[585] Additionally, concepts such as stress management in the workplace began to be promoted, recognizing the toll that the demanding nature of nursing can take on healthcare professionals. Attitudes towards death and dying also changed. Previously, death often occurred in family homes, but the development of palliative care units in hospitals allowed for a more controlled and comfortable environment for patients in their final days.[586]

[585] "Nursing School Drops Intern Year," *LFP*, October 22, 1970, London Hospitals Victoria, School of Nursing Clippings File, Cabinet 6, IFLR.
[586] James Chetelat, Lois Foulkes, Patricia Read, and Elizabeth Cressman, *A Memoir: Class of '61 Victoria Hospital School of Nursing* (Ottawa: Baico Pub, 1961).

8.2 Nurses' Residence

Upon the opening of the nursing school in 1883, student nurses lived on hospital premises. However, in 1903, to cater to the rising enrollment, a four-storey residence was constructed. The residence boasted a large living room that overlooked South Street, separate staff and student dining rooms, and a veranda that extended along the entire east side of the building. Nurses prayed each morning in an assembly room that also served as their lecture hall.[587]

Enrollment continued to increase, and in 1927, the Gartshore Nurses Residence opened at a cost of $225,000. It consisted of 126 beds and was adorned with rose and blue curtains, giving

Gartshore nursing residence 1926. Courtesy of Museum London.

it a warm and inviting feel, more akin to a home rather than an institution. Additionally, eighty beds in the old residence were newly outfitted, allowing the nursing school to accommodate up to 200 students, staff, and instructors. Each corridor in the residence was equipped with spacious lavatories that included bathtubs and showers.

The facility also provided a well-appointed library and an attached sunroom with a large

[587] Victoria Hospital, *Golden Jubilee.*

fireplace, providing an ideal atmosphere for studying and relaxation, and a rooftop garden for relaxing outdoors during nice weather. The educational section of the building contained spacious classrooms and demonstration rooms, featuring new student desks and excellent lighting for optimal learning.[588]

In 1962, the Gartshore Residence expanded as part of a $1.5 million program to improve the School of Nursing. The expansion featured 108 fully furnished private bed- rooms, each equipped with a single bed, dresser, desk, cupboard, and vanity. These bedrooms were decorated in pleasing pastel shades and were fully air-vented. The new seven-storey residence, designed by architect CH Gillen, also included laundry rooms and kitchen lounges. The new building conveniently connected to the School of Nursing which faced Hill Street.

The school's first floor featured a main lobby, a large library, laboratories, and administrative offices. On the second floor, there were teaching offices, a 130-seat classroom, an amphitheatre, and a fully equipped science laboratory. The ground floor included a dietetics lab, sewing room, and a music room complete with a piano. These facilities were thoughtfully designed to provide students with a comprehensive and comfortable learning environment.

Nurses Lounge 1965. Courtesy of Musem London.

Canadian diamond magnate, Byron Lee Thurber, donated to the construction of a 425-seat auditorium. Thurber, a former patient of Victoria Hospital, expressed his gratitude for the exceptional care he received from three nurses by inviting them on an all-expense paid vacation to South Africa. Ione Holdsworth accepted his invitation but

[588] "New Victoria Nurses' Residence Is a Home, Not an Institution," *LFP*, June 1927, London Hospitals Victoria, School of Nursing Clippings File, Cabinet 6, IFLR.

tragically passed away in an automobile accident during the trip. In honour of her memory, Thurber donated $50,000 to the nursing school. The Holdsworth Auditorium served as a venue for meetings, sports activities such as volleyball, shuffleboard, and badminton, as well as Saturday night dances and film screenings.[589]

Student Bedroom 1933.
Courtesy of ASCWU.

Nursing practice lab 1967.
Courtesy of Museum London.

[589] "Varied Services, Conveniences Enjoyed by Vic Student Nurses" *LFP*, July 30, 1926, London Hospitals Victoria School of Nursing Clippings File, Cabinet 6, IFLR.

8.3 Student Life

Student nurses were required to adhere to strict rules and a demanding schedule. Gladys Erskine, a student between 1923-26, recalled obtaining the necessary materials for her uniforms from the London department store Smallman and Ingram, which sold a specific blue material made in England. Her mother used the fabric to sew her four uniforms and four white floor-length aprons. Although there were no tuition fees, the nursing school provided room and board in spartan accommodations that were minimally furnished, containing a bed, chest of drawers, and a place to hang clothes.

During the initial three-month probation, students primarily engaged in classroom learning, which focused on subjects such as bandaging, hospital housekeeping, and cleaning duties. Students learned how to administer injections by practising on oranges. Additionally, the school had a large medical practice doll named 'Rosie,' which had been purchased in 1912. Students used this doll to practise bed changing, bathing, hair care, and moving patients. On one occasion, ‘Rosie’ was run up the school’s flagpole as a prank. Once the probationary period was completed, students worked twelve-hour shifts on the wards and attended mandatory lectures during their two-hour daily breaks. Erkine recollected that nursing students during the 1920s had limited free time, only one half day off during the week, and a half day on Sunday.

During these brief intervals of leisure, students caught up on sleep or attended a movie.[590] The 1929 yearbook depicted students participating in various recreational activities, such as the Glee Club and a sports day that featured tennis matches and baseball games against students from St. Joseph's and Ontario Hospital training schools. These games were held at Thames Park, followed by a celebratory party.[591]

While living in residence, students adhered to a strict code of conduct. Every morning, they stripped their bed linens, turned their mattresses, and opened their windows to ventilate the rooms. Washstand basins needed to be promptly emptied and dried after each use. Students were permitted to send a maximum of twenty articles of clothing to the laundry each week, and their rooms were subject to inspection at any time.[592]

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[590] Erkine, interview, June 10, 1983, File 1, #1-34, Box #L75, Oral History Heritage Collection, LPL-83-009, IFLR.
[591] Victoria Hospital Training School, *Year Book*, 1929, https://verne.lib.uwo.ca/s/wl-digitized-collections/media/5679 (October 31, 2023).
[592] Victoria Hospital, *Golden Jubilee.*

Helen Dick attended the nursing school between 1930-33 and remembered the strict hierarchy that governed daily life. First-year students had assigned seating in the dining hall and were expected to hold doors open for senior nurses and doctors. Probationary students could not speak to senior nursing students or sit in their presence, and nurses would never be so bold to give advice to a doctor.

Students attended chapel at 6:30 am each morning before their duties began, and lights were out at 10:30pm. Dick worked from 7am-3pm in the wards, attended a daily class from 4-5:00pm, and returned to the wards until she completed her work. During night shifts, students worked alone with the assistance of a night supervisor and a small team of float nurses. Night duties included preparing toast and coffee for the day staff, as well as making medical solutions and cleaning the wards. Following probation, Dick received a salary of $5 a month and recalled it was "Fun shopping downtown. Smallman and Ingram had chairs to sit on at the glove counter to get your gloves fitted, and black cotton stockings were 25 cents a pair. Boomers had 10 cent chocolate sundays, there was the Capital movie theatre."[593]

Marion Kittmer, a graduate from the class of 1940, recalled nursing at a time without antibiotics and how up to sixty patients stayed in a single ward. Nurses staying out past curfew snuck back in the residence through the windows. Kitmer's husband courted her while she was a nursing student, and she remembered him rushing her back to the residence before curfew.

1949 capping ceremony. Courtesy of Museum London.

Nursing students were referred to as "probbies" until they completed their probationary period and received their nursing caps. The capping ceremony was a formal event in which nurses knelt to receive their white caps.

[593] Helen Dick, oral interview, June 16, 1983, London's Oral History Heritage Collection, LPL-83-009, IFLR.

Capping was a moment of triumph, signifying that the students had successfully completed probation and were now part of the sisterhood of nurses.[594]

By the 1960s, the lights out policy had been extended to 12:30am, and students were allowed to listen to radios in their rooms. Kitchenettes came equipped with staple items like tea, coffee, sugar, bread, butter, and eggs for student use. Students could request late leave privileges until 1:30am up to twelve times per term, depending on their level of seniority. In addition, the quality of student life improved during this time as televisions became available, and weekly dances and holiday parties were organised. Students also had access to a tennis court, further adding to their recreational options.[595]

Nurses Choir 1958. Courtesy of Museum London.

[594] "Class of 1940 marks 50th anniversary," *LFP*, September 21, 1990, London Hospitals Victoria, School of Nursing Clippings File, Cabinet 6, IFLR.
[595] Chetelat, Foulkes, Read, and Cressman, *A emoir: Class of '61.*

8.4 Uniforms

The evolution of nursing uniforms testifies to changing cultural norms and values.[596] When the Victoria Hospital Nursing School was founded in 1883, trainees were attired in a grey denim uniform with scarlet accents at the neck, cuffs, and hem. This outfit was paired with a white winged cap and high laced boots. In 1893, the uniform changed to brown and white gingham, featuring a dark brown velvet collar and cuffs. A frilled pouffe cap and a white half apron with a black velvet band and white linen scarves completed the ensemble.

Kathy Crawford in an 1888 uniform.
1983-05-26, LFP.
Courtesy of ASCWU.

1904 uniform. Courtesy of Museum London.

By 1901, the trainees' uniforms were updated once again, in blue cotton featuring a high neckline, a fifty-eight inch length skirt, and a winged cap and apron. In 1918, the hospital nurses wore their uniforms outside of the hospital for the first time during Armistice celebrations. This

[596] "Evolution of Uniforms" May 28, 1983, *LFP* Clippings File, Cabinet 6, IFLR.

milestone was followed by many others, including the rebellious move by almost an entire class of girls to bob their hair during the Roaring Twenties.

During the mid-1920s, Peter Pan collars replaced the high and restrictive collars once fashionable, resulting in nursing uniforms that were softer and more comfortable. In 1932, nurses were forbidden from leaving their residence in 'sports clothes' such as pants, shorts, or without stockings. During the Depression, nurses could loosen their collars and roll up their sleeves on the job. In 1939, the uniform was updated to blue and white stripes, featuring hemlines that rose to nine inches from the floor and sleeves shortened above the elbows. In 1948, the senior class wore white shoes and stockings, and the following year, nurses were permitted to wear slacks

1965 uniforms. Courtesy of Museum London.

both in and out of residence. Hemlines rose again in 1962, and in 1969, starched white aprons and bibs were replaced with easy care synthetic material, resulting in a more streamlined princess line uniform.[597]

[597] "Early Nurses Likely Cursed Uncomfortable, Long Uniform," *LFP*, May 28, 1983, London Hospitals Victoria, School of Nursing Clippings File, Cabinet 6, IFLR.

9. WAR MEMORIAL CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL

War Memorial Children's Hospital, 1930. Courtesy of Museum London.

9.1 Evolution of Paediatric Medicine

During the Victorian era (1820-1914), middle-class reformers advocated for dedicated children's wards and children's hospitals. This led to the specialization and professionalization of paediatric medicine, and the acceptable standard for public health and the rate of infant mortality shifted. Infant mortality was no longer regarded as an unfortunate but unavoidable reality for families, but instead a public concern. At the start of the twentieth century, one in five babies died in Canada before the age of two. Reformers viewed this as a tragic consequence of rapid industrialization and urbanisation, which disproportionately affected those with limited access to food and housing. As medical professionals specialised in children's health, they placed new expectations on families, resulting in external regulations being imposed within the home. This growing surveillance of children's health was particularly burdensome for poor, working-class, and racialized families.[598]

[598] Mona Gleason, *Small Matters: Canadian Children in Sickness and in Health, 1900-1940* (Montreal: McGill Queen's University Press, 2013), 25, 27.

The War Memorial Children's Hospital (WMCH) was characteristic of the post-World War I reform movement aimed at supporting infants and mothers and enhancing the overall health of the nation. The public viewed healthy children as integral to a strong future. Through the convergence of medical advancement and social reform, the image of a modern Canadian child was created–one that was robust, healthy, and morally upstanding.[599]

The establishment of the War Memorial Children's Hospital was driven by the need to provide specialised medical care for paediatric patients across southwestern Ontario. While Victoria Hospital had a children's pavilion that opened as a ten-bed ward and solarium in 1900, a 1919 hospital report highlighted the need for additional facilities for the increasing number of patients.[600] As children constituted twenty-five percent of the hospital's admissions, it not only strained its resources but also increased the risk of children contracting diseases from adult patients. It was estimated that each child in western Ontario could anticipate getting sick up to ten times before the end of their childhood. A specialised children's hospital could offer the best possible care during these critical years, particularly in the treatment of debilitating illnesses like polio.

The WMCH was the fifth paediatric hospital to open in Canada and the first built as a war memorial.[601] The hospital played a critical role in treating children affected by polio and became a centre for cutting-edge treatments during the first half of the twentieth century. The state-of-the-art hospital, located at the corner of Colborne and South streets, was constructed in 1922 with a total cost of $325,000 for construction and medical equipment. With its capacity of sixty beds, the hospital rapidly filled with young patients.

The Imperial Order Daughters of Empire (IODE) proposed the War Memorial Children's Hospital to the Victoria Hospital Trust in November 1919. The IODE declared it would be a memorial to the lives lost by those serving their country during the First World War.[602]

The IODE's original goal was to raise $250,000, which was generously donated by

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[599] Neil Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth Century Consensus* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2000), vi.
[600] "Hospital for Children Needed," *London Free Press* (hereafter *LFP*), January 16, 1920, War Memorial Children's Hospital (hereafter WMCH), 1920s Clippings File, Cabinet 6, Ivey Family London Room, London Public Library, London, Ontario (hereafter IFLR).
[601] Gleason, *Small Matters*, 161.
[602] Nancy Tausky, *Cultural Heritage Assessment: Buildings in the South Street Complex* (London, 2011), 44.

nineteen sister branches in the region. However, an additional $50,000 had to be raised due to inflation. Fifty-four local charitable associations, including various women's groups such as Mother's Clubs and the May Court Club, as well as men's organizations like the Shriners, Rotarians, and the Masons, provided the necessary funds. These organizations played a continued role in the success of the WMCH.

On November 4, 1921, the Honourable Colonel Henry Cockshutt, lieutenant-governor of Ontario, laid the cornerstone.[603] A year later, at the hospital's opening on October 28, 1922, Colonel Beattie, the senior chaplain for the Canadian Forces, addressed a crowd of thousands. His words show the impact of the war on London and the SoHo community. He called the hospital a "Great Citadel of Love and Service" and a sign that "The valiant soldier lads, whose falling torch has been caught and again lifted high in a memorial that is to bring peace and content, healing and happiness to the little ones for whose sake they died."[604] Verna Woods was the very first patient admitted to the new facility on October 29, 1922.[605]

In 1945, the WMCH Women's Committee proposed the construction of a northern wing specifically dedicated to the individuals who had served in the Second World War.[606] On May 12, 1951, a new eighty bed wing opened at a cost of $485,000. The new wing accommodated a waiting room, five clinic treatment rooms, a specialised room with controlled heat and humidity for infants in incubator care, and space for additional beds.[607] This wing was demolished after the hospital was decommissioned.

By the early 1960s, WMCH faced critical space shortages as the aging building no longer met the hospital's requirements for beds, teaching space, and laboratory facilities. The inadequacy of the hospital led to debates about either expanding the existing facility or constructing a new hospital. Additionally, some paediatricians wished to separate the WMCH

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[603] "Lt. Governor to lay Cornerstone for Children's Hospital," *LFP*, November 3, 1921, War Memorial Children's Hospital 1920s Clippings File, Cabinet 6, IFLR.
[604] "Impressive Ceremony Marks Dedication of New Hospital," *LFP*, October 30, 1922, WMCH 1920s Clippings File, Cabinet 6, IFLR.
[605] Karen Evans, " Children's Hospital Celebrates 100 Years of World-Class Groundbreaking Healthcare," *LFP*, October 10, 2022, https://lfpress.com/sponsored/health-sponsored/childrens-hospital-celebrates-100-years-of-world-class-groundbreaking-health-care#:~:text=Hundreds%20of%20thousands%20of%20children,the%20new%20facility%20on%20Oct (October 31, 2023).
[606] Tausky, *Cultural Heritage Assessment*, 45.
[607] "New Addition to Western Ontario's War Memorial Children's Hospital," File 1, Box A12-063-001, WMCH, Archives and Special Collections, Western University (hereafter ASCWU).

from Victoria Hospital, however, the Ontario Hospital Services Commission rejected this proposal due to potential duplication of services. In 1972, it was decided that the WMCH would remain part of the Victoria Hospital complex, but with partial autonomy. An administrator would report to Victoria Hospital but manage WMCH's operations independently.

Towards the end of its active years, WMCH shifted towards the belief that the health of children was a family affair.[608] This shift was evident in the decision to relocate to the Westminster campus of Victoria Hospital, which provided ample space for families to be close to their ill children. In 1985 the WMCH closed its doors in SoHo, relocated to the corner of Commissioners and Wellington roads, and renamed itself Children's Hospital of Western Ontario.

[608] Annmarie Adams and David Theodore, "Designing for 'the Little Convalescents': Children's Hospitals in Toronto and Montreal, 1875-2000," *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 19, 1 (2002): 229.

9.2 Polio

Central to the story of the WMCH lies the disease of polio.[609] The poliovirus primarily spreads through contact with contaminated objects or surfaces. In the absence of a vaccine, polio outbreaks prompted the admission of numerous children to the WMCH for medical care. Polio typically manifests as flu-like symptoms; however, paralytic polio, a more severe form of the illness, can impede breathing as it attacks the brainstem and motor neurons. In 1927 and 1953, Canadians experienced large polio outbreaks. The 1953 epidemic was especially severe, resulting in 9,000 cases and 500 deaths throughout Canada. Children were particularly susceptible to polio because their immune systems were not as robust and lacked disease-specific antibodies.[610]

Treatment methods for polio changed during the first half of the twentieth century, and WMCH was at the forefront of treating children who suffered its crippling effects. Sir Robert Jones, widely recognized as the world's greatest orthopaedic surgeon, visited WMCH from Liverpool in 1923, to deliver a speech on "the crippled child." During his visit, doctors presented him with instances of the ongoing work in the hospital, and he consulted on all the orthopaedic cases. The purpose of his visit was to raise awareness among the medical community and Londoners about the significant need to provide assistance to these children.[611]

In 1927, Canadians had access to a prophylactic known as the human convalescent serum, which was developed from the blood of individuals recovered from polio. Nonetheless, this serum had limited efficacy in reducing the paralytic effects of polio.[612] From 1937 onwards, patients who were paralyzed and unable to breathe independently needed an ‘iron lung’ for respiratory assistance. However, these respirators were expensive, and only a handful were available in Canada, with one located at Victoria Hospital.[613] On one occasion in 1949, a mother

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[609] Ellen Rosen, Interview with Emily Clink and Danielle Sinopoli, December 2, 2021.
[610] Stephen E. Mawdsley, “Borders and Blood Fractions: Gamma Globulin and Canada’s Fight Against Polio, 1950–55,” *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 36, 2 (2019): 447; Christopher Rutty, Luis Barreto, Rob Van Exan, and Shawn Gilchrist, "Conquering the Crippler: Canada and the Eradication of Polio,” *Canadian Journal of Public Health* 96, 2 (2005): 3, 7, 9.
[611] “Orthapedic Surgeon to Visit Memorial War Hospital,” *LFP*, June 12, 1923, WMCH 1920s Clippings File, Cabinet 6, IFLR.
[612] Rutty et al., "Conquering the Crippler,” 6.
[613] Mawdsley, “Borders and Blood Fractions,” 447; Rutty et al., "Conquering the Crippler,” 7.

gave birth in London while being treated in the iron lung.[614]

Children affected by polio served as a focal point for fundraising initiatives at WMCH. Brochures for fundraising campaigns frequently featured pictures of children in wheelchairs or leg braces to evoke sympathy and motivate individuals to donate to the hospital.

In 1955, Jonas Salk developed a vaccine that proved successful in preventing polio. The 1963 introduction of the Sabin oral polio vaccine offered another method of prevention.[615]

[614] "LFP Archives: Reflecting on London's Miracle Baby of the Polio Pandemic," *LFP,* July 24, 2021, https://lfpress.com/news/local-news/lfp-archives-polios-last-stand (October 31, 2023).
[615] Rutty et al., "Conquering the Crippler," 3, 4.

9.3 Architecture

During the turn of the century, medicine was institutionalised. A central aspect of this trend was the change in for whom hospitals were intended, which influenced the architectural design of these buildings. Cultural factors were just as significant as medical considerations in designing hospitals.[616] They had been perceived as places of fear and disease, primarily catering to the medical needs of the poor. Meanwhile, physicians tended to the medical needs of the affluent in the comfort of their own homes, occasionally with the assistance of a midwife.[617] Over time, hospitals began to be perceived as centres of research and innovation. Architectural design shifted in order to attract wealthy patients. Hospitals introduced separate private paying and public wards.

Watt and Blackwell, renowned architects in London, designed the new hospital. Their impressive portfolio included notable buildings such as the former art gallery in Victoria Park, the Faculty of Medicine on South Street, and the new Aberdeen School. Additionally, Watt designed the post-Second World War addition which opened in 1951.[618]

The War Memorial Children's Hospital features distinct architectural elements that identify it as a First World War memorial. Watt and Blackwell incorporated neo-classical designs inspired by Greek and Roman antiquity, a style commonly used in public buildings and commemorations associated with values of progress, sacrifice, and peace.[619] The name 'War Memorial Children's Hospital' is carved into the stone frieze, with additional poppy detailing. The main facade of the building is a red tapestry brick exterior on an ashlar stone foundation.

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[616] David Theodore, "Better Design, Better Hospitals," *Canadian Medical Association Journal* 188, 12 (2016): 903.
[617] Annmarie Adams, *Medicine by Design: The Architect and the Modern Hospital, 1893-1943* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 2.
[618] "Watt, John Macleod (1878-1954)," *Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada*, http://dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org/node/1271 (April 2, 2022).
[619] Megan Hobson, *Heritage Impact Assessment: Health Services Building and Children's War Memorial* (2021), 13; TE Faulkner, "Neo-Classical Architecture," *Oxford Companion to British History*, ed. Robert Crowcroft and John Cannon, 2nd. Ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 153.

Above the front entrance are stone pilasters, and triumphal wreaths carved into the stone at the second-floor windows.[620] Four three-foot high memorial urns stand at the roofline against the sky.[621] Like a cenotaph, the urns evoke mourning rather than feelings of victory.[622] On the front lawn, two German cannons captured during the First World War further demonstrated the building's military connection.[623]

[620] Hobson, *Heritage Impact Assessment*, 13-15.
[621] Tausky, *Cultural Heritage Assessment*, 44.
[622] Robert Shipley, "War Monuments: Remembering World War I, Urban Space, and the Importance of Today's Decisions," *Municipal World* 125, 2 (2015): 10.
[623] Tausky, *Cultural Heritage Assessment*, 44. These cannons were likely recycled for scrap metal during the Second World War.

9.4 Significant Partners

Financing for the construction and maintenance of the WMCH predominantly came from the generous contribution of the residents of southwestern Ontario. This was achieved through the fundraising endeavours of philanthropic organizations and individual donations from private citizens.

Various London-based organizations played a significant role in the establishment of the WMCH. They contributed financially, coordinated charitable events, and served on the hospital board. Among these organizations, the IODE played a foundational role in the creation of the hospital. Margaret Polson Murray of Montreal founded the IODE in 1900 as a federally chartered non-profit organization for women aimed at promoting patriotism, loyalty, and service to others. During the First and Second World Wars, its charitable work supported the efforts of Canadian service personnel by raising $12,000,000 to purchase hospitals and other field comforts. Additionally, it established two war memorial funds for the children of dead or permanently disabled veterans.[624] The IODE continued to be involved with War Memorial until its move to the Westminster campus in 1985.

The Shriners supported the hospital, particularly during the Christmas season. Each year, they sent a band to perform Christmas carols for the children. Ellen Rosen, a former hospital administrator, fondly remembered the impact of these performances on the patients. The Shriners also brought along clowns, and Santa who distributed presents to the children.[625]

During the 1950s and 60s, the Advisory Council of the WMCH included members representing the Women's Institute of Western Ontario, Service League of London, Rebekah Assembly of Ontario, Order of the Eastern Star, Local Council of Churches, B'Nai Brith, Independent Order of Oddfellows, and the North London Kiwanis Club. The executive also included representatives from the IODE, the May Court Club, and the Rotary Club of London.[626] These organizations played a crucial role by organising fundraising initiatives.[627]

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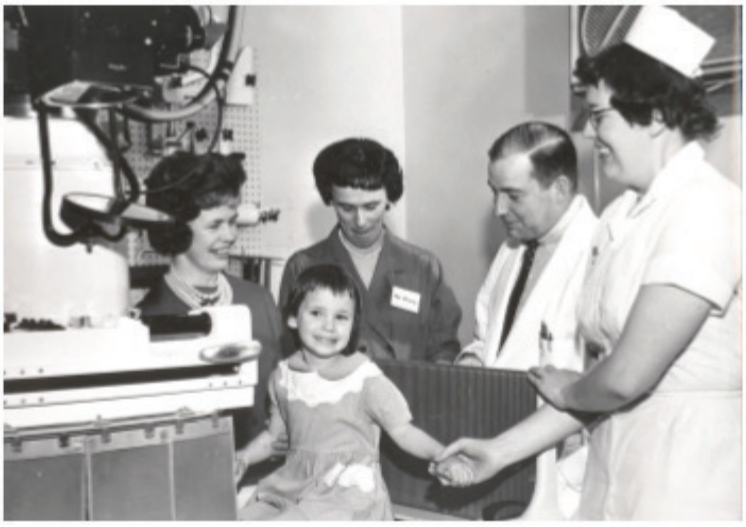
[624] Our History, *Imperial Order Daughters of Empire Canada*, https://www.iode.ca/our-history.html (April 3, 2022).
[625] Rosen, Interview with Clink and Sinopoli, December 2, 2021.
[626] November 11th, Memorial Campaign: War Memorial Children's Hospital, File 1, Box A12- 063-001, WMCH Fonds, ASCWU.
[627] May Court Club London, About Us, https://maycourtlondon.ca/about/ (April 5, 2022).

The WMCH Women's Committee, which comprised representatives from several organizations in London and southwestern Ontario provided clothing to patients, both by procuring new garments and mending donated clothing. In addition to clothing, the Women's Committee also donated daily essentials, including hairbrushes and shoelaces, and covered the costs of haircuts for children, replenished toy cabinets, and prepared Christmas stockings for patients. Furthermore, it successfully advocated for a schoolteacher within the hospital and improved the comfort of waiting areas with furniture and decorative items such as curtains and lamps.[628]



May Court Club, 1962. Courtesy of Museum London.

In 1937, a group of twenty-five women established the Service League of the WMCH to provide social service programs for children discharged from the hospital. The Service League nutritionally assisted families in need by distributing milk, oranges, eggs, butter, meat and vegetables.[629] Additionally, the Service League provided childminding services to assist single mothers. To fund their efforts, the Service League organised gala balls and afternoon teas.[630] Today, the Service League operates from the London Health Sciences Centre, providing support to mothers and babies.

[628] "Women's Committee Lists Donations," *LFP*, March 6, 1971, WMCH 1970s Clippings File, Cabinet 6, IFLR.
[629] "Service League Helps Children Discharged from War Memorial Hospital," *LFP*, April 2, 1940, WMCH 1940s Clippings File, Cabinet 6, IFLR.
[630] "25 year Anniversary Service League," *LFP*, March 6, 1962, WMCH 1960s Clippings File, Cabinet 6, IFLR.

Executive, Women's Committee Annual Meeting, 1960. Courtesy of Museum London.

The WMCH has an inspiring history of community support, creativity, and dedication to the wellbeing of young patients. In 1949, the 27th London Troop of Boy Scouts welcomed three new recruits who were polio patients. The recruits acquired their first badge while at the hospital, learning skills such as knot-tying. The membership ceremony included a synthetic campfire to bring a taste of the outdoors into the hospital.[631]

In some instances, assistance arose from tragedy, as was the case with a couple whose son passed away from cancer in 1953. Margaret Parsons and Clifford Poole undertook a fundraising campaign that helped establish a specialised children's research laboratory that opened in 1955. The laboratory was furnished with equipment capable of analysing blood samples from infants and premature babies.[632]

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[631] "Camp Fire Synthetic But Spirit of Scouting Strong in Troop Patients," *LFP*, July 23, 1949, WMCH 1940s Clippings File, Cabinet 6, IFLR.
[632] "Couple Whose Son Died Share in Research Lab," *LFPs*, April 25, 1955, WMCH 1950s Clippings File, Cabinet 6, IFLR.

Nurses working in micro-lab. Courtesy of Museum London.

The Child Life Play Leadership Program was established in 1976 as a volunteer organization committed to enhancing the emotional wellbeing of young patients. Members were easily identifiable by their cheerful badges adorned with happy faces. Their initiatives included organising parties, cooking sessions, and craft workshops to alleviate patient stress. Additionally, the group set up a playroom on the hospital rooftop, complete with books, toys, and a large television.

Volunteers, primarily post-secondary students, trained in specialised areas such as early childhood development, play therapy, and communication skills. They also utilised medical tools during playtime to help children become more comfortable with medical procedures and reduce their fears of treatment and of the operating room.[633] The Child Life department organised visits from kindergarten classes to help children learn about hospitals. During these visits, students engaged in activities such as watching puppet shows and slide shows that explained the positive impact hospitals have on sick patients. Children listened to their own heartbeat through a

[633] "Volunteers Make Hospital Stay Less Traumatic for Young Patients," *LFP*, August 3, 1984, WMCH 1980s Clippings File, Cabinet 6, IFLR

Children playing on the rooftop playground in 1962. Courtesy of Museum London.

stethoscope and observed the mercury rise as their blood pressure was taken. A doctor involved in the program described it as vaccination against the fear of hospitals. In 1980, 2200 kindergarten children from fifty-eight city public schools took part in the program.[634]

During 1979, a group of grade six students from Bishop Townshend Public School produced custom colouring books for the patients at the WMCH. These colouring books also contained engaging stories, puzzles, and word games to entertain and amuse patients. Additionally, the London Southwest Optimist Club and senior art students from Sir Frederick Banting Secondary School sewed a beautiful quilted wall hanging. This piece featured vivid illustrations of animals and birds and was proudly displayed at the hospital as a permanent installation.[635]

In 1980, artists Jane McCullough and Marion Knill brightened up the hallways of the ambulatory unit by painting a large Sesame Street mural. This playful and vivid mural distracted

[634] "Kindergarten Pupils Learn About Hospitals," *LFP*, May 29, 1980, WMCH 1980s Clippings File, Cabinet 6, IFLR.
[635] "Art Group, Optimists Give Hanging," *LFP*, November 1, 1979, WMCH 1970s Clippings File, Cabinet 6, IFLR.

children during their waiting periods before seeing their doctors.[636] That same year, Danny Springer, a former WMCH patient, demonstrated his gratitude by organising a roller-skating marathon, which raised a total of $1400. Springer wore his roller skates for thirty-two consecutive days while collecting pledges.[637]

Children enjoying a puppet show. Courtesy of Museum London.

In the wake of the 1981 theft of two beloved stuffed animals, hospital officials appealed to the public for assistance in locating "Taffy" the Lion and "Snuffleupagus," which usually welcomed patients upon arrival at the admissions department. An anonymous individual contacted the hospital to report a sighting of the missing Snuffleupagus in a backyard, prompting police to quickly recover it. Moved by the news of the theft, Londoners sent replacements, including a large pink panther, a polar bear, and several additional lions.[638] Despite offering a $25 reward for information, Taffy was never found. [639]

Women's Auxiliary members knitted finger puppets for children undergoing blood tests throughout the 1980s. The finger puppets distracted the children and alleviated anxiety. This initiative was well-received, with over 1000 finger puppets distributed in just one month. As a result of this project's success, the hospital requested a constant supply of finger puppets to comfort young patients.[640] These acts of kindness highlight the significant community support in improving the daily well-being of young patients.

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[636] "Sesame Art Brightens Kid's World," *LFP*, July 8, 1980, WMCH 1980s Clippings File, Cabinet 6, IFLR.
[637] "Roller-Skater Raises $1,400," *LFP*, July 30, 1980, WMCH 1980s Clippings File, Cabinet 6, IFLR.
[638] "Big Pick Up, Snuffleupaghus Found, Taffy Remains on Loose," *LFP*, March 17, 1981, WMCH 1980s Clippings File, Cabinet 6, IFLR.
[639] "Taffy, the Children's Pal Stolen From Hospital Lobby," *LFP*, March 9, 1981, WMCH 1980s Clippings File, Cabinet 6, IFLR.
[640] "Finger Puppets Play Role in Pain-Forgetting Play," *LFP*, December 8, 1981, WMCH 1980s Clippings File, Cabinet 6, IFLR.

The hospital also required caretakers and other staff, such as Mario Circelli's parents. In his oral history, Circelli detailed his time spent at War Memorial as a patient. His unique perspective provides a window into working-class lives within the hospital. Circelli recalled, "My mom worked in the laundry… across the street in the main building. My dad was a caretaker in the hospital. They never stayed overnight, and they didn't have to… they were working people and my mom would come up throughout the day to check on me if she had a break or on her lunch. My dad did the same thing." Circelli described how his Italian immigrant family dealt with his stay in the hospital. His mother and father visited before and after their shifts. They provided homemade meals such as eggplant parmesan or homemade sausage while keeping him company.[641] The nature of his parents' work allowed them to visit frequently and offer him support during his long stay.

In 1980, Shirley Jones served as the executive secretary to the Board of Directors at WMCH. Ms. Jones' office was a welcoming space for children in the hospital who often requested to play with her adding machine or sit with her while they played with their own toys. Her open and inclusive approach created a warm and inviting environment for young patients.[642]

[641] Mario Circelli, Interview with Emily Clink and Danielle Sinopoli, December 2, 2021.
[642] "Hospital's Mrs. Jones Friends of Kids and Parents," *LFP*, July 23, 1980, WMCH 1980s Clippings File, Cabinet 6, IFLR.

9.5 Notable Innovations and Inventions

Doctors at WMCH innovated treatments in oncology, eating disorders, and cystic fibrosis. During the 1980s, Dr Barrie deVeber, the director of paediatric haematology and oncology, researched treatments for childhood leukaemia.[643] The documentary television program *The Fifth Estate* featured deVeber in an episode focused on childhood leukaemia.[644] Dr deVeber took a psycho-social approach to medical care, and became a pioneer in the development of childhood palliative care. Western integrated these innovative practices into its medical school curriculum.[645] Dr deVeber was also a significant supporter of the pro-life movement in Canada, establishing the deVeber Institute for Bioethics and Social Research in 1982.[646] The institute, located in Toronto, focuses on the negative impacts of abortion on women's health in a medical and psychological sense.[647]

In the 1980s, WMCH was the first of three paediatric hospitals in Canada to develop a specific unit dedicated to anorexia. This inpatient unit was innovative because doctors did not fully understand the complexities of anorexia; it was unclear if the disease had a psychological or physical origin.[648] Anorexia diagnoses became more common in the late 1960s, followed by bulimia in the 1970s. By the late 1990s, doctors more frequently diagnosed these disorders. As a young psychologist, Dr Alan Leschied worked with Dr Margaret Hearn in the anorexia unit. Treatment for eating disorders was difficult, as there was no distinct cure.[649] The inpatient treatment unit for anorexia was novel, especially in a children's hospital. Dr Hearn and Dr Leschied also researched the law, standards, and ethics in the practice of psychology.[650] Leschied specifically focused on child psychology and how to address troubled youth.[651]

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[643] Alan Leschied, Interview with Emily Clink and Danielle Sinopoli, January 13, 2022.
[644] The Fifth Estate, *Fighting Back: Children's Battle Against Leukemia* (1980) https://www.youtube.com/watch v=tWE06MUq2Bw (April 2, 2022).
[645] deVeber Institute for Bioethics and Social Research, https://www.deveber.org/barrie-deveber/ (April 3, 2022).
[646] "Dr Barrie deVeber, founder of Bioethics Institute, dies at 90," *Catholic Register* https://www.catholicregister.org /item/29085-dr-barrie-deveber-founder-of-bioethics-institute-dies-at-90 (April 5, 2022).
[647] deVeber Institute, https://www.deveber.org/about/ (April 14, 2022).
[648] Leschied, Interview with Clink and Sinopoli, January 13, 2022.
[649] Janet Polivy and C. Peter Herman, "Causes of Eating Disorders," *Annual Review of Psychology* 53 (2002): 187, 188, 190.
[650] David Evans, Margaret T. Hearn, and Alan Winfield Leschied, *The Law, Standards, and Ethics in the Practice of Psychology* (Toronto: Carswell, 2011).
[651] Alan Leschied, *The Young Offenders Act: A Revolution in Canadian Juvenile Justice* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991); Alan Leschied, *Protecting Children is Everybody's Business: Investigating the Increasing*

The WMCH improved treatment of cystic fibrosis (CF) by establishing the second clinic dedicated to the condition in Ontario in 1961. This facilitated local access to treatment for affected children, who previously had to travel to Toronto or the United States for care. The new clinic was equipped with a chloridometer, a diagnostic tool that enabled easier and more accurate diagnosis of CF. [652]

WMCH also housed a neonatal unit. Colleen Breen, a retired nurse from WMCH, discussed how she and her fellow nurses worked with children who needed heart surgery and organ transplants. There was a focus on collaboration, with Breen training at the Hospital for Sick Kids in Toronto, and applying her new knowledge at War Memorial. The shift in how nurses provided care was intimidating, but it was "innovative in terms of family presence, and end of life care." The facilities allowed for excellent care, even though the unit itself was small and only hosted around twelve beds.[653]

War Memorial also housed the Cobalt-60 Beam Therapy Unit (or "Cobalt Bomb") for several years before it was moved to Victoria Hospital.[654] First used in 1951, the Cobalt Bomb used gamma rays to target cancer cells as a form of radiation treatment.[655] This method of treatment was innovative for several reasons. The rays targeted tumours deep-seated in the body and hard to access through typical treatment methods. Additionally, the Cobalt Bomb was cost effective in comparison to an X-ray or radium machine, requiring around half the amount of money to operate.[656] It was placed in a concrete and lead-lined room in the basement of War Memorial because it could not be safely used in the north wing of Victoria Hospital.[657] Although the Cobalt Bomb was located in the WMCH, it was used to treat cancer in adults.[658]

The WMCH was the first hospital in Canada to obtain a state-of-the-art X-ray machine, which featured innovative cradles and holding devices designed to facilitate medical imaging of young children and infants. This revolutionary unit drastically reduced the amount of X-ray

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Demand for Service at the Children's Aid Society of London and Middlesex (London: University of Western Ontario, 2003); Alan Leschied, *Everybody's Children: Proceedings from the Western University Forum on School-Based Mental Health* (London: Althouse Press, 2013).

[652] "Cystic Fibrosis Clinic Opens," *LFP*, April 5, 1961, WMCH 1960s Clippings File, Cabinet 6, IFLR.

[653] Breen, Interview with Clink and Sinopoli, December 7, 2021.

[654] Rosen, Interview with Clink and Sinopoli, December 2, 2021.

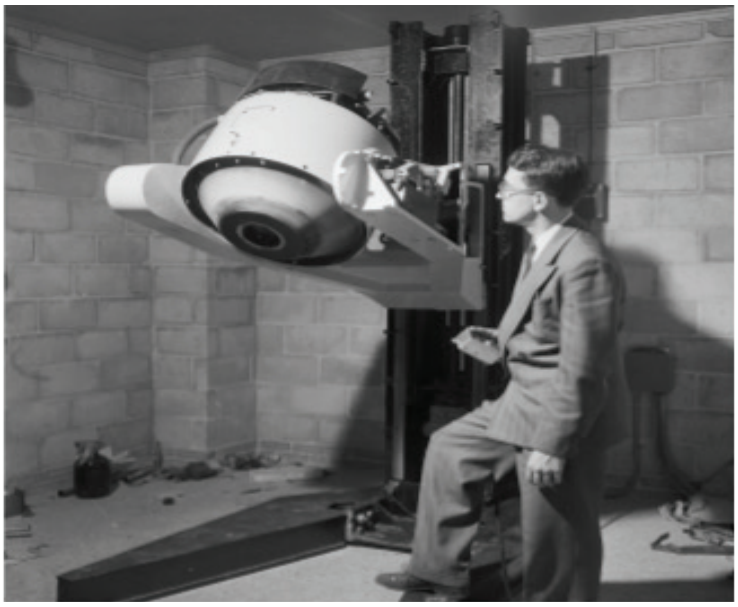
[655] Tausky, *Cultural Heritage Assessment*, 46.

[656] Penelope Johnston, "Dr Ivan Smith, Pioneer of Cobalt Bomb," *Medical Post* 33, 10 (1997): 2.

[657] Tausky, *Cultural Heritage Assessment*, 46.

[658] Johnston, "Dr Ivan Smith," *Medical Post* 33, 10 (1997): 1.

radiation, with levels one-fifth of previous units, ensuring the safety of both staff and patients.[659]



"Cobalt Bomb," in the WMCH basement.
1951 10-09, 2D, LFP Collection. Courtesy of ASCWU.

The hospital advanced the care and treatment of premature infants. In 1969, London's renowned "shoebox baby," born weighing only one pound and nine ounces, was placed in a specially designed incubator that regulated her breathing, while a shoebox lined with tin foil reflected her body heat to keep her warm. Dr Donald Reid conducted extensive research into nourishing premature infants unable to ingest food orally. As a result, the hospital became one of six authorised Canadian centres to use intravenous feeding preparations to enhance brain development and promote healthy growth in such babies.[660]

Shoebox baby.
Courtesy Museum London.

[659] "New X-Ray Machine Only One In Canada," *LFP*, May 17, 1978, WMCH 1970s Clippings File, Cabinet 6, IFLR.
[660] "Special Intravenous Method Helps Baby's Brain Develop," *LFP*, November 30, 1974, WMCH 1970s Clippings File, Cabinet 6, IFLR.

9.6 Indigenous Research

In the 1970s, the hospital hired Dr Judith Ellestad-Sayed who studied nutritional patterns of Indigenous children to be the Director of Nutrition Research Lab.[661] She transferred from Winnipeg to continue her research.[662] It is unclear whether she was involved in nutritional experiments similar to those revealed by Ian Mosby.[663] Her research prior to moving to London focused on Vitamin D deficiency. Dr Ellestad-Sayed determined that Indigenous children were Vitamin D deficient in comparison to the Canadian average, due to low dairy intake.[664] In late 1979, Dr Ellestad-Sayed and four researchers began testing Vitamin D levels and milk intolerance of approximately 1,500 Canadian Inuit and Indigenous children from twenty-three communities across Canada including Heron Bay and Rainy Lake in Ontario. They looked at children between ages two and nineteen that lived on reserve. Dr Ellestad-Sayed received grants from the National Institutes of Health in the United States in 1979 and from the Donner Canadian Foundation in 1982 to test an additional 1500 children.[665] Around the time Dr Ellestad-Sayed received the Donner grant she left the University of Western Ontario for a study leave at the University of North Carolina. In 1984, Dr Ellestad-Sayed resigned from Western University. No reports or publications were ever produced to suggest that Ellestad-Sayed completed the proposed additional sample testing.

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[661] Louise A. Dilling, Judith Ellestad-Sayed, FJ Coodin, and JC Haworth, "Growth and Nutrition of Preschool Indian Children in Manitoba: I. Vitamin D Deficiency," *Canadian Journal of Public Health* 69, 3 (1978): 248-52.
[662] The Corporation of The War Memorials Children's Hospital of Western Ontario, *Fifth Annual Report*, 1978, File 1, Box A12-063-001, WMCH Fonds, ASCWU.
[663] Ian Mosby, "Administering Colonial Science: Nutrition Research and Human Biomedical Experimentation in Aboriginal Communities and Residential Schools, 1942-1952," *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 91 (2013): 615-42.
[664] Dilling, Ellestad-Sayed, Coodin, and Haworth, "Growth and Nutrition of Preschool Indian Children in Manitoba," 249.
[665] "Native Vitamin D Levels Studied," *Western News,* May 6, 1982, 2.

9.7 WD Sutton School

Established by the London Board of Education, the Sutton School within the children's hospital served all long-term patients. The board required permission from parents to remove their children from their usual classrooms to enrol in Sutton. The school spanned two classrooms and catered to all age groups.[666] Children who were contagious or too sick were exempt.

During the tenure of neurologist Dr John George Hinton, teachers assessed the progress and recovery of patients. Hinton collaborated with instructors to treat patients with severe learning and cognitive disabilities. Teachers also worked with psychologist Alan Leschied to help treat patients suffering from anorexia, in a holistic method to treat both the body and mind.

WD Sutton had a high turnover rate for teachers. Leschied pointed out that "It can be very isolating for a teacher to be on their own, frankly, teaching at War Memorial … Most people came in and they would stay for a couple of years, develop their abilities with exceptionalities and learning, etc. But they would get back into the main school just probably as soon as they could."[667]

The school did however have a number of dedicated teachers, one of whom was Ethel Teasdale, who oversaw the auxiliary class since its inception in 1925. Teasdale recognized the importance in keeping children engaged with their regular school work while also providing a much-needed distraction from their illness. Throughout her career, Teasdale advocated for her students, even petitioning for a radio in 1936 so that the children could listen to educational programs.

In 1939, Teasdale embarked on a teacher exchange program with the Lord Mayor Treloar's Children's Hospital in Hampshire, England, amidst the backdrop of the Second World War. In Hampshire, she worked under challenging conditions, moving children's beds to the centre of the rooms during air raid warnings, as well as coping with imposed blackouts to prevent enemy bombers from identifying potential targets at night.[668]

Teasdale stocked her office, which was connected to a WMCH ward converted into a classroom, with books, globes, puzzles, atlases, and other learning aids for students from

[666] Rosen, Interview with Clink and Sinopoli, December 2, 2021.
[667] Leschied, Interview with Clink and Sinopoli, January 13, 2022.
[668] "Lights of Canadian Port a Royal Welcome to London Teacher After a Year Abroad," *LFP*, September 3, 1940, WMCH 1940s Clippings File, Cabinet 6, IFLR.

kindergarten to grade eight. Additionally, she directed a children's choir that performed each morning at 10am. It was said that the sound of their singing reverberated through the hospital halls and out onto the street, a testament to Teasdale's positive impact. Teasdale faced a challenging job, made even more complex by the school's unique nature. It was the only one in London where even the Board of Education acknowledged that teaching was secondary to treating the young patients.[669]

In 1954, Eva Parry assumed the role of teacher at the school and offered two daily teaching sessions from 10-11:30 and 2-3:30, in addition to bedside lessons for students unable to attend classes. Parry exhibited a deep appreciation for maintaining regular academic progress, and therefore proactively contacted students' regular teachers to acquire information regarding specific subjects that required focused attention. Parry's classes also benefited from the donation of a piano, a film projector, and a radio-phonograph. Parry's class also became renowned for its annual Easter Parade through the hospital halls. This spectacle involved students spending weeks crafting and adorning Easter hats with brightly coloured ribbons and flowers.[670]

Hospital Choir. 1946-04-09, 2-C LFP Collection
Courtesy of ASCWU.

Among its students, the Sutton School inspired a deep affection that endured over time. Unlike many of their peers, Sutton students expressed a profound fondness for their educational

[669] "Hospital Teacher Acts for Parents," *LFP*, March 4, 1949, WMCH 1940s Clippings File, Cabinet 6, IFLR.
[670] "Most Unusual School in the World for Hospitalized Children in City," *LFP*, April 17, 1954, WMCH 1950s Clippings File, Cabinet 6, IFLR.

experience. The school provided a critical space for learning, socialisation, and play, which allowed the children to momentarily escape the challenges of their illnesses and alleviate anxieties about falling behind in their regular studies. By offering a respite from medical procedures and invasive interventions that are typical in hospital settings, the school enhanced the overall quality of life for its young students.

9.8 Holidays and Special Visitors

Many of the significant stories told to us by narrators related to holidays at the hospital. Rosen recalled, "there was one little boy who was very mischievous and I have a feeling he was from out of town and he was maybe neglected. But he was very impish, and he just created havoc there. You know, he hid in the Christmas tree."[671] Breen said that in the neonatal unit "we would do things at Christmas… put the babies in a stocking. Maybe put a little hat on them. Take pictures of them with little decorations or toys. Make cards for their parents, which is always really meaningful." Easter was also a significant holiday. Breen recalled dressing one patient as a rabbit and putting him in a basket so that she and the other nurses could take photos for his parents.[672]

Santa Giving a Gift to a Patient at Christmas, 1959. Courtesy of Museum London.

Shriners at WMCH, 1968. Courtesy of Museum London.

In 1974, London neighbours Karen Huckerby and Gary Jones collaborated on a remarkable undertaking, constructing a candy house weighing seven pounds. The house, which required ten hours of labour to assemble, was ultimately consumed by sixteen children who spent their Christmas holiday at WMCH. The Mocha Temple Shriners organised a visit from Santa Claus, who distributed toys, and the hospital generously arranged for a feast to be enjoyed by the children and their families.[673]

[671] Rosen, Interview with Clink and Sinopoli December 2, 2021.
[672] Breen, Interview with Clink and Sinopoli, December 2, 2021.
[673] "Candy House Sweetens Kids' Christmas in Hospital," *LFP*, December 24, 1974, WMCH 1970s Clippings File, Cabinet 6, IFLR.

Gordie Howe's visit, 1969.
Courtesy of Museum London.

Scooby Doo visiting children March 3, 1977, 18A,
LFP Collection, Courtesy of ASCWU.

During the Ice Capades' 1977 visit to London, a costume of the beloved cartoon character Scooby Doo was loaned to Mary Kehoe, a local newspaper reporter. Kehoe donned the attire and paid a visit to the hospital. Surprises such as Scooby Doo's brought fun and laughter to hospitalised children.[674]

The War Memorial has had the honour of hosting several noteworthy celebrities over the years, including the visit of hockey superstar Gordie Howe in 1969. Moreover, in 1980, Terry Fox, the Canadian athlete who embarked on the Marathon of Hope to raise funds for cancer research, made a stop at the WMCH in London and visited the children's oncology ward.

[674] "It Was a Dog's Life With Great Rewards," *LFP*, March 4, 1977, WMCH 1970s Clippings File, Cabinet 6, IFLR.

9.9 WMCH Leaves SoHo

In 1985, the War Memorial Children's Hospital moved to the Westminster campus, the new site of Victoria Hospital at Wellington and Commissioners roads and reopened as the Children's Hospital at London Health Sciences Centre. The primary reasons for the relocation were the need for more space and the lack of lodgings available for families who wanted to stay with their sick children. As Rosen noted, "early on in children's hospitals, parents weren't allowed to visit, which was really dreadful… So mothers and fathers didn't stay overnight with their children. It was only later that that happened."[675] The system at the old site was inefficient and did not align with new methods focused on family-centric care.

However, narrators like Breen noted that as much as the move to the new site made logistical sense, there was something missing: "We don't get to see each other very much. But in those days, you walk past each other, you went to break together, you knew each other's names, you knew your life situations. It was like a family. A big family. And it was quite magical."[676] Architecturally, it is an artistic continuation of the style of neighbourhood at the beginning of the twentieth century. However, the stories of the people who have filled it bind it to the greater narrative of old Victoria Hospital and the people of SoHo.

[675] Rosen, Interview with Clink and Sinopoli, December 2, 2021.
[676] Breen, Interview with Clink and Sinopoli, December 7, 2021.

10. CONCLUSION

The departure from SoHo of the Faculty of Nursing in 1951, the Faculty of Medicine in 1965, the War Memorial Children's Hospital in 1985, and then the greater Victoria Hospital services in 2013 significantly changed the neighbourhood. Staff and students no longer chose to live nearby. Factories such as General Steel Wares (formerly McClary's), Canada Bread, and Holeproof Hosiery had already moved or shut down, taking hundreds of jobs with them. Simcoe Street and St. John's schools closed. With decreasing clientele, restaurants, grocery stores, and other businesses left the neighbourhood. Without the hospital drawing patients, paramedical offices and pharmacies relocated. The character of SoHo shifted. It had been a place of work, of commemoration, of community, but mostly it had been a home to many.[677]

The former hospital site in SoHo is a foundational place of connection and community. The South Street Medical School and the War Memorial Children's Hospital that still stand here are monuments to memory. They commemorate Londoners who died in both world wars, who learned here, worked here, healed and died here. As part of the Vision SoHo Alliance housing effort, these buildings have a second opportunity to be a home.

[677] Colleen Breen, Interview with Emily Clink and Danielle Sinopoli, December 7, 2021.

11. OUR NARRATORS

We were delighted and overwhelmed by the number of Londoners who volunteered to tell us their stories and their family's stories about SoHo. We thoroughly enjoyed listening to your experiences. Thank you to: Concetta Akins, Donna and John Aziz, Carolyn Best, Cindy Bissell, Maria Bondi, Tony Bondi, Colleen Breen, Dr Beryl and Dr Noam Chernick, Mario Circelli, Paula Clark, Nick Corrie, Hanora Crane, Mike Cywink, Rob Daubs, Al Day, Mike Delaney, Carolyn Dennis, Dr David Dickson, Ruth Douthwright, Matilda Edwards, Dr Roya Etemad-Razi, Penny Evans, Alice Gibb, Shawn Gilhuly, Cody and Bill Groat, Angelique Guerard, Marion Hall, Steve Harding, Sylvia Harris, Hanny Hassan, Magda Hentel, Genet Hodder, Kathy Holden, Dr Ron Holliday, Joey Hollingsworth, Jo Hill, Kathy Holden, Shirley Hutchins, Nancy and Jeff Jamieson, Mike Kasprzak, Yahya Kharrat, Jay Kennedy, Joanna Kerr, Russ Knight, Dr Bill Kostuk, Serge Lavoie, Sandy Levin, Dr Alan Leschied, Dr Miriam Mann, Wendy MacDonald, Colin McLarty, Reverend Delta McNeish, Mary Pavia Melvin, Maria Michienzi, Jane Moffat, Rumina Morris, Guy Nicoletti, Felicia Otchet, Pasquale Palombo, Lorenzo and Silvestro Palumbo, Donna Phillips, Laura Pyka, Joe Raffa, Bonnie Parkinson, Jacqueline Rose, Ellen Rosen, Dr Jack Rosen, John Rutledge, Ernie Seglenieks, Dr David Spence, Dr Sarah Stewart, John Sutton, Diane Talbot, Dr John Thompson, Marlene VanAlstine, Bill Wild, and Christian Zekany.

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