Elbow Park Oral History Project - Researcher's Guide

1.0 Introduction

The Elbow Park Oral History Project was an initiative of the Elbow Park Residents Association to further explore the rich and fascinating history of the eponymous residential district in Calgary, Alberta. Two historical studies of the area had been previously carried out, including an architectural survey of extant buildings, and a social history that included biographies of a large number of past residents. These works constituted a thorough documentation of some important aspects of the area’s history, but one component was missing: the recollections of people who had lived in the district. To rectify this situation, the community undertook an oral history project.

The Oral History Project sought to interview as many early residents of the Elbow Park district area as possible. They were asked to describe themselves and their families, and talk about their friends and neighbours in the district. They were asked to relate their experiences in the district: their childhood, going to school, enduring the Depression, going to war, leaving the district as adults to start their own careers and families, and in some cases, of returning to the community to raise them. Their recollections now form an invaluable historical record, relating directly the events and personalities of the neighbourhood, but also informing us about the many intangibles that made up the character of the area. The information shared by these past residents of the district about their own families and family background adds another dimension to the understanding of the social history of the district.

1.1 A Brief History of Elbow Park

The district of Elbow Park is an inner-city community in Calgary, Alberta. It is found just south–west of the downtown core, bounded by the Elbow River on the east, the river escarpment on the south, 34th Avenue and the hill side delineating the upscale Mount Royal district to the north, and 14th Street and North Glenmore park on the west. The neighbourhood was born in the great boom that visited Calgary in the decade before World War One. Before becoming a suburb, the area had a colourful history. Several authorities place an American whiskey–trading post in the vicinity of present day community around 1872. A notorious trader, Fred Kanouse, fought a pitched battle with a band of Blood Indians there, barely surviving a siege of several days. With the appearance of the Northwest Mounted Police in 1874, the post fell into disuse and disappeared, its exact location lost. A young mountie, James Owen, later homesteaded in the eastern part of the neighbourhood and in the 1890s built a small racetrack that had a vogue with Calgarians for a decade. The famous Siksika brave Deerfoot won a $400 purse in a footrace at “Owen’s Track” which hosted horse races and even bicycle races. The rest of what would be Elbow Park was used for grazing, polo, a temporary course for the Calgary Golf and Country Club, and occasionally a campground for bands of Tsu Tsina (Sarcee) visiting Calgary from the nearby reserve.

From 1901 to 1911, the population of Calgary increased tenfold from just over four thousand to over forty–four thousand. It sparked a frenzy of home building as well as intense land speculation. Freddy Lowes was an insurance agent from Ontario who recognised the potential in 1906 and established a real estate agency. His firm grew rapidly into a multimillion dollar business with branch offices in New York and London, selling land in Calgary and throughout
Alberta. Lowes quickly developed ambitions beyond brokering land sales. Starting with Elbow Park, he began setting up large subdivisions. Going beyond most of his contemporaries, he also experimented with planning and landscaping, most notably in the district of Rideau–Roxboro. In Elbow Park, Lowes intended to establish a solidly upper middle class district by means of building restrictions, but settled with surveying the area, building roads, and selling property. He did persuade the City of Calgary to build a streetcar line out the new district. Elbow Park featured larger lots than typical for Calgary, and with Lowes’ encouragement the first few builders in the area constructed larger houses. Subdivided into smaller areas named “Glencoe” and “Rosevale”, houses began appearing in Elbow Park in large numbers in 1910 and within three years the district was firmly established.

Although Lowes sold off large amounts of the land in Elbow Park to other speculators and never tried to control its subsequent development, it attracted the sort of clients he desired. Many of the first residents of the area were businessmen, employed in the financial sector, or professionals such as doctors and lawyers. These first homeowners very much set the character of the neighbourhood right up to the present. Elbow Park soon possessed a church, the Anglican congregation of Christ Church, built on land donated by Lowes, and a small bungalow school. The end of the boom in 1914 slowed development of the district. Over subsequent decades, it slowly filled in, mostly with modest bungalows and a wider mix of residents: while remaining very much a middle class district, teachers, salesmen, office clerks and a few tradesmen joined the professionals and businessmen.

Elbow Park also demonstrated a degree of cohesiveness not seen in many Calgary districts. The residents worked hard to maintain their neighbourhood. They formed one of first community associations in the city, and campaigned successfully for an elementary school, built in 1925 and replacing the cottage school. The Resident’s Association also built a community clubhouse and skating rinks, still present today. Residents were successful at keeping commercial development out of the area, fighting the city of Calgary several times to prevent commercial zoning within the community. Anxious to maintain the family character of the district the association also fought from the thirties onward against high-density development, in the form of apartment blocks and later condominiums. More recently, traffic issues have come to the fore, and the Resident’s Association has remained vigilant. Outside of the association, residents started a very popular tennis club, and the Glencoe Club, a prestigious sports club, was established predominantly by people in Elbow Park.

The activism of the community was important after World War Two as Calgary entered a prolonged period of growth. From a residential suburb, literally on the edge of town, Elbow Park became an inner city neighbourhood. The vacant land within the district was quickly developed, and the area from 8A Street to 14th Street was built up with new bungalows. Unlike many other older neighbourhoods, such as nearby Mission, young families also flooded into the area, replacing older residents as they retired or died. Many of the new residents included people who had grown up in Elbow Park themselves and returned to the neighbourhood to raise their families – a phenomenon that continues to this day. Although by some accounts Elbow Park became a little frayed by the sixties as houses and residents aged, the district and its inhabitants continued to resist commercial and high density development, and fought hard to control the impact of traffic on the community. By the late seventies the district entered another period of renewal. The enduring character of Elbow Park as a comfortable family neighbourhood has now made it
one of the most desirable communities of Calgary. Ironically, this popularity threatens to change the area drastically. Redevelopment has replaced many of the older homes and also attracted well-heeled residents, with a consequent rise in the price of houses. Elbow Park is on the verge of becoming the sort of exclusive district Freddy Lowes envisioned in 1908.

1.2 Project Goals

The main goal of the project was to carry out as many interviews as possible to explore both the general history of the district and to further elaborate on its social history. There were several aims:

- The first aim was to document the district during its earlier days, including physical changes and also changes in the social and economic background of the residents.
- The second aim was to gather more detailed information on the families of the interview subjects, to create extensive profiles of a group of residents that would further add to the documentation of the area’s social history.
- The third aim was to gather as much information about the occupations, family size, ethnicity of other area residents, the friends and neighbours of the narrators.
- The fourth aim was to document noteworthy or unusual happenings and occurrences in the neighbourhood in its early years.

It is not within the scope of this project to utilise the interviews beyond providing a brief summary. The goal of the project was to create a body of material that dealt with the social history of the community, which could be used for more specific research on the district. The interviews are a historical resource for the community and for researchers.
2.0 Methodology

2.1 Subject Selection

The most difficult challenge facing the project was finding enough willing interview subjects. The Residents Association provided initial contacts. Advertisements were placed in the community newsletter but response was very low. Some canvassing in the community was carried out. Attempts were also made to find descendants of families that were known from previous research to have lived in Elbow Park. Referrals, however, led to the bulk of the interviews, with the interview subjects providing most of the contacts.

Consequently there were delays carrying out the interviews until enough contacts were collected. More interviews were conducted towards the end of the project than the beginning. There was also a tendency for interviews to “cluster” around certain geographic locations of the district. Referrals for interviews were often old childhood friends who had lived nearby, thus resulting in a number of subjects being from the same vicinity of the neighbourhood. This was especially true in Elbow Park, where many people stayed in touch with friends and acquaintances from the area. It led to a distinct demographic profile among the interview subjects. The majority were older than sixty years, were born in the late teens or twenties and had grown up in the neighbourhood. A significant group of narrators, five in total, had attended St. Hilda’s School for Girls, which all stated was unusual for children from the area! Almost a dozen of those interviewed moved back to the neighbourhood as adults, usually after a brief sojourn elsewhere.

This was a very positive feature, for it allowed for comparisons of the neighbourhood over a large span of time. Although the project was oriented towards finding interview subjects who knew the district in the period before World War Two and into the immediate post war period, the interviews gave some great insights into the neighbourhood from the immediate post war period up to the time of the interviews. There were some clear biases among the narrators in terms of their background. However, the thirty interviews provide a wide enough variety of narrators to capture the full spectrum of residents in the area before and immediately after World War One.

2.2 Contacting Subjects

Initially, letters were sent to prospective interview subjects. The letter introduced them to the project and explained its objectives, and was sent on Resident’s Association letterhead so that the project was associated with this group. (See appendix one) The letter was followed up by telephone calls. After contact was made and people agreed to an interview or stated that they would consider doing one, an information kit was sent out containing a biographical information sheet to be filled out, a consent form, and a list of sample questions. (See appendix one) After this was received and the prospective subject could examine it to their satisfaction, an interview was scheduled.

2.3 Interview Screening
At the beginning of the project, pre-screening of interviews was planned. The original intent was to have the biographical fact sheet returned before interviews as the first screening, and a short pre-interview meeting to follow. Extensive pre-screening was abandoned in favour of a more informal pre-screening during the initial contact by telephone. This was done for two reasons: the relative difficulty in finding a sufficient pool of potential narrators, and to streamline the interview process. In the initial phases of the project, it was more important to work with people quickly to build up a list of contacts for more interviews. As well, it was surprisingly difficult to schedule interviews: most of the narrators, despite relatively advanced years, were busy people. As the project picked up momentum, pre-interview meetings were too cumbersome. For the most part the people who volunteered to be interviewed were very satisfactory.

2.4 The Interviews

Interviews began as soon as subjects became available, in part to elicit more contacts. Interviews were carried out at the respondent’s home or office, so that they would feel more comfortable. For the most part, the interviews were performed with only the subject and interviewer present; having others present was discouraged. In the exceptions, family members were present at the request of the interview subject but generally did not participate. The project historian carried out all the interviews to ensure consistency in terms of the subject matter addressed. Interview subjects were provided with a list of potential questions in advance, both to encourage their memory and make them more at home with the material. Both the interviewer and interviewee signed a consent form before beginning. The consent forms, as well as the original biography fact sheets with contact information, are kept in confidence by the Resident’s Association.

As a rule, subjects did better with some questions than others. Family and personal history was usually not a difficulty, sometimes threatening to overshadow the main goal of the interview. Childhood experiences and recollections of friends were also usually quite vivid, especially those concerning Elbow Park Elementary. Most interviews provided a great deal of detailed information on neighbours and other residents of the district, although this is a point where memories generally began to fade. Most subjects had only vague recollections – names and a little bit of information about the family. More general questions about the character of the district and variations within the district were not very successful. Only a few people were forthcoming with perceptions of the relative economic well being of the residents and similar matters. In some cases, people were clearly uncomfortable offering opinions that might be seen as judgmental; for others, it was clearly just something they had never thought about or noticed in particular.

Only two interviews were carried out with more than one subject. This was requested by the persons to be interviewed: a mother and son, both raised in Elbow Park and both still residents, wished to be interviewed together, as did a father and son. In the latter case, the father was the main subject, with his son providing some supplemental testimony. Previous experience on the part of the project historian was that this format was workable and acceptable, and the two subjects together stimulated each other to more detailed recollections. On one other occasion, however, a family member was present at the interview and decided to “help out” This was not particularly successful.
Section 3 discusses in more detail the material gathered from the interviews.

2.5 Equipment

Interviews were conducted using a portable Sony cassette recorder and microphone, on normal bias Sony 60 minute tapes. The use of digital equipment had been considered for the project, but at the time of the interviews was deemed too expensive. There was also concern about access to playback facilities for interviews in mini–disc format. The use of video was also rejected, due to the likelihood it would make many interview subjects uncomfortable. Cassette tapes were chosen as the most economical, simple and reliable recording medium. There were some technical shortcomings in the interviews. In some interviews, the microphone placement could have been improved. There was also more background noise than expected from the recorder itself. Reference copies were made on a professional quality Marantz tape deck, but it too introduced some high-end background noise. The interviews are still audible, but some listeners may find the other noise distracting.

2.6 Processing

The interviews were indexed but not transcribed. Using the same recorder utilised for the interviews, each tape was indexed according the tape counter (counter may vary on other machines). Each index lists significant subjects, events, personalities, etc. Generally, a new index entry was made when the subject being discussed changed during the interview. As well, a biographical fact sheet for the subject accompanies each tape index. This gives such pertinent information as date of birth, educational background, occupation and genealogical background. Subjects were asked to provide the names of grandparents as well as parents, which was done to provide context in cases where they may have also lived in Calgary and Elbow Park.

By the end of the project, twenty–nine interviews had been performed. An interview originally done for the Cliff Bungalow–Mission Oral History Project, which contained a significant amount of information on Elbow Park, was added as interview number thirty. Of the thirty interviews, twenty–five were generally good to excellent in terms of the subject matter addressed. The others are of less utility, either because interview subjects had less familiarity with the district, or were uncomfortable with being interviewed. One interview, #13 Mary Betts, is not available as the narrator withdrew her consent part way through the interview. It is listed for completeness. As a large sample of the narrators also lived in the neighbourhood as adults, the interviews cover a substantial period of time, the early 1920s through to the eighties. However, the majority of the subject matter concerns the twenties through the fifties. This focus was intentional; memories of Elbow Park’s early years are the ones that will be soon lost.

3.0 Summary of Findings

It was not the intent of the project to interpret the material from the interviews. The aim was to create a repository of first hand accounts for the use of researchers interested in the history of the district. At the same time, in reviewing and indexing the interviews, common themes quickly emerged. It is worthwhile to present a brief summary of picture of Elbow Park presented in the interviews.
Common themes and experiences quickly emerged among the narrators. To begin with, they were a somewhat homogenous group, in age and background. Their parents were largely of Ontario stock or emigrants from England, Scotland and Ireland, which was true of most Calgarians before World War Two. As much as anyone commented on the ethnicity of the area, it was Anglo-Saxon, and visible minorities were almost entirely absent. At least half the narrators belonged to the Anglican Church and the presence of Christ Church was a reflection on the residents and a draw for many. All but a handful had grown up in Elbow Park during the Depression and many were still living there during World War Two. The majority of the male narrators left the neighbourhood to go into the military, and a large number of the women interviewed married young men in uniform. A number returned to the district as adults to raise their families, and there are several three-generation Elbow Park families represented among those interviewed.

From its very beginnings the district was prosperous, and the narrators recount that the district was essentially middle class and white collar, with many professionals. Among those interviewed, their fathers were doctors, lawyers, accountants, brokers, industrialists managers of businesses, and sometimes more modest occupations such as teachers, senior clerks and travelling salesmen. Almost none of the narrators came from a background that could be described as deprived or impoverished, most belonged to solidly middle-class families, a few to very prosperous households. However, as some narrators pointed out, a middle class family when they were growing up had a much lower standard of living than at present, partially due to the effects of the Great Depression. Several narrators came from more prominent families, such as the daughter of pioneer photographer Harry Pollard, or the daughter of F.L. Irving, who established Riverside Iron Works, while others have become well known Calgarians themselves. For the most part, though, the people interviewed came from similar backgrounds and outlooks.

They also came from families that remained in the neighbourhood for decades. Some of the narrators themselves have lived in the district sixty or seventy years. For the most part, their parents had their houses for several decades, and even families that rented homes tried to stay in the district and often spent years at the same address. A great many people of the previous generation remained in Elbow Park until forced by health reasons to go into nursing homes, and some died while still in their homes. While none of the narrators could be expected to know with certainty how many people owned their own homes, impressions was that the proportion was quite high. The testimony of those interviewed characterises the district as very stable. Another persistent aspect of the neighbourhood was the number of families and children. The narrators, as a group, describe Elbow Park as a family neighbourhood. Those who have lived there as adults say that this is an enduring quality: while there are noticeable cycles, families raising children have been a constant in the district and contributed to its continued vitality.

Idyllic is what comes to mind listening to the narrators recount their childhood in Elbow Park. Almost all those who grew up there, and even many of those who raised their own children there, remember that children had great freedom to roam as they would. Positioned as it was on the outskirts of the city with a rural hinterland immediately at hand, children lived in both the city and the country. Some families kept horses in the neighbourhood or immediately adjacent during the summer months, picketing them and allowing them to graze. Others rented horses from establishments on 17th Avenue or further south on Elbow Drive. The river was an enormous
draw: the swimming hole on 30th Avenue, beside Freddy Lowe’s house, with a beach and a city maintained change house, drew bathers from throughout the city. The district’s children had other more secluded swimming holes. Hiking up the river was another common pastime; it was not uncommon for older children to go up to the Glenmore dam and beyond. Some older narrators even remember skating as far as the present day Weaselhead Nature Reserve before the dam was constructed. In part due to the presence of at home mothers, but also due to a much greater sense of security, children had a wonderful degree of freedom.

Few things loomed as large for children in Elbow Park as the community rink and clubhouse. Originally built in the mid-twenties, the clubhouse and the skating rinks it served were the focal point of the district in the winter. Almost every boy played hockey there, but families would come and skate as well and for decades a winter carnival was held. The steep open slope west of the rinks, usually called Christ Church hill, was used for tobogganing and skiing, sometimes on proper skis, sometime on home made equipment. One narrator claims there was even a ski jump there for several years. A few daredevils, not content with the thrills of sledding down the hill, would sometimes use the icy slope of 30th Avenue, which was feasible in a time of little traffic and unploughed streets. Recreation was not just limited to the community centre. Other rinks were flooded in the vacant lots common in the neighbourhood before World War Two. In the summer, these lots would become playgrounds, where a whole variety of children’s games were played as well as sports like baseball and soccer.

Most narrators speak very fondly of Elbow Park Elementary School. A few were old enough to recall attending the old cottage school before the present school was constructed, most of the rest remember taking shop and home economic classes in the old building as students at Rideau Junior High. Education followed the same path for most of the narrators. Most went Elbow Park Elementary, then Rideau Park Junior High, then Western Canada High School. Some older narrators went to Earl Grey School for junior grades, as Rideau had not opened yet. Those students with a more academic bent and hopes for university went to Central Collegiate High, which was recognised as Calgary’s best school for matriculation. The faculty at Elbow Park Elementary remained there for many years and even taught two generations of the same family. Many narrators remembered Cora Robertson, a disciplinarian, as well as Mrs. Anderson and Miss Shepherd, who both lived in the district themselves: the latter was the sister of an Alberta Supreme Court justice. Hugh Bryant, who was also principal, was another well liked teacher, and many narrators also remembered Captain Ferguson, who went from school to school conducted physical drill.

Rideau served an interesting social role. Although situated in Rideau-Roxboro, a district very much like Elbow Park, and drawing students from exclusive Mount Royal, the school was something of a melting pot. The districts of Mission, Erlton, and Parkhill also sent their students there. The latter two communities were much less well off than Elbow Park. Several narrators commented that going to Rideau was the first time they understood that they lived in a much better off part of Calgary. At the same time, opinion was conflicted as to how much the different backgrounds of the students affected their relationships. Some narrators were of the opinion that the Parkhill children were much rougher, prone to fights and misbehaviour. Others felt that there was little difference, and little tension among the students. Boys, drawn together for sports,
seemed to have felt the social distinctions less. To some extent, the Depression acted as a leveller.

The Depression was an important experience for many of the narrators – most remember it as children or young adults. By their reports, there was little serious hardship in the community. Few people lost their jobs, and those interviewed did not remember families having to resort to government support, something that clearly happened in households in areas like Parkhill. However, the effects of the depression were still marked. Most families could not afford luxuries and generally economised. Hand-me downs were common, things like bicycles were sometimes not possible or had to be bought with money earned from part time jobs like paper routes. Although most Elbow Park wage earners were white collar, and many were professionals, their incomes also suffered as clients became scarce and fees hard to collect. The father of one narrator was a stockbroker, and the family suffered through several lean years while he made his living as a salesman. More than one narrator also notes, however, that the difficulties of neighbours were not a topic of polite conversation. One common Depression experience were visits of “hoboes”, generally unemployed men, who residents would usually be provided with food and occasionally odd jobs.

The belt tightening of the Depression meant that a university education was not automatic. The cost of tuition and living expenses were enough to put a real strain on a middle-class income, though many students also contributed with part time and summer jobs. The proportion of children who attended university from Elbow Park was likely higher than other neighbourhoods: the parents of many narrators themselves had a university education and tended to encourage their children to pursue the same. Some of those interviewed, however, believe that the majority of neighbourhood kids from their generation still did not attend university, although some went to Mount Royal College or took business training at Garbutt’s Business College and similar institutions. The veteran’s program provided an entry into university for many, while those who were younger and finished high school in the fifties tended to continue on, thanks to a prosperous economy.

One aspect of Elbow Park that most narrators agreed on was the strong community spirit and identity. This was at least in part due to some key focal points like the community club and other institutions like the Glencoe and Christ Church. It was also partly due to a strong neighbourly sense. The narrators often commented on the fact that everyone knew their neighbours to some extent, and friendships were common. Perhaps even more importantly, the children all knew each other and frequently played together. Most homes were open to the neighbourhood children. One narrator recounted how to her mother’s embarrassment, she would go over to their neighbours to ask for cookies and other treats when baking was being done. Although people were not necessarily on intimate terms with their neighbours, there was generally a high level of familiarity. It may have also contributed to the low incidence of vandalism and other mischief in the area; as one narrator himself discovered, everyone knew who you were.

The Glencoe Club was a focal point of the community. Although it now arguably has a reputation as a somewhat expensive and exclusive family sports club, the Glencoe was founded by the sports enthusiasts of Elbow Park simply as a place where they could curl, play tennis and badminton, skate and swim. When the club was formed in 1930, the city provided very little in
the way of facilities for sports. Similar clubs were not uncommon in other neighbourhoods. The founding members were predominantly from Elbow Park, and the membership remained largely from the district for many years. The majority of the narrators belonged to the Glencoe club, either as children or adults. And while the club was not automatically open to everyone in the neighbourhood, it was still an important element of life, and a place where neighbours met and socialised. The tennis club, while popular with players of the game, did not have quite the same role in the area.

Christ Church, although denominational, also filled a community role. It is beyond the scope of the interviews to know what proportion of the residents were Anglican and belonged to the congregation, but many narrators did themselves and agree that for many years, most of the worshippers were from the community. A number of narrators also claimed that churchgoers of other faiths often came to services at Christ Church, as it was convenient. An ecumenical Sunday school was run in the church and attended by Elbow Park children. The church also hosted cubs, scouts and guides for the district; the first rector, Canon Horne, founded the scout troop. The basement gymnasium was used by the neighbourhood badminton club and sometimes available for other sports.

Above and beyond shared experiences and impressions of Elbow Park, the narrators also contribute anecdotes of unusual characters and events. Several people mentioned that the Tsu Tsina from the Sarcee Reserve would often make their way through the neighbourhood in summer as they followed the Elbow River to the grounds of the Exhibition and Stampede. Another talked of the unofficial but very elaborate Victoria Day firework displays put on the residents. Most of the streets in the area were unpaved until the 1950s, and were usually sprayed by water trucks in the summer to keep the dust down. One poor soul once laid down in the street expecting a refreshing shower of water; instead he got oil as the oil truck came by instead. Many people remember with great fondness the horse drawn delivery wagons, for milk, bread and vegetables, and at least one person recalls the milk man was often the worse for drink and relied on his horse to keep him on route. Among the characters of the area remembered are Colonel Sanders, the ex-mountie, soldier and police magistrate who always wore a monocle, and Dr. Messenger, the chiropractor who lived at the corner of Sifton Boulevard and Elbow Drive in the “adobe house” and gave extraordinary Halloween parties. Other narrators also remember prominent residents such as George McMahon, Eric Harvie or F.L. Irving.

The presence of so many long-time Elbow Park residents among the narrators also provide excellent insights into the how the neighbourhood evolved over the years. Almost everyone agrees that the district really kept its character. Unlike some areas of comparable vintage, the neighbourhood did not suffer a noticeable decline, due mostly to an influx of new families as previous residents died or left. Those who lived there in the post war period, which included may who grew up in Elbow Park, remember that vacant land quickly vanished and along with new houses came young families. In west Elbow Park, undeveloped until after the war, many of the newcomers were Americans brought by the oil industry. In general, even the oldest homes in the area were kept up and renovated, although ironically some twenty or thirty year residents left to retire in a new suburban house. The social-economic character of the area was also maintained: although oil companies employed many residents in the 1950s and 60s, they remained overwhelmingly white collar and middle class, with many professionals. Yet another more recent
cycle of renewal started in the 1980s, and with the popularity of inner city areas, has become very desirable and very expensive.

This synopsis does not try to capture the richness of the material contained in the interviews. To appreciate the wealth of information and impressions provided by the former residents of the district, one must listen to the tapes. Nor was it the intent of this project to verify the statements made by the narrators about the district and its residents. The interviews are intended to be a primary historical source and left unmediated, to be used by anyone interested in the history of the area.

Note: Contact information for the participants is confidential. For more information, please contact the Elbow Park Resident’s Association.
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