

GATEWAY CITY

Documents on the City of Winnipeg 1873 - 1913

Alan F.J. Artibise



**The Manitoba Record Society Publications
Volume V**

From the Riel Resistance of 1869-70 to the outbreak of World War I, Winnipeg was Western Canada's most exciting city. These documents, collected from various public sources, are central to an understanding of its growth and development for this period. Dominated from the outset by businessmen and boosters, the city grew rapidly in its first forty years. The result was a metropolitan area of major importance and also a city of deep class and ethnic divisions. The quest for business success gave the city much of its force and energy but the fact of extreme social problems left it an ambiguous legacy.

This volume provides much interesting information on the city and the key groups within it. The subjects include the views of business and the state of organized labour; the need for immigrants and industry; the facts of typhoid, poverty, and prostitution; the presence of unchecked urban growth and the absence of urban and social planning. The documents allow the reader, as Artibise notes, "to perceive the events almost as closely as did many of the people of the era under study, and will give an insight into and a feeling for life in Winnipeg".

Alan F. J. Artibise is one of Canada's best-known urban historians. A noted authority on the history of Winnipeg, he teaches in the Department of History, University of Victoria.

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GATEWAY CITY

Documents on the City of Winnipeg 1873-1913

Edited and Introduced by

Alan F .J. Artibise

Volume V: The Manitoba Record Society Publications

General Editor: A.B. McKillop

WINNIPEG
The Manitoba Record Society
in association with
The University of Manitoba Press
1979

TO IRENE

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ABBREVIATIONS

CW	City of Winnipeg, City Clerk's Office
PAM	Provincial Archives of Manitoba
PAC	Public Archives of Canada
MFP	Manitoba Free Press

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THE GENERAL EDITOR'S PREFACE

The fifth volume of the Manitoba Record Society's publications appears at a time of transition for the Society. Professor H. Clare Pentland, its distinguished President, died in the autumn of 1978, and we deeply regret our loss. Professor Pentland has been succeeded by Dr. Lovell C. Clark, of the Department of History, University of Manitoba, a noted authority on the late nineteenth century political history of Manitoba and Canada.

A second loss to the Society has been that of Professor W.D. Smith, who resigned as General Editor in May, 1979, after eighteen years of dedicated service. Fortunately, Professor Smith continues to offer counsel as a Director. We would like, at this point, to express our sincere gratitude to him for his long dedication.

This volume also marks a departure in the orientation of the Manitoba Record Society's publications. From its inception, the Society has sought to provide a documentary record of the full range and significance of Manitoba's past, and it will continue to do so. But we now seek also to publish volumes that reflect the This volume also marks a departure in the orientation of the Manitoba Record Society's publications. From its inception, the Society has sought to provide a major concerns and techniques of contemporary historians of the province. Dr. Artibise's volume tells us much about Manitoba's most prominent city; but it also indicates that "urban history" has become one of the dominant areas of Canadian historical scholarship in the past decade. Hopefully, the publications of the Manitoba Record Society will continue to reflect such new directions. This, however, will require the continued dedication and support of our members.

A.B. McKillop

University of Manitoba, 1979

PREFACE

Historians have long felt that primary sources, documents produced by contemporaries of the events they narrate, are the cornerstones of any understanding of the past. The importance of such sources is that they allow the reader to perceive the events almost as closely as did many of the people of the era under study. The following collection of documents has been produced with these thoughts in mind and in the belief that they will give the reader an insight into and feeling for life in Winnipeg in the pre-World War I era.

There are, of course, other reasons why this volume should be published. It is my hope that it will serve as a valuable source book for research on the development of Winnipeg, both for those examining its historical evolution and for those interested in the city today who would like some basic background material on the origins and early development of some aspect of the city's social, economic, or physical fabric. To my knowledge, no document contained in this volume has been reproduced elsewhere, and some are not readily available to researchers.

Many important documents have not been included in this volume. Some were omitted because of restrictions of space; others because they have been reproduced elsewhere. Documents omitted include such items as city health department reports, material on the development of municipally-owned hydro power, school board reports, and reports of cultural organizations. To compensate as far as possible for these omissions and as a guide for further research and reading, I can direct the reader to several surveys of both primary and secondary material on Winnipeg's history. They are: Alan F. J. Attibise, *Winnipeg: An Illustrated History* (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1977), pp. 216-219; D. L. Sloan, J. M. Roseneder, and M. J. Hernandez, *Winnipeg: A Centennial Bibliography* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Library Association, 1974); and Alan F. J. Attibise, *Western Canada Since 1870: A Select Bibliography and Guide* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1978), pp. 103-116.

Documents recently reproduced elsewhere include a list of elected officials for the period (mayors, controllers, aldermen), documents relating to the reform of municipal government in Winnipeg, and a report on living conditions in Winnipeg in 1913 produced by J. S. Woodsworth. All can be found in appendices to my book *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1914* (Montreal and London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975).

Since most of the documents in this volume are self-explanatory, I have attempted to interrupt the reader as little as possible with explanatory foot-notes. I have tried, in the general introduction and in the introductions to documents themselves, to provide the reader with as much information as is needed to place

each document in context and to enable the reader to appreciate its particular significance. Beyond this, no attempt has been made to interpret or correct the views presented in the documents. The documents, I believe, speak for themselves.

Finally, I want to express my thanks to the staffs of the Public Archives of Canada, the Provincial Archives of Manitoba, and the City Clerk's Office, City of Winnipeg, for their help in locating some of these documents. I also want to thank the members of the Manitoba Record Society, especially A. B. McKillop, for their assistance with this volume.

Alan F. J. Artibise

*Victoria, B. C.
February 1979*

INTRODUCTION

THE DEVELOPMENT OF WINNIPEG TO 1913

The origins of the first permanent settlement in Manitoba stretch back to the fur trade. Although the fur traders of the North-West would undoubtedly have been content if no settlers had ever decided to found a permanent colony in II “their” domain, it was the fur trade - or rather the economic prosperity it engendered - that was to give birth to a city on the banks of the Red and Assiniboine rivers. That birth was not an easy one, however, since the hostile attitude of the traders was to seriously hinder the growth of a settled community in the region for over half a century.

Between 1610 - when the area that was to become the Province of Manitoba was first discovered - and 1812, the future province remained the exclusive domain of the fur trader and Indian. The first indication that this would not forever be the destiny of the North-West came in 1811. Lord Selkirk, a philanthropist who had already tried to plant colonies of distressed Highland crofters and Irish cottiers in Prince Edward Island and Upper Canada, acquired from the Hudson’s Bay Company title to some 120,000 square miles of land along the Red River. The following year his newly chosen Governor of “Assiniboia,” Miles Macdonnell, chose as the best location for a new colony Point Douglas, a mile below the North West fur trading post of Fort Gibraltar, at the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine rivers. And, in September 1812, Macdonnell and thirty-six Scottish and Irish labourers set to work to found a permanent settlement.¹

The early years of the colony were trying ones. The terrible cold of prairie winters, the recurring floods of the Red River in spring, and the hostility of the North West Company all combined to make life difficult for the settlers. The North West Company was determined to destroy the settlement, which not only stood across their lines of communication but threatened to cut off their supplies. Many clashes occurred, culminating in the Seven Oaks Massacre of June 1816. Finally, in 1821, with the

¹ The standard works covering the history of Manitoba are W.L. Morton, *Manitoba: A History* (Toronto, 1957); and Junes A. Jackson, *The Centennial History of Manitoba* (Toronto, 1970). Some of the more important specialized works covering this early period of Manitoba’s history are: A.S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71* (Toronto, 1939); J.M. Gray, *Lord Selkirk of Red River* (Toronto, 1963); E.E. Rich, *The Fur Trade and the Northwest to 1857* (Toronto, 1967); A.G. Gluek, *Minnesota and the Manifest Destiny of the Canadian Northwest* (Toronto, 1965); and G.F.G. Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada* (Toronto, 1967), pp. 1-174.

union of the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company, this difficulty was removed.² Immigration to the colony was slow, however, and it was not until the 1850s that a series of events began to unfold in the Red River Colony that were to culminate in the Riel Rebellion and the creation of the Province of Manitoba in 1870.³

During this crucial period, the settlement of Winnipeg grew up as an area distinct from the larger Red River Colony.⁴ Ever since 1859 the Hudson's Bay Company had found that the general trade of its store at Upper Fort Garry had become more lucrative than the fur trade. Other business interests had also discovered that with the increasing population of the area a demand had arisen for goods and services that could not be fully met by the Company, and by 1862 there were twelve business establishments surrounding the Fort. One of these was the Royal Hotel run by Henry McKenney. Born in Upper Canada of Irish parents, McKenney had operated a frontier trading store in the Minnesota Territory before coming to Red River in 1859. By the spring of 1862 he had prospered to such an extent that he decided to leave the hotel business and build a general store at a new location. His new establishment was to be the nucleus of the future City of Winnipeg.⁵

² J.P. Prichett deals with the efforts of the North West Company to prevent the success of the Selkirk Settlement in *The Red River Valley, 1811-1849: A Regional Study* (Toronto, 1942).

³ Alan F.J. Artibise, "The Crucial Decade: Red River at the Outbreak of the American Civil War," *Manitoba Historical Society Transactions*. Series III, No. 23 (1966-67), pp. 57-66.

⁴ Prior to 1862 there were two distinct groups of buildings within the borders of present day Winnipeg. The homes and firms of a few original Selkirk settlers were located on Point Douglas. To the south, at the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers was located the Hudson's Bay Company post of Upper Fort Garry. The development of both of these areas are dealt with in A.M. Henderson, "From Fort Douglas to the Forks," *Manitoba Historical Society Transactions*, Series III, No. 23 (1966-67), pp. 15-32. See also G. Bryce, "The Five Forts of Winnipeg," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Volume III, Section 11 (1885), pp. 134-45. These two settlements, however, made up only a part of the larger Red River Colony. Up and down the Red River and along the banks of the Assiniboine were located the river lot farms of Scottish, French, and half-breed settlers. A good map of the entire Colony can be found in Morton, *Manitoba*, p. 89.

⁵ G.F. Reynolds, "The Man Who Created the Corner of Portage and Main," *Manitoba Historical Society Transactions*, Series III, No. 26 (1969-70), pp. 5-40. The designation "Winnipeg" was not used until 1866. It is first found on the title page of the newspaper *Nor' Wester* on February 24, 1866. The previous issues of this newspaper, which began publication in December 1859 as the first newspaper in the North West, carried the designation "Red River Settlement, Assiniboia" on the masthead. The name the *Nor' Wester* gave as its origin was the Indian name given to the lake forty miles north, meaning "Win," muddy, "nipee," water. The designation stuck and by 1870 maps of the area showed "The Town of Winnipeg," even though this was erroneous in that it had not yet been incorporated either as a village or a town. Despite the usage of the name Winnipeg within the area, the settlement was for some time known to the outside world as Fort Garry. It was not until May 1, 1876 that the post office had its name changed to Winnipeg. See W.J. Healy, *Winnipeg's Early Days: A Historical Sketch* (Winnipeg, 1927), pp. 14-15.

McKenney's store was built "just where the fur-runners' trail coming down the Assiniboine to Fort Garry crossed the trail running down the Red River" - in present-day Winnipeg the corner of Portage and Main.⁶ The choice of the site caused much amusement and even jeers from the traders at Fort Garry and the settlers at Point Douglas and points further down the Red River. It was not long, however, before McKenny's lead was followed by others, until by 1869 no fewer than thirty houses and commercial structures were grouped around the intersection of the two trails. The population of the settlement numbered 215 by the end of 1869, and in spite of its very isolated position this number more than doubled every year in the following three years. While the population was 300 in the fall of 1870, it had increased to 700 by the end of 1871, to 1,467 in November 1872, and to 3,700 by 1874.⁷

In spite of this initial spurt of growth, there did not appear to be much reason for encouragement when one looked to the future prospects of the settlement of Winnipeg. If the city's population was to continue to grow, the growth could be achieved only from two areas: natural increase and the arrival of immigrants. The first would in time undoubtedly have some effect but the process would be very slow, especially in a settlement where there were few women.⁸ As for immigration, there was at first glance little reason for optimism. The area was not only unknown in other parts of Canada but was isolated from the east by the lack of transportation facilities. Immigrants had a choice of the overland routes by the Lake of the Woods, the Hudson's Bay route through Lake Winnipeg, or the American route by rail to St. Paul, Minnesota, and then by ox cart or flat boat to Winnipeg. Each of these routes was long, tiresome, and discouraging enough to prospective settlers that westward-bound Canadians emigrated in large numbers to the American frontier. This area had a transportation network which linked it to eastern Canada and channelled Canadian frontier migration primarily to Minnesota, Kansas, and Nebraska.⁹

But change was in the air in the early seventies. An unexpected sidelight of the Riel Rebellion of 1870 was that it focused the attention of eastern Canada on the newly created province. Further, in order to encourage settlement, the federal government

⁶ M. McWilliams, *Manitoba Milestone* (Toronto, 1928), pp. 88-89.

⁷ Morton, *Manitoba*, p. 167. See also H.A. Hosse, "The Areal Growth and Functional Development of Winnipeg from 1870 to 1913," unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1956. This study is particularly useful for a number of excellent maps of Winnipeg during these years. See Map 10, p. 65, "The Village of Winnipeg in 1869"; and Map 11, p. 68, "The Village of Winnipeg, 1872." The growth of Winnipeg during these years is all the more impressive when it is noted that in the spring of 1870 thirty or forty Metis families left the colony. J.K. Howard, *Strange Empire* (Toronto, 1965), p. 262.

⁸ Of a population of 1,467 in 1872, only 448 were females. See Alexander Begg and Walter R. Nurse, *Ten Years In Winnipeg* (Winnipeg, 1879), p. 74.

passed an act providing for the free grant of homesteads in 1872. The effect of these developments was both understood and felt in the community of Winnipeg. With the grand vision of quickly becoming the “Chicago of the North” before them and with but a few years of growth behind them, Winnipeggers incorporated themselves as a “city” in November 1873, a terminology, however divorced from reality, they no doubt felt would be more respected in central Canada.¹⁰ The political limits of the new city extended far into the surrounding prairie and embraced about three square miles or 2,000 acres of land. To the east and south the Red and Assiniboine rivers formed the city’s boundaries; the western limits ran along present-day Maryland Street; and on the north it was bounded by Burrows Avenue west of Main Street and Aberdeen east of Main Street.¹¹

The optimistic vision of Winnipeg’s founders in immediately incorporating as a city rather than going through the chrysalis stage of village and town was not to be proven wrong. Between the 1870s and the First World War, Winnipeg was to grow at a rapid (albeit uneven) rate, primarily as a result of a massive influx of immigrants.¹² The reasons for this steady flow were, the improvements in external transportation, the eventual closing of the American frontier, the development of appropriate dry-land farming techniques, and a vast advertising campaign in Europe, the United States, and eastern Canada.¹³ But Winnipeg’s growth and development during the next forty years

⁹ See Charles M. Studness, “Economic Opportunity and the Westward Migration of Canadians During the Late Nineteenth Century,” *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, Vol. XXX (1964), pp. 570-584. In the decade 1870-1880 Manitoba and the North-West territories (which later became the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan) received through migration only 25,000 Canadian-born migrants while the six adjacent states received over 47,600. See table on p. 571.

¹⁰ For a detailed account of the origins and incorporations of Winnipeg see Alan F.J. Artibise, “The Origins and Incorporation of Winnipeg,” in A.R. McCormack and Ian Macpherson, eds., *Cities in the West: Papers of the Western Canada Urban History Conference* (Ottawa, 1975), pp. 5-25.

¹¹ Good maps depicting Winnipeg’s spatial growth can be found in T.R. Weir, “Winnipeg: A City in the Making,” in T.J. Kuz, *Winnipeg, 1874-1974: Progress and Prospects* (Winnipeg, 1974), pp. 43-63. See also T.R. Weir, *Atlas of Winnipeg* (Toronto, 1978).

¹² Detailed population statistics for the City of Winnipeg can be found in Alan F. J. Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1914* (Montreal, 1975), Chapter 9.

¹³ The reasons for Winnipeg’s rapid rise are of course very complex and can hardly be dealt with in detail in a general article. Detailed analysis can be found in Studness, “Economic Opportunity”; K.H. Nottie, “The Rate of Settlement of the Canadian Prairies, 1870-1911,” *Journal of Economic History*, Vol. XXXV, No. 2 (June 1975), pp. 410-427; and R. Bellan, “The Development of Winnipeg As A Metropolitan Center,” unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University, 1958.

was also due in large measure to the activities, enterprise, and faith of the city's business and civic leaders.

As Winnipeg grew and prospered in the years after incorporation there sprang up among the business and professional group - the commercial elite - an unshakeable conviction of optimism that was to be of great significance for the future of the city. If there was one characteristic that was shared by nearly all Winnipeggers in this period it was the firm belief that the future of their community was boundless. A place where there had been no one but fur traders and Indians before, but which today numbered a thousand, might be expected to number tens or even hundreds of thousands tomorrow. From the outset Winnipeggers were self-centred and aggressive, determined to protect their position against any town which appeared to challenge them. Whether from Ontario or England, prosperous merchant or labourer, young or old, Winnipeggers rapidly became and steadfastly remained avid city boosters.

Winnipeg was broad-viewed as well, however, for it was not looked on as just one more promising settlement in the West. Rather it was to be the region's central metropolis and chief spokesman, destined forever to play a role of unchallenged importance. The rapid growth of large wholesale and real estate companies, for example, gave many Winnipeggers a regional, and at times even a national, outlook that often transcended local and provincial interests. Thus while Winnipeg was to become and remain Manitoba's chief urban centre, it always thought of itself as more than that. Indeed, the metropolitan ambitions of Winnipeg were far more sophisticated than those of other western towns and cities. The large number of Ontario-born businessmen in Winnipeg were concerned with the progress of the whole dominion, not just Manitoba or the West. They realized their fortunes were closely connected with the economic growth and political stability of all provinces, not just their own.¹⁴ In short, Winnipeg was a "Canadian" as well as a "Western" city, and this attitude is perhaps best shown by the nickname often used for Winnipeg - "Bull's Eye of the Dominion."

This broad outlook did not prevent the growth of a unique Winnipeg mentality. The city's businessmen, especially in the years after 1881, became conscious of their underprivileged position in such matters as transportation facilities, and the Winnipeg Board of Trade led the fight against what it considered to be eastern exploitations.¹⁵ But while Winnipeg could be accused of being very protective of its own position, it could rarely be accused of being parochial.

¹⁴ See, for example, P.F.W. Rutherford, "The Western Press and Regionalism, 1870-1896," *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. LII, No. 3 (September 1971), pp. 287-305.

¹⁵ J.M.S. Careless, "The Development of the Winnipeg Business Community," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 1970, 4 th Series, pp. 239-54.

Winnipeg's commercial elite was from the outset a unified group, holding in common a certain set of values. They had come to Winnipeg "to take part in the building of a newer and greater Canadian West." Accepting the challenge of a vast, underdeveloped domain they saw themselves as agents of improvement. They were practical men; businessmen who were convinced of the desirability of material progress. Setting their sights from persuasive American examples - such as the rise of Chicago - they were optimistic, expansionist, and aggressive.¹⁶ Their interests lay in what has been called the "architectural aspects of society" - the broad lines of its material fabric.

Measuring progress in material terms, Winnipeg's businessmen directed their efforts toward achieving rapid and sustained growth at the expense of other considerations. Regarding Winnipeg as a community of private money makers, they expressed little concern about creating a humane environment for all the city's citizens. Accordingly, habits of community life, an attention to the sharing of resources, and a willingness to care for all men, were not much in evidence in Winnipeg's struggle to become a "great" city. Rather, the most noteworthy aspect of Winnipeg's history in this period was the systematic, organized, and expensive promotion of economic enterprise by public and private groups within the city.

Private businessmen and business organizations - such as the Board of Trade - were continually successful in their attempts to persuade the municipal corporation to improve and expand the commercial environment of Winnipeg with public commitments and at public expense. The common outlook of Winnipeg's businessmen that the expansion of economic enterprise should be the prime concern of the local government is a dominant theme throughout the period.

This reliance on the resources of the municipal corporation for the provision of the basic conditions necessary for continued and rapid economic growth arose out of the particular needs of Winnipeg's businessmen. One such need was dependence on transportation facilities. Settled communities in the East - such as Montreal or Toronto - needed railways to feed raw materials to their factories and to distribute finished products. But these urban centres could always depend on water transportation for their commercial needs. Conversely, the Winnipeg businessman needed railways for his very lifeblood. For while Toronto or Montreal might grow or decline, prosper or languish, depending on transportation facilities, there was no doubt that Winnipeg,

¹⁶ Winnipeggers were fond of calling their city the "Chicago of the North" and there are dozens of instances where comparisons between the two cities were made. One example can be found in Document # II, below.

without railways, would not be a city at all. Accordingly, when it was found that the transcontinental railway might by-pass Winnipeg, the city's businessmen conceived a variety of programs to attract railways. They soon found, however, that the expenses involved in their efforts - which included the building of an expensive railway bridge and outright cash grants - could be met only with the resources of the municipal corporations. Similar problems were faced in efforts to make Winnipeg a major manufacturing centre and in programs designed to attract immigrants.

The result of this early recognition that so much was at stake in public decisions was that Winnipeg's businessmen took an active role in civic politics, both to protect and further their interests. Thus, when the various elective offices in Winnipeg's local government are analysed by occupational groups, several significant facts emerge. Most important, of course, is that the city's merchants and businessmen, real estate agents and financiers, and contractors and manufacturers - in short, Winnipeg's commercial class - dominated every elective office throughout the period. In the case of the mayor's office the commercial group had a representative in office for 37 of 41 years, or 90 per cent of the time. Its representation on the important Board of Control is even higher, standing at 91 per cent. In the relatively less important positions on city council such representation drops to 81 per cent, but it nevertheless remains impressively high.¹⁷

This continuing and consistently high degree of involvement of Winnipeg's commercial elite in municipal politics is noteworthy since in many other North American cities businessmen gained control of the local government only by pushing aside an old and established social elite.¹⁸ Winnipeg's commercial class did not have to push anyone out in the beginning because of the circumstances surrounding the city's foundation; it was established by businessmen, for business purposes, and businessmen were its first and natural leaders. Furthermore, throughout this period Winnipeg's commercial and social elites were indistinguishable; membership in one group was almost always accompanied by membership in the other group.¹⁹

¹⁷ A detailed analysis of these figures is in Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth*, pp. 24-27. Elected officials who were not members of the "commercial group" include professionals, artisans, and workingmen.

¹⁸ See, for example, Guy Bourassa, "The Political Elite of Montreal: From Aristocracy to Democracy," in L.D. Feldman and M.D. Goldrick, eds., *Politics and Government of Urban Canada* (Toronto, 1969), pp. 124-33; and S.P. Hays, "The Politics of Reform in Municipal Government in the Progressive Era," in A.B. Callow, ed., *American Urban History* (Toronto, 1969), pp. 421-39.

¹⁹ Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth*, *passim*; Careless, "Winnipeg Business Community," *passim*.

An examination of the individual men who held civic office in Winnipeg between 1874 and 1914²⁰ reveals that they not only belonged to the same business organizations (such as the Board of Trade) but that they also belonged to the same social, cultural, and athletic clubs and associations. These included such organizations as the prestigious Manitoba Club, the Carleton Club, the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, the Winnipeg Operatic and Dramatic Society, the Winnipeg Rowing Club, the St. Charles Club, numerous curling clubs, and many, many others.

The social life of Winnipeg's well-to-do included much more than these activities, however. The pages of *Town Topics*, Winnipeg's magazine of "society, Music, and Drama," included attendance at amateur and professional theatricals and concerts, quiet euchre parties, formal balls, teas, weddings, and luncheons. It also included frequent trips to such places as California, Florida, Europe, and Eastern Canada. Many of the elite spent holidays at "pleasure resorts" such as Grand and Victoria beaches on the southern shores of Lake Winnipeg; Lake Minaki, "situated on a green clad promontory jutting out into the Winnipeg River"; and Lake of the Woods. Significantly, these resorts remained preserves of the well-to-do throughout the period since the families of working people, free to travel only on Sunday, were held in the city by a clause of the Lord's Day Act which prohibited the operation of special trains on Sunday.²¹ In short, Winnipeg's commercial elite had little interaction with other segments of the Winnipeg community.

With agreement on the fundamental role the municipal corporation should play in advancing their fortunes, and control of the city by domination of its elected offices, Winnipeg's commercial elite set out to build the city they desired. And this group had more than a little to do with the manifest rise of their city. In the areas of railways, power development, and the attraction of industry and immigrants, Winnipeg's commercial elite was in the forefront

The elite's most important test came in the early years of the city's history. They were convinced that the most important feature of the economic life of their community was its commercial connection - or, rather, lack of one - with the rest of the world. No city, they reasoned could enjoy any considerable prosperity or make notable social progress without a flourishing commerce with other communities. Thus the selection of the route for the pacific railway, the great undertaking which was to complete the transcontinental federation of British North America, overshadowed all other interests in Winnipeg in the period of **1873-85**. The *Manitoba Free Press* stated the issue bluntly

²⁰ A complete list of office holders is in Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth*, Appendix A.

²¹ Morton, *Manitoba*, p. 415.

- "The two great wants of this country are railroads and settlers. The former is necessary to secure the latter."²² The selection of the route would also affect the

direction and increase the speculative element in settlement. Lands on or near the route would obviously be of a greater value than those more distant. In 1870, however, only one thing was certain: the railway must cross the new province of Manitoba. The question was where?

At first the federal government adopted a route south of Lake Manitoba and the prospect attracted settlers to Winnipeg and its hinterland. Then came delay and uncertainty with the Pacific Scandal of 1873 and the fall of the Macdonald government, and in 1874 it was announced that the railway would cross the Red River upstream from Winnipeg and run northwest toward Edmonton between Lakes Winnipeg and Manitoba, crossing the narrows of the latter. That meant that railways in the Red River Valley and the highlands would be mere branch lines and the main thrust of settlement, with all the accruing benefits implicit in such a development, would bypass Winnipeg.

Winnipeg's commercial elite, represented most vigorously by the Board of Trade, at first fought this decision. But when Prime Minister Mackenzie met all efforts at redress with his obdurate refusal, they tried to make the best of a bad situation by insuring that Winnipeg would at least have a direct link with the main line, as well as a "colonization" railway to the southwest. These negotiations continued slowly and without much success when, in 1878, the defeat of Mackenzie and the Liberals raised hopes that the old southern route might be revived. After further extensive negotiations the city was victorious, and in 1881 a main route was selected that passed through Winnipeg.²³

The decision that the main line of the C.P.R. would pass through Winnipeg seemed to guarantee that the city would become the hub of commercial activity in the North-West. In the years following 1881 this prospect was more than fulfilled as Winnipeg rapidly became the most populous and prosperous community in Western Canada. If economic and population growth were the primary goals, then the according of "exemption from taxation forever" to all C.P.R. property, the grant of free land for a passenger station and \$200,000 in cash, as well as the construction of a \$300,000 bridge over the Red River by the city, were justified. Yet the high cost of obtaining the C.P.R. involved much more than these inducements. The upsurge in Winnipeg's fortunes that followed the coming of the C.P.R. reaffirmed the conviction that railways were the key to rapid and sustained growth. Thereafter city council did

²² *M.F.P.*, 27 Dec. 1873.

²³ The complete story of the efforts to obtain the main line of the C.P.R. for Winnipeg can be found in R.C. Bellan, "Rails Across the Red: Winnipeg or Selkirk," *Manitoba Historical Society Transactions*, Series III, No. 18 (1961-62), pp. 69-77; and Artibise, Winnipeg, Chapter 4.

everything to encourage railway development and nothing to control it. This attitude had serious long-range consequences for Winnipeg's physical appearance and social fabric.²⁴

The commercial elite's lack of foresight revealed itself over and over again as new railways entered the city - the municipal corporation simply did not have a comprehensive plan to ensure a humane environment through planned land use. The tracks of such railways as the C. P. R., the Canadian Northern Railway, the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway, and the Midland Railway turned Winnipeg's streets into a nightmare. The major difficulty caused by the entrance of these different railways into Winnipeg - each at different points - was the great number of level crossings that resulted. Some of these problems were eventually "solved" by the building of subways or overhead bridges but in general Winnipeg remained a city compartmentalized by its railways. The effects this had on Winnipeg's sense of community were not beneficial.²⁵

The tragedy of the commercial elite's short-sighted railway policy was that it was not necessary. It is highly probable that the C.P.R. syndicate would have passed the railway through Winnipeg and located their shops and western headquarters there without the inducements granted by city council. Once the decision to locate in Winnipeg had been made, the municipal corporation had nothing to lose by controlling the entry of the C.P.R. into the city. Furthermore, after the C.P.R. had established itself in Winnipeg and it became the "Gateway to the West," other railways had to pass through Winnipeg as a matter of good business. In the years after 1881, Winnipeg had the upper hand and could have controlled the entry of subsequent railways with no fear of forfeiting the commercial advantages they brought with them. Instead of taking this long-term approach, one that took into consideration the harmful as well as the beneficial effects of railway development, the commercial elite gave the companies a free hand to enter and leave Winnipeg at their convenience. They thus left to future generations of Winnipeggers a poor legacy, for railways and a blind commitment to growth combined to turn Winnipeg's environment into an uncoordinated and socially disruptive series of self-contained ghettos.

In the commercial elite's plans for Winnipeg, the attraction of railways was only one necessity. Almost as important was the need for cheap power. Early in the 1880s the elite had become convinced that if Winnipeg were ever to become a major manufacturing centre and enjoy the sustained growth so essential to business it would have to overcome its lack of cheap power. At that time electric power was supplied in the city by steam plants and this meant high power rates. The simple reason for this was that

²⁴ Some of these consequences are discussed in Document # XI.

²⁵ See Alan F.J. Artibise, "An Urban Environment: The Process of Growth in Winnipeg, 1874-1914," Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers, 1972, pp. 109-34.

Winnipeg drew its fuel supply from the Pennsylvania coal fields. After the coal was delivered at Lake Erie ports it had to be taken to Fort William or Port Arthur by boat and then hauled over 400 miles by rail, which even at the lowest rate the railways could charge meant a high cost for fuel. For several years different projects were discussed, all aiming at cheap power. In the meantime the city looked hopelessly on as capitalists wishing to establish plants to supply the needs of the West came to Winnipeg, looked over the situation, and promptly left. All had the same reason - the cost of production was prohibitive. They could manufacture more cheaply in the east or the United States, they explained, even while paying heavy freight rates. Products produced in this manner would sell for less than if they were manufactured in Winnipeg. Firms did point out, however, that every condition other than cheap power was right - the supply of labour was steady and fairly plentiful and the city was backed by an enormously wealthy farming territory.

The city finally called in experts to explore the Winnipeg River east of the city to ascertain the cost of building a plant and bringing the power to the city. Progress was slow, however, and for a time it appeared as if the power question would be settled by private enterprise when the Winnipeg Electric Railway Company opened a plant on the Winnipeg River. But it was soon apparent that this was not going to relieve the situation, since little reduction was made in the cost of power. The city then took up the question in earnest, and in 1906 a favourable vote was cast by the electors on the expenditure of over three million dollars to construct a plant at Point du Bois. In 1907 tenders were called for the construction of the plant though it was not until 1909 that the contracts were let.²⁶

The most noteworthy aspect of the entire project, other than its long-term success, was that the business community seemed to have overcome the traditions of privatism and accepted the principle of municipal socialism as a useful tool in the development of the city. They offered a lead that involved the majority of the electors in the community and its future. The civic democracy of Winnipeg was at its strongest and best at this time, and as a result Winnipeg was to have power rates which for long were the lowest on the continent.²⁷ Thus, at first glance the story of Winnipeg's power development appears to be a time of victory for community involvement and a defeat for privatism - it was, undoubtedly, a victory for those who saw in urban growth the solution to all the city's ills.

²⁶ See Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth*, Chapter 6.

²⁷ Morton, *Manitoba*, pp. 307-08.

A closer examination of the project, however, reveals that the division into victory and defeat is not a clear one. The decision to back a public scheme was made only after all other approaches had been exhausted and not simply on the merits of municipal ownership. Only after the civic and business leaders realized that through previous mistakes they had created a powerful monopoly that threatened to keep all the profits to itself did they move in another direction. Municipal ownership was a result of, the alarming success of private enterprise, since it was only with the power and financial backing of the city at large that the business community could hope to meet and overcome the power of the Winnipeg Electric Railway Company. Had the civic leaders been more astute in their earlier dealings with this company the venture into municipal socialism would never have taken place. Only in their failure did the community succeed in obtaining cheap power. If there had been any other way, the Board of Trade and City Council would have chosen it.

Another dimension of the growth ethic in action was the elite's plans for attracting immigrants and industry to Winnipeg. Indeed, anyone wishing to understand and analyse the character of Winnipeg prior to 1914 must deal with the city's obsession with growth. Some elements of the - growth ethos of Winnipeg's civic and business leaders have been dealt with already, but of all the factors involved - transportation facilities, the need for cheap power, and the necessity for more (always more) people - the latter was undoubtedly the key to the whole process. Accordingly, Winnipeg's elite took an active role in attracting immigrants to Winnipeg throughout the period.²⁸

The methods adopted by the commercial elite varied from time to time but included such practices as the publication of guides to Winnipeg and the West, the hiring of paid immigration agents, organized tours for newspaper reporters, advertisements in European, British, and American newspapers, and the formation of such organizations as the Western Canadian Immigration Association and the Winnipeg Development and Industrial Bureau.²⁹ The various programs had several factors in common: all were costly and were largely financed by public rather than private funds.

Whether or not it was these advertising programs or other factors that attracted immigrants to Winnipeg, there is no denying the fact that they came in great numbers. Winnipeg grew from a small unincorporated community of 1,500 people in 1873 to a major metropolis of almost 200,000 by 1914. Moreover, in the decade from 1901 to 1911 more than half a million immigrants found their way from the four corners of

²⁸ See M.F.P., 16 March 1904; *Winnipeg Tribune*, 20 October 1906; and Alan F.J. Artibise, "Advertising Winnipeg: The Campaign for Immigrants and Industry," *Manitoba Historical Society Transactions*, Series III, No. 27 (1970-71), pp. 75-106.

²⁹ See Documents # VI and # VII.

Europe and from the United States and nearly all of them passed through Winnipeg.

Yet the significance of the various campaigns to attract immigrants and industry cannot be measured only by the number of newcomers or industries that were encouraged to come to Winnipeg and the Canadian West. Rather, the advertising and promotional schemes are important for what they reveal about society in the period. The fact that the commercial elite could spend public monies on programs designed primarily to benefit private speculators and businessmen indicates a great deal about the distribution of influence and power in this era. Most of the people involved in the W.C.I.A., for example, were themselves large landholders and made substantial profits because of the city's efforts. This does not mean that there was any explicit corruption involved. The point is that such a connection between private fortunes and municipal government was considered natural. Furthermore, when such expenditures of public funds are seen in relation to the social condition of the mass of the Winnipeg populace at this time, an even grimmer picture emerges. Taken in the light of Winnipeg's shortage of housing, inadequate educational and recreation facilities, lack of proper water and sewage disposal services, and a host of other problems, programs designed to encourage population growth and thus cause even more acute problems are something of a paradox. It is rather like trying to repair, maintain, and fuel a car while pressing the accelerator to the floor. Viewed from this perspective, the campaign for immigrants and industry stands as a monument to the failure of Winnipeg's leaders to develop a mature social conscience. The folly of the elite's overriding concern with population and economic growth made itself apparent in the social strife Winnipeg was to endure in 1919 and after.³⁰

While the commercial elite's obsessive concern with growth may have had negative social connotations, it was undoubtedly a complete success when measured in strictly economic terms. Although the pace of development in Winnipeg from 1874 to 1896 was not spectacular, the city did grow steadily. Then, around the turn of the century, a dramatic upsurge took place as Winnipeg entered a period of boom that continued until 1913 with only a brief interruption in 1907. The reasons for this remarkable period of prosperity in Canada are complex, but Winnipeg's role in it is easily pinpointed.³¹

³⁰ See, for example, D. J. Bercuson, *Confrontation At Winnipeg: Labour, Industrial Relations and the General Strike* (Montreal, 1975); A.B. McKillop, "Citizens and Socialists: The Ethos of Political Winnipeg, 1919-1935," unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1970; and M.K. Mott, "The 'Foreign Peril': Nativism in Winnipeg, 1916-1923," unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1970.

³¹ See Norrie, "Rate of Settlement of the Canadian Prairies, 1870-1911"; and Bellan, "Development of Winnipeg As A Metropolitan Center."

Transportation was the key to Winnipeg's development. With the coming of the C.P.R. in 1881, Winnipeg's position as a major centre on the prairies was guaranteed. Along with the main line of the C.P.R. came major freight and repair lines and, in later years, the city was to attract the lines and facilities of the other transcontinental railways. Discriminatory freight rate privileges were also accorded by railways to Winnipeg businessmen in the years after 1886, and these advantages of special rates plus the fact that Winnipeg was closer to the market and could fill orders more quickly than eastern firms gave Winnipeg a most favourable position in the wholesale trade. Strategically located at the eastern edge of Western Canada, Winnipeg became the centre into which western grain and cattle were funneled for shipment to eastern and overseas markets, and from which merchandise was dispersed in all directions to the burgeoning West.³²

The strong demand for eastern manufactured products and relatively slow delivery on orders placed in the West gave the necessary impetus for the growth of Winnipeg's manufacturing facilities. Firms such as flour mills and packing plants and firms producing construction materials such as paint, lumber, and bricks were the first to develop but were rapidly followed by others. The extensive construction activity going on throughout the West, including the construction of new transcontinental railways, made the construction materials industry particularly important. To meet the needs of the local population, retail outlets were constructed including, in 1905, the T. Eaton Company department store with over five and one-half acres of floor space.³³

As the centre of the Canadian grain trade, Winnipeg also developed complex financial institutions to serve that activity. The Grain and Produce Exchange in 1887 and numerous bank branches, brokerage houses, transportation and insurance agencies were all created specifically for the grain transactions. Revenue from grain trading was managed through the city, thus encouraging the growth of numerous wholesaling and service functions for the expanding prairie region, financing real estate activities in Winnipeg and the West, and generally providing an important source of capital for western Canadian development.³⁴

This growth extended well beyond these direct relationships with the grain trade. Real estate, insurance, and banking all developed important linkages

³² *Ibid.*; and Bellan, "Winnipeg: 1873-1914," *Regional Review* (Manitoba Society of Regional Studies), Vol. VI, No. 1 (April 1963), pp. 14-21.

³³ T.J. Kuz, "Metropolitan Winnipeg: Inter-Urban Relationships," Kuz, ed., *Winnipeg, 1874-1974*, pp. 7-20.

³⁴ G.F. Parsons, "Winnipeg As A Financial Center," in Kuz, ed., *Winnipeg, 1874-1974*, pp. 189-210. See also Bellan, "The Development of Winnipeg As a Metropolitan Center."

over an extensive western hinterland. By 1900, with the growing maturity of the prairie economy and the growth of the city itself, Winnipeg possessed a number of substantial financial institutions developed initially to serve western interests, though sufficiently competitive to break into national markets.³⁵ In 1904, for example, the Northern Trust Company was organized and in 1905 two city businessmen established a private bank (Alloway and Champion) destined to become the largest private banking business ever known in Canada, selling out to the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce in 1911.³⁶ By 1906 the Winnipeg-based Great-West Life Assurance Company was operating nationally. Similarly, the Canadian Fire Insurance Company soon established a national reputation. In 1907, a Stock Exchange was operational and trading in all aspects of development from northern Ontario to the Pacific coast was taking place.

As the undisputed metropolis of the West, Winnipeg was the main repository of entrepreneurial capacity and skilled and unskilled labour. Winnipeg contractors obtained a large share of the construction contracts let by the Canadian Northern and Grand Trunk Pacific railways. Because of its size and location, the city was also the central clearing house for western labour. Private employment agencies, located in shacks near the C.P.R. station, received the demands for labour from farmers, railway contractors, bush camp operators, building contractors, and so on, and through crude wall posters obtained the required hands from the great throngs of immigrants newly arrived in the city. Winnipeg's metropolitan status in the labour market benefited local manufacturers as well, since they were generally able to obtain help without difficulty from among local workers and their families.

The importance of railways in Winnipeg's economic structure assured the growth of organized labour in the city since railway workers were among the first to seek collective protection. Several local unions were organized in the 1880s, and the American-based Knights of Labor was established during these years. But it was not until the 1890s that the trade union movement really expanded. During this decade a Trades and Labor Council was organized to give greater strength to the growing number of unions, the first shop craft lodges were organized by C.P.R. maintenance workers, and *The People's Voice* (later *The Voice*), a newspaper dedicated to the cause of labour and progressive reform, was founded under the editorship of Arthur W. Puttee.³⁷

³⁵ G.F. Parsons, "Winnipeg As A Financial Center," p. 193.

³⁶ Peter Lowe, "All Western Dollars," *Manitoba Historical Society Transactions*, Series II (1945-46), pp. 10-25.

³⁷ K. McNaught and D. J. Bercuson, *The Winnipeg Strike: 1919* (Don Mills, 1974), p. 6. See also Document # IV.

By 1900, conflicts between unionized workers and aggressive employers began to break out with increasing regularity. Several strikes were fought in the railway system but the major strikes occurred in 1906. In that year troops with machine guns were eventually called out by civic authorities to quell the violence that broke out after the Winnipeg Electric Railway Company imported “scabs” from eastern Canada to break a strike by motormen and conductors. The Vulcan Iron Works broke a metalworkers’ strike with court injunctions and a lawsuit.³⁸

In spite of poor labour-management relations, Winnipeg reached the height of its power and influence in the years 1886-1913. It controlled wholesaling from the Great Lakes to the Rockies, the grain trade for the entire prairie region, its financial institutions operated throughout Canada, and manufacturing and retailing flourished. Although other cities such as Edmonton and Calgary were beginning to develop into important western cities, Winnipeg was by far the most dominant.

While the commercial elite concerned itself with Winnipeg’s rise to big city status, and Winnipeg was in fact as well as name becoming the metropolis of the Canadian West, the city was developing spatially into a series of distinctive neighbourhoods and work areas. The clustering of economic activities, the segregation of economic and ethnic groups, the unequal distribution of municipal services, and different types of residential development, all created a considerable variety of specialized and unique districts within Winnipeg. Indeed, the presence of neighbourhoods of distinctive character - the business district, the “foreign quartet,” the “sylvan suburbs,” and so on - distinguished the large metropolitan Winnipeg from its more jumbled predecessor, the small, almost rural pre-railway city of 1874-84.³⁹

Winnipeg was built and its society organized during this period according to a strict discipline: of history, geography, and economics. The heritage of river lot farming and fur trade routes determined to a large degree the city’s street patterns. Winnipeg’s rate of growth and particular ethnic mix played important roles in both spatial and social patterns. The Red and Assiniboine rivers and the lack of transportation and communication technology for a time prevented the spread of the city beyond the distances a person might walk in a short time. Only when new modes of transportation, such as the bicycle and the street railway, came into general use could Winnipeg’s spatial growth continue unhindered into the surrounding countryside. And, finally, the city’s particular economic base not only affected Winnipeg’s appearance; it had much

³⁸ Ibid. See also Bercuson, *Confrontation at Winnipeg*, Chapter I.

³⁹ For detailed examinations of the city’s spatial growth see Hosse, “Development of Winnipeg,” *passim*; and Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth*, Chapter 9.

to do with its social order. All these diverse and sometimes conflicting elements played a part in the transformation of a small, struggling settlement into Canada's third largest city.

The pace of growth in Winnipeg in the years after the coming of the railway was such that few, if any, cities in Canada could match the dynamic changes that had taken place. In only forty years Winnipeg grew from a small fur trading post with less than 2,000 inhabitants to a sprawling metropolis one hundred times that size. The physical expansion that accompanied this growth in population was equally great. When incorporated in 1874, over 3.1 square miles were included within the boundaries of the City of Winnipeg; an area which then bore no relation whatever to the built up extent of the city. Yet by 1914 the city's boundaries had not only grown to include 23.6 square miles, but most of this area was in either residential or commercial use. Indeed, by 1914, Winnipeg's population and industry were spilling over into surrounding municipalities.⁴⁰

The rapid growth of Winnipeg brought numerous other major changes. It was transformed from a city of pedestrians and horses to one of bicycles, street cars, and even a few automobiles. The old residential area of 1874 had become by 1914 the principal zone of work - the industrial, commercial, financial, and communications centre of the Canadian West. At the same time the older dwellings of the central area that were not torn down for industrial expansion were on their way to becoming the homes of the lower-income half of the population. Beyond the central core three distinct areas of new houses had sprung up. To the south in Wards 1 and 2 the more affluent and chiefly Anglo-Saxon elements of the population resided; to the west in Ward 3 a large middle class area of somewhat more mixed composition; and to the north in Wards 5, 6 and 7 the working class and "foreign ghetto."⁴¹

Winnipeg in 1914 was very much a city divided; divided into areas of work and residence, rich and poor, Anglo-Saxon and foreigner. By this time, too, many of the familiar modern problems of urban life were beginning to emerge: the sudden withdrawal of whole segments of an old neighbourhood's population; the rapid decay of entire sections of the city; the spread of the metropolis beyond its political boundaries; and, above all, the discipline of the lives of Winnipeg's residents into specialized occupations, specialized home environments, and special community relationships.

The establishment of such patterns of growth had serious consequences for Winnipeg. In the short run, of course, residential segregation had a pacifying effect. Income and ethnic

⁴⁰ Weir, "Winnipeg: A City in the Making," *passim*.

⁴¹ See maps of the entire city and of these districts in Alan F. J. Artibise and Edward H. Dahl, *Winnipeg in Maps/Winnipeg par les cartes, 1816-1972* (Ottawa, 1975).

segregation held conflicting groups apart. The upper-class of the South End and the middle-class and prosperous working class of the West End and Central Core were separated from the lower-class and foreigners of the North End. In general, each district had a neighbourhood homogeneity that gave a sense of place and community. But the social consequence of such patterns in the long-run were equally obvious. Many Win-nipeggers never lived in mixed neighbourhoods and thus failed to develop the tolerance which must exist in such areas. In seeking the freedom of living informally among equals in certain districts of the city, many residents escaped the demands of respect for different goals and values. And, if any characteristic stands out in such events as the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919, it is this lack of any willingness to understand the point of view of others. From this one example it is apparent that decisions made by city officials, businessmen, and home builders in one era had a profound effect on future events. Indeed, many of the ideas, values, and residential patterns that emerged in Winnipeg between 1874 and 1914 have never disappeared.

The collapse of the real estate market in 1913 and the outbreak of war in 1914 had a profound effect on Winnipeg. After a long period of persistent and prodigious growth, immigration halted, land sales subsided, and commercial activity contracted. The "continuous joy-ride" was over as Winnipeg entered a new era, one in which the city was to face the major consequences of the boom, the unresolved questions of race and class relationships, and the agony of a great war.⁴² Yet these disruptive events did not diminish Winnipeg's prior material progress; in terms of population and productivity it stood well in the forefront of Canadian cities in 1914. Nor did they obscure Winnipeg's unique character. With regard to landscape, economic base, society, and government, it was the culmination of the aspirations of the dominant commercial elite.

The year 1914 can be viewed as an important terminal date in the city's history. Compared to the struggling, pre-railway city of 1881, or the compact and ethnically homogeneous city of 1896, Winnipeg in 1914 was an established, sprawling and heterogeneous metropolis. Behind lay forty years of existence as an incorporated city, time enough to provide the perspective necessary to determine how effectively the commercial elite had reconciled their ambitions for a great city with the more important dimension of effective community life for the great majority of citizens.

The commercial elite's desire to make Winnipeg the West's metropolis was more than met by 1914. Winnipeg was Canada's third largest city. In terms of industrial output it stood in fourth place, surpassed only by Montreal, Toronto, and Hamilton. The city accounted for one-half of the prairie provinces' manufacturing output in 1911, and was

⁴² Morton, *Manitoba*, Chapter 14; Bellan, "Development of Winnipeg As A Metropolitan Center," Chapter 8.

firmly established as that region's banking, jobbing, and shipping headquarters. In short, Winnipeg had all the ingredients that made it the undisputed metropolis of Western Canada. The city had access to a rich hinterland and had developed within its boundaries the services necessary for control over a region. These included such resources as financial institutions, manufacturing establishments, large, diversified wholesale houses, transportation facilities, administrative agencies, and even specialized services such as firms of architects and consulting engineers. But the most spectacular, and to the city's businessmen the most satisfying, element in the growth of this period was the passing of Minneapolis, Chicago, and other famous American cities, and the crowning of Winnipeg as the greatest grain centre on the North American continent. This occurred in 1909 when Winnipeg handled 88 million bushels of wheat compared to 81 million for Minneapolis, 61 million for Buffalo, 56 million for Duluth, 30 million for Montreal, 26 million for Chicago, and 23 million for New York.

The great success of the commercial elite's economic programs must, however, be balanced by Winnipeg's obvious shortcomings. Politically, the city was governed by a select group of successful businessmen who, by means of a restricted franchise, plural vote, and centralized form of government, usually excluded Winnipeg's labour and ethnic groups from political office, thereby ensuring that only their vision of desirable public policy would prevail.⁴³ The city's failure was also physical. The inattention of Winnipeg's builders and civic officials to the fragmentation of the city's community life had far-reaching results. Although a few of the city's leaders were impressed with plans for a more efficient, orderly, and attractive community, the great majority of the commercial elite were too devoted to development to accept restrictions on private enterprise. As a result Winnipeg's environment developed into distinctive and mutually exclusive neighbourhoods, marked by unequal social services and amenities; conditions clearly unfavourable to the development of meaningful community life. Each district had its own church groups, clubs, and specialized societies of all kinds, but the city as a whole lacked any effective agency that could deal with the problems of the metropolis as a whole. Even the municipal corporation, dominated as it was by a small, growth-conscious business elite, could not conceive of the urban environment as belonging to and affecting all citizens.

In the final analysis it was the overriding commitment to growth for its own sake that provides the most profound reason for Winnipeg's failure to develop an all-encompassing community life in the first forty years of its

⁴³ See Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth*, Chapter 3. See also A. Ross McCormack, "Radical Politics in Winnipeg, 1899-1915," *Manitoba Historical Society Transactions*, Series III, No. 29 (1972-1973), pp. 81-97.

history. With economic growth the unquestioned priority, few public resources were left over to guarantee for all in the city a satisfactory standard of living. In 1914 the poor of Winnipeg lacked steady, well-paid work, adequate housing, and decent medical care. They were segregated into one-third of the city, ill-protected from crime, their children without good schools or adequate recreation. The vast majority of Winnipeggers, the working and middle class, lived in adequate but ugly shelters and were over-regimented by the conditions of work and the constraints of their urban environment. Despite the protection of unions for some and affluence for others, the mass of Winnipeggers lacked any effective means to humanize their lives. The city's notoriously high death rate - and especially infant mortality rate - and the rising tide of strikes in the years after 1900 revealed most clearly than an exclusive commitment to "bigger and better" was not the way to build a safe and co-operative community.

Yet in the longer perspective, it is clear, the possibility of coexistence between Anglo-Saxon and "foreigner," management and labour, rich and poor, never vanished entirely. There were always a precious few in every group who recognized the community of interests which transcended the particular divisions in Winnipeg's population. If they were not much heeded in Winnipeg's first forty years, they nevertheless carried forward into subsequent decades constructive ideals, the roots of which extended back to an older Winnipeg that included such public-spirited organizations as All People's Mission, the Margaret Scott Nursing Mission, the Town Planning Association, and a host of others.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ For a general discussion of Winnipeg in the post-1913 period see Artibise, *Winnipeg: An Illustrated History* (Toronto, 1977).

DOCUMENTS

I

AN ACT TO INCORPORATE THE CITY OF WINNIPEG

This act marks the emergence of the first urban municipal unit in the Province of Manitoba.¹ Prior to its passage, Winnipeg was known as a town, although even that title was misleading since before 1873 Winnipeg lacked legal recognition as a municipality. Until the creation of the Province of Manitoba in 1870, the settlement of Winnipeg was in the District of Assiniboia and, like the area surrounding it, was governed by the officials of the Hudson's Bay Company. Between 1870 and 1873, municipal affairs in Winnipeg were administered by the provincial government and the community was provided with an assessor, road surveyor, and constables, but little else.²

The inadequacy of this arrangement was apparent to the residents of Winnipeg as early as 1871 and was the root cause for the formation of an "incorporation movement." Between 1871 and 1873 a vigorous campaign was waged to have Winnipeg incorporated as a city. In November 1873, after much controversy and ill feeling on the subject during the preceding year, the provincial Legislature incorporated the City of Winnipeg by the passage of this act.³

Application of the act was not long in coming, for Winnipeg's first civic election was held in January 1874. It was preceded by a lively campaign, the main issue being the extent of each candidate's connection with large property interests such as the Hudson's Bay Company. The winner of the mayoralty contest, F E. Cornish, called the first meeting of Council on January 19, 1874. One of the more noteworthy facts about the Act of Incorporation was that it was based on the Ontario system. The provision for a ward system, property qualifications for aldermen and mayor, and the dates for nominations, elections, and meetings were all identical to Ontario statutes. The slate of elective and appointive officials and the powers of the mayor were also based on Ontario examples.

¹ *Statutes of Manitoba*, 1873 (Cap. 7., 37 Victoria). The Act was assented to on November 8, 1873.

² See A.D. Phillips, "The Development of Municipal Institutions in Manitoba to 1886," unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1948.

³ A detailed account of the incorporation controversy can be found in Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth*, pp. 1-19.

*Winnipeg, too, possessed all the bylaw-making powers of an Ontario city. In short, the remaking of Manitoba in the image of Ontario was begun most markedly in Winnipeg.*⁴

The government of Winnipeg was carried on under this act of incorporation until 1886 when it was repealed. Until 1902 the city's affairs were administered under the provisions of the Manitoba Municipal and Assessment acts. In practice this change signified no reduction in the city's powers. In 1902 the city again obtained a special charter which was not revised substantially until 1918.

Whereas a great number of the inhabitants of Winnipeg have represented that it is desirable that the same should be incorporated as a City under the name of Winnipeg

—
Therefore Her Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba, enacts as follows:

I. From and after the passing of this Act, the inhabitants of the City of Winnipeg as hereinafter described, and their successors, shall be and are hereby declared to be a body politic and corporate, in fact and in law, by the name of "The Mayor and Council of the City of Winnipeg," and separated from the County of Selkirk for all municipal purposes, and by the same name they and their successors shall have perpetual succession and shall have power to sue and be sued, implead and be impleaded, answer and be answered unto, in all courts and in all actions, causes and suits of law whatsoever, and shall have a common seal, with power to alter and modify the same at their will and pleasure; and shall be in law capable of receiving by donation, acquiring, holding and departing with any property, real or moveable, for the use of the said City; of becoming parties to any contracts or agreements in the management of the affairs of the said City; and of giving or accepting any notes, bonds, obligations, judgments, or other instruments or securities for the payment of, or securing the payment of, any sum of money borrowed or loaned, or for the executing or guaranteeing the execution of any duty, right or thing whatsoever.

II. The said City of Winnipeg shall be bounded as follows:
Commencing where the northerly limit of lot 224, in the Parish of St. John, according to the Hudson's Bay Company's Register, strikes the water's edge of the Red River; thence north-westerly along the said limit of said lot to where the same intersects the eastern limit of the main highway from Winnipeg to the lower parishes; thence along the said highway southerly across the said lot 224; thence north-westerly along the southerly limit of the said lot to the rear thereof; thence southerly along the rear of the lots in the settlement belt to the westerly angle of lot 249, originally bought from the Hudson's Bay Company by William Drever; thence south-easterly along the southerly

⁴ A detailed discussion of Ontario influences on Manitoba's early municipal development is contained in Phillips, "The Development of Municipal Institutions in Manitoba to 1886." It should also be noted that the Act of Incorporation was framed by F.E. Cornish, a lawyer who received his training in Ontario.

limit of the said lot 249, to where the same would be intersected by the extension of the easterly limit of the street laid out by the said Hudson's Bay Company between lot, pensioner's, 54, and lot 1212 fronting on the Assiniboine River; thence southerly along the east limit of the said street to the waters edge on the said Assiniboine River; and thence along the latter easterly to the Red River; and thence down the westerly edge of the same with the stream to the place of beginning.

III. The City shall be divided into four Wards,⁵ to be called respectively the North, South, East and West Wards, which shall be bounded as follows:

NORTH WARD.

All that portion of the City north of lot numbered 246, according to the survey made by authority of the Hudson's Bay Company.

SOUTH WARD.

All that portion of the City bounded as follows: commencing at the Red River at the south-eastern corner of a lot known as Dr. Schultz's lot, being a portion of lot No. 1210; thence westerly along the southern boundary of the said lot to the Main Street; thence northerly along the Main Street to a point opposite to the road known as the Portage la Prairie road; thence along the said Portage la Prairie road to the southern boundary of lot numbered 249, known as Drevet's lot; thence along said southern boundary of Drevet's lot to the western limit of the City; thence south-westerly along the boundary of the City to the Assiniboine River, and thence down the stream along the banks of the Assiniboine and Red Rivers to the place of beginning.

EAST WARD.

All that portion of the City lying between the North and South Wards, and east of the Main Street.

WEST WARD.

All that portion of the City lying between the North and South Wards, and west of the Main Street.

⁵ The ward system established by this Act lasted until 1882. In that year a system of six wards was created with the wards numbered consecutively. In 1906, when part of the municipality of Kildonan was brought into the city limits, Ward Seven was created. Further minor change to ward boundaries were made in 1909 and 1910. See city of Winnipeg Bylaws, #5556 (passed 11 May 1909) and #5895 (passed 4 February 1910). For a map of the wards, see Artibise, *Winnipeg: An Illustrated History*, p. 57.

IV. There shall be elected from time to time in the manner hereafter mentioned, a fit and proper person who shall be, and be called the Mayor of the City of Winnipeg, and three fit persons for each Ward, who shall be and be called Aldermen of the City of Winnipeg; and such Mayor and Aldermen for the time being shall form the Council of the said City, and shall be designated as such, and shall represent for all purposes whatsoever, the Corporation of the City of Winnipeg.

V. Every election shall be by Wards, and every Ward election shall be held within the Ward.

VI. No person being in holy orders, or the Minister of any religious belief whatever, the judges of the Court of Queen's Bench or of the County Court, Sherriffs or Officers of the said Courts, nor Officers of Her Majesty's Army or Navy, or the Volunteers of Canada on active service, or salaried civil officers of the Dominion of Canada or of the Province, nor any person accountable for the revenues of the said City, shall be capable of being elected Mayor or Alderman of the said City; nor any officer or person presiding at the election of the Mayor or Alderman, while so employed, nor any person who shall have been convicted of treason or felony in any Court of Law within Her Majesty's Dominions, or elsewhere, nor any person having in person, or through his partner, or as a Director in any Incorporated Company, any contract whatever or interest in any contract with or for the said City, shall be capable of being elected Mayor or Alderman for the said City.

VII. The following persons shall not be obliged to accept the office of Mayor or Alderman for the said City, nor any other office to be filled by the Council of the said City, viz: Members of the Provincial Legislature, practising Physicians, Surgeons, and Apothecaries, Schoolmasters actually engaged in teaching, persons over sixty years of age, and the members of the Council of the said City who have been so within the two years next preceding; and the persons who shall have fulfilled any of the offices under such Council, or paid the penalty for refusing to accept such office, shall be exempt from serving in the same office during the two years next after such service or payment.

VIII. That the persons qualified to be elected as such Mayor or Aldermen shall be the male inhabitants of such City or Ward, who shall have resided at least six months next before such election within the said City, and who at the time of such election shall be possessed of real estate within the City or Ward therein to the value of two thousand dollars, and the householders within the said City who shall have resided in the City or Ward for at least six months next preceding such election, of property to the value of two hundred dollars, or a rental of three hundred dollars per annum; and no person shall be eligible to be elected as such Mayor or Alderman, who shall not be of the full age of twenty-one years, and a subject of Her Majesty by birth or by naturalization.

IX. That the persons qualified to vote at any such election shall be the male inhabitants of such City or Ward, and proprietors owning real estate to the value of one hundred dollars and upwards; and the male inhabitants of said City or Ward,

occupying real estate to the value of twenty dollars per annum and upwards; but no person shall be so qualified to vote unless of the full age twenty-one years, and a subject of Her Majesty by birth or naturalization.

X. That the persons qualified to be elected or vote at the first election to be holden under this Act shall be the male freeholders or householders of the City or Ward, who shall have resided therein for at least three months next before such first election, and who are of the full age of twenty-one years, and by birth or naturalization subjects of Her Majesty.⁶

XI. The Mayor and Aldermen shall be elected for one year only, and shall remain in office until their successors in office shall have been elected and sworn in.

XII. The Council shall from time to time, by By-law, appoint the place or places for holding the next ensuing municipal election; otherwise the election shall be held at the place or places at which the last election was held.

XIII. The electors of the City shall elect annually, on the first Monday of January, the Mayor and three Aldermen for each Ward, and the persons so elected shall hold office until their successors are elected or appointed and sworn into office, and the new Council is organized; and the first election under this Act shall be held on the first Monday in January, in the year one thousand eight hundred and seventy-four: Provided, however, that if such Monday should be a statutory holiday, the election shall be held on the next juridical day.⁷

XIV. The Council shall from time to time, by By-law, appoint Returning Officers to hold the next ensuing elections; and until the first Council shall be organized and appoint a Clerk, the Registrar of the County of Selkirk shall act as

⁶ These property qualifications for candidates and electors had a profound effect upon the nature of civic politics in Winnipeg. The property qualifications, minimal though they may seem now, in fact disenfranchised thousands of Winnipeggers. And it also meant that the successful businessman was consistently over-represented in the elected positions in the city. See Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth*, pp.23-42.

⁷ Winnipeg's first civic election took place on January 8, 1874. F.E. Cornish was elected mayor while the following were elected as aldermen: Thomas Scott, Herbert Swinford and James McLenagen for the South Ward; Archibald Wright, James H. Ashdown and John Higgins for the West Ward; Andrew Strong, W.B. Thibadeau and Stewart Mulvey for the East Ward; and Alexander Logan, William G. Fonseca, and J.B. More for the North Ward. A complete list of mayors, controllers, and aldermen for the period 1874-1914 can be found in Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth*, Appendix A.

Clerk of the City, and shall appoint the Returning Officers and the time and places for holding the elections in conformity with this Act, and shall otherwise perform the duties of Clerk. ...⁸

XX. At any election, or at any public vote in respect of a By-law which requires the assent of the electors, the only oaths or affirmations to be required of any person claiming to vote, and appearing by the last revised Assessment Roll (if any) to have the necessary property qualifications, are, that he is of the full age of twenty-one years, and is a natural-born or naturalized subject of Her Majesty; that he has been, if a householder, a resident within the City for six months next before the election, and that he has not before voted at the election, or on the By-Law (*as the case may be*); and that he is the person named in the last revised Assessment Roll, (or *when there has not yet been an Assessment Roll*) that he is a freeholder or householder in (naming the property entitling him to vote at the election); and that he has not directly or indirectly received any reward or gift, nor does he expect to receive any, for the vote which he tenders at this election; and such oaths shall be administered at the request of any candidate or elector; and no inquiries shall be made of any such person except with respect to the facts specified in such oaths or affirmations.

XXI. The Returning Officer shall at the close of the poll add up the number of votes set down for each candidate (except for the office of Mayor), and shall publicly declare the same, beginning with the candidate having the greatest number, and so on with the others, and shall thereupon publicly declare elected the candidate or candidates respectively standing highest on the poll. ...

XXIV. The Mayor shall be chosen by the electors of the City at the annual election to be held at the same time as the election of Aldermen.

XXV. A meeting of the electors shall take place for the nomination of candidates for the Mayoralty at the City Hall, or for the first election at a place to be named by the Clerk, on the last Monday before the annual election, at ten o'clock of the forenoon.

XXVI. The City Clerk shall preside at such meeting, or in case of his absence the Council shall appoint a person to preside in his place: if the Clerk or the person so appointed does not attend, the electors present shall choose a chairman or person to officiate from among themselves.

XXVII. Such Clerk or Chairman shall have all the powers of a Returning Officer.

XXVIII. If only one qualified candidate has been within one hour proposed by any elector present at such meeting, the Clerk or Chairman shall declare such candidate duly elected Mayor.

XXIX. If more candidates than one are proposed, and if a poll is demanded, the Clerk or Chairman shall on the following day post up in the office of the Clerk the

⁸ Whenever portions of the original act are omitted, the omission is indicated in the manner used here.

names of the persons proposed, and give notice thereof to the Returning Officer for every Ward.

XXX. Every Returning Officer shall enter in his poll-book in separate columns, the names of the candidates for the office of Mayor, as well as the names of the candidates for the offices of Aldermen, and shall in the column in which is entered the name of a candidate for Mayor voted for by any voter, set the number “ 1” opposite the voter’s name.

XXXI. Every returning Officer shall, on the day after the close of the poll return the poll-book to the City Clerk, verified as to the election of Mayor, as well as in the other particulars required by this Act.

XXXII. The City Clerk shall add up the number of votes set down for each candidate for Mayor in the respective poll-books so returned, and ascertain the aggregate number of such votes; and in case a poll has been taken and the poll books have been returned for every Ward, the Clerk shall, at the City Hall, or at his office should there be no City Hall, at noon of the day following the return of the poll-books, declare elected the candidate having the largest number of votes polled. ...

XXXIV. The Mayor elect shall make and subscribe the necessary declarations of office and qualification on the day appointed for the first meeting of the Council, and shall afterwards administer the necessary declarations to the other members of the Council.

XXXV. No other business shall be proceeded with at the said meeting until the said declarations have been administered to all the members who present themselves to take the same. ...

XLV. The Members of the Council shall hold their first meeting at noon on the third Monday in the same January, in which they are elected, or on some day thereafter at noon.

XLVI. Every Council may adjourn its meeting from time to time. XLVII. Seven members of the Council shall constitute a quorum. ...

LI. The Mayor shall be deemed the head of the Council and the head and chief executive officer of the Corporation, and it shall be his duty to be vigilant and active at all times in causing the law for the government of the City to be duly executed and put in force; to inspect the conduct of all the subordinate officers in the government thereof, and, as far as may be in his power, to cause all negligence, carelessness and positive violation of duty to be duly prosecuted and punished, and to communicate from time to time to the Council all such information, and recommend all such measures as may tend to the improvement of the finances, the police, health, security, cleanliness, comfort and ornament of the City. ...

LIV. The subsequent meetings of the Council after the first shall be held at such place, and from time to time as the Council by resolution on adjourning, to be entered on the minutes, or by By-law appoints.

LV. The Council shall hold its ordinary meetings openly, and no person shall be excluded except for improper conduct. ...

LXXIII. The Council shall settle the remuneration to be given to the

officers of the Council and shall provide for the payment of the same.⁹

LXXIV. The Mayor and other members of the Council, and the subor-dinate officers of the City, may make declaration of office and qualification before any justice of the Peace having jurisdiction in the City of Winnipeg, or before the Clerk of the Council.

LXXV. The jurisdiction of the Council shall be confined to the City of Winnipeg, except where authority beyond the same is expressly given, and the powers of the Council shall be exercised by By-law when not otherwise authorized or provided for.

LXXVI. The Council may make regulations not specially provided for by this Act, and not contrary to law, for governing the proceedings of the Council, the conduct of its members, and the appointing or calling of special meetings of the Council; and generally, such other regulations as the good of the inhabitants of the City requires; and may repeal, alter and amend its By-laws, save as by this Act restricted.

LXXVII. Every By-law shall be under the seal of the Corporation, and shall be signed by the Mayor, or by the person presiding at the meeting at which the By-law has been passed, and by the Clerk of the Corporation.

LXXVIII. In case a By-law requires the assent of the electors of a municipality before the final passing thereof, the following proceedings shall be taken for ascertaining such assent, except in cases otherwise provided for:

(1.) The Council shall by the By-law fix the day, hour and place for taking the votes of the electors thereon at the place at which the election of the members of the Council is held; and shall also name a Returning Officer to take the votes at such place, and such day shall not be less than three nor more than four weeks after the first publication of the proposed By-law as herein provided for.¹⁰

(2.) The Council shall, for at least one month before the final passing of the proposed By-law, publish a copy thereof in some newspaper published weekly or oftener in the City.

(3.) Appended to each copy so published shall be a notice signed by the Clerk of the Council, stating that such copy is a true copy of a proposed By-law which will be taken into consideration by the Council after one month from the first publication in the newspaper, stating the date of the first publication, and

⁹ Until 1902 aldermen received no pay whatever, while from 1903 to 1909 they received the sum of \$300 per year. This was increased to \$500 in 1910. The mayor similarly received nothing until 1894 when a sum of \$1,200 was set aside. This was increased to \$2,500 in 1907; to \$4,000 in 1908; and finally to \$5,000 in 1911. See Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth*, p. 41.

¹⁰ In the case of money bylaws, electors had to meet the same qualifications as those outlined in Section IX above. In 1884, however, the property qualification was raised from \$100 to \$500.

naming the hour, day and place or places fixed for taking the votes of the electors.

(4.) At such day and hour a poll shall be taken, and all proceedings thereat and for the purpose thereof, shall be conducted in the same manner as nearly as may be as at an election.

(5.) The Returning Officers shall on the day after the closing of the poll, return their poll-books verified to the Clerk of the Council.

(6.) The Clerk of the Council shall add up the number of votes for and against the same, and shall certify to the Council, under his hand, whether the majority have approved or disapproved of the By-law; and shall keep the same with the poll-book among the records of his office.

LXXIX. In case an offence be committed against a By-law of the Council, for the prosecution of which offence no other provision is made, any justice of the Peace having jurisdiction in the City, or where the offence was committed, may try and determine any prosecution for the offence.

LXXX. The justice or other authority before whom a prosecution is had for an offence against a By-law, may convict the offender on the oath or affirmation of any credible witness, and shall award the penalty or punishment imposed by the By-law, with the costs of prosecution, and may be warrant under the hand and seal of the Justice or other authority, or in case two or more justices act together therein, then under the hand and seal of one of them, cause any pecuniary penalty and costs, or costs only, if not forthwith paid, to be levied by distress and sale of the goods and chattels of the offenders.

LXXXI. In case of there being no distress found out of which the penalty can be levied, the Justice may commit the offender to the common gaol, house of correction, or nearest lock-up house, for the term specified in the By-law, such time not to exceed twenty-one days.

LXXXII. When the pecuniary penalty has been levied, one moiety thereof shall go to the informer or prosecutor, and the other moiety to the Corporation, unless the prosecution is brought in the name of the Corporation, and in that case the whole of the pecuniary penalty shall be paid to the Corporation.

LXXXIII. The Mayor shall have jurisdiction, in addition to his other powers, to try and determine all prosecutions for offences against the By-laws of the City, and for penalties for refusing to accept office therein, or to make the necessary declarations of qualification and office. ...

LXXXVII. The Council shall assess and levy on the whole rateable property within its jurisdiction a sufficient sum in each year to pay all valid debts of the Corporation, whether of principal or interest, falling due within the year.

LXXXVIII. The Council may, under the formalities required by law, pass By-laws for contracting debts by borrowing money, or otherwise, and for levying rates for payment of such debts on the rateable property of the town for

any purpose within the jurisdiction of the Council; but no such By-law shall be valid which is not in accordance with the following restrictions and provisions:¹¹

(1.) The By-law shall name a day in the financial year in which the same is passed, when the By-law shall take effect, and the whole of the debts and the obligations to be

issued therefore shall be made payable in twenty years at furthest from the day on which such By-law takes effect.

(2.) The By-law shall settle an equal special rate per annum, in addition to all other rates, to be levied in each year for paying the debt and interest; such special rate shall be sufficient, according to the amount of rateable property appearing by the last revised Assessment Rolls, to discharge the debt and interest when respectively payable.

(3.) The By-law shall recite: (1.) The amount of the debt which such new By-law is intended to create, and, in some brief and general terms, the object for which it is to be created; (2) The total amount required by this Act to be raised annually by special rate for paying the new debt and interest; (3.) The amount of the whole rateable property of the City, according to the last revised Assessment Rolls; and (4.) The annual special rate in the dollar for paying the interest and creating an equal yearly sinking fund for paying the principal of the new debt, according to this Act.

LXXXIX. Every By-law for raising upon the credit of the City any money not required for its ordinary expenditure, and not payable within the same municipal year, shall, before the final passing thereof, receive the assent of the electors of the City in the matter provided for in this Act.

XC. The Council may pass By-laws:

(1.) For obtaining such real and personal property as may be required for the use of the Corporation, and for erecting, improving and maintaining a City Hall, and other houses and buildings required by, and being upon the land of, the Corporation, and for disposing of such property when no longer required;

(2.) For appointing all officers that are necessary in the affairs of the Corporation, and for regulating the remuneration, fees, charges and duties of such officers, and the securities to be given for the performance of such duties;

(3.) For inflicting reasonable fines and penalties not exceeding twenty dollars, including costs;

(a) Upon any person for the non-performance of his duties, who has been elected or appointed, to any office in the Corporation, and who has accepted such office and taken the oaths, and afterwards neglects the duties thereof; and (b) For breach of any of the By-laws of the Corporation; and

(4.) For collecting such penalties by distress and sale of the goods and chattels of the offender.

¹¹ City Council gained approval of its first money bylaw in 1875. It called for an expenditure of \$250,000 on such civic improvements as sewers, fire equipment, waterworks, civic buildings, and streets.

(5.) For inflicting reasonable punishment, by imprisonment, either in a lock-up house in the City, or in the county or provincial gaol, for any period not exceeding twenty-one days, for breach of any of the By-laws of the Council in case of non-payment of the fine inflicted for any such breach, and of there being no distress found out of which such fine can be levied;

(6.) For granting certificates to obtain tavern licenses (that is licenses for the retail of spirituous, fermented, or other manufactured liquors to be drunk in the inn, ale-house, beer-house, or other house or place of public entertainment in which the same is sold), under the License Act, 1873, and for granting grocery licenses, (that is licenses for the sale of such liquors in shops, stores or places other than inns, ale-houses, beer-houses, or places of public entertainment), under the said Act. One-half the amount received by the Government for licenses within the City, shall be paid over to the Corporation of the City to form part of the City funds;

(7.) For declaring the terms and conditions required to be complied with by an applicant for a tavern or shop license, and the security to be given by him for observing the same;

(8.) For limiting the number of tavern and shop licenses respectively;

(9.) For regulating the houses or places licensed;

(10.) For prohibiting the sale by retail of spirituous, fermented, or other manufactured liquors, in any inn or other house of entertainment, and for prohibiting the sale thereof in shops and places other than houses of public entertainment: Provided by By-law, before the final passing thereof, has been duly approved by the electors of the City in the manner provided by this Act.

XCI. The Council may pass By-laws:

(1.) For appointing annually, one or more fit and proper persons, possessing the same property qualifications, as that required for the Aldermen of the City, to be Inspector of Shop and Tavern Licenses, who shall hold office during the current year, and any vacancy occurring during the year shall be filled by the Council for the remainder of such year;

(2.) For fixing and defining the duties, powers, and privileges of the Inspectors so appointed; the remuneration they shall receive, and the security to be given by them for the efficient discharge of the duties of their office; such By-laws not being contrary to law;

(3.) For regulating and governing all persons who for hire or gain, directly or indirectly, keep, or have in their possession, or on their premises, any billiard table, and for fixing the sum to be paid for a license so to have or keep such billiard table, and the time such license shall be in force;

(4.) For limiting the number of, and regulating victualling houses, and licensing the same.

XCII. All sums of money levied for licenses, over and above the sum payable to the Province shall belong to the City.

XCIII. The Mayor with any one justice of the Peace having Jurisdiction in the City, upon complaint made on oath, to them or one of them, of riotous or disorderly conduct in any inn, tavern, ale or beer-house, situate in the City, may summon the keeper of the inn, tavern, ale or beer-house, to answer the complaint, and may investigate the same summarily, and either dismiss the complaint, with costs to be paid by the complainant, or convict the keeper of having a riotous or disorderly house, and annul his license, or suspend the same for not more than one hundred days, with or without costs, as in their discretion may seem just.

XCIV. The Council may pass By-laws:

(1.) For obtaining such real property as may be required for the erection of common school houses thereon, and for other common school purposes. and for the disposal thereof, when no longer required; and for the providing for the establishment and support of common schools according to law;

(2.) For preventing cruelty to animals;

(3.) For imposing a tax on the owners, possessors or harborers of dogs;

(4.) For killing dogs running at large contrary to the By-laws;

(5.) For preventing the injuring or destroying of trees planted or preserved for shade or ornament;

(6.) For preventing the pulling down or defacing of sign boards and of printed or written notices;

(7.) For authorizing any corporate Gas or Water Company to lay down pipes or conduits for the conveyance of water or gas under streets or public squares, subject co such regulations as the Council sees fit; and for acquiring stock in, or lending money to, any such company.

XCV. The Council may pass By-laws:

(1.) For appointing Inspectors;

(2.) For visiting all places wherein weights and measures, steelyards, or weighing machines of any description are used;

(3.) For seizing and destroying such as are not according to the standard;

(4.) For imposing and collecting penalties upon persons who are found in possession of unstamped or unjust weights, measures, steelyards, or other weighing machines.

XCVI. The Council may pass By-laws:

(1.) For enforcing the due observance of the Sabbath according to law;

(2.) For preventing the sale or gift of intoxicating drinks to a child, apprentice, or servant, without the consent of a parent, master, or legal protector;

(3.) For preventing the posting of 'indecent placards, writings, or pictures, or the writing of indecent words, or the making of 'indecent pictures or drawings, on walls or fences in street or public places;

(4.) For preventing vice, drunkenness, profane swearing, obscene, blasphemous or grossly insulting language, and other immorality and in-

decency, in streets, highways, or public places;

(5.) For suppressing tippling-houses and houses of ill-fame;

(6.) For preventing or regulating horse-racing;

(7.) For preventing or regulating and licensing exhibitions held or kept for hire or profit;

(8.) For suppressing gambling houses, and for seizing and destroying faro-banks, rouge-et-noir, fouler tables, and other devices for gambling;

(9.) For restraining and punishing vagrants, mendicants, and persons found drunk or disorderly in any street, highway, or public place;

(10.) For preventing indecent exposure of the person and other indecent exhibitions;

(11.) For preventing or regulating the bathing or washing the person in any public place near a public highway.

XCVII. The Council may pass By-laws for the following purposes:

(1.) For regulating and governing Auctioneers and other persons selling or putting up for sale goods, wares, merchandise or effects by public auction; and for fixing the sum to be paid over and above the Provincial duty for every such license;

(2.) For licensing, regulating, and governing hawkers or petty chapmen, and other persons carrying on petty trades, who have not become householders or permanent residents in the City, or who go from place to place or to other men's houses, or in or with any boat, vessel, or other craft or otherwise, carrying goods, wares or merchandise for sale, and for fixing the sum to be paid for a license for exercising such calling within the City;

(3.) For regulating ferries between any two places in the City; and establishing the rates of ferriage to be taken thereon;

(4.) For regulating the encumbering, injuring or fouling by animals, vehicles, vessels or other means, of any public wharf, sewer, shore, river or water;

(5.) For establishing, protecting and regulating public wells, reservoirs, and other conveniences for the supply of water, and for making reasonable charges for the use thereof; and for preventing the wasting and fouling of public water.

MARKETS.

XCVIII. The Council may pass By-laws:

(1.) For establishing markets, and for regulating the same;

(2.) For regulating the sale by retail in the public streets of any meat, vegetables, fruit or beverages;

(3.) For regulating the buying and selling of articles or animals exposed for sale or market in the open air;

(4.) For regulating the place and manner of selling and weighing butcher's

meat, fish, hay, straw, fodder, wood and lumber;

(5.) For preventing the forestalling, regrating, or monopoly of market grains, meats, fish, fruits, roots and vegetables;

(6.) For preventing and regulating the purchase of such things by hucksters or runners living within the City;

(7.) For regulating the mode of measuring or weighing (as the case may be) of lime, shingles, laths, cordwood, coal and other fuel;

(8.) For imposing penalties for light weight, or short count, or short measurement in anything marketed;

(9.) For regulating all vehicles, vessels and other things within the City in which anything is exposed for sale, or marketed in any street or public place, and for imposing a reasonable duty thereon, and establishing the mode in which it shall be paid;

(10.) For regulating the assize of bread, and preventing the use of deleterious materials in making bread; and for providing for the seizure and forfeiture of bread made contrary to the By-law;

(11.) For seizing and destroying all tainted and unwholesome meat, poultry, fish, or other articles of food;

(12.) For selling, after six hours' notice, butcher's meat distrained for rent of market stalls;

(13.) For preventing or regulating the bathing or washing the person in any public water in or near the City;

(14.) For preventing and abating public nuisances;

(15.) For preventing or regulating the construction of privy vaults;

(16.) For causing vacant lots to be properly enclosed;

(17.) For preventing or regulating the erection or continuance of slaughter houses, tanneries, breweries, distilleries, or other manufactures or trades which may prove to be nuisances;

(18.) For preventing the ringing of bells, blowing of horns, shouting and other unusual noises, in streets and public places;

(19.) For preventing or regulating the firing of guns, or other firearms; and the firing or setting off of fireballs, squibs, crackers or fire-works, and for preventing charivaries and other like disturbances of the peace;

(20.) For preventing immoderate driving in highways or streets; for preventing the leading, riding or driving of horses or cattle upon sidewalks or other places not proper therefor;

(21.) For providing for the health of the City and against the spreading of contagious or infectious diseases;

(22.) For regulating the interment of the dead, and for preventing the same taking place within the City;

(23.) For regulating and licensing the owners of livery stables, and of horses, cabs, carriages, omnibusses and other vehicles used for hire; for

establishing the rates of fare to be taken by the owners or drivers, and for enforcing payment thereof;

(24.) For regulating the keeping and transporting of gunpowder and other combustible or dangerous materials; for regulating, and providing for the support by fees, or magazines for storing gunpowder belonging to private parties; for compelling persons to store therein; for acquiring land as well within as without the City, for the purpose of erecting powder magazines, and for selling and conveying such land when no longer required therefor;

(25.) For appointing fire wardens, fire engineers and firemen, and promoting, establishing and regulating fire companies, hook and ladder companies, and property saving companies;

(26.) For preventing or regulating the carrying on of manufactories or trades, dangerous in causing or promoting fires;

(27.) For preventing, and for removing or regulating the construction of any chimney, flue, fire-place, stove, oven, boiler or other apparatus or thing which may be dangerous in causing or promoting fire;

(28.) For regulating the construction of chimneys as to dimensions and otherwise, and for enforcing the proper cleaning of the same;

(29.) For regulating the mode of removal and safe-keeping of ashes; (30.) For regulating and enforcing the erection of party walls;

(31.) For causing buildings and yards to be put in other respects into a safe condition to guard against fire or other dangerous risk or accident;

(32.) For authorizing appointed officers to enter at all reasonable times upon any property subject to the regulations of the Council, in order to ascertain whether such regulations are obeyed, or to enforce or carry into effect the same;

(33.) For making regulations for suppressing fires, and for pulling down or demolishing adjacent houses or other erections, when necessary to prevent the spreading of fire;

(34.) For regulating the conduct, and enforcing the assistance of the inhabitants present at fires, and the preservation of property at fires.

XCIX. The Council may pass By-laws:

(1.) For regulating the erection of buildings and preventing the erection of wooden buildings and wooden fences in specified parts of the City;

(2.) For establishing, regulating and maintaining a police, but subject to the other provisions of this Act on that head;

(3.) For aiding charitable institutions in the City;

(4.) For compelling persons to remove snow, ice, and dirt from the roofs of the premises owned or occupied by them, and also to remove the same from the sidewalks, street or alley in front of such premises, and for removing the same at the expense of the owner or occupant in case of his default;

(5.) For compelling or regulating the filling up, draining, clearing,

altering, relaying and repairing of any grounds, yards, vacant lots, cellars, private drains, sinks, cesspools, and privies; and for assessing the owners or occupiers of such grounds or yards, or of the real estate on which the cellars private drains, sinks, cesspools, and privies are situated, with the cost thereof if done by the Council on their default;

(6.) For making any other regulations for sewerage or drainings that may be deemed necessary for sanitary purposes.

C. The Council may pass By-laws:

(1.) For empowering any person (resident or non-resident) liable to statute labor within the City, to compound for such labor, for any term not exceeding five years at any sum, not exceeding one dollar for each day's labor;

(2.) For providing that a sum of money, not exceeding one dollar for each day's labor, may or shall be paid in commutation of such statute labor;

(3.) For enforcing the performance of statute labor, or payment of a commutation in money in lieu thereof, when not otherwise provided by law;

(4.) For regulating the manner and the divisions in which statute labor or commutation money shall be performed or expended.

CI. The Council may pass By-laws:

(1.) For opening, making, preserving, improving, repairing, widening, altering, directing, stopping up and putting down, drains, sewers, water-courses, roads, streets, squares, alleys, lanes, bridges, or other public com munications within the jurisdiction of the Council; and for entering upon, breaking up, taking or using any land in any way necessary or convenient for the said purposes, subject to the restrictions in this Act contained;

(2.) For raising money by toll on any bridge, road or other work to defray the expense of making or repairing the same;

(3.) For regulating the driving and riding upon public bridges.

CII. Every public street, bridge or other highway in the City, shall be vested in the city, subject to any rights in the soil which the individuals who laid out such road, street, bridge or highway, reserved.

CIII. Every such road, street, bridge and highway shall be kept in repair by the Corporation.

CIV. The Council may pass By-laws:

(1.) For providing sufficient yards and enclosures for the safe keeping of such animals as it may be the duty of the pound-keeper to impound;

(2.) For restraining or regulating the running at large of any animals, and providing for impounding them, and for causing them to be sold in case they are not claimed within a reasonable time, or in case the damages, fines and expenses are not paid according to law.

CV. The Mayor and Aldermen shall be ex-officio justices of the Peace in and for the City during their term of office.

CVI. Nothing herein contained shall limit the power of the Lieutenant-

Governor to appoint under the Seal of the Province any number of justices of the Peace for the City, or shall interfere with the jurisdiction of Justices of Peace for the County of Selkirk over *offences* committed in the City, except only so far as respects offences against the By-laws of the City, and penalties for refusal to accept office or to make the declarations of office in the City, - as to which jurisdiction shall be exercised exclusively by the Mayor or Justices of the Peace for the City.

CVII. The Council shall establish in the City a Police Office, and the Mayor shall attend at such Police Office daily, or at such times, and for such period as may be necessary for the disposal of the business brought before him as a justice of the Peace; and any justice of the Peace having jurisdiction in the City, may, at the request of the Mayor thereof, act in his stead at the Police Office; but, except in cases of urgent necessity, no attendance is required on Sunday, Christmas Day, or Good Friday, or any day appointed by Proclamation for a Public Fast or Thanksgiving.

CVIII. The Clerk of the Council, or such other person as the Council may appoint for that purpose, shall be Clerk of the Police Office thereof, and perform the same duties, and receive the same emoluments as Clerks of Justices of the Peace.

CIX. The Sheriff and Gaoler of the County of Selkirk, shall be bound, and they are hereby authorized and required to receive and safely keep, until duly discharged, all persons committed to their charge by the Mayor, or any justice of the Peace having jurisdiction in the said City, and the City shall pay to the Province such compensation therefor, and for the care and maintenance of prisoners, as may be mutually agreed upon.

CX. The Council may, by By-laws, establish, maintain and regulate lock-up houses for the detention and imprisonment of persons sentenced to imprisonment for not more than ten days under any By-law of the Council; and of persons detained for examination on a charge of having committed any offence against the City By-laws, and of persons detained for transmission to the county gaol, either for trial, or in the execution of any sentence.

CXI. When the Assessor who shall be appointed for the City shall have made a valuation of all the rateable property of the said City, they shall deposit the Assessment Roll with the Clerk of the said City, and notice of such deposit shall be given by the Clerk in the same manner as notice of an election of Alderman; and at the next ensuing meeting of the said Council, the said Assessment Roll shall be produced, and, if they desire it, examined by the Aldermen; and the Assessment Roll shall be deposited in the office of the Clerk for the period of one month, dating from such meeting; and during that period it shall remain open to the inspection of all persons interested, whose property shall have been estimated, or their representatives; and within that period, persons considering themselves aggrieved, may give notice in writing to the

Clerk of their intention to appeal to the said City Council at the first meeting which shall be held after the expiration of the month above mentioned; and the said Council, after having heard the parties and their witnesses under oath, which shall be administered by the Mayor or presiding Alderman, shall confirm or alter the valuation the change whereof shall have been prayed for, as to them shall seem just; and at the same meeting the said Assessment Roll shall be declared closed, unless, however, from the number of appeals the Council shall be compelled to adjourn, in which case the said Assessment Roll shall not be declared closed until all the appeals shall have been heard and determined: Provided always, that if, after the said Assessment Roll shall have been declared closed as aforesaid, any property in the said City should suffer any considerable diminution in value, either through fire, demolition, accident, or any other reasonable cause, it shall be lawful for the said Council, upon the petition of the proprietor, to instruct the Assessors to reduce their valuation of such property to its true actual value: and provided also, that if any omission shall have been made in the said Assessment Roll, the said Council may order the Assessors to value any property as admitted in order to its being added to the Roll.

(1.) An appeal shall lie against any decision of the Council in objections to the Assessment Roll by any persons considering him or themselves aggrieved, even after the said Assessment Roll shall have been declared closed, to the Court of Queen's Bench or to any one judge thereof; and such appeal shall be heard and determined in Term or in Chambers, in a summary manner, and all proceedings on so much of the Assessment Roll as shall be appealed from, shall be stayed till judgment shall be pronounced, and for ten days next thereafter.

CXII. All land and personal property in the City of Winnipeg shall be liable to taxation,¹² subject to the following exemptions,¹³ that is to say: -

EXEMPTIONS.

(1.) All property vested in or held by Her Majesty, or vested in any public body or body corporate, officer or person in trust for Her Majesty, or for the public uses of the Province; and also all property vested in or held by Her Majesty, or any other person or body corporate, in trust for or for the use of any tribe or body of Indians, and either unoccupied, or occupied by some person in an official capacity.

¹² One of the major issues in the incorporation controversy was that of taxation. Some conception of the Hudson's Bay Company's opposition to incorporation can be grasped when it is noted that their property, assessed as \$595,312, provided a major portion of the property taxes collected in 1874.

¹³ A major exemption later added to this list was the property of the C.P.R. In 1881 all their property was exempted in perpetuity from all city and school taxes as an inducement to attract the main line of the C.P.R. through Winnipeg. See Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth*, pp. 61-76.

(2.) When any property mentioned in the preceding clause number one, is occupied by any person otherwise than in an official capacity, the occupant shall be assessed in respect thereof, but the property itself shall not be liable.

(3.) Every place of worship, and land used in connection therewith, church yard or burying ground.

(4.) The buildings and grounds of and attached to every University, College, incorporated Grammar School, or other incorporated Seminary of learning, whether vested in a trustee or otherwise, so long as such buildings and grounds are actually used and occupied by such institution, or if unoccupied, but not if otherwise occupied.

(5.) Every Public School House, Court House, Gaol, House of Correction, Lock-up House and Public Hospital with the land attached thereto, and the personal property belonging to each of them.

(6.) The Provincial Penitentiary and the land attached thereto.

(7.) Every Poor House, Alms House, Orphan Asylum, House of Industry and Lunatic Asylum, and every house belonging to a company for the reformation of offenders, and the real and personal property belonging to or connected with the same.

(8.) The property of every Public Library, Mechanics' Institute and other public literary or scientific institution, and of every Agricultural or Horticultural Society, if actually occupied by such society.

(9.) The official income of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province.

(10.) All pensions of two hundred dollars a year and under payable out of the public moneys of the Dominion of Canada, or of the Province.

(11.) So much of the personal property of any person as is invested in mortgage upon land or is due to him on account of the sale of land, the fee or freehold of which is vested in him or is invested in the debentures of the Province, or of any municipal corporation thereof, and such debentures.

(12.) The Stock held by any person in any Railroad Company.

(13.) All property, real or personal, which is owned out of the City.

(14.) So much of the personal property of any person as is equal to the just debts owed by him on account of such property, except such debts as are secured by mortgage upon his real estate, or may be unpaid on account of the purchase money therefor.

(15.) The net personal property of any person: Provided the same does not exceed four hundred dollars.

(16.) The annual income of any person: Provided the same does not exceed four hundred dollars.

(17.) The stipend or salary of any minister of religion, and the parsonage or dwelling house occupied by him, with the lands thereto attached.

(18.) Rental or other income derived from real estate, except interest or mortgages.

(19.) Household effects of whatever kind, books and wearing apparel. CXIII. Every tax or assessment imposed by virtue of this Act, upon any property or house in the said City, may be recovered either from the proprietor, tenant, or occupant of such property or house; and if such tenant or occupier be not bound by lease or other stipulation, to pay such tax or assessment, such tenant or occupier may, and shall be entitled to deduct the sum so paid by him out of the rent which he would have to pay for the possession of such property. ...

CXVI. The Council may pass one or more By-laws authorizing the levying and collecting of a rate or rates of so much in the dollar upon the assessed value of the property therein as the Council may deem sufficient to raise the sums required on such estimates; but the rate or rates levied in each year shall not exceed one cent in the dollar on the assessed value of the property therein. CXVII. The Assessors shall prepare an Assessment Roll, in which, after diligent enquiry, they shall set down, according to the best information to be had:

(1.) The names and surnames in full, if the same can be ascertained, of all taxable persons resident in the City who have taxable property therein.

(2.) All property, the names of the owners of which shall not be ascertained by the Assessor or Assessors, shall be entered in the Assessment Roll as absentee property, and may be rated at the same rate as other property within the City and the amount so rated shall be a first charge and lien on such property respectively.

(3.) The description and extent or amount of property assessed against each. ...

INTERPRETATION CLAUSE.

CXXVIII. Unless otherwise declared or indicated by the context, wherever any of the following words occur in this Act, the meanings hereinafter expressed attach to the same namely:

(1.) The word "Council" means the Council of the City of Winnipeg.

(2.) The words "land", "lands," "real estate," "real property," respectively include lands, tenements and hereditaments, and all rights thereto and interests therein.

(3.) The words "highway," "road," or "bridge," mean respectively a public highway, road or bridge.

(4.) The word "electors" means the persons entitled for the time being to vote at the municipal elections in the City.

(5.) The term "property" includes both real and personal property.

(6.) The terms "personal estate" and "Personal property" include all goods, chattels, shares in incorporated companies, at their full value, and all other property except real estate and real property as above defined.

CXXIX. This Act shall be deemed a Public Act.

II

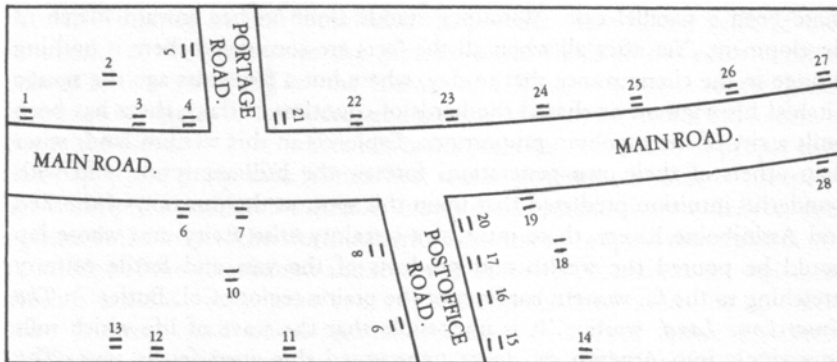
THE CITY OF WINNIPEG, 1886

Throughout its early history, the city's civic and business leaders directed considerable effort and resources towards securing immigrants and industry for Winnipeg. One of the many techniques employed was the publication of promotional literature which described in glowing terms the history and opportunities of the "metropolis of the Northwest." The following document consists of extracts from one such piece of propaganda.¹

Although this book appeared under the names of W T. Thompson and E. E. Boyer, it was in fact compiled by a staff of several reporters and writers. As a promotional piece, this volume was very attractive. It was "embellished with profuse illustrations" and attractively produced. Unfortunately, these aspects of the book cannot be exactly reproduced here. The text of the volume does, however, clearly illustrate the optimism, and at times even arrogance, of some of Winnipeg's residents during this period.

While the opinions expressed in this and similar promotional volumes must be approached with caution, the factual material presented provides a great wealth of material on Winnipeg's businesses and businessmen. This volume, for example, when used in conjunction with a similar one published in 1882,² provides a detailed account of the development of Winnipeg during the early 1880s.

INDUSTRIES OF WINNIPEG: HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE REVIEW



¹ The complete title page of this promotional book is: *The City of Winnipeg - The Capital of Manitoba, and the Commercial, Railway and Financial Metropolis of the Northwest: Part and Present Development and Future Prospects*, Thompson and Boyer, Editors and Publishers, 1886. The book was printed in the office of "The Commercial" in Winnipeg.

² J.L. Steen and W. Boyce, *Winnipeg, Manitoba and Her Industries* (Winnipeg, 1882).

Winnipeg in 1869: 1, Fort Garry; 2, Hudson's Bay Company's store in Winnipeg; 3, Wm. Drever's; 4, Red Saloon; 5, Holy Trinity Church; 6, Brian Delvin's; 7, Railroad hall block; 8, Onis Monchamp's; 9, Garrett House; 10, McDermott's house, occupied by Dawson road overseers; 11, McDermott's house, afterwards used as a custom house; 12, Wm. Drever's house, afterwards used as a convent; 13, McDermott's mill; 14, A. McDermott, senior's residence; 15, engine house; 16, Post Office block; 17, A.G.B. Bannatyne's house, afterwards used as Parliament Buildings; 18 and 19, Bannatyne & Begg's store; 20 and 21, H. McKenney & Larsen's store and storehouse; 22, Emmerling Hotel, afterwards Davis House; 23, J. Higgins'; 24, W. H. Lyon's; 25, Henry Coture, butcher; 26, W.G. Fonseca's store; 27, E.L. Barber's store.

I. - PAST AND PRESENT

The history of Winnipeg, with its wonderful growth and marvellous progress, reads like a chapter from some work of romance. It seems almost miraculous that in the short space of fifteen years there has arisen here the city of to-day. Fifteen years ago no city, no railroad, no street, no church, no school-house, no home - nothing but a small post of the Hudson's Bay Co., where the native Indians gathered to dispose of their furs - to-day, the thirty thousand people, the twenty-five millions of business, massive mercantile blocks, railways connecting with the Atlantic and the Pacific and stretching to the great cities of the United States, church edifices of magnificent structure and proportions, elegant schoolhouses, miles of street railway, the mansion and residence, the electric light, the comforts and refinements of the highest type of civilized life. It is indeed one of the marvels of the age - a growth unprecedented, a progress unsurpassed in the history of the world. Nowhere on either hemisphere has there been a parallel case. Winnipeg stands alone in her onward march of development. Yet after all when all the facts are considered there is nothing strange in the circumstance that to-day, where but a few years ago the savage pitched his wigwam or chased the herds of countless buffalo, there has been built a city of metropolitan proportions. Explorers in this western land, wiser than others of their own generation, foresaw the brilliant result, and with wonderful intuition predicted that upon this spot, at the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, there must of a certainty arise a city into whose lap would be poured the wealth and products of the vast and fertile country stretching to the far western confines of the prairie region. Col. Butler, in *The Great Lone Land*, wrote: "It is impossible that the wave of life which rolls unceasingly into America can leave unoccupied this great fertile tract. The plain through which the Red River flows is fertile beyond description."³ And

³ This refers to William Francis Butler, *The Great Lone Land: A Narrative of Travel and Adventure in the Northwest of America* (London, 1872). This volume is a classic in the literature of the northwest and has gone through many editions.

again in 1860, Mr. J. A. Dickenson, in a report to Prof. Hind on his exploration of the valley of the Qu' Appelle, said: "As I stood upon the summit of the bluff (he had ascended an elevation near Crooked Lake), looking down upon the glittering lake three hundred feet below and across the boundless plains, no living thing in view, no sounds of life anywhere, I thought of the time to come when will be seen swiftly passing along the distant horizon the white cloud of the locomotive on the way from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and when the valley will resound with the merry voices of those who have come from the busy city on the banks of the Red River to see the beautiful lakes of the Qu'Appelle." The vision of the explorer has become a reality, and to-day, twenty-six years later, the iron rails stretch across the continent over Canadian soil, and through the busy city of Winnipeg on the banks of the Red River daily trains pass from the coast of the Pacific onward to the crowded seaports of the Atlantic, and ere many months have passed the products of this great western country will hence be taken to the shores of Hudson's Bay and there transferred to vessels bound for the shores of England. In 1860, standing in the State Capital in St. Paul, William H. Seward uttered these words: "I find myself for the first time upon the high land in the centre of the continent of America, equidistant from the waters of Hudson's Bay and the Gulf of Mexico. Here is the place - the central place - where the agricultural products of this region of North America must pour out their tributes to the world. I have cast about for the future and ultimate seat of power of North America. I looked to Quebec, to New Orleans, to Washington, San Francisco and St. Louis for the future seat of power. But I have corrected that view. I now believe that the ultimate, last seat of government on the great continent will be found somewhere not far from the spot on which I stand." Were Mr. Seward living to-day, he would be forced to exclaim that in Winnipeg he had found that spot - that here in the heart of the continent, at the gateway to the greatest wheat fields of the earth, with a railway system stretching to the Eastern and Western oceans, to the great Northwestern States to the South, and now building to the shores of Hudson's Bay in the North - here, where not many years hence millions of people will find happy and prosperous homes, that seat of government must of necessity be. Winnipeg's position is supreme. It may please jealous rivals to deny it, but a glance at the map of the North American continent, coupled with a thorough knowledge of the great extent and resources of the vast Northwestern region to which it is the doorway, must convince the unprejudiced mind that no other place possesses such advantages of position. Said Lord Lorne in 1881: "Unknown a few years ago, we now see Winnipeg rapidly lifting itself to the front rank amongst the commercial centres of the continent. We may look in vain elsewhere for a situation so favorable and so commanding - many as are the fair regions of which we can boast. There may be some among you before whose eyes the whole wonderful panorama of our Provinces has passed - the ocean

garden island of Prince Edward, the magnificent valleys of St. John and Sussex, the marvelous country, the home of Evangeline, where Blomidon looks down on the Fundy, and over tracts of red soil, richer than the wealth of Kent. You may have seen the fortified paradise of Quebec; and Montreal, whose prosperity and beauty are worthy of her great St. Lawrence, and you may have admired the well wrought and splendid Province of Ontario and rejoiced at the growth of her capital, Toronto, and yet nowhere can you find a situation whose natural advantages promise so great a future as that which seems ensured to Manitoba and Winnipeg, the Heart City of our Dominion." Years ago Mr. Lindsay Russell, Surveyor General of the Dominion, exclaimed: "Winnipeg is situated advantageously as a railroad and commercial centre. It has before it as a city a great future. It will be the entrepot of one of the largest food-producing areas in the world." And the Hon. B.R. Langdon, of Minnesota, remarked: "In my opinion Winnipeg must be to the Canadian Northwest what Chicago is to the United States Northwest. You have competition both by rail and water, in the centre of the mining district, and at the gateway of the wheat-field, and in fact the half-way house across the continent." Sir A.T. Galt said: "Winnipeg is bound to be one of the largest cities of this continent. I do not see anything within 500 miles of this place which can compete with it as a commercial centre. I believe that Winnipeg will always be the largest city in the Northwest." These have been the predictions of many distinguished men who have visited the city, and how correct were their estimates of the future the record to-day shows. Winnipeg has gone ahead with a rush unprecedented in the history of cities in ancient or modern times, and as Earl Carnarvon aptly put it: "The opinion was expressed by Plato two thousand years ago that 'Time, infinite time, is the maker of cities;' but had Plato lived in these days he would have had to qualify his assertion if he had seen Winnipeg start into existence in two years." "It is sufficient to say," observed Rev. Dr. Cochrane, of Brantford, after a visit to this city, "that it is certainly the wonder of the continent. No American city can present such a rapid development." Writing two years ago, Archbishop Tache, than whom no man in the country both by virtue of his long residence here and his means of observation is better qualified to speak, made this prediction: "Basing the progress of the next ten years on that of the past decade I prophesy that at Christmas, 1892, we shall have a population of 100,000 with an assessment of \$100,000,000. We shall have twenty miles of street railways; the whole city will be lighted with electricity. There will be ten bridges across the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, the banks on either side of which will be lined with railways and dotted with warehouses. Winnipeg will be a great lumbering, manufacturing, railway and distributing centre. The banks of the rivers and adjoining bluffs above the Broadway bridge will be covered with villas. It will be the centre of the collegiate and educational life of the whole Northwest. All the leading denominations will be worshipping in \$100,000

sanctuaries. There will be a railway in operation from ocean to ocean of which Winnipeg will be the half-way station, with a network of branches to the Saskatchewan, Peace River, Hudson's Bay, Prince Albert, Edmonton and Battleford; and it is my belief that at that Christmas you will see being completed, if not in actual operation, a second transcontinental railway, a great competing line with the Canadian Pacific. To the east and north will be great mining, milling, manufacturing and lumbering enterprises; on the west will be boundless fields of golden grain, with immense grazing plains under the shade of the Rockies." At no period has the future of this city been so bright with promise as now. All things conspire to maintain and enlarge the present commercial and manufacturing supremacy of the city and add to its business and wealth until it shall have few equals on this continent. The depression which was the natural sequence of the real estate "boom" of 1882 has passed away, and our business houses rest on a solid and substantial footing. Providence has bestowed upon us a bountiful harvest of golden grain, and the whole country about us is being filled up and cultivated by an intelligent and industrious population. In this work it is the endeavor to place before the world the story of the past progress of Winnipeg and to present facts and figures to show the opportunities now offered by Winnipeg to all persons who desire to take advantage of the phenomenal growth of the city and the wonderful development of the Canadian Northwest. ...⁴

VI. - RISE OF WINNIPEG.

The growth of Winnipeg dates from the close of the rebellion in 1870. When Col. Wolseley at the head of the 60th Rifles entered Fort Garry, this was the closing scene of the Red River rebellion and the march of progress was from that time commenced, by the then small village of Winnipeg. From *Ten Years in Winnipeg*, published by Alex. Begg and Walter R. Nursey in 1879, we learn: "Several free traders - merchants - finding that Fort Garry had become a place of rendezvous for the plain hunters to exchange their furs for goods, and being aware that, unless they settled down in its vicinity, the Hudson's Bay Co. would have an advantage over them in securing the pelts, immediately determined to build stores as close to Fort Garry as possible. Andrew McDermott led the way and was quickly followed by Messrs. A.G.B. Bannatyne, John Higgins, W.H. Lyon, Gingras, Henry McKenney, Wm. Drever, Dr. Schultz, Geo. Emmerling, H.S. Donaldson, R. Patterson, Onis Monchamp, W.G. Fonseca, E.L. Barber and Alex. Begg. These men, therefore, and a few others not in

⁴ At this point the book deals in succession with "The Fur Traders," "Fighting For Free Trade," "The Riel Rebellion," and "Manitoba." These sections, a total of about ten pages, have been omitted here.

trade, were the original founders of Winnipeg.” The same authority enumerates the business houses at that time engaged in trade. There was the Hudson's Bay Co. prosecuting their business within the walls of Fort Garry. Next to them in importance was the firm of Bannatyne & Begg, who carried on a general outfitting establishment. Then there was John Higgins, who as a general storekeeper, displayed his sign over the spot afterwards occupied by the handsome establishment of Higgins, Young & Jackson. He was afterwards in partnership with W.H. Lyon, but the firm was dissolved in 1869, and each entered into business on his own account. Mr. Lyon afterwards erected a substantial store on the corner where Caldwell's block now stands, and in which he remained until 1879. Dr. Schultz, after practising his profession for many years, gradually devoted himself exclusively to commerce. H.S. Donaldson, one of the real pioneers of the Northwest, kept a stationery and book store, in which he greatly prospered. Robt. Patterson came to the country for the purpose of trading in furs and, being a builder by trade, afterwards erected some of the best buildings in Winnipeg. E.L. Barber and W.C. Fonseca both came from the States about the same time and carried on a small general business, also dabbling in furs, their stores being at Point Douglas, opposite what several years ago was known as “Fonseca's pump,” on Main street. One of the most original characters of the day was Geo. Emmerling, hotel-keeper. He came to this country on “spec,” and it is said landed in Winnipeg with a barrel of whiskey and two barrels of apples. He at once opened a hotel in one of McDermott's buildings on Post Office street. Acquiring property on the main road he erected that portion of what was afterwards the Davis House. Onis Monchamp came here a poor man but was industrious and when the troops arrived in Winnipeg could boast of a smart hostelry and bar on the spot, where the Hotel du Canada stands to-day. Wm. Drever did a small business in the house now occupied by the St. Nicholas Hotel. J.H. Ashdown arrived in Winnipeg shortly before the rebellion and started a small tinsmith's shop in a room in the building now opposite the Hotel du Canada, on Lombard street. He was imprisoned by Riel and his store being closed in consequence his business suffered considerably. He bought out one Moser, a tinsmith, and by strict attention to business and hard work, began to build up a good trade. Arch. Wright, though not one of the first pioneers, at the same time began business here as harness-maker in company with Mr. Stalker, before the rebellion, and, like Mr. Ashdown, suffered at the hands of Riel, by being placed in prison. In 1870, United States Consul Taylor arrived, his predecessor having been Major Robinson. Mr. H.J. Clarke, Q.C., also arrived from Montreal, and this gentleman was afterwards destined to take a very prominent part in the politics of the country, being the first Premier and Attorney-General of Manitoba. The population of Winnipeg was then 215, while in 1874 it numbered 3,700 and in 1875, 5,000. In 1862, the present city was commenced by McKenney & Co., who erected a store in the vicinity of Fort Garry, and in the following year other buildings were added by people attracted to the

spot through their enterprise.⁵ W.G. Fonseca was at this time running a general store at Point Douglas, which was a separate village. Mr. Fonseca, it might be remarked, was the first merchant in the Red River settlement to import coal oil and lamps as well as hoop skirts, and so great was the demand for the first consignment that coal oil sold at \$5 per gallon and a common glass lamp at the same figures and the supply was not sufficient to meet the demand. He had some difficulty in introducing the hoop skirts, as the ladies looked on them with suspicion and as a questionable novelty, and could hardly be persuaded to wear them. Winnipeg during the last days of the Hudson's Bay Company's sway is thus described. In the vicinity of Fort Garry, the town of Winnipeg had grown to some dimensions containing as it did then over thirty buildings. Of these eight were stores, two saloons, two hotels, one a mill, and another a church, and the rest were chiefly residences. The town could boast of an engine house, post office and a small theatre, and at times, especially when the fur traders arrived from the plains, the vicinity of Winnipeg presented a very lively appearance indeed. Along the banks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers settlements had spread and everywhere could be seen signs of comfort and prosperity. Previous to 1871 the merchants of Manitoba were obliged to cart their goods over the prairie from St. Cloud, in Minnesota, to Fort Garry, but in that year, Mr. James J. Hill, of St. Paul, placed a steamer called the *Selkirk* on the Red River, to run between Moorhead and Winnipeg. This was the first regular freight and passenger boat placed on the route; and as an instance of the rapid increase in the trade of Manitoba, it may be stated that when the Pembina branch railway was opened for traffic there were no less than fifteen steamers plying to and from Winnipeg. In 1870, Winnipeg had only a weekly mail from the east via Pembina and a very irregular one at that, but in 1871 a stage line having been established between Moorhead and Winnipeg a tri-weekly mail was received which was still further increased in 1872 to be a daily one. When the Pembina branch was regularly opened the stage line was discontinued and postal matter was brought in by rail. On the 20th of November, 1871, telegraphic communication was established between Winnipeg and the east, when Lieut.-Governor Archibald sent a telegram to Lord Lisgar, then Governor-General, congratulating him on the event. On March 15th of the same year, the first meeting of the Local Parliament occurred. This was a prosperous year for Winnipeg and witnessed the institution of many new places of business. The first barber opened his establishment in February.

⁵ The story of the "Founder" of Winnipeg, George McKenney, has been told by George F. Reynolds, "The Man Who Created the Corner of Portage and Main," *Manitoba Historical Society Transactions*, Series III, Number 26 (1969-70), pp. 5-40.

The first Customs broker was Samuel Fowler, while A.K. Gerald and Henry Cotu were the first butchers. The pioneer livery stable was started in May, 1871, by Mr. William Harvey, who has recently resumed the business. The first baker, John Hackett, made his appearance in the same year. A brick-yard was started by a Mr. Spice close to the main road (now Main street), a little north of the City Hall. The first saddle and harness-maker was Robert Stalker, who shortly afterwards went to Headingly and was succeeded by Archibald Wright, who continued the business to this day. On October 31st 1871, a new school was started at Point Douglas, and our first real live schoolmaster was Mr. Luxton. A private bank was started by Alexander McMicken and until the Merchants' Bank established a branch here did a profitable business. Bishop & Shelton in August, 1872, opened the pioneer furniture factory in a small building on Main street, and in the same year, the first photographer, Ryder Larsen, made his appearance. During 1871 and 1872 the number of buildings in Winnipeg were doubled, and business was in a most prosperous state.

The year 1873 witnessed the first attempt to secure the incorporation of the City of Winnipeg. After much opposition, a bill for that purpose was finally passed by the Legislative Assembly. The Legislative Council added an amendment and when the bill was returned to the Assembly, the Speaker, Dr. Bird, ruled that the amendment was unconstitutional as it affected the revenue of the Province, and on that account threw out the whole measure. An in-dignation meeting was held by the citizens and a deputation was appointed to remonstrate against this action. A few days later Dr. Bird was decoyed out of his house to see a patient and when near Point Douglas was taken forcibly from his cutter and a pail of hot tar was thrown over his face, head and shoulders. On the 25th, 26th and 27th of January, 1873, Winnipeg witnessed for the last time within its limits the celebration of an Indian dog feast, when 200 Indians assembled at Point Douglas and indulged in the delicacy of roast dog. The first great fire occurred on December 3rd of the same year, when the Parliament Buildings were burned to the ground. In 1874, the Dominion elections being near at hand, a meeting was called to choose five delegates from the city to attend a Reform Convention. W.F. Luxton was chairman and J.R. Cameron secretary of the meeting. The following delegates were elected: Arch. Wright, W.B. Thibaudeau, W.F. Luxton, A.E. Wilson and J.H. Ashdown. During that year, incorporation having been secured, the first meeting of the City Council was held on January 19th, 1874. According to the voters' list there were then exactly 308 voters in the city. In noticing the incorporation of the city, it will perhaps be interesting to state that the name of Winnipeg was borrowed from the lake or river of the same denomination and said to be derived from two Indian words *ouie nepa'que*, "dirty water." The number of buildings then within the city limits was over 900, twenty-seven of which were occupied by manufacturing industries, over one hundred by mercantile concerns, and the remainder by offices, hotels, dwellings, etc. The population was about

3,700 and the assessed value of city property amounted to \$2,076,018. The following figures showing the prices of lots in 1871, 1872 and 1874 will give an idea of the advance which had taken place in the value of city property: -

<i>Estate</i>	<i>1871</i>	<i>1872</i>	<i>1874</i>
H.B. Company	\$700.00	\$1,000.00	\$2,000.00
McDermott	75.00	100.00	400.00
Bannatyne	75.00	100.00	400.00
Morris	50.00	100.00	250.00
Schultz	50.00	100.00	500.00
Magnus Brown	10.00	25.00	50.00
Ross	50.00	75.00	350.00

At this time, as near as can be calculated, the number of buildings in Winnipeg was as follows: Dwellings, 408; hotels, 17; saloons, 7; boarding-houses, 23; manufactories, 27; miscellaneous buildings, 421; total, 903. The business houses were: 4 dry goods stores, 4 hardware stores, 2 watchmakers' shops, 5 book stores, 2 gunsmiths' shops, 2 banks, 4 livery stables, 19 general stores, 3 drug stores, 6 paint shops, 9 blacksmith shops, 2 barber shops, 4 harness makers, 2 tailors, 1 marble works, 4 carriage makers, 4 printing offices, 4 furniture shops, 4 auctioneers, 3 tobacco stores, 3 boot and shoe stores, 3 photographic rooms, 2 fur stores, 6 bakers and confectioners, 1 telegraph office, 3 millinery shops, 2 flour and feed stores, 3 butcher shops, 11 lawyers, 8 doctors, 1 soda water manufactory, 3 saw mills, 2 planing mills, 3 brick-yards, etc. In 1874, the city built 4,316 yards of sidewalks and graded 1,938 yards of streets. In 1875 the city assessment showed the value of real property to be \$1,808,567, and personal property \$801,212, making a total of \$2,609,779. The total population assessed was estimated at 3,031, and non-assessed 2,000, so that the actual number of inhabitants was over 5,000 - a pretty good increase considering that in 1869 there were hardly 100 people in the place. Among the heavy ratepayers then were: Hudson's Bay Co., \$595,312; Bannatyne, \$84,225; McDermott, \$78,876; Macaulay, \$44,500, and Alexander Logan, \$53,000. In December, 1875, the finance committee's report showed the following disbursements to have been made: Sewers, \$4,100; fire department, \$18,283; market, city hall, etc., \$28,370; opening streets, \$3,158; grading streets, \$18,611; sidewalks, \$17,446; total, \$89,968. As showing the rapid increase in trade in the Province, it is interesting to note the following figures regarding freight: The shipment of goods from Moorhead for this Province in 1873 amounted to 26,613,036 lbs.; in 1874, to 37,626,200 lbs.; in 1875, to 76,078,680 lbs. In October, 1876, the mill of the Hudson's Bay Co., leased to Mr. J.N. McLane, was finished and began running. It contained four

run of stones and without exception when built was the finest mill anywhere west of St. Paul, having a capacity of 1,350 bushels each twenty-four hours, which was considered pretty good for a young place like Winnipeg. McMillan & Bassett's mill at the foot of Post Office street, originally begun with two run of stones, was also running. The first shipment of wheat from Manitoba was made on the 21st of October by Higgins & Young to Steele & Bros., of Toronto, and consisted of 857 bushels, which was sold in Ontario for seed purposes at \$2.50 per bushel. To give some idea of the trade of the Northwest at that period one small order to Mr. J.H. Ashdown in March, 1876, may be mentioned. It consisted of 3,500 tin pails, 1,800 round pans, 1,500 oval pans, 1,800 pint cups, 1,500 half-pint cups and 400 tea-pots. In the early part of 1876 there were 5,522 inhabitants in the city. The value of real property was \$2,214,206; personal property, \$822,802, making a total of \$3,037,008, or nearly half a million increase in one year. As an evidence of the value of city property in that year, it is stated that a cash offer of \$3,000 was made for a small lot next to Dr. Bird's on Main street and refused.

In 1877 the value of imports from the United States into Manitoba was \$802,400, and the exports, chiefly furs, amounted to \$794,868, the one nearly balancing the other. Some idea of the extent of the milling operations of that period is gained from the fact that Macaulay & Jarvis in 1877 brought from Red Lake, Minnesota, four and a half million feet of white pine logs and thirty carloads of seasoned timber. Up to May 24th in that year there were 77 arrivals of flat boats, bringing in 1,327 tons of freight since the opening of navigation. The first shipment of Manitoba wheat, direct from Winnipeg to Europe, was made on October 17th, the consignors being R. Gerrie & Co., and the consignees Barclay & Brand, Glasgow, Scotland. The rapid strides that the place was taking towards becoming a city were evidenced by the fact that about eighty buildings of various descriptions were erected and completed, costing over \$250,000, while there were many others in course of construction - certainly not a bad exhibit for a city not even in its `teens. During this year the matter of railway connection with the outside world seriously engaged the attention of the citizens, many of whom had grown weary of the repeated delays in the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway from Lake Superior (while at the same time the Government were proposing to adopt the northern route, leaving Winnipeg out in the cold), and they looked southward for a connection with the St. Paul, Minneapolis & Manitoba Railway which then extended as far north as Crookston, Minn., within ninety miles of the international boundary line. Numerous meetings were held and petitions were sent to the Government urging the construction of a road from Winnipeg to Pembina, which was the objective point of the St. Paul & Manitoba road. In February, the citizens at a mass meeting passed a resolution binding the city to pay a subsidy of \$200,000 to any company who would build a road, while at the same time petitions were prepared, asking the Government to give a land grant

to aid the construction. These efforts were rewarded by the Government undertaking the construction of the Pembina branch, and on September 29th the first spike was driven by Lord and Lady Dufferin who were on a visit to the Northwest. The work of construction went rapidly forward, and the people of Winnipeg rejoiced that at last they were to obtain the long desired boon of railway transportation. The road was completed in the following year, the last spike being driven on December 3rd. With this culminating act, so largely typical of our western progress, a new era was entered upon. During 1878 building operations, owing to high price of lumber, were less than they would otherwise have been, but despite these adverse circumstances amounted to \$200,000. The population of the city was then over 6,500, and the value of property assessed over three millions. In this year a number of merchants engaged extensively in buying wheat, and Messrs. Ogilvie & Co., of Montreal, made their first appearance in the country, offering 60 cts. cash for No. 1 clean wheat. In the course of an address in Montreal in 1878, the Bishop of Saskatchewan said of Winnipeg: "In 1866 it was nothing more than a back-woods village, containing about 200 settlers. Now Winnipeg was a city of over 6,000 inhabitants. In the first seven years of its existence, dating from 1870, it had increased more in its population than had the city of Chicago in the first ten years of its existence."

VII. - THE BOOM PERIOD.

The great impetus which railway communication gave to business was attended by a rapid increase in the population. Early in April, 1879, the first batch of immigrants of the season arrived, and the eastern hegira set in. Numerous parties of immigrants arrived, following closely upon each other's heels, and an advent of strangers, heretofore unprecedented in the annals of the country, astonished the old residents with its overwhelming rush. Consignments of hardy agriculturists, from 200 to 500 strong, were landed at St. Boniface day after day, many of these parties bringing to this land of promise a combined capital of \$300,000 to \$400,000. It looked for a time as if the greater portion of the inhabitants of Ontario and the other eastern provinces were about to pull up stakes and remove to the great Northwest, while crowds poured into the country from the United States and Europe. Eastern merchants also turned their eyes in this direction, and perceiving the favorable location of the city many settled here in the spring. Business institutions of all kinds sprung up during the year by hundreds, and the price of city property went up with successive bounds. Before the year closed the population was over 8,000, and the dwelling houses numbered about 1,000, and the assessed value of property within the city limits had reached nearly \$3,500,000. Meanwhile the railway

was extended westward, while progress was being made on the line from Selkirk to Thunder Bay. The tide of immigration kept up with unceasing flow, and new business houses multiplied with marvelous rapidity, while building operations were carried on as fast as labor and material could be procured. Early in the year, when the assessment was fixed, the value of property was placed at \$4,006,160, and in June the population was estimated to have increased to 12,000. Capital from all portions of the eastern provinces and Great Britain was seeking investment in real estate, mortgages and similar securities. The city contained over 400 business institutions of all classes, which included several wholesale mercantile houses, three chartered bank branches, two private banks, and numerous industrial institutions which gave employment to over 600 artisans.

With the opening of 1881 the prospects of Winnipeg were of the brightest description. The construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway was assured, the rush of immigration was continued, and when the assessment was completed it was found that the value of taxable property was fixed at \$9,196,435, and the population increased to nearly 20,000 before the year came to a close.^b The city was making rapid progress. Mercantile institutions were rapidly increasing in number, and old established houses were extending their dimensions until at the end of 1881 the wholesale trade was represented by several institutions unequalled in magnitude north or west of St. Paul or Minneapolis, and at least one branch was represented by a larger concern than either of those cities contained. Industrial institutions also increased rapidly in number and dimensions, the Ogilvie Milling Company constructed the largest flouring mill this side of Minneapolis, while Mt. F.H. Brydges established the Vulcan Iron Works, employing fifty mechanics. ...

The figures for 1881 may thus be summarized: Chartered banks in city, 9; loan companies doing business, 8; manufacturing concerns, 39; wholesale mercantile concerns, 50; retail, 170; miscellaneous trading, 104.

Volume of wholesale trade, 1881	\$6,236,000
Volume of retail trade, 1881	5,908,000
Manufacturing, including tradesmen, 1881	6,676,000
Miscellaneous, 1881	1,300,000
Estimated loans at close of 1881	4,900,000

The year 1882 will be memorable as the year in which the first great boom resulted from the sudden appreciation by the world of the advantages offered by this country and the magnificent future in store for its inhabitants. So soon as the construction of the

⁶ The official federal census figures for 1881 gave the City of Winnipeg a population of 7,985.

Canadian Pacific Railway had been assured by the bargain with a strong company, enquiry concerning the Territories became widely prevalent, and the information supplied from a thousand trustworthy sources left no room to doubt that the finest grain fields of the world were at last open to settlement. A lively movement northwestward was seen before 1881 had taken flight, and in the winter of 1881-2 it almost seemed that the world had made up its mind to come here in the spring. Colonization companies by hundreds were formed in the older Canadian Provinces and in Great Britain. Ontario farmers banded themselves together to form new communities in a more promising land. Capitalists and agriculturists set about acquiring tracts for immense wheat farms. Mechanics and laborers got their kits together for migration to the country with a future, to the city of high wages - Winnipeg - and keen speculators prepared to pick up fortunes from the foreseen rush. In consequence of the general excitement land in Winnipeg rose in value by jumps. To make money one had only to "catch on." Speculation became rife, some three hundred real estate signs were hung out before March came blustering in, and the Main street of Winnipeg was filled with a hurrying throng of operators. Before April city property had run up in most cases to the price warranted by full confidence in the future of the emporium of the Northwest, and in some cases beyond that figure. Lots in some outside places were as eagerly bought, and unscrupulous dealers were soon able to dispose of valueless paper towns to the gullible ones in England, Ontario and here. Referring to the "boom" Prof. Macoun, in his well-known work on the Northwest,⁷ says: "Nothing to equal it had ever before occurred on Canadian or British soil. Thousands of dollars were made by operators in a few minutes. Vast fortunes were secured in a day. The excitement spread like wild-fire all over the country. Cool-headed professors and business men (clerical as well as lay) left their callings in other parts of the country for the scene of the modern Canadian El Dorado. Real estate agents became as numerous as the sand on the seashore. The educated and refined as well as the illiterate took part in land transactions. No regard was paid as to whether the vendor had a right to sell or not; everything was taken for granted." ...

The amount of funds which flowed into the city for speculative purposes ran up into the millions, and it is said that at one time the deposits in the different banks of the city aggregated in the neighborhood of \$6,000,000, while it is estimated that \$2,000,000 was invested in the city during the year by loan companies. The late Col. Kennedy, registrar of deeds, estimated in December, 1882, that the year's real estate transactions would aggregate

⁷ J. Macoun, *Manitoba and the Great Northwest* (Guelph: World Publishing, 1882). John Macoun was a member of the Geological Survey of Canada and became its botanist in 1882. This book was an encyclopaedic work to which leading authorities contributed.

\$10,000,000 to \$12,000,000. Some idea of the rapid rise in real estate values may be gained from the following statements which he made at that time: "Most of the large transactions were in Main Street property. There was one transfer of Bannatyne Street property for \$50,000. The Hub corner changed hands several times. A few years ago a portion of that was purchased for \$15,000, and the purchaser was considered to be crazy. He sold sometime afterwards for \$41,000. Then it changed hands at 1150,000. A few months later it nearly doubled itself and sold for \$93,000, and now it has been sold for \$115,000. In 1872 the site on which Arnett's store now stands sold for \$300. In 1882 it changed hands at \$125,000. In 1872 the site of Alexander & Bryce's store was purchased for \$338. In 1877 it sold for \$21,000, and in 1882 half of it was sold for \$25,000. These are only a few instances of the increase in value of Main Street property. But the increase has not been confined to Main Street. It has been proportionately great on other streets. In 1873 a lot on Rorie Street was purchased for \$1,250. In 1881 it was sold for \$5,000, and this year it changed hands twice - the first time for \$19,600, and a few days later for \$26,000. Let me give you another instance of the value of Main Street property. In 1870 the corner on which the Imperial Bank block now stands was purchased for \$250. In 1880 part of it sold for \$8,000. A small building was erected, and it sold at \$34,000. A year later the other part of the site sold for \$5,000. And during this year the site purchased in 1870 for \$250 sold (with buildings thereon) for \$118,000. As an illustration of the value of property in the suburbs, I may give you a couple of cases. One hundred acres were purchased in St. James for \$150,000. A small portion was almost immediately after sold for \$93,000. I know one operator who purchased largely in Fort Rouge for \$500 per acre. He sold for \$750, repurchased at \$1,000, and then sold in town lots at a good profit."

One of the largest operators in real estate was Mr. A.W. Ross, M.P., who thus described the increase in the value of property: "I began to buy in April, 1871. David Young and John McDonald commenced to operate at the same time. But it was difficult to get any one to go into the business then. I was considered very foolish when I purchased property on Main Street near the station at \$75 a foot. But people looked at it through different spectacles when I sold shortly afterwards at \$400 a foot. The choice lots on Main Street which I then purchased for \$400 are now worth \$1,500 a foot. In April, 1881, I bought some Main Street lots (below Logan) at \$75 a foot and sold in June for \$100. People thought it a good spec., and I thought so too. Within six months the same property went for \$400 a foot. The first sales of land in 1881 were among the people of Winnipeg, and the money used was owned by them, but then lying idle. There had been a considerable movement of property in 1872 and 1873. The Morris, Ross, Hudson's Bay and Bannatyne estates then put on the market brought good prices. But the movement did not last long, and a very

dull time followed. In 1873 I bought lots on Portage Avenue for \$120. They were absolutely unsaleable in 1880. The only property that changed hands between 1873 and 1880 was property actually wanted for building or other purposes. But in 1881 I sold those Portage Avenue lots for \$500 each, and had I held them until the fall of that year I could have obtained \$1,500 each. In May, 1881, Young, McDonald and myself began to operate in Main Street property. We formed a syndicate and purchased the site of the Davis House. Then they purchased farther north; and so did I. The first operators from Ontario were Joseph McKay, John Robertson and Robert McGee. They came up in the fall of 1879 or the spring of 1880, and purchased some of the best properties. They made money. Other Ontario speculators followed; but it was not till late in the fall that the army itself arrived. The boom was greatly exaggerated in every way, and all sorts of absurd stories were published in the eastern papers. For instance, a man might say, 'I have made \$30,000 to-day.' But half a dozen others might be interested in the transaction. You never could tell how much a man made. The eastern people had an entirely mistaken idea of the boom. The boom was not in central Winnipeg property, but in outside Winnipeg property and in country towns. The boom was purely speculative. The operators went into it on the presumed requirements of the coming summer and over did it. The floods came, and the whole thing then collapsed. Real estate matters have been rather quiet since then, but there have been some heavy sales. I think the future of real estate here is all right. We shall have another boom in central Winnipeg property. It will not be a speculative, but a genuine boom. The city will continue to grow, and the demand will overtake the boom. Our future is assured." This was stated at the close of 1882.

While improvement throughout the whole Northwest had advanced during 1882 with leaps and bounds, Winnipeg more than kept in the van. Her population increased within the year by fully thirty per cent, according to the most trustworthy estimates. The extension of the city boundaries, the addition of Fort Rouge, the freezing of the bridges across the Assiniboine made much new property valuable and rateable; the land within the old boundaries rose rapidly in value, so that the result was an increase in the assessed property from \$9,000,000 to \$30,000,000 in 1882.⁸ Public and private works of great magnitude also changed the appearance, the comfort, and the healthfulness of the city infinitely for the better. Over \$5,000,000 worth of substantial buildings were erected during the building season; all over the Hudson's Bay reserve fine mansions were built by wealthy people; Armstrong's Point became as well built up and beautiful a quarter as would be found in any city in

⁸ In 1882, Fort Rouge, the area south of the Assiniboine River, was added to the City of Winnipeg. It became Ward 1 when a new ward system was established in Winnipeg in 1882. See Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth*, p. 135.

Canada; in the northern district of the city round about the Canadian Pacific workshops numbers of substantial and comfortable cottages were erected for workingmen; and Main Street, adorned with fine blocks at intervals along its great length, already presented the appearance of a metropolitan street. Improvements by the corporation and public companies were pushed with no less energy. Many new sewers were laid down in prosecution of a comprehensive plan, approved by that eminent authority, the late Mr. Chesborough, C.E., of Chicago. The streets were so raised and improved that persons returning to the city after the absence of a year proclaimed that they hardly recognized the place. Wide sidewalks were laid not only on the business but on the private streets. The electric light was established, and an excellent water supply furnished to the city. All manner of public and private enterprises were, in fact, pushed with that energy and confidence in the future, remarked as a characteristic of Winnipeg people, by the great number of visitors to the city. ...

The assessment had reached the enormous total of \$30,432,270, or \$21,235,835 greater than in the previous 1881 - an increase of 289 per cent in ten years. Such a state of inflation could not long exist, and before the year closed there were signs on all hands of the coming reaction and the inevitable depreciation of values. For the first time in three years the city furnished an insolvency record, there being twenty-eight failures in the Northwest in 1882, with liabilities aggregating \$290,000. Of these nineteen were in the city, and their liabilities amounted to \$201,000.

VIII. - THE REACTION.

Then came the reaction. As was anticipated, 1883 was ushered in with a series of business failures that shook the whole commercial world of the Northwest. It was a year of crash, and the work of separating legitimate trade from speculation was attended naturally by the collapse of many who were in the early part of the previous year ranked as wealthy. The report of the Board of Trade a year later, referring to the matter, said: "That contraction should follow inflation is accepted as an axiom of commerce by many, and it was certainly the experience of the city of Winnipeg in 1883; and the city was only an index of the unsafe state of affairs all over the Northwest. When the 1st of April was reached, it was found that there had been 47 failures in the Northwest, and nearly one-half of the number in Winnipeg during the first quarter as the year; and the gross liabilities of the 47 exceeded \$400,000. During the second quarter the depression became deeper, and 45 failures were recorded, with gross liabilities of \$596,000. The month of July was entered upon with a dread of panic hanging over the country, and business men who were weak financially soon found it impossible to stand the pressure. Banks and other financial institutions which had encouraged and fostered the reckless inflation of boom days, were now mercilessly

exacting in their demands, and many a man, who in a more confident state of trade could have weathered the pressure with honor, was forced to insolvency. Nevertheless, the number of men who reached failure through purely trade misfortunes was singularly small, over 90 per cent of the insolvents having succumbed to the pressure of a real estate or other speculative load. There can be no doubt that a tremor ran through the whole fabric of Northwestern trade when the business misfortunes of the third quarter of the year were published showing 87 failures, with aggregate liabilities of \$1,458,000; and, as before, the city of Winnipeg had its full proportion of this crash. Depression then seemed to have spent its force; and although the last quarter of 1883 was one of great stringency, comparative safety had evidently been reached, and the number of failures dropped to 53, and their aggregate liabilities to \$415,000. The Northwestern failures in 1883 were thus 232 in number, and their aggregate liabilities amounted to \$2,869,000; while the proportion contributed by Winnipeg was 101 failures, with aggregate liabilities of \$1,750,000. While trade was making this black record, a great revolution had been going on in other affairs in the city. Speculative extortioners had been nearly all swamped in the crash, and rents of business buildings and residences dropped gradually down, until in the opening of 1884 they were at less than half their boom prices. Speculators who had figured upon cornering markets in necessaries of life produced at home, were sadly disappointed, and the price of almost every commodity included in what is termed living declined rapidly in value, so that 1884 was entered upon with everything connected with trade affairs in a healthy if not a prosperous state." ...

Winnipeg, notwithstanding the depression, made material progress during the year, and while lying reports in eastern papers stated that "the bottom had fallen out of Winnipeg" and "Manitoba was dead," our people were quietly, but surely, adding to the permanent solidity and growth of the city. It is true the building boom of 1882, when five millions were spent in this city in that direction, did not exist, but still a walk over our streets made it apparent that the building trade was certainly not in a state of stagnation during the year. There were few streets in the city where new houses were not built, and it was a noticeable fact that a very large number of the buildings erected during the year were dwellings by workingmen who were bringing their families from the east and establishing their permanent residences here. But facts and figures will tell the tale more vividly and clearly than merely general statements. The fact is, that two-and-a-half millions of dollars were expended in buildings in Winnipeg and St. Boniface during the year - or nearly double the extent of similar operations in Toronto, which stands next on the list of progressive cities in Canada. Immigration during 1883 was very large, but Manitoba did not experience as much benefit from it as in 1882, although the volume was much greater. The extension of the Canadian Pacific Railway

to the foot of the Rockies had opened up a vast stretch of country, hitherto accessible to the intending settler only by long and tedious journey over the Indian trails on the prairie. Hence there was a rush to those lands, but they were not found to be what was expected.

The trade of Winnipeg for 1883, as evidenced by the statistics obtained at the Customs House and other official quarters, maintained the position it reached in 1882. It would be incorrect to say that there had been any increase so far as imports from the United States and England are concerned for there was assuredly a large decrease. This was caused in a considerable degree by the opening of the Port Arthur route and a consequent increase in the imports of goods from the Eastern Provinces, to the exclusion of United States manufactures, but it is also a fact that the total imports of Winnipeg during 1883 were less than in 1882, merchants having been desirous of getting rid of the surplus stock on hand before bringing in new. The value of goods imported during the calendar year ended December 31st, 1883 was \$4,164,844. ...

The value of imports in 1883, as compared with 1881 and 1882, is shown in the statement given below: -

<i>Month.</i>	<i>1883.</i>	<i>1882.</i>	<i>1881.</i>
January	\$224,884	\$103,296	\$70,021
February	261,862	443,384	49,649
March	570,366	494,247	174,266
April	819,112	446,014	183,137
May	566,003	711,253	384,596
June	412,314	1,074,388	466,344
July	294,934	929,267	200,272
August	294,245	968,532	292,756
September	181,083	1,335,198	290,267
October	214,639	694,959	257,390
November	188,314	512,310	237,925
December	137,088	423,467	220,808
Totals	\$4,164,844	\$8,196,395	\$2,837,431

In studying this comparison it must be remembered that the customs value of imports has been reduced this year by the opening of the Port Arthur route, as many classes of goods which in former years passed through the United States and consequently through the customs, came by way of Port Arthur and did not come within the jurisdiction of the customs department at all. Included in the statement of imports were \$86,457 worth of goods brought to the country free of duty under the special

exemptions for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. This was a great decrease from the previous year when the value of free goods for the C.P.R. reached \$1,263,698. It is impossible to learn the extent of trade with the Eastern Provinces as the greater bulk of the goods came via Port Arthur and thus avoided passing through the customs. The exports for the year reached \$600,000.

The Dominion Savings Bank record for the year was remarkable. When the "boom" died out and wages fell, while work grew scarce, it was but natural to expect that there would be a heavy drain on the savings of the people - put by for a "rainy day" or when circumstances interfered with the continuance of their weekly earnings. It would not have been in the slightest degree surprising had the statements of the bank shown that the withdrawals had considerably exceeded the deposits. But the figures told a different story, and on the 30th June, 1883, they showed that the depositors had been able to retain the credit from their surplus earnings, and carry over to the following fiscal year half a million dollars, truly a splendid showing in view of the exceptional circumstances, to which reference has been made. The following shows the balances at the credit of the depositors on the 30th June (the end of the fiscal year) from 1872 to 1883: -

<i>Year.</i>	<i>Amount.</i>	<i>Year.</i>	<i>Amount.</i>
1872	\$18,731	1878	\$41,506
1873	58,974	1879	75,264
1874	60,504	1880	118,299
1875	44,191	1881	192,511
1876	40,685	1882	572,841
1877	32,053	1883	586,291

Much of the withdrawals during 1882-3 were from amounts deposited in 1881-82 and seem to stand against the deposits of 1882-3, but a fair idea of the actual work of the year can only be had by ascertaining the amounts actually deposited. Statistics at hand show that the deposits for the fiscal year 1882-3 reached the large sum of \$735,914. But owing to the circumstances before alluded to there was a heavy drain on the previous year's deposits, no less than \$729,747 being drawn, which was the means of greatly reducing the balance to the credit of depositors at the close of the year. At the close of the calendar year that balance had reached \$630,000.

The collections of inland revenue showed a falling off, as compared with 1882, but this was due in a great measure to the reduction of the duty on tobacco. Following is a comparative statement of the receipts during three years: -

Receipts, 1883	\$170,132
Receipts, 1882	185,553
Receipts, 1881	131,863
Decrease in 1883	15,421

While, as will be seen by the figures above, the receipts in 1883 were over \$15,000 less than those in 1882, the total amount for the fiscal year 1882-3 exceeded for 1881-2 by over \$19,000.

The increase of post office business continued without cessation. For the fiscal year ended on June 30th, 1883, the total value of money orders issued was \$530,041.78 - a very much larger business than was transacted at any post office in the Dominion, as will be seen by the following comparison: -

<i>City.</i>	<i>Amount Issued.</i>
Winnipeg	\$530,041
Toronto	231,426
Montreal	217,503
Halifax	146,364
St. John	122,073
Quebec	74,955

The greater part of this vast sum went to Ontario and the United States, but considerable was sent to England and Scotland, the amounts being transmitted in a majority of cases by men who were supporting their families in other cities in preference to bringing them here while living was high. When the price of living decreased, the volume of money order business was reduced. The revenue collected at the post office during the fiscal year 1882-3 reached a total of \$68,462, placing Winnipeg as the third revenue producing office in the Dominion, as will be seen by the following table: -

<i>Post Office</i>	<i>Revenue</i>
Toronto	\$208,280
Montreal	196,036
Winnipeg	68,462
Hamilton	58,516
Halifax	42,813
Quebec	38,750
St. John	35,218
Ottawa	34,571
Charlottetown, P.E.I.	11,144
Victoria, B.C.	10,905

The total expenditure of the city during the year amounted to more than three-quarters of a million. The capital expenditure included the following: Sewers, \$32,000; fire halls, etc., \$24,000; city hall, \$23,000; land expropriated, \$50,000; street improvements, \$44,000; bridges, \$43,000. During the year 38 1/2 miles of sidewalks were laid, and 6.34 miles of sewers and flumes were built. The assessment increased to \$32,896,800, and the population was estimated at 25,000.

For the first time in the history of Manitoba, the province had during 1883 a large surplus yield of wheat for exportation abroad. Hitherto the amount raised had not been sufficient for the home consumption, but the numerous settlers that came into the country in 1882 and the spring of 1883 and put the land under cultivation, went actively to work, and the result of their labors was the largest crop in the existence of the country - sufficient for home consumption and millions of bushels to export. In September, however, the country was visited by a severe frost which did considerable damage to all late crops of grain, but the experience of this province in that respect was like that of the eastern provinces and the western states, the frost having visited a considerable portion of the grain districts of the entire continent. The average yield, however, was about 28 bushels per acre, while the quality was considerably above the average. During five years the average yield per acre of wheat in Manitoba was over 29 bushels, which is higher than that of any other wheat producing country in the world, as will be seen by the following record:

<i>Country.</i>	<i>Bushels Per Acre.</i>
Manitoba	28
Great Britain and Ireland	27.62
Minnesota	14-51
United States	12.13
Ontario	11.5
South Australia	8

Yet the average yield of 28 bushels per acre does not represent what the soil of Manitoba is capable of producing. The average is pulled down from the fact that a large percentage of those engaged in farming are novices at the business, and conduct their operations with little or no knowledge of husbandry. The yields of 35 to 40 bushels per acre which frequently occur as the result of intelligent farming prove that with practical experience the average returns will increase to a point more in keeping with the capabilities of the soil.

IX. - SOLID PROGRESS

Everything connected with trade affairs being in a healthy and prosperous state in the beginning of 1884, solid, if not rapid, progress was made during the year. During the

first six months business was somewhat prostrated from the effects of the crash during the preceding year, but the work of recovery proceeded, and values steadily made their way from inflation to a natural level. By the middle of the year a state of trade had been reached, and a feeling of confidence returned to the merchants and citizens who had seen the city pass safely through the storm. The report presented to the Board of Trade at its annual meeting on February 3rd, 1885, thus referred to the city's trade for 1884: -

“In endeavoring to reach statistics and other facts regarding the trade of the city during the past year two features stand out prominently to view. The first, that the city is rapidly passing through a state of transition - from an importing to an exporting centre - and second, that caution has been the leading characteristic of the past year's transactions. On the surface we find the first proof of this in the customs returns for 1883 and 1884. In 1883 the value of our imports amounted to \$4,464,844, while in 1884 imports only reached the value of \$2,239,611. The duty collected in the former year reached \$1,024,142.70, while in the latter it amounted only to \$509,516.81. On the other hand the crude index which customs returns furnish as to exports, shows that in 1883 these amounted to \$584,049, while in 1884 they reached a total of \$979,719. The lesson learned by these figures finds verification in almost every branch of the city's trade. At the close of 1884 we find 912 trading institutions in the city, or about fourteen less than at the close of 1883. Of this number there are about seventy-five which can be considered wholesale or jobbing mercantile houses, and about twenty-five of these are exclusively wholesale establishments. It has been a comparatively easy matter to reach the figures of the trade done during the past year, as information has been most willingly given in almost every case. Inquiry into the details of the work of the various branches here included shows the following results: -

“First in importance comes the grocery and provision trade, two practically inseparable branches. The thirteen houses in these lines show aggregate sales for the year \$3,154,346. Second in importance comes the grain and milling interest. The seven houses representing these branches show an aggregate of business to the amount of \$2,955,522. Third on the list comes lumber and its manufactures. In this line the nine institutions carrying on this business show an aggregate of sales amounting to \$2,559,300. Next comes dry goods and clothing. The nine houses engaged in this business show an aggregate of sales for the year of \$1,589,000. Following close upon this come hardware, stoves and metal goods, the ten houses in which show a turning over of \$1,503,600. Farm machinery ranks next in importance, the seven houses in this branch of trade having done an aggregate business of \$1,103,200. Boots, shoes, harness and leather goods are represented by five houses, whose aggregate business for the year foots up to \$550,500. Beyond this point there is considerable difficulty in making a

classification. The remaining fifteen houses represent paints, oil and colors, crockery and glassware, stationery, wines and spirits, and other lines, the aggregate sales of which for the past year reach a total of \$804,600. The gross aggregate of the wholesale and jobbing trade of the city thus reaches the grand total of \$14,220,098. It must be remembered, however, that many of these houses do also an extensive retail business, for which a deduction of nearly three millions must be allowed. The net wholesale business would therefore be something in the neighborhood of eleven millions and a quarter.

“It is impossible to reach absolute facts in connection with retail business. It has therefore been necessary to reach figures by careful approximation. There are in the city 408 purely retail establishments, and of these only some 60 could be depended upon for exact figures. These 60 houses show an aggregate of sales amounting to \$2,309,600. The approximate figures of the remaining 348 are very considerable, and it will be below the mark to place the total in this category at \$2,750,000. To this should be added the estimate of the business done by the Hudson's Bay Company (that firm having refused the in-formation), equal to at least \$750,000. This gives a grand total of sales in the city for the past year of \$5,809,600.

“The manufacturing interests of the city, if not very great, are varied, and range from the factory employing a hundred hands down to the blacksmith's shop with its single assistant. The milling interest is represented by three institutions having a capacity of 1,100 barrels per day, and employing 105 hands. The figures in this branch are included in the wholesale report. The lumber manufacturing interest is represented by five establishments, and gives employment to 280 hands. The figures in this branch also are included in the wholesale report. In iron and metallic manufactures there are 69 places of business, large and small, employing 407 hands. The products of this industry for the past year exceeded \$500,000. In addition to the foregoing there are 90 miscellaneous firms, mostly small, giving employment to about 275 hands. This is exclusive of branches such as tailoring and needle-work, in which about 140 persons, male and female, are employed. Neither does it include printing and its connections, in which 170 employees are engaged. To this may be added building and outdoor contracting, for which the tenders let in spring amounted to \$1,500,000, fully one-half of which has been carried through during the past year. The gross aggregate of the above interests, not included in the wholesale mercantile statement represents a turn-over of \$2,550,000.

“There are numerous establishments in the city, such as hotels, restaurants, storage warehouses, etc., which it would be almost impossible to classify, the total earnings of which for the year would certainly exceed \$500,000. The gross business of the city for the past year may be summed up as follows: -

Wholesale mercantile	14,220,098
Retail	5,809,600
Manufacturing and contracting (not included in mercantile)	2,550,000
Miscellaneous	500,000
Total	\$23,079,698

“The foregoing figures do not include any of the business of the Canadian Pacific Railway connected with their workshops, round-house, or other arrangements, which maintain in the city a working population of nearly 2,000. During the past twelve months the Canadian Pacific Railway handled from stations on the western division 3,000,000 bushels of wheat, 1,500,000 bushels of barley and oats, and 320,000 sacks of flour; and carried for export from the province, 1,200,000 bushels of wheat, 550,000 bushels of barley and oats, 50,000 sacks of flour. The record of commercial disaster may fitly close this report, as in it will be noted a comparison of figures which clearly shows that the city is making steady headway to a high standard of credit. The failures during 1883 numbered 101, with liabilities amounting to \$1,750,000; while the failures for 1884 show the number to be 42, with liabilities amounting to \$504,758.

“The figures contained in the foregoing report, while they give in dollars and cents the city's trade for the year, are after all but a crude index to its commercial progress. The first quarter of the year had scarcely passed, when it became evident that trade was fast rising out of the depths of depression in which it had been steeped. Insolvencies in mercantile circles became few and far between, and business men of every line began to gain fresh confidence. The work of reducing the cost of living had been going on steadily. Rents of business buildings and residences kept falling, until now they will compare favorably with those of eastern cities. The opening up of coal mines west of the city settled the question of a plentiful and cheap supply of fuel, and men began to look around for manufacturing enterprises in which to engage. During the year a linseed-oil mill, an oatmeal mill, a pork packing-house, and several minor industries were added to the city's list; while the old Hudson's Bay flour mill was cleared of its old-fashioned stone machinery and fitted up as a roller-process mill. Many of the smaller manufacturing concerns which had been silent since the summer of 1882 were again set in motion; and in many other ways signs of returning industrial prosperity were to be seen. The recovery which took place in every branch of trade during the summer months, when but little, if any, was looked for, was a source of agreeable surprise to many who in the spring predicted otherwise; and when at the close of the third quarter of the year it was found that the insolvency figures for the whole Northwest

during that period were only 7 failures, with total liabilities of \$49,884, the business men of Winnipeg breathed freely, and rightly concluded that commercial danger was over. Altogether, 1884 was a year of training as well as transition in Winnipeg. While it was the year of training as well as transition in Winnipeg. While it was the year in which the city passed from commercial danger to safety, it was also the one in which its business men were purged from recklessness in every way and started upon a course of true economy.”

The year 1884 was a season of trial. The frost of the previous year had caused disappointing crops, and the result of the harvest was therefore, looked forward to with considerable anxiety. The crops, however, turned out well, and the reputation of the country as a wheat-raising district was fully sustained. Upon the whole, the harvest was very successful, although heavy rains interfered with the growth of the grain, and it was estimated that the amount of wheat available for export amounted to between 5,500,000 and 6,000,000 bushels. The average yield for the province was placed at 22.31 bushels per acre. An important feature of the year was the establishment by the Canadian Pacific Railway of experimental farms which have shown conclusively that a fertile section of country extends from Winnipeg to Calgary, and not as was previously supposed, including a portion unfit for agricultural purposes. During the year the project of a railway to Hudson's Bay engaged public attention to a considerable extent. The work of construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway was meanwhile proceeding rapidly, and it was expected that the following autumn would see the completion of the great work. The question of opening up the Asiatic trade on its completion demanded considerable attention. The advantages of the Canadian route were shown by the following table:-

Coal Harbour to Montreal	2,062 miles
Coal Harbor to New York, via Montreal	3,241
Coal Harbor to Boston, via Montreal	3,197
Coal Harbor to Liverpool, via Montreal	6,075
San Francisco to Liverpool, via Central Pacific	6,830
Yokohama, Japan, to Liverpool, via Central Pacific	12,038
Yokohama, to Liverpool, via Canadian Pacific	10,963

The year was also one of substantial progress throughout the city. It was thought bottom had been reached in the previous year, but this had not been the case in all lines, and the work of levelling values went on. The city was provided with a sewer system, Main Street and the other principal thoroughfares were improved, a new city hall and a new post office equal to any in Canada were in process of construction and the Parliament buildings were completed. During the year new buildings to the value of three-quarters of a million were erected, a record which was not excelled by any city

of its size in America. A strong feature of the new buildings erected was their substantial character. Main Street was ornamental with a number of solid brick blocks, which added much to the architectural beauty of the city. One of the features in the history of the city was the departure on September 6th of the Manitoba contingent of the Canadian voyageurs who went to the Nile during the Soudan campaign. They were under command of the late Lt.-Col. Kennedy, of the 90th Battalion, who died in London from smallpox while on his way homeward from Egypt. During 1884 the province was visited by Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, Sir Hector Langevin, Hon. J.H. Pope, Hon. A.W. McLellan, Hon. John Carling, Hon. Wm. MacDougall, Prof. Goldwin Smith, Mr. Alonzo Wright, M.P., Cyrus W. Field, the great New York capitalist, and also by a delegation of the British Association whose meeting that year was held at Montreal. They formed a very high impression of the Northwest, and their reports on their return home were expected to accomplish much good for this country. ...

The year 1885 will not be known in the history of Winnipeg as a "boom" year but it was one of solid, steady and substantial progress for the youngest and most promising city in the Dominion. It will ever be memorable as the year in which Winnipeg "found its bottom" and was brought to a solid foundation. It will always be remembered as the time when fictitious values were completely swept away, and when in all departments of business and in civic management economy and prudence were introduced and firmly established. The burden of depression was severely felt in 1884, but the real trial was experienced during 1885. It opened with almost disheartening prospects. Business firms that had struggled to exist from the time of the collapse of an unnatural and unhealthy boom showed signs of going under; bankrupt stocks in large quantities were thrown on the market; ruination stared legitimate trade in the face; the money market was tighter than it had ever been before, and the silver lining which surrounds the darkest clouds was scarcely visible. For two years the people of Winnipeg had been struggling under depression and trying to "pull through" the period that was the inevitable result of the real estate inflation, and it is little wonder that with black prospects for 1885 some of them lost heart. But everything has an end, and summer had not fairly arrived before the silver linings to the clouds became brighter, and the confidence of our people was restored. The turning-point had at last been reached and the era of substantial rather than rapid progress was developed. The bright prospects of a bountiful harvest, the unwavering confidence of "our monied men," the favorable reports sent to the world of our position and prospects, all had their effect, and the golden sun of prosperity soon shone out with ever-increasing brilliancy, dispelling the clouds and showing a glorious future beyond. It was plain that bottom had at last been struck, and with renewed energy and lighter

hearts the people of Winnipeg set to work to build up their city. It had gone through the struggle and had come out of it better and more solid than ever. Business soon began to assume a healthier aspect; business men while still acting cautiously regained nearly all their old-time confidence, and thus things continued to improve until the last day of the year.

The improvement in business during the year 1885 calls for something more than a mere passing reference. Figures never lie, and the figures furnished by Dun, Wiman & Co.'s financial agency show that during 1885 the number of failures and the amount of liabilities greatly decreased. In 1884 there were 81 failures with liabilities of \$787,000, and assets \$514,943. In 1885 there were only 66 failures in the city, Province and Territories, with liabilities of but \$731,507 and assets of \$721,067. Dun, Wiman & Co. reported that the men who entered mercantile pursuits during the year were of a very desirable class, and they regarded the outlook as exceedingly favorable. ...

An unmistakable sign of prosperity was the continued increase in the deposits at the Government savings bank. The record for 1885 surpassed all previous statements. During the year there was an increase to the credit of depositors of many thousands of dollars, while the withdrawals were much lighter than during previous years, which in itself was a good sign. At the close of the fiscal year on June 30th, 1885, the balance at the credit of depositors was \$653,511, and at the close of the calendar year it amounted to \$808,418.06, or a much larger amount than ever before in the city's history.

It is a universally accepted fact that population is the true and enduring basis of the prosperity of a city. Of course, in 1882, when the boom was at its height, and when people from all parts of the world were flocking here to take part in the speculation then going on, the population reached large figures. Probably at one time it was from 30,000 to 35,000, but it is safe to say that 10,000 of this might have been classed as the floating population.⁹ When the boom dropped this class of course disappeared and houses that were "rushed up" merely as "places to live in" were vacated. In 1883 the population had fallen to something like 20,000, and there was an enormous number of vacant houses in all parts of the city. It cannot be said that much improvement was manifested in this particular during 1884, but throughout 1885 there was a steady and apparent increase in the population and gradual decline in the number of vacant houses. It was contended by those in a position to know that the population increased fully two thousand during the year. In 1884 there were, by actual count, nearly 700 houses vacant, and a careful count in November, 1885, showed that this number had been reduced to 250. Then, of course, during the year many residences were erected, and it

⁹ The City of Winnipeg assessment office figures for 1882 gave a population figure of 13,856. In 1886 the Federal Census figures gave a total of 20,238.

was quite plain that progress was being made in our population as well as in everything else. Of the 250 vacant houses, a very large proportion, probably one-third, were of such inferior construction as to be undesirable for habitation at any season of the year, and of the remaining two-thirds only a small number were in such a state of repair as would be necessary to attract tenants. Many of these so-called houses were little better than sheds or outbuildings, while the number of really desirable houses vacant at the close of the year did not exceed 50.

In the management of civic affairs great improvement was made during the year, and 1884 will always be memorable for the inauguration of an economic system of civic government. The council known as the citizens' ticket, with Hon. C.E. Hamilton as mayor, no sooner took hold of office than they began to change the reckless and extravagant system of government that had previously been in vogue. The salaries of officials, which were exceedingly high in many instances, having been fixed in the days of the boom, were cut down and the expense of maintaining the various departments was reduced to such an extent that a saving of probably \$ 100,000 was effected.

The record of the health department for 1885 was very satisfactory, the improvements in the scavenging system, and the adoption of a complete system of sewerage having had their effect. The following figures compiled from the medical health officer's annual report speak out very plainly:

Number of deaths during 1885	287
Number of deaths during 1884	445
Death rate, 1884	18.84
Death rate, 1885	15.04

Of the deaths during the year 85 were caused by zymotic diseases and 99 by local diseases. Fifty-two were caused by developmental, and 42 by constitutional diseases. Only two cases of small pox were reported during the year, both of them coming from Eastern Canada. The number of deaths from consumption during 1885 decreased by one-half over 1884. There was also a marked decrease in the number of deaths from diphtheria and typhoid fever. ...¹⁰

Business made considerable progress during the year 1885, although it was considerably interrupted by the outbreak of the rebellion on the Saskatchewan, because, although the scene of action was far distant from Winnipeg and hundreds of miles beyond the boundary of the province, the military preparations completely staggered many branches of trade. By the end of April the city of Winnipeg had sent to "the front"

¹⁰ See Document VIII, below, for a discussion of typhoid in Winnipeg.

some two thousand men as soldiers, teamsters, etc., and this exodus naturally had a bad effect on the retail trade of the city. Industrial concerns also suffered, but the wholesale trade was not so unfavorably affected, unless it be the lines dependent upon building and contracting. After the close of the rebellion the city's trade recovered very rapidly, though, of course, quite a portion of the business which should have been done in the spring and summer, was crowded into the last four or five months of the year. ...¹¹

XI. WINNIPEG TO-DAY.

In the preceding portion of this work the progress of Winnipeg for the last fifteen years or more has been traced fully and minutely. Its advancement has been of no ordinary character, but has in its rapidity and solidity outstripped every other city in the world. Ancient or modern times fail to furnish a similar example of sudden growth and permanent prosperity, and the metropolis of the Canadian Northwest to-day stands unapproachable in its commercial supremacy. The present year, 1886, now drawing rapidly to a close, has been marked by continued development. The previous year's business, as has been said previously, was sadly interrupted by the rebellion in the Saskatchewan which took about 2,000 men out of the city for several months. The early pan of the present year was marked by an increase in business which was by many ascribed to the fact that it was a portion of what should have done in the early months of 1885. But the record of the succeeding months showed that this was a fallacy, that business had reached a solid and stable foundation, and was rapidly increasing its proportions. The completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the opening of the road to British Columbia opened up another field for our wholesale merchants, which they did not hesitate to enter, and the result has been a large addition to their business. As a wholesale centre, it is generally conceded that Winnipeg to-day is beyond all possible rivalry in the vast region naturally tributary to it - a territory "compared with which the area of the greatest empires in Europe dwindle into mere provinces - a territory not only wonderful in extent, but fertile beyond belief, blessed with all the natural advantages which constitute the foundation for future greatness, a land ready to receive and to feed a population larger by far than that of the British Isles, and capable of perfecting a manhood which shall show the highest development of the Anglo-Saxon race." This enormous area may be better realized when it is taken into account that the Province of Manitoba contains 123,200 square miles, the district of Assiniboia 95,000 square miles, that of Alberta 100,000 square miles, and Saskatchewan 114,000 square miles, while stretching away northwest along the

¹¹ At this point (in Section X) the book deals with "The Canadian Pacific Railway" and its role in the development of Western Canada to 1886.

eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains, and north of the great Saskatchewan, lies the district of Athabasca, with an area of 122,000 square miles, including in it the famous Peace River country, which all authorities declare to be in the wealth of its undeveloped resources the most famous portion of this western land. This is the great territory that stands tributary to Winnipeg; a vast domain on the very threshold of development; a region of incalculable possibilities, but as yet more in its infancy than the territory which has made Chicago, was thirty years ago; an empire of natural wealth of forest, field and mine greater than any city on this continent ever had to its own exclusive advantage. Winnipeg is, by geographical location, the one absolute gateway to this field of future greatness in wealth and population. "Winnipeg," said Sir Charles Tupper, "must remain the golden gate of the Northwest. It is bound to be a great city." Northwestern trade and commerce cannot flow around Winnipeg - the railway system has settled that point forever - but must ever concentrate at this point. And it is not alone the trade and traffic of the territory east and west of the Rocky Mountains which is to make this city one of the mighty commercial centres of the continent, but, situate midway between the ports of entry on the Pacific of the products of the eastern empires of the old world and the ports of export on the Atlantic - and at an early day of the ports on Hudson's Bay - Winnipeg becomes by its very position the natural middleman between the east and the west. Whatever, then, the immense region embraced in Manitoba, Assiniboia, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Athabaska, may in the future become, aggregating the greater part of the area of the Dominion, Winnipeg will be its chief mart and metropolis. In the United States the present generation has seen the preponderance of population, of production, and of political power across the Alleghanies, and it is now witnessing a daily transference of the seat of manufactures from east to west. A similar movement is now visible in Canada, and a few years hence will see the preponderance of population, production and political power west of Lake Superior. As surely as Chicago sought and won from New York, Boston and Philadelphia control of the markets of the Western States, so surely is the tide of progress sweeping westward in the Dominion, and bearing to Winnipeg the full measure of that commercial supremacy which is hers by right of continental location, and which the inevitable laws that govern the competition of demand and supply are now working out. ...¹²

The building trade showed considerable activity during the year, and it was noticeable that the greater portion of the buildings were of a more permanent and substantial character than in previous years. On Main Street many handsome blocks were erected, giving the business portion of the city a more stately and venerable appearance. Among the prominent buildings erected was the new Canadian Pacific Railway depot, which is

¹² A section detailing commercial failures, banking statistics, and living costs has been omitted.

built in the French casement style and cost \$40,000. The dimensions of the new station, which is of stone and brick are, length, 210 feet; width, 54 feet 4 inches. Then Hon. S.O. Biggs erected a fine brick terrace on James Street at a cost of \$20,000. The Freeman block, on Main Street, costing \$15,000; the Fould's block costing \$25,000, and the Rowan block on the corner of Main Street and Pottage Avenue, costing \$18,000, are also worthy of mention. Then the City Hall and the Post Office buildings were completed, and will compare most favorably with any similar structures in the Dominion. The total value of buildings erected during the year was about \$425,000. In addition to these improvements, the Market Square was paved, so that with Main Street and the square provided with a block pavement the appearance of the business portion of the city is greatly improved. It is conceded that Main Street, which is 130 feet wide and over a mile in length, paved its entire length, with street cars running, and lighted with the electric light, is now the finest street in the Dominion.

The assessment of the city for the present year is placed at \$19,286,905, and it may now be considered to have reached its proper level. From this time forward it will undoubtedly show a steady increase. The value of real and personal property in each ward is as follows:

Ward One	\$789,710
Ward Two	6,661,450
Ward Three	445,090
Ward Four	8,554,260
Ward Five	5,236,785
Ward Six	674,730
Total	\$22,362,025

Real estate, though still depressed, is in a more satisfactory condition this season than ever before since the collapse of the boom in 1882. In the city, a great change has taken place within the past twelve months in public opinion with regard to property here, which is the surest sign that the worst is over and we are starting on the upward grade again. For three years before then the owner of corner or other lots here was looked upon with a sort of pity as an unfortunate man, but now he is regarded as rather a lucky dog who will make a "pile" out of them in a few years, if he can hold on. In other words, property is beginning to be appreciated in Winnipeg as in other cities, as it ought to be. Capitalists are on the look-out through their agents for choice pieces, especially on Main Street, between Portage Avenue and the railway station, and if any "bargains" are offered within these limits they are soon picked up. Another good sign is the significant fact that so many people who formerly lived in tenement houses have this year built houses for themselves, or

purchased lots to build on as soon as they can. All classes in the community have been doing this, but more particularly the working men of the north end. It is estimated that over fifty of the Canadian Pacific railway employees and others there have purchased lots in Ward Five for this purpose in the last six months. As to prices, there has been more of what might be called readjustment than increase of values yet; that is, inside properties are valued mainly on an income basis, and not according to boom notions, and residence properties farther out by the locality and convenience to the business centre of the city. Rock-bottom was evidently touched last fall, and since then the general tendency of values, except in the case of forced sales, has been upward, with a marked advance here and there. But farm lands around the city are still vacant to a large extent, and very little progress has been made in the settlement of them. Nor is there likely to be until a different policy is adopted for this purpose. The average Winnipegger is great on "schemes," and we have had all sorts of schemes for settling the Red River Valley in the past five years, but without effect, and, in the opinion of some persons who have given the matter considerable attention, three things will have to be done before our vacant lands can be sold and settled on. We must drop all schemes that do not take into account and often run contrary to the plain laws of nature, and use a little more common sense. The first thing then is to abolish the present municipal system and cut down the taxes on farm lands at least one-half. Secondly, the most of the lands, in the Winnipeg district, if not in the whole valley, though dry enough this year, need to be drained before they can be cultivated in ordinary seasons. And, thirdly, a vigorous immigration policy by the Local Government is required to counteract the powerful influence of the railway and land companies, who are interested in sending people farther west where their own lands are. When these things are done we may expect to see our vacant lands taken up by in-coming settlers and made to produce something more than high taxes, but not till then. There are thousands of acres of land lying idle around the city, which are offered for sale at very reasonable rates. The greater part of this land offers no impediment to cultivation, being open prairie ready for the plough. It is interspersed by numerous streams, the banks of which are fringed with woods of various kinds, while bluffs of timber dot the prairie at frequent intervals. The bottom land of the Red River is of unexcelled fertility. It is a rich, black mould, an accumulation for centuries of decomposed vegetable and animal matter, varying from two to four feet in depth, and practically inexhaustible. For ages countless herds of buffalo and other wild animals have roamed over this country, feeding on the nutritious grasses which grow here in such luxuriance. Myriads of birds have likewise made this trail their resting-place. Their droppings and carcasses have for centuries mingled with the rotting vegetation of each year to make up for the farmer of the present day, a soil capable of producing to perfection the cereals, root crops, and grasses, which

form the staple food of man and beast. The testimony of experts like Sir John Bennett Dawes and Prof. Gilbert, and the published analytical reports of Dr. Stephenson Macadam, of Edinburgh, and Prof. Emmerling, of Kiel, go to confirm the high opinion formed of the wonderful fertility of Red River district. In connection with the analysis of the latter, Senator Klotz, of Kiel, writes as follows: "Annexed I give you an analysis of the most productive soils of Holstein, whereby you will see how exceedingly rich in productive qualities the Manitoba soils are, and which fully explains the fact that the land of Manitoba is so very fertile even without manure. The chief nutriments are first nitrogen, then potash and phosphoric acid which predominate there; but what is of particular importance is the lime contained in the soil whereby the nitrogen is set free and ready to be absorbed in vegetable organism. According to the analysis of Manitoba soil there is no doubt that, to the farmer who desires to select for his future home a country which has the most productive soil and promises the richest harvest, no country in the world offers greater attractions than the Province of Manitoba. " These remarks have special reference to the Red River Valley, and in the face of this and other important facts, such as close proximity to the commercial metropolis of the Northwest and a constant market for all kinds of produce, it is astonishing that settlers will continue to rush past them to the less fertile lands of the farther west. The only apparent reason for this is that the fallacious statements that these lands are held at fancy figures by speculators have not received sufficient contradiction and that the false impression in that respect has not been fully dispelled. Recently the Board of Trade of Winnipeg considered this important question and decided to take action towards settling these lands. In pursuance of this desire, the Secretary of the Board, Mr. James E. Steen, has addressed the following circular to the owners of all vacant lands within twenty-five miles of the city: -

"The Winnipeg Board of Trade having undertaken the collection of information, with a view to forming some organization, for the purchase and colonization of vacant lands for twenty-five miles or so around the city, I have to request that you would furnish me with a description of any lands within that limit you may possess and wish to dispose of, also the price you want for said lands cash down, and the price payable November 1st, 1887. In view of the fact that former attempts have been made to colonize these lands without success, the Board wishes it understood that it has no connection with any such effort, except that made under its own supervision and control. Its first desire is to learn the extent of vacant lands in the market, and the prices at which these can be bought so as to enable it to refute the statements, carefully circulated in the East and in Europe, regarding the fabulous prices lands are held at around Winnipeg, which have so long blocked the sale and settlement of these lands. The next aim is to devise some scheme for the colonization of these vacant lands. The Board can truthfully state that this movement is one by an organization of men

possessing very little direct interest in the lands selected for colonization, and having no personal aims to serve beyond furthering the best interests of the country they live in. It is the Board's intention to make a determined and well directed effort for the colonization of the lands in question, and if the owners of the same will only meet them in a similar spirit, there can be little if any doubt as to the success of the undertaking. By filling up the enclosed blank form as marked therein, you will furnish the desired information, and I hope you will attend to this matter and mail the filled in blank to me with as little delay as possible.¹³

This, of course, is only a preliminary step, and the devising of some plan of organization will come later. At the present date, many replies have been received and much valuable information has been obtained. Those who are pushing this matter are men of determination and energy and will not allow the subject to be dropped until some practicable plan has been devised. ...¹⁴

XIII. OPENINGS IN THE NORTHWEST.

Manufacturers disregard now-a-days traditions which once assigned them exclusively to sites upon water-powers, and seek commercial and financial centres; this with the knowledge that economic motive power *per se* cannot compensate for location apart from general business and railway facilities. Chicago presents the latest and best illustration of this fact, although St. Louis and Philadelphia afford evidence to the same effect. Even as the first named city offered, a score of more of years ago, the greatest possible inducements for the establishment of varied manufacturing industries - because of its position as the commercial depot of the American west and northwest - so does Winnipeg at this time present precisely similar opportunities in the Canadian Northwest. The arguments (presented elsewhere in detail) which go to prove the certainty of Winnipeg's future development and importance, are sufficient to convince the manufacturer that this is the site above all others for the location of any industry, the product of which is to seek sale among and patronage from the people of Manitoba, and the country west and northwest to the Pacific coast. It must be borne constantly in mind by the manufacturer who is now looking toward Winnipeg as a favorable site for this or that industrial enterprise, that the chief merit of the selection does not consist in securing

¹³ Winnipeg City Council and the Board of Trade formed a joint committee on vacant lands in 1887. For a complete account of the activities of this committee see Alan F.J. Artibise. "Advertising Winnipeg: The Campaign for Immigrants and Industry," *Manitoba Historical Society Transactions*, Series III, No. 27 (1970-71), pp. 75-106.

¹⁴ At this point (in section XII) the book deals with "Manitoba and Her Enemies." This section is a colourful account of Manitoba's many advantages as a place of residence.

an unoccupied field with the certainty of fair immediate returns - a good enough inducement in itself, one would say - but is due to the opportunity to develop capacity and production in the line operated, in proportion as the country tributary to Winnipeg becomes populous. It must be kept in view that the empire of the Northwest - aggregating the most fertile agricultural lands, the most extensive cattle ranges, the richest mineral region and the most valuable and extensive forests of the entire country - is equal in area to more than one-half of the Dominion, and that it is developing more rapidly than any other region on the continent. It must also be remembered that by reason of its railway facilities Winnipeg is the natural market of all this territory, a considerable part of which it is also connected by water communication; that the Canadian Pacific - with its headquarters for the Northwest here - is a main highway of all the region indicated, and the only and controlling route of trade and commerce for the greater portion of the entire area, while the Hudson's Bay Railway (now in course of rapid construction) will place this city in direct communication with Europe, and the Manitoba Southwestern, C.P.R. Southwestern, Manitoba Northwestern, and Regina & Long Lake-Railway and other roads carry the trade of the immense districts they penetrate to this point. The manufacturer, then, who locates in Winnipeg, is not dependent upon present trade conditions, favorable as they may seem, but is merely starting a plant that cannot but expand year by year, as the country tributary grows in wealth, population and necessities. What Chicago is to-day as a manufacturing centre, Winnipeg, backed by its commercial, transportation and financial facilities, and the natural resources of the country tributary and accessible, will be within a very few years; and the time is not far distant when this city will rival in this regard every manufacturing place in the Dominion. There are few cities on this continent where greater advantages are offered for industrial undertakings. The days of extortionate prices for everything are gone in Winnipeg, and there is now an opportunity for a large laboring population to live comfortably, with a moderate remuneration for their toil. The food for a working community can be produced here cheaper than in any other part of the dominion; so that the objection of too high labor cannot now be urged. Male, female and juvenile help can now be secured, while the scarcity of the two last-named was a serious drawback two or three years ago. Then the difficulty of a supply of coal at a moderate price is now solved by the opening up of rich mines in different parts of the Northwest. With the labor and the coal at hand, capital, enterprise and mechanical skill are all that are wanted to make branches of manufactures remunerative which many consider impossible. To the capitalist Winnipeg offers advantages to be found in few other cities in the Dominion. The days of corner lot and paper town speculation are gone, but the city is the centre of a growing commercial system, in the building of which funds can be safely and profitably employed. Safety is one of the leading inducements now

offered to the capitalist, instead of loss being one of the almost unavoidable consequences of investment as in "boom" days. While the city and its affairs were in the hands of reckless speculators, the funds of the speculative visitor were freely invested, and as freely lost here. But it is the funds of the thrifty and prudent that are now solicited, and investments suitable only to such people's ideas are offered. The work of wresting the city and its affairs from the hands of speculative schemers, difficult though it was, is now accomplished. They have been steadily weeded out of every branch of business, and in the month of December, 1884, the citizens, headed and led by the Board of Trade, at their municipal election, swept the last vestige of reckless extravagance and dishonesty from civic government, and placed reliable and competent business men in charge of their municipal affairs, thus dealing a death blow to a class, who had long weighed like a load upon the city and retarded its progress. Winnipeg has had its day of rule by gambling speculators and scheming adventurers, but that day is gone. Its merchants, manufacturers, mechanics, financiers, and such like are now the power that shapes its destinies. In short, Winnipeg is now safe in the power of its industrial population, and a city ruled by this class cannot but offer safe and profitable investment for the funds of capitalists. Throughout Manitoba and the Northwest, also, there are splendid opportunities for the investment of capital in a way which will assure a larger profit than can be gained elsewhere. ...¹⁵

XIV. - EDUCATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS.

It is fortunate for Winnipeg that the leading and governing minds in the public policy of the city have been in favor of unstinted means and measures for increasing and perfecting educational facilities, both public and private. The result is unsurpassed graded and high school advantages, and academic and collegiate opportunities. Persons who move from eastern cities to become residents of Winnipeg are invariably surprised to find here finer, larger and more suitable school buildings than they have been accustomed to in their own cultured homes in the older cities. They look with surprise upon school edifices unsurpassed in size and convenience by those of any other city in Canada, and their possible anticipation of having brought their children into a country cross-roads district to be educated is at once dispelled. Indeed, they soon learn that Winnipeg, with the liberality, energy and common sense of new western towns, far surpasses the conservative expenditures of eastern cities in the direction of general education. The free school system of Winnipeg and of Manitoba is something of which our citizens justly feel proud. Wealth is

¹⁵ The balance of this section is a detailed examination of "openings" in the city in various industries, services, etc.

acquired easily and quickly in a locality where development is so rapid as it is in the Northwest, and things which would be considered an extravagance in the older sections of the Dominion are here deemed of common necessity. This rule applies to an admirable purpose when it serves educational advancement, and nowhere is its application more evident than in Winnipeg. The aim, in fact, has been to develop here scholastic facilities equal to any to be found in the country. It has been a special endeavor of prominent and controlling citizens to make the schools of Winnipeg, embracing both Protestant and Roman Catholic sections, worthy of the evident future of the city; and the success attained is a matter of just pride. In addition to the graded schools, there is a collegiate department and a normal school for the training of teachers. The facilities for higher education are most ample, embracing Manitoba College, St. John's College and St. Boniface College, which are affiliated with the University of Manitoba. These institutions tank with any in the Dominion in the ability of the teaching staff and the facilities provided for students. There is also a medical college in the city, which has recently been affiliated with the University, and is making rapid progress. Manitoba College is supported by the Presbyterian denomination, St. John's by the Church of England, and the St. Boniface College by the Roman Catholics. The Methodists have also taken steps for the institution of a college, and the Baptists have been giving consideration to the same subject. For female higher education, unsurpassed advantages are offered at St. John's Ladies' College.

An estimate of the wealth of the churches of Winnipeg places it at nearly twelve millions of dollars - a record in keeping with the marvellous progress in other directions in this city. The figures for each denomination are as follows: -

Catholic Church	\$10,000,000
St. John's, Episcopal	300,000
St. John's College, Episcopal	130,000
Holy Trinity, Episcopal	300,000
Christ Church, Episcopal	75,000
All Saints', Episcopal	10,000
St. George's, Episcopal	10,000
Knox Presbyterian	150,000
Manitoba College, Presbyterian	90,000
St. Andrew's, Presbyterian	40,000
Kildonan, Presbyterian	5,000
Methodist Church	480,000
Baptist Church	40,000
Congregational Church	50,000
Total	\$11,690,000

The churches in the city have a seating capacity for about 16,000 people. Among the many handsome edifices is that of Holy Trinity Church, on the corner, of Donald and Graham Streets. The building is cruciform in shape, with a nave 100 feet long and 52 feet wide, north and south transepts 27 feet wide, chancel 40 feet long and 52 feet wide, and organ chamber 36 by 20 feet. The massive square tower is surmounted by a spire 180 feet in height. The building is constructed of solid Selkirk stone, with Ohio stone trimmings. The church, which cost about \$50,000, will seat about 1,000 people, and is splendidly heated, lighted and ventilated. Knox Church (Presbyterian), on the corner of Ellice and Qu'Appelle Streets, is another handsome structure which cost over \$40,000. It is a commodious brick-veneered building with a spire rising over one hundred feet in the air. The new building erected by the congregation of Grace Methodist Church in 1883, is of white brick with stone dressing, and solidly constructed, with auditorium in amphitheatre style,, 82x90, and comfortable and commodious galleries, having a total seating capacity of about 1,500. In the rear of the church proper is a schoolroom, parlors, class-rooms, etc. The total cost of the building was about \$50,000. The Congregational and the Baptist congregations have excellent church buildings. On Broadway Street is All Saints (Episcopal) Church, built of wood in the 13th century Gothic Style, and which cost \$10,000. The progress of all these churches has been remarkable during the last five years, and the future is most promising. What it will be it is hard to tell, but in a recent paper Prof. Bryce, of Manitoba College, took the following peep into futurity: "And now, again, it is 1900. We are back in the queen city of the plains. One hundred and fifty thousand people hurry on with their Christmas joys. This is the mother city of the far west. East and west and south and north through this point the currents of trade flow. It is neat the eastern prairie limit; it is the depot of a large mineral region east; the river system, the railway system, point out the same centre as in the days of the early explorers, the Northwest fur traders and the Hudson's Bay Company. It is the centre of education, law and government. It is likewise the religious centre. If there are bishops west - the archbishop or metropolitan is here; if there are presbyteries west - the synod is here; here is the centre of religious newspapers of the Northwest, as well as the great dailies, influencing public opinion; the colleges and schools of this metropolis are models for Prince Albert and Edmonton; and now the University of Manitoba, with its half dozen affiliated colleges, turns out men to fill chairs in western institutions, and doctors and lawyers go forth under its favoring banner. The church, too, has its large band of missionaries educated now in this the second city of Canada. The million and a half of people that now live in and west of Winnipeg have become a mighty factor in the Dominion of Canada. There are now forty representatives to the Dominion Parliament. The people of the Northwest are largely homogenous, because the great district between the Red River and the Rocky Mountains is one. Its rivers, plains, grasses, forests, are almost identical in general

features. The English language is the language of the people. Such Norwegians, Germans or Swedes as have come have all shown that in a generation or two they will be undistinguishable in the population.”

The general character, appearance and professional rank of the newspapers of a city constitute a sure guide in estimating its people, their intelligence and their prosperity. Chicago was no less phenomenal in its newspaper development than in its commercial growth. The eastern press was taught more lessons in enterprise by the Chicago journals than were the eastern merchants by the energetic young business men of the western metropolis. The development of Winnipeg is evidenced in its newspapers as in other lines. Go where you will in Canada to-day, and in journalistic circles Winnipeg will be ranked among the first newspaper towns of the country. This result is not to be attributed wholly to either the progress of the town or the character of the newspapers, for each has assisted in the upbuilding of the other; each are examples of Northwestern energy, and the talent - business or literary - that is generated by action is the result of such energy. There are three daily newspapers published in Winnipeg, and all are prosperous and progressive. In addition to the daily press, there are seven weeklies and two monthly publications.

The *Free Press*, published both daily and weekly, is the oldest newspaper in the city and the only morning journal. It was started by Messrs. Kenny & Luxton as a weekly in 1872, and in 1874 they published the first daily edition of a newspaper in the Northwest. Of course, the field was then small, and circulation was limited, but the enterprising publishers keep steadily advancing, and when the rapid development of the country set in they reaped the advantages resulting therefrom. They now have the finest newspaper property in the Northwest. The daily is an eight-column folio, and the weekly edition is the largest newspaper in the Dominion, averaging from 20 to 24 pages, and enjoying an immense circulation throughout Manitoba and the territories. The job printing office in connexion with the establishment is most complete, and the only lithographing office in the Northwest was recently purchased by the *Free Press*. The *Free Press* is Reform in politics, but is ever ready to support the interests of the Northwest in preference to party. The editor-in-chief, Mr. W. F. Luxton, is a prominent leader of the Reform party of Manitoba, and is a man of marked ability. The managing editor of the *Free Press* is Mr. Arch. McNee, and the business manager is Mr. D. McIntyre, who are both energetic and enterprising men.

The *Manitoban*, daily and weekly, is the Conservative organ in Winnipeg, and is published by the *Manitoban* Printing and Publishing Co., of which Mr. Acton Burrows is president, and Mr. W. B. Scarth vice-president. It was started in 1885, in succession to the *Times* and the *Winnipeg Sun*, whose business was then purchased by the *Manitoban*. The daily is an eight-column folio, and is published every evening,

except Sunday. The managing editor is Mr. W. E. McLellan, who is also a forcible and polished writer, and the business manager is Mr. A. J. Smith, while the whole establishment is under the management of Mr. Burrows, the president of the company. The *Manitoban* has the largest plant in the Northwest, and its book and job department is most extensive.

The *Manitoba Sun* is the latest addition to the daily newspapers of Winnipeg, having been started in April, 1886, by a joint stock company. It is Independent in politics, and is an earnest upholder of Manitoba's rights. As a newspaper it is unexcelled. The manager of the *Manitoba Sun* is Mr. T. H. Preston, formerly of the *Winnipeg Daily Sun* and afterwards managing editor of the *Manitoban*. He is an able newspaper man, and in his hands the *Manitoba Sun* will not be found lagging behind.

The *Commercial* is the name of the only commercial journal in the Northwest, which was started in 1882 by Messrs. Sceen & Boyce, and sub-sequently came under the sole control of Mr. Junes E. Steen, its present editor and proprietor. The *Commercial* ably represents the interest of the mercantile community of Winnipeg and the Northwest, and to its outspoken utterances is due the redress of many grievances of which the merchants of this city had to complain. It enjoys a large circulation in every town and village in Manitoba and the Northwest Territories, while among its subscribers are included many in the eastern provinces, the United States and Great Britain. As a medium for reaching the merchants of the Northwest, the *Commercial* is unequalled. Mr. Sceen has also been secretary of the Winnipeg Board of Trade for several years, and has done much to place that institution in its present efficient state.

The *Winnipeg Siftings* is a weekly humorous paper started by Dart & Burkhan in 1883. It subsequently passed into the possession of Mr. Geo. B. Brooks, and during the present year was sold by him to Saults & Kirkland. Mr. Brooks remains its editor.

In August, 1882, Mr. Lud K. Cameron, a member of the Cameron family who founded the *London Advertiser*, commenced the publication of the *Nor'-west Farmer*. Scotchman-like he believed in going canny at first, and the initial number contained just 12 pages, and the opening editorial announced the fact that the paper had "come to stay," and that the publisher was willing to cater to the wants of the somewhat lonely settlers of that time, feeling assured that at no distant day he could count his subscribers by the thousand from a dense population all over the land. His brightest dreams for the paper have been fully realized, although he has not had a hand in working out its destinies since early in 1884. At that date he was called to take the helm at the *London Advertiser* on account of the death of his brother William, who, with John, the present editor of the *Toronto Globe*, founded the *Tiser* away back about a quarter of a century ago. Captain Wm. Clark, one of the best known and most popular men in Manitoba, purchased the paper in January, 1884, and one year later

formed a joint stock company to carry it on. The new company, known as the *Nor'-west Farmer* Printing and Publishing Co. (limited), started out with ample capital under the management of C. B. Keenleyside. Captain Clark remained as editor and remains so to the present day, and to his influence and ability a great measure of the editorial success of the *Farmer* is due. Mr. C. B. Keenleyside, the secretary-treasurer of the company, is a young man trained to newspaper work on the *London Advertiser*, and his strong point is work. He may be found early and late in his office, and to his energy and hard work is due the business success of the paper. From a paper of 12 pages the *Nor'-west Farmer* has grown in about four years of the most distressing times, bearing particularly heavy on the farmers, to a journal of from 32 to 50 pages, and literally counts its subscribers by the thousand. It is filled from cover to cover, not with clippings from other agricultural journals, but with original articles from the pen of practical men, who have had experience on the prairies, in the matters on which they write. It has a corps of a dozen or more contributors, enthusiasts in their own branches, and it is a moral certainty that so long as they are headed by Captain Clark, the tone of the paper will be high. In a new country where settlement is scattered, and the farmers are all struggling to place themselves in an independent position, from small beginnings, it is no light task to build up a journal to the proportions of the *Nor'-west Farmer*, and to the publishers is due great credit.

The other newspapers in the city are the *Northwest Review* (weekly), the organ of the Roman Catholic section of the community, published by Mr. J. J. Chadock; the *Industrial News* (weekly), published by the Knights of Labor; and the *Emigrant* (monthly), published by Mt. J.A. Carman. ...¹⁶

¹⁶ The remainder of the book consists of comments on the "leading and representative firms" of Winnipeg. This section runs to almost one hundred pages.

III

WINNIPEG BOARD OF TRADE

Although efforts to organize a Board of Trade began in Winnipeg even before incorporation, it was not until 1879 that the nucleus of a permanent organization was formed.¹ On January 24, 1879, the Winnipeg Board of Trade was incorporated with A. G. B. Bannatyne as President and Thomas Howard as Secretary. Its initial membership of sixty grew steadily until by 1905 there were almost three hundred members.

From the outset, the Winnipeg Board of Trade included nearly all the prominent members of the city's business community. In fact, "the roster of the presidents and council members of the Board of Trade came to read like a social register of Winnipeg commerce and finance."² Membership in the Board of Trade was also almost a prerequisite for political success in the city - between 1900 and 1914, for example, five of the city's mayors were prominent members of the Board of Trade.³ The result of this eminent membership was that the Board of Trade was a power to be reckoned with not only in the city, but in western and national affairs as well.⁴ In short, throughout this period and even beyond, the Winnipeg Board of Trade was epitome of the city's establishment.⁵

The following document vividly illustrates the wide range of interests Board of Trade members had in their successful efforts to make Winnipeg the undisputed "Metropolis of the West."⁶

¹ These early efforts can be traced in A. Begg and W.R. Nursey, *Ten Years in Winnipeg* (Winnipeg, 1879).

² J.M.S. Careless, "The Development of the Winnipeg Business Community," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Series IV, Volume VIII (1970), p. 247.

³ Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth*, pp. 23-42.

⁴ Bellan, "Development of Winnipeg," pp. 486-487.

⁵ James A. Jackson, *The Centennial History of Manitoba* (Toronto, 1970), p. 207.

⁶ This report was presented at the Annual Meeting of the Board of Trade held February 7, 1905.

**WINNIPEG BOARD OF TRADE:
TWENTY-SIXTH ANNUAL REPORT**

OFFICERS and COUNCILS

PAST PRESIDENTS

Hon. A.G.B. Bannatyne (deceased)	1879	J.E. Steen	1892
A.F. Eden	1880	F.W. Stobart	1893
		W.B. Scarth (deceased)	1894
W.H. Lyon (deceased)	1881	R.T. Riley	1895
Jos. Mulholland (deceased)	1882	F.W. Mathewson	1896
C.J. Brydges (deceased)	1883	D.W. Bole	1897
Kenneth McKenzie	1884-6	A.M. Nanton	1898
J.H. Ashdown	1887	E.L. Drewry	1899
George F. Gait	1888	D.K. Elliott	1900
James Redmond	1889	Wm. Georgeson	1901
R. J. Whitla	1890	John Russell	1902
Stephen Nairn (deceased)	1891	G.R. Crowe	1903
	H.W. Hutchinson		1904

OFFICERS FOR 1905

A.L. Johnson, President	Andrew Strang, Treasurer
G.F. Carruthers, Vice-President	Chas. N. Bell, Secretary

COUNCIL

H.W. Hutchinson, J.W. Dafoe, W. Sanford Evans, F.W. Drewry, J.H. Ashdown, Wm. Georgeson, H. M. Belcher, D. W. Bole, J. B. Persse, Jno. Love, D.K. Elliott, F.W. Heubach, E.D. Martin, D.E. Sprague, Jno. Aird, T.R. Deacon.

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

WINNIPEG, February 7th, 1905.

GENTLEMEN: -

On this, the occasion of our Annual Meeting, it is not my intention to occupy your valuable time at any great length in reviewing the matters that have engaged the attention and consideration of your Council and the Board during the year just terminated. You have become familiarized therewith from the verbal reports submitted at the various Board meetings, and more fully referred to in the Council's report now before you.

In connection with the Board's work, the past year has been a quiet one, and few serious problems have arisen requiring action by your Council.

As business men we have every reason to feel gratified that little has occurred in Canada during 1904 to disturb the general serenity in all branches of trade-, indeed, the prosperity existent throughout the whole Dominion, has been most marked during the past few years.

The total trade in Canada for the fiscal year ending June 30th, 1904, amounted to \$472,733,000, of which \$213,521,000 represented exports and \$259,212,000, imports, an increase of \$17,997,000 in imports and a decrease of \$12,328,000 in exports as compared with the previous year; the decline in exports being due, mainly, to reduced shipments of wheat and animals and their produce, while coal most largely contributed to the increase in imports.

The savings by the people, now deposited in the savings accounts of our Chartered, Postal and Government Savings Banks, and with the Loan Companies in the Dominion, total the enormous sum of \$421,000,000, the largest amount yet attained, and being an average of \$85 per capita.

The growing demands of trade and commerce have tendered it necessary that existing Chartered banks increase their capital. Many new bank branches have been established throughout Canada; more particularly in the Northwest in which there are now 238 branches or agencies (exclusive of private banks), whereas but ten years ago there were only 41. These figures do not include the 58 Insurance and 50 Loan and Investment Companies, who have enormous sums on loan.

Referring more particularly to the Northwest in which we are so immediately interested, the phenomenal progress in every line has attracted the attention of the commercial communities of not only the other provinces of our fair Dominion, but even of those across the water in the Motherland, and our American cousins of the south.

Immigration still continues to pour in at a very rapid rate, and in most cases of a very desirable class of people. For the fiscal year ending June 30th, 1904, 130,329 new settlers came into Western Canada, 51,000 of whom were British, and 43,000 Americans. The vigorous and intelligent immigration policy of the Government and the efforts of the Western Immigration Association, organized but a year ago, and financially supported by many members of this Board, are, I believe, doing more toward the development of the country and its commercial interests, than any other agencies. The distribution of literature pertaining to the wonderful capabilities and possibilities of our soil, and the great field for investment, has created almost world-wide interest, and I venture the opinion that 1905 will witness a still larger influx of settlers.

Free homestead entries, and land sales at advanced prices by the railway and land companies to actual settlers, have exceeded very considerably those of any previous

year. A very large number of our neighbors in the United States realize that we have lands of better quality than their own, which can be acquired at much less per acre than theirs are valued at, and have bought very freely.

The acreage under wheat in 1904 compared with 1903, shows an increase of 5 % in Manitoba, and 22% in the Territories, with an estimate yield of about sixty million bushels. In the early part of the season, crop conditions were most favorable, and gave promise of an abundant yield, but in some districts, on account of damage by rust, ultimately the yield and grade were considerably reduced. It is, however, the general opinion that the higher prices obtained resulted as profitably as any previous crop, and the railway companies moved the grain much more expeditiously and with less complaint regarding car shortage, than in any previous year, much to the satisfaction of the farmers and business community, so mutually interested. These improved conditions I believe to be due to the more intelligent means adopted by the railway companies in the appointment of travelling inspectors, who are constantly engaged in ascertaining the requirements of each district, resulting in a more equitable distribution of cars.

A somewhat new feature has entered the grain trade of Western Canada owing to the action of the United States Government in definitely allowing what is commonly called "milling in bond." For probably the first time on record, shipments of Manitoba wheat from Fort William have been forwarded to United States ports east of Lake Superior to be milled in bond and the product exported. Last year a considerable quantity of Manitoba wheat was manufactured in this way in Minneapolis mills, and it is understood that somewhat heavy shipments of wheat are again going to that United States milling centre. The results of this new feature of our trade in grain will naturally be closely watched, for should the trade expand to any considerable extent, it will undoubtedly affect our transportation companies directly, and cause to a more or less extent some re-arrangement of the present method of selling and handling the grain. It is safe to say that every bushel of grain in this way diverted to the south will mean a loss to Canada through such grain not being handled at Canadian ports and by Canadian steamboats and railroads. How far our farmers will be benefited seems as yet to be problematical.

Important legislation affecting the grain trade was passed at Ottawa last year when the "Inspection of Grain Act" became law. This Act embodies all legislation affecting the inspection of grain in Canada, and it is well to point out that the only changes made in the clauses relating to the inspection of Manitoba grain, were those asked for by the Manitoba and Territorial Grain Growers' Association at a Conference with the grain and railway interests in Winnipeg a year ago, the Conference being held at the request of the grain growers. It may be taken for granted that in every year when we will have a

considerable amount of grain damaged in the fields by any climatic causes, there will be more or less dissatisfaction with the practical working out of the best of grain laws. It is a matter of record that when there is no damaged grain there is practically no dissatisfaction. It is evident, too, that many of the complaints now made are owing to a lack of knowledge of the existing laws, and therefore any proposed change should be very carefully considered as to the results that might follow. For instance, in a few quarters, grain growers are advocating the lowering of the requirements of the principal standard grades, simply because this year's damaged wheat will not grade into them. It will undoubtedly occur, with the expansion of grain growing in this vast grain producing district, that new conditions will necessitate changes in the details of the methods of inspection and handling, yet it would be most unwise that hasty legislation, based upon the abnormal conditions prevailing in any one or two years, should be passed by Parliament.

In a statement of crop movement compiled last year, our Secretary pointed out that the 1902 crop of wheat inspected and registered in the regular elevators, that the Winnipeg figures were 51,833,000 bushels; Duluth and West Superior, combined, 42,406,923 bushels; Chicago, 37,940,953 bushels, and New York, 35,101,950 bushels; which unmistakably demonstrates the importance of Winnipeg as a grain centre, in fact, with the exception of Minneapolis, it shows the largest total of any market on the North American Continent.

Our interior and terminal grain storage and handling elevator system, from the point of excellence, is equal to anything in the world, and it may be noted that a considerable extension of the system took place during the past year, some five and a half millions of bushels capacity having been added. The capacity in the interior is now 28,178,863 bushels, and the terminals at Fort William and Port Arthur 18,462,000 bushels, or a total of 46,640,630. Taking into consideration that about one-half of the present crop is handled through elevators before the close of navigation, it will be seen that the storage available for the winter season is certainly very great.

TRANSPORTATION

The railway companies operating in the Northwest are putting forth every effort to keep abreast with its development, consequent upon the steady influx of population. During the past year the Canadian Northern Railway have been most energetic in constructing new, and extending branch lines; 550 miles have been graded and 413 miles of steel laid, giving this company 1,758 miles under operation, west of Lake Superior. The Canadian Pacific Railway completed and opened for traffic during the year 197 additional miles and have 75 miles graded ready for rails in the spring, giving this corporation 4,100 miles of track under operation between Fort William and British Columbia. In addition to the mileage constructed, a great deal of time and money has

been expended in reducing grades and straightening existing lines, as well as purchasing additional motive power and car equipment rendered necessary by the increased traffic. The expenditure on railway construction and improvements in the west, during 1904 was largely in excess of any previous year, and apart from giving employment to a vast army of laborers, the commercial community benefited by the additional trade consequent upon the expenditure of such large sums of money. The extended lines in the new territory opened up will not only enhance the value of lands tributary thereto, but prove a veritable boon and convenience to hitherto isolated settlers. The progressive spirit displayed by the Canadian Pacific Railway I believe to be largely the result of recommendations made by the second Vice-President, Mr. Wm. Whyte, who now manages the western system, and who is so thoroughly conversant with western needs. There is every indication that the present rapid rate of construction will be continued for at least a few years, as, with all their energy, it will tax the companies to their utmost to supply the necessary transportation facilities. In the near future, too, a new factor will enter into the transportation system of the west, I refer to the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway, the new Transcontinental road, of which we are assured construction operations will be undertaken in the spring. In addition to providing increased facilities for carrying to the east the products of our great west, the new road will open up and develop many new and rich districts, and add vastly to the producing area of the Dominion.

In the development of the West, Winnipeg is advancing in all directions, and every citizen has a just right to feel proud. I do not know of any city that has experienced such phenomenal development and occasioned such universal, favorable comment. The city assessor maintains that our present resident and floating population is 80,000, and many, well qualified to form an accurate opinion maintain that it is in excess of this number.

A greater amount of public works was carried out during 1904 than in any preceding year, and this expansion has been general; applying to the opening up of new streets, the extension of sewers and water mains, asphalt, macadam and block pavements, artificial stone and plank walks, boulevards, etc.

There is now completed 17 miles of asphalt, 33 miles of macadam and 16 miles of block pavement; 23 miles of artificial stone and 186 miles of plank walks, 99 miles of water mains, 87 miles of sewers and 65 miles of boulevard throughout the city; with ten miles of pavement, 16 miles of sidewalk, 13 miles of sewer and 14 miles of water mains on order, which have been authorized by the Council for construction in the spring that could not be completed last year. I am also informed that the petitions from ratepayers now before the Council for improvements, with the uncompleted work carried forward from last year, will give employment to a large number of men during the coming summer.

These public works entailed the expenditure of large sums of money; the benefits of which, with the improvements themselves, are shared by citizens generally, and very materially contributed to the prosperity, public health and beauty of the city. It is gratifying too, to know, that the rate of taxation for 1904 was only 17 mills on the dollar (five mills less than the previous year); the total assessment being \$48,220,000, as compared with \$36,232,000 in 1903.

Building operations have been carried out on very extensively in every part of the city, in the erection of homes for the accommodation of the thousands coming amongst us, and business blocks tendered necessary by the growing trade. Permits were issued for building during the year at an estimated cost of \$9,651,750, but more likely at an actual cost of twelve or thirteen millions, as builders, when obtaining permits, usually place the value below the cost, hoping to escape higher assessment. For comparison it may be of interest that I place before you official information as to the value of building permits issued during the past year in the three largest cities of the Dominion and nine of the largest cities in the States, whose population, with one exception, exceeds by many thousands, that of Winnipeg.

The following are the figures: -

Winnipeg	\$9,651,750.	Detroit	\$6,737,105.
Toronto	5,885,120.	Minneapolis	7,820,040.
Montreal	3,646,484.	Boston	18,500,567.
Hamilton	1,000,000.	Philadelphia	21,930,000.
St. Paul	3,712,343.	Chicago	44,724,790.
Cincinnati	5,326,000.	New York	75,267,780.
Buffalo	6,638,319.		

Considering the population of the various cities referred to, Winnipeg leads in the value of buildings by a very large percentage. Permits already issued this year exceed very considerably those of the corresponding month of last year. It is therefore reasonable to assume that during the present year building operations will continue active.

Bank clearings, receipts from Customs, Inland Revenue and Postal department in any city reflect more accurately, I believe, than any other data, trade conditions. Those of Winnipeg show considerable increases compared with the preceding year, as you will find by the tabulated statement submitted hereunder: -

	1903.	1904.	Increase.
Bank Clearings	\$246,108,000	\$294,601,437	20%
Customs Revenue	2,252,563	2,725,160	20%
Inland Revenue	775,783	914,189	18%
Postal Revenue	201,907	265,519	22%

During the past year the Canadian Pacific Railway were obliged to make very extensive alterations and additions to their Winnipeg terminals to facilitate the more expeditious, convenient and economic handling of the increased freight and passenger traffic, consequent upon the general expansion of business.

In the re-arrangement and extension of their yards, many additional miles of new track were constructed, and mammoth shops and freight sheds erected. Their magnificent new station, so urgently required, is almost ready for occupancy, and construction work on their new hotel is progressing rapidly. Their Winnipeg yards, covering such a large area, with 110 miles of trackage, are now the largest in America owned by a single company. The hotel and station when completed will surpass in size, convenience and elegance, any similar structures in Canada.

The building of the much discussed subway, has, I believe, completely removed the danger of accident to life and limb so imminent hitherto, and gives direct and undisturbed communication between the north end and the remainder of the City, including a through car service.

The extension of the street car system has caused an unusually active sale of building lots in the suburban districts served by the new lines, and on these lots many new houses have been and are being erected by those whose means will not permit of their paying the high rentals that internal properties command. The extension to St. Charles will furnish rapid and convenient transportation to and from the new suburban park so recently acquired by the City, and to the Agricultural College to be erected during the coming summer by the Government. In addition thereto, it will be convenient and of inestimable value in the marketing of garden vegetables and dairy supplies produced so largely in the district referred to.

The new suburban line to Selkirk, constructed and operated by the Winnipeg, Selkirk and Lake Winnipeg Railway, opened for traffic last summer, has already demonstrated the practical utility of the road in furnishing transportation to the many settlers tributary thereto, and facilities for the daily delivery of fresh supplies of produce grown so profusely in the district served thereby.

The Exhibition held in Winnipeg in 1904, financially supported by a grant from the Dominion Government, the Dominion Fair, was an unusually important event, extending as it did over two weeks, and will no doubt prove very instrumental in promoting the industrial and commercial life of the West.

Products of the field, forest and mines from every part of the Dominion, and the large and excellent exhibit of live stock, with the magnificent range of manufactured articles, more especially, "Made in Canada" goods, proved exceedingly interesting, and evoked

expressions of surprise and gratification from the many thousands in attendance. The large number of exhibits and the increased accommodation provided for the better display thereof, contributed very materially to the success of the Exhibition; while the larger receipts resulting from the increased patronage and attendance, enabled the Exhibition directors to clear off the long standing indebtedness of the Association, much to the satisfaction of our citizens.

On the death of Mr. Jno. Bertram, Chairman of the Transportation Commission, who always exhibited a keen and intelligent interest in the West and its needs, the Dominion Government, no doubt having in mind the request of this Board made over a year ago, that representation be given on the Commission to the West, which is supplying, and must in the future supply the vast bulk of the produce tonnage which the Government desire to retain within Canada until it reaches the seaboard, appointed Mr. J.H. Ashdown, one of the most valued members of this Board, as a member of the Commission. In addition to Mr. Ashdown's appointment as a Commissioner, our Secretary, Mr. C.N. Bell, is also Secretary of the Commission; therefore members of this Board can depend upon the wants of the West being properly and intelligently presented for the consideration of the Commission.

During the year we have been called upon to mourn the loss of five former members of this Board in the demise of Mr. John Russell, a former President of the Board; W.F. McCreary, M.P., W.T. Rutherford, C.A. Patterson and A.C. Archibald, all of whom took a very active interest in the work of the Board and enjoyed the confidence and esteem of the citizens generally.

From the large number of enquiries received by this Board from Eastern Canada, the United States and European countries regarding manufacturing, it is very evident to my mind that the Board should cooperate with the City Council with a view of securing such industries for our City. With the prospect of cheaper power from the Winnipeg River in the near future, and a reasonable supply of cheaper labor, Winnipeg as a location should prove inviting, more especially as it is the distributing centre for vast territory to the West. I am opposed to giving assistance by way of bonus or exemption from taxation for manufacturers, but a reasonable basis of assessment, for a stated period, might, and no doubt would attract manufacturers, and prove beneficial to Winnipeg. I trust the incoming Council will take this matter up and give it active consideration.⁸

Better fire protection, one of the most important questions of a local character, and of

⁷ Winnipeg began construction of a municipally owned hydro-power plant in 1909 and the plant was officially opened in 1911. See Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth*, pp. 88-101.

⁸ The result of this "active consideration" was the creation of the Winnipeg Development and Industrial Bureau in 1907. See Document VII.

such vital interest to every citizen, received very long and careful consideration by the Insurance Committee of this Board, and their recommendation (adopted by the Board), to the City Council, advocating the installation of a high pressure water system for fire purposes only in the congested districts, more especially the central section, has been received with favor by the City Council, who, at an early date, propose installing the system, and I would urge upon every member of this Board their practical assistance to ensure the passing of the by-law.⁹ In addition to the four new halls erected, the fire equipment has been very materially increased by the purchase of three new steam engines, three chemical engines, four hose wagons, an eighty-five foot aerial ladder truck and one water tower, which, with the addition of forty-eight firemen, is worthy of note; but the fact should not be overlooked that owing to the rapid growth of our City, and its isolated position through being entirely dependent upon our own fire fighting resources, inspires the confidence that a high pressure system would give the additional protection necessary, and no doubt eventually result in the reduction of insurance rates.

While our membership shows a net gain of forty during the year, I am convinced that there are in our City a large number of business men who should become members of the Board, and who could, by their presence and counsel, render incalculable service in the various matters for the general good of the City and community which, from time to time come up for discussion. The Board of Trade works for the general benefit of the City without any ulterior or selfish motives, and it cannot be denied that the actions of the Board have been productive of much good. Might I here suggest that the present members take a more active interest hereafter by attending the meetings regularly.

I desire to express my appreciation of the honor conferred on me in choosing me as your President, and I thank the members of the Board for their many courtesies, and the members of the Council for their generous support given me.

The very efficient and courteous Secretary has done much to lighten my labors as President for which I specially thank him, and this Board has every reason to congratulate themselves on having such a capable officer.¹⁰

H.W. Hutchinson, President.

⁹ A bylaw creating a high pressure water system to provide added fire protection for Winnipeg's business district was passed in April, 1907. The cost-of the system was \$387,326. See City of Winnipeg *Bylaws*, 1907, Bylaw #4900.

¹⁰ The following section contains the "Report of Council" which was a detailed review of the items covered in the President's Report. The Council Report has been omitted, but the statistical section is reproduced here.

STATISTICAL APPENDIX TO BOARD OF TRADE REPORT

INLAND REVENUE COLLECTIONS.

Winnipeg Division.

For years ending 30th June: -

	1900.	1901.	1902.	1903.	1904.
Spirits	\$303,904	\$291,224	\$352,225	\$440,516	\$517,380
Malt Liquor	...	325	350	275	...
Malt	29,003	28,573	30,336	37,796	50,036
Tobacco	197,949	189,527	218,797	251,163	296,909
Cigars	28,817	27,572	34,651	43,380	45,085
Petroleum					
Inspection	*230	Bonded Mfrs.		1,793	1,583
Seizures	86	...	...	...	...
Other Receipts	2,468	737	1,522	860	3,196
	\$562,457	\$537,958	\$637,881	\$775,783	\$914,189

* Abolished September, 1899.

GRAIN STORAGE CAPACITY.

(Including Port Arthur, Fort William, Keewatin and points in Manitoba and the Territories.)

1891	7,628,000	bushels.
1892	10,366,800	"
1893	11,467,100	"
1894	11,817,100	"
1895	12,000,000	"
1896	13,873,600	"
1897	14,999,300	"
1898	18,378,500	"
1899	19,958,000	"
1900	20,908,000	"
1901	21,000,000	"
1902	*21,298,000	"
1903	*30,356,400	"
1904	*41,186,000	"
1905	*46,640,630	"

*Actually registered in the office of the Warehouse Commissioner.

CITY OF WINNIPEG ASSESSMENT OF PROPERTY.

	Realty Assessment.	Exemption.	Total.
1896	\$19,498,660	\$4,696,880	\$24,195,540
1897	19,745,930	4,876,820	24,662,750
1898	19,670,680	4,882,920	24,553,600
1899	20,049,890	4,996,100	25,045,990
1900	21,316,000	5,657,650	26,973,650
1901	22,355,600	5,949,600	28,305,200
1902	23,938,860	6,558,060	30,496,920
1903	30,873,910	7,722,770	38,596,680
1904	41,106,870	9,489,030	50,595,900

WINNIPEG BANK CLEARING HOUSE.
REPORT FOR 1904.

The following is the comparison of the total monthly clearings for the last three years:

	1901.	1902.	1903.	1904.
January	\$9,623,466	\$14,363,381	\$19,045,633	\$21,484,089
Feb.	7,158,276	10,067,621	13,308,306	19,096,637
March	7,839,692	10,706,959	16,305,287	19,524,990
April	7,634,294	13,199,815	17,290,498	18,884,556
May	8,681,057	13,912,219	20,689,973	22,844,525
June	8,547,728	13,034,547	20,470,043	23,020,350
July	9,213,186	15,663,739	20,400,874	24,824,509
August	9,324,765	13,750,885	17,034,252	23,628,441
Sept.	10,314,335	15,663,307	18,560,258	20,415,666
October	15,174,897	21,550,466	26,425,898	28,295,908
Nov.	21,532,461	23,813,297	29,227,956	36,641,451
Dec.	19,155,326	22,643,767	27,349,028	35,940,315
	\$134,199,483	\$188,370,003	\$246,108,006	\$294,601,437

The following shows the largest and smallest transactions by months weeks and days, during the same period: -

	1904.		1903.
November	21,532,461	November	\$29,227,956
Ending Nov. 27th	5,890,897	November 12th	7,293,667
November 25th	1,339,889	December 1st	1,527,186
February	7,158,276	February	13,308,306
Ending April 3rd	1,214,251	February 26th	2,976,584
January 30th	182,631	February 25th	405,812

The following shows the Clearings for the principal cities in Canada: -

	1903.	1904.
Montreal	\$1,113,978,000	\$1,065,067,000
Toronto	808,748,260	842,097,066
Winnipeg	246,108,006	294,601,437
Halifax	93,349,633	90,115,784
Hamilton	53,419,704	59,003,081
St. John	49,013,467	51,422,858
Vancouver	66,215,765	74,029,902
Victoria	30,818,428	33,070,009
Quebec	88,329,358	79,843,927
Ottawa	106,083,750	106,637,587
London	42,848,581	45,552,230

\$2,698,912,952 \$2,741,440,881

The aggregate clearings of these cities in Canada showed an increase of 1.57 as compared with 1903. Winnipeg shows an increase of 19.74 per cent.

MANITOBA'S WHEAT EXPORTS.

(Including during last years some from N.-W. Territories.)

(Including Flour.)

Crop 1886	4,000,000 bushels
“ 1887	10,500,000 “
“ 1888	4,000,000 “
“ 1889	4,500,000 “
“ 1890	11,500,000 “
“ 1891	14,000,000 “
“ 1892	14,000,000 “
“ 1893	12,000,000 “
“ 1894	15,000,000 “
“ 1895	29,000,000 “
“ 1896	14,000,000 “
“ 1897	22,000,000 “
“ 1898	23,000,000 “
“ 1899	30,000,000 “
“ 1900	17,000,000 “
“ 1901 (wheat only)	50,000,000 “
“ 1902 “	50,833,000 “
“ 1903 “	40,396,650 “
“ 1904 (estimated)	50,000,000 “

MAILED AT WINNIPEG OFFICE.

	Letters.	Post Cards	Newspapers	Other Packages
1896	2,539,914	335,998	1,049,958	74,568

1900	4,532,840	488,228	1,571,648	40,144
1901	6,080,984	570,544	1,978,808	45,020
1902	5,669,872	493,844	2,409,628	127,920
1903	6,956,664	714,012	*206,024	3,078,920

These statistics are obtained by estimating from two enumeration weeks' results.

*Classification changed.

WINNIPEG BUILDING PERMITS.

Year.	No. of Permits.	No. of Buildings.	Value.
1900	637	-	\$1,357,473
1901	796	-	1,718,057
1902	822	973	2,365,325
1903	1232	1592	5,689,400
1904	-	2288	9,651,750

A permit must be secured from the City Building Inspector before any building can be erected in the City. The above record is therefore valuable.

WINNIPEG POST OFFICE STATISTICS.

Year Ending 30th June.	Gross Postal	Amount Money Orders	
	Revenue.	Issued.	Paid.
1896	\$ 91,418	\$153,375	\$522,893
1897	98,086	.....	.....
1898	108,924	143,512	511,505
1899	108,318	134,504	620,045
1900	116,000	127,539	599,911
1901	126,518	140,395	675,421
1902	156,734	169,029	1,166,542
*1903	201,907	352,176	1,446,105
*1904	256,519	558,657	1,528,388

Note - 2c. rate from 1st Jan. , 1899; prior to 1st Jan. , 3c.

*Including City branch offices.

GRAIN STATISTICS.

Returns to the Winnipeg Board of Trade of wheat inspected at Winnipeg for crops of years named: -

WHEAT. Class/Grade	1895 Cars	1896 Cars	1897 Cars	1898 Cars	1899 Cars	1900 Cars	1901 Cars	1902 Cars	1903 Cars
Hard, No. 1	4380	6812	5999	3566	22148	1192	8282	21329	557
Hard, No.2	1898	2365	2200	759	4053	2188	*....	....	....
Hard, No.3	2008	922	169	66	1698	4665	....	....	....
Northern, No. 1	710	475	219	3201	1035	10	18795	15476	7065
Northern, No. 2	157	88	50	349	76	14	21851	7513	10794
Northern, No. 3	37	9	11	68	36	106	991	6091	11720
White Fyfe	65	41	7	22	40	11	....	....	....
Spring, No.1	213	47	14	386	27	1	....	....	....
Spring, No. 2	38	2	5	9	....	....	....	....	....
No. Grade & Feed	198	136	50	2576	933	6458	3051	320	3851
Rejected	2578	379	474	383	1085	237	578	1496	1117
Commercial Grades	1630	653	21	18	506	4	160	1712	3369
Total Cars	13912	11929	9219	11404	31637	14886	53708	53937	38473

*This grade abolished 1st September, 1901.

IV

WINNIPEG TRADES AND LABOR COUNCIL

Although the first unions were organized in Winnipeg in the 1870s, workers were neither as unified nor as powerful as their employers in the pre-1914 era. Indeed, from the outset, Winnipeg's labour organizations quarrelled as much among themselves as with the "capitalist enemy." Compared to the stability, homogeneity, and singleness of purpose displayed by Winnipeg's commercial elite, organized labour remained throughout the period unstable, heterogeneous, and vacillating. There was continuous and often bitter in-fighting among various labour and socialist organizations and this caused a division of forces that workers could ill afford.¹

*Notwithstanding labour's factionalism, the union movement was able, by the beginning of the Great War, to achieve some measure of success. As the following document illustrates, a Trades and Labor Council was formed in March 1894, and a few months later it began publishing *The People's Voice*.² During the next two decades, labour went on to elect representatives to both municipal council and the provincial legislature.³ It is true that these successes were not matched by many labour victories in the numerous strikes that plagued Winnipeg in the pre-war years, yet it was on this foundation that Winnipeg's workers built a movement that was able to bring the city to a virtual standstill during the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919.*

¹ Accounts of Winnipeg's labour movement can be found in the following sources: Martin Robin, *Radical Politics and Canadian Labour, 1880-1930* (Kingston, 1968); David Jay Bercuson, *Confrontation at Winnipeg: Labour, Industrial Relations, and the General Strike* (Montreal and London, 1974); and A. Ross McCormack, *Reformers, Rebels, and Revolutionaries: The Western Canadian Radical Movement, 1899-1919* (Toronto, 1977).

² *The People's Voice* became *The Voice* in 1897 and it was published in Winnipeg until 1918. The editor of the paper was Arthur Puttee. Born in Folkstone, Kent, in 1868, he spent some time in Brandon and the United States before coming to Winnipeg in 1891, where he became active in the International Typographical Union. Puttee was a M.P. from 1900-04. He died in Winnipeg in 1957. See A. Ross McCormack, "Arthur Puttee and the Liberal Party: 1899-1904," *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. LI, No. 2 (June 1970), pp. 141-63.

³ The first labour alderman, C. Hislop, was elected in 1896 and served on city council for two years. R.J. Shore was elected in 1910 and served for four years, and R. A. Rigg was elected in 1914. All three men had firm connections with organized labour in Winnipeg. See Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth*, p. 27. Success at the provincial level came in the provincial election of 1914 when Fred Dixon was elected in Centre Winnipeg. See McCormack, *Reformers, Rebels, and Revolutionaries*, p. 95.

LABOR DAY SOUVENIR: WINNIPEG, 1896⁴

Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council

The System and methods employed by modern trade unions are simple and easily defined, and should be understood by those who study and plan for labor's advancement. The great mass of workingmen are ignorant of the means by which the most effective work of labor organizations is accomplished. A great many of them consider the payment of dues and an occasional attendance at their meetings constitutes trade unionism. These are very necessary, but everyone who studies the labor question knows that success is only attained by steady persistent work; advancing when it is quite clear that to do so is for the good of all; retreating if the exigencies of the time requires it; for an orderly retreat is sometimes necessary. Modern trade unionism has succeeded best where it is best planned. Our aim should be to have our unions appear at their best, on all occasions, to the outside world. The more powerful we appear on all public demonstrations, the greater chance we have for the diplomatic service of our Trades Council. Under the old system each separate organization exerted their energy along the narrow lines of their own individual desires. But the introduction of machinery and the massing of capital in the hands of the few have taught Trade Unions the stern necessity of combining labor's forces in Trades Councils and powerful Federations of Labor. Acting on these ideas the Trade Unions of Winnipeg during the winter of 1886-1887 decided to form a central body composed of delegates from the different unions of the city. This body had a precarious existence of a few months. It was chiefly composed of delegates from mixed assemblies of Knights of Labor, a great many of whom were more politicians than Trade Unionists. The inevitable result followed, in the dismemberment of the organization.⁵

On March 15th, 1890, a Building Trades Council was organized, with L.T. Lothrop as President, and W.A. Reeves as Secretary. This was soon after enlarged to allow of representation from all unions in the city, and a Trades Council formed under the name of the Manitoba Trades Council.

During the existence of this council the convention of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers was held in this city and advantage was taken of the occasion to present an

⁴ This document was "issued by the authority of the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council" and published as a supplement to *The People's Voice* on September 5, 1896. The original pamphlet contains numerous advertisements which have been omitted here. I am grateful to Professor Ross McCormack of the University of Winnipeg for bringing this document to my attention.

⁵ The Council was dissolved in 1887. See *The People's Voice*, 1 September 1894, The Knights of Labor was founded by garment workers in Philadelphia in 1869. This organization was geared to the unskilled worker and tended to organize on a plant rather than a craft basis. During the 1880s the Knights of Labor swept across Canada. Their first assembly (the name given to their basic local organization) was established in Hamilton in 1881. The Winnipeg assembly was founded on October 20th. 1884. By 1886-87, the Knights of Labor had at least 158 Assemblies in Canada with about 1200 members.

address of welcome from the trades unions of the city to the visiting delegates. President Arthurs acknowledged the address in a happy and felicitous manner. That great good has been the result of the efforts of the Manitoba Trades Council none will deny. At the time this council became extinct the officers were: President, Jos. Hooper; Secretary, S. R. Horricks.

In February, 1894, a joint meeting of Bricklayers and Masons, and Carpenters and joiners decided to issue a call to labor organizations in the city to attend a meeting to consider the advisability of forming a Trades and Labor Council. The response to this call was a surprise to the promoters in point of members and enthusiasm and convinced them that the time had arrived to establish on a firm and lasting basis a central organization, which should be in a position to promulgate the views of organized labor on all questions affecting their welfare, not only as Trades Unionists, but as citizens of the capital city of Manitoba. On March 3, 1894, the present T. and L.C. was formed with Mr. W.J. Hodgins, of the Bricklayers and Masons' union as President; H. Cowan, of the Typographical Union as Vice-President; Wm. White, of the Carpenters and joiners as Secretary-Treasurer; R.J. Pyne, of the Machinists as Statistician; and J.G. Holmes of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers as Sergeant-at-Arms. The following unions sent delegates in response to a request of the Council: American Railway Union, Bricklayers and Masons, Carpenters and Joiners, Amalgamated Society of Engineers, Icelandic Laborers', Journeymen Tailors, International Association of Machinists, Typographical Union, Operative Plasterers, Painters and Decorators, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Stone Cutters, Hod Carriers, Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, General Laborers, Freight Handlers.

The Council at once started a vigorous organization crusade and several unorganized trades were brought into line, and the hands of the Council strengthened by delegates sent from these bodies. The work of the Council is done largely through committees, and for this purpose the Council has six strong committees, whose duty it is to report from time to time on any subject that in their opinion is of interest to the workmen of the city. The ground covered by these committees are first Legislative. This committee has charge of all legislation affecting the interest of labor; it is their duty to secure beneficial legislation and to closely watch adverse legislation, and if necessary bring the influence of the Council to protest against anything detrimental to the interest of the toilers. Second, the Municipal Committee has charge of anything that may arise in municipal affairs affecting the welfare of the workmen. Third, the Educational Committee has charge of a work in which all workmen are vitally interested, viz. the health and education of our children. Fourth, the Organization Committee has no sinecure in looking after the unorganized trades in the city; their work goes on at all time; a word here and there and a little friendly help is sure to bring forth good results. Fifth, the Arbitration Committee is a result of the Council's belief in a conciliatory

policy, believing as they do in exhausting all legitimate means before endorsing a strike, and the work of this committee has already proven the necessity of its existence. Sixth, the Parliamentary Committee. Shortly after formation the T. and L.C. became convinced of the necessity of some means to educate the masses in an intelligent use of the ballot. This is the business of this committee, and how well they have done their work was evidenced last year, when they had three candidates for municipal honors and succeeded in electing Bro. Hislop, Chairman of the Municipal Committee, as alderman for Ward Four.

To give a resume of the work done by the Council since its inception would take up too much space and is of too recent date to require it. But we may be pardoned if we refer to a few of the leading events in which the Council has been engaged. After repeated solicitation on the part of organized labor, the Dominion Government appointed the first Monday in September as a legal holiday to be known as Labor Day, and the Winnipeg Trades Council deemed it a fitting occasion to combine organized labor for an industrial parade and picnic. And under the able management of Messrs. Cowan and Pyne, this Council celebrated Canada's first legal Labor Day by a monster industrial parade and picnic in the Exhibition Park, and in spite of the vast amount of work entailed in pioneering a demonstration of this kind for the first time, everything passed off smoothly, and the Council was congratulated from all sides on the magnificent showing they made.

In the early winter of 1894 the council took a prominent part in the municipal elections, and pledged the candidates to some very necessary reforms. Through their efforts in this direction they secured a modification of the property qualification for civic positions and secured a fair wage clause in all city contracts.⁶ Since then they have been instrumental in impressing on the city fathers the necessity of opening the city library to the general public and about a year ago this was done, and has been a great benefit to the citizens of Winnipeg generally.⁷ They have also secured some important legislation from the Provincial Government for the benefit of the wage-earners; and to a large extent have succeeded in preventing unscrupulous contractors from defrauding their employees. During the year 1895, under the able chairmanship of President Small, the Council continued to advance on the lines of the former year, and in the early part of the year they took up the question of free text books for public schools. The School Board have, through a special committee who visited eastern points in search of information and data, reported favorably on the scheme, and it is confidently anticipated that in a short time this great boon to workingmen will be established here.

⁶ From 1874 to 1895 candidates for mayor and alderman had to own \$2,000 worth of property. This was reduced to \$500 in 1895. See Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth*, pp. 37-42.

⁷ For a discussion of Winnipeg's library, see G. Boyce, "A Great City Library," *Manitoba Historical Society Transactions*, Series I, No. 70 (1906).

During 1895 the Council instituted a Parliamentary Committee. The work of this committee is largely of an educational nature, and as such, requires time to develop.

Having the experience of a former year, it is needless to say that the Labor Day demonstration of 1895 was well nigh perfect, under the able management of Messrs. J. Manson and W. White.

In the elections in January, 1896, Mr. John Manson was chosen as President, and the veteran Secretary, Mr. W. White, was re-elected by acclamation. At a later election Mr. John Appleton, of the Typographical Union, was elected to fill the President's chair, which position he now ably fills.

The Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council has given practical reasons for their existence. The members of affiliated unions have invariably given them a loyal support, and no small need of praise is due *The People's Voice* company for their fearless and outspoken attitude on all questions in which the workers are interested. This is peculiarly a workingmen's paper, and is deserving of their hearty support. No conscientious union man should fail to help the cause of Labor by assisting in establishing our official mouthpiece on a solid financial basis. The Council have always endeavored to do the right, and put down the wrong; and have been careful to avoid the danger such bodies are subject to in the persons of office-seekers, and have shunned the professional politician. They have had nothing to do with politics, only so far as Labor was locally interested. They are opposed to granting monopolies of any franchise. They favor the city owning and operating every public service. They believe that if the masses are to be lifted up and placed where a just God intended them to be, it will only be done through an intelligent effort on the part of themselves. We must wait for no man to help us, but be up doing for ourselves. Let our motto be: organize and educate.

- W.J. Hodgins.

Order of Railway Conductors

The strong railway brotherhood is one of the oldest unions in the city⁸ and one of the strongest in every way. It was instituted in 1882 by Calvin S. Wheaton; has now 110 members, and has jurisdiction over all this western country. Meetings are held on the first Sunday in each month at the Winnipeg headquarters. The officers for the present term are: Chief Conductor, J. Fahey; Assistant Chief Conductor, J. Johnson; Secretary, W. Drone; Senior Conductor, W. Chester; Junior Conductor, S. Shipman; LS., D. Soames; O. S., J. Landers; Cypher Cor., W. Chester. The Division is affiliated with the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council.

⁸For material on early union organization see D. Spettot, "Winnipeg's First Labour Unions," *Manitoba Pageant*, Vol. XXI, No. 4 (Summer 1976), pp. 13-14; and M. Norell, "Labor in Winnipeg: The Rise of Trade Unionism," United College, Winnipeg, 1945 (typewritten).

Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners

Local Union No. 313 was instituted nine years ago, and during these years has been a great benefit and advantage to the members who have stood by it throughout its varied existence. This union does not confine itself to questions benefiting its own members only but takes up subjects of a broader nature, and makes suggestions that are recognized by the community at large. The meetings of this union are held in rooms agreeably situated at 496 Main Street, Second Floor, and are used during the winter afternoon as Reading and Recreation rooms.

All competent carpenters are eligible to join, and this card is an invitation to you as an intelligent mechanic to send in your application for membership in this union. The initiation fee of this union is \$2.50, the dues are \$0.50 per month, and we pay a sick benefit of \$3.00 per week. Every member receives monthly, free of charge, a copy of the *Carpenter*, one of the best mechanical papers published.

The meetings are held every Tuesday evening, and are well attended in the winter evenings, and are a great benefit to the carpenter who attends regularly. The officers for the present term are: President, E. Parker; Vice-President, H. Mason; Recording Secretary, Wm. White; Financial Secretary, T. Riley; Treasurer, A.A. Eggo; Conductor, Geo. Ireland; Warden, J.B. Robertson. Delegates to Trades and Labor Council: H. Mason, Geo. Hart, and Wm. White.

It is a branch of the United Brotherhood of C. and J. of America, which was founded in convention at Chicago, August 12, 1884. The United Brotherhood is organized to protect the carpenter trade from the evils of low prices and botch work; its aim is to encourage a higher standard of skill and better wages; to re-establish an apprentice system, and to aid and assist the members by mutual protection and benevolent means; it pays a wife funeral benefit of from \$25 to \$50; member's funeral benefit, \$100 to \$200; and disability benefit, \$100 to \$400. Such an organization is worthy the attention of every carpenter. It has reduced hours of labor to eight hours a day in seventy-two cities and nine hours a day in 421 cities, not to speak of a large number of cities in which it has established the eight or nine hour system on Saturdays. By this means thousands more carpenters have gained employment. This is the result of thorough organization; and yet very few strikes have occurred and very little money has been spent on strikes by this society; and it is to your interest to join this growing and powerful body.

This society has expended over \$1,000,000 in benefits since 1883; paid out \$93,453 in funeral and disability benefits for the two years ending June 30th 1893, and \$448,973 since 1883, along with \$571,380 in sick benefits for the same period. Besides that we have raised wages in every well organized city, and kept them up during hard times where ever we had a live union.

In the past month the Carpenters Union granted five charters, viz.: Union 135, Allentown, Pa.; 139, Bangor, Maine; 140, Moundsville, W. Va; 145, Columbus, Ga.; and the Union 19, Detroit, Mich. (a consolidation of Union 421 and the Associated Carpenters, an independent union of Detroit). We have a net gain of nearly 800 members for the month of July.

Operative Bakers' Union

Not much over a year ago, the journeymen bakers formed themselves into a union, and during the past year have been agitating for better conditions in their trade. A conference with the bosses resulted in a better understanding, although the performance of night work is still compulsory, and will be so long as the people demand bread hot from the oven for the breakfast table. The union is about 25 strong and is officered by Mr. J. Samson, President; and Mr. McKenzie, Secretary.

Bricklayers' and Masons' International Union

The history of the above local dates from May, 1886 when an organization was formed by twenty bricklayers under the title "Winnipeg Bricklayers' Local Union No. 1." Its members were mainly composed of men who had received a thorough training in union principles in the old world and in the last, and the first officers were: President, A.G. Brown; Vice-President, Walter Black (now in Victoria); Recording Secretary, J. Brown (now in Victoria); Financial Secretary and Treasurer, W. Horner; Guard, H. Thomas; and the membership: P. Burnett, D.D. Woods, J. Gummow, D. Hamilton, F. Shipley, O. Glendenning, A. Tuck, C. Hatrison, W. Harris, W. Blair, F. Brown, H. Shepperd, J. Bagot, Wm. Goodman, and J. Terry. The reason for organizing at that time was to be found in the fact that in the spring the contractors agreed together to reduce the wages to \$3.25 per day of 10 hours. The first work of the local union was to call a conference of the builders and men at which a scale of wages was fixed upon as follows: For first two months 35 cents per hour for 10 hours' work; and upon July 15, 1886, a raise of 5 cents per hour was to go into effect for balance of season. This arrangement proved satisfactory and the bosses conscientiously carried out their part of the agreement. The next important change is recorded in the spring of 1887 when the union notified the contractors three months previous to work opening, that they wanted a raise of wages of 5 cents per hour, this demand was conceded without objection. The following spring a conference between the building trades under the direction of the Trades Council resulted in a decision to inaugurate the nine-hour day from May 1, which was effected

and has been strictly adhered to by this union ever since. Early in 1889 a special meeting of Bricklayers and Masons was called when the two branches of the trade united in one union, the latter to receive 40 cents per hour.

In 1890 the union unanimously agreed that owing to the very short season in which its members could engage in their work, the wages should be 50[¢] per hour for both bricklayers and masons, and a circular was sent to all contractors inviting them to attend a meeting to discuss the matters if they had any valid objections to the raise. No such objections being made the 50 cent scale went into force on May 1st, 1893, and has not been deviated from since. In 1892 the local union decided to affiliate with the Bricklayers and Masons International Union of America, which has a membership of over 30,000. In order to receive the substantial support of this giant organization in cases of trade difficulty, and to gain the free exchange of travelling cards, which previously could not be permitted, and which had proved a source of friction and annoyance to both the Local and International Union men. The wisdom of joining the parent body has been apparent to every bricklayer and mason during the last two years especially, because of the dull times throughout the country men have come here, and if the union had not been International they would not have been under any obligation to respect the rights of the resident members.

Since the inception of the union the president's chair has been filled by Messrs. A.G. Brown, W. Black, W.J. Hodgins, R. Malcolm, J. Gummow, D. Malcolm and W. Horner, the present occupant. The membership now numbers ninety-four and eight apprentices, with these officers: President, W. Homer; Vice-President, W. Stewart; Recording Secretary, O. Glendinning; Financial Secretary, T. Ching; Treasurer, A.G. Brown. Delegates to the Trades and Labor Council - W.J. Hodgins, A.G. Brown, and W. Horner; inside guard, T. Eilbeck.

Winnipeg Typographical Union, No. 191

Ever since the invention of the "an preservative" its followers, in all countries and under all conditions, have bonded together to preserve the interests of their craft, and although this is true of the printers unions of today, it has not hindered them becoming workers, even pioneers in the great movement of the new unionism, the enrollment of all toilers under the one banner of "Labor." It was in the beginning of things in Winnipeg in 1881 when the coming boom gave a sudden impetus to the publishing business, that the Winnipeg Typographical Union was organized. A dozen printers, each a stranger to the other, did what any other dozen would have done - organized, applied for and were granted a charter from the International Typographical Union; and never since then, in times of prosperity or depression, neither by outside opposition nor inside dissention, has that charter been endangered. The parent body, the LT.U.,

extends over the whole of the North American continent, being established in every city and town of importance, and claiming the allegiance of every honorable printer. It has a great organization system, a defence fund and burial fund, and its special pride is

the palatial home for aged and infirm Union printers at Colorado Springs, where its sick and worn out members are freely kept and cared for in luxury.

The local union had its most serious trouble about a year after its organization, but successfully resisted a reduction. On the introduction of type-setting machines eight hours was agreed upon as the maximum day's work in machine offices; however, the nine hour day still obtains in the book and job branch of the business. No. 191 has always had abundance of good material to select its officers from, and has ever chosen from its best for delegates to the Trades Council, the present able president of that body, being one of its representatives. The office holders now are: President, J.B. McCracken; Vice-President, R.J. Rogers; Financial Secretary, A.W. Puttee; Recording Secretary, H.C. Hawley; Treasurer, G.H. Moore; delegates to Trades Council, J. Appleton, M. Gossell, and G. Pingle.

The Union Label is the official trade-mark of the Typographical Union and its presence on any work declares it to have been done by union men under the jurisdiction of that organization. "United to support; not combined to injure."

American Railway Union

An organization which a few years ago occupied a very prominent place in labor matters in connection with the Great Northern and Pullman strikes in the former of which they were successful; in the latter they were not, is an American institution with branches on the different railways operating in Canada.⁹ Its originator, Eugene V. Debs, who is perhaps today the most cordially hated labor man on the continent of America¹⁰ has shown himself possessed of wonderful power as an organizer, and under his guidance the organization is making rapid strides; its principal recommendation being that it aims at the complete consolidation of all railway men under one central body

⁹ The American Railway Union was born at a convention held in Chicago in June 1893, It was an attempt to unite all railroad workers. In June 1894, the A.R.U. ordered its members not to handle Pullman cars in sympathy with Pullman shop workers. Violence resulted and President G. Cleveland sent in troops. The strike was lost and although the A.R.U. lingered on into the 1900s. it was "only as a shadow of the organization whose moment of prominence and promise had passed in 1894." S. Buder, Pullman: An Experiment in Industrial Order and Community Planning, 1880-1930 (New York, 1967), p. 187.

¹⁰ Debs was an American socialist. He helped organize a lodge of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen in 1875 and by 1880 was a national officer of the Brotherhood. He was Socialist nominee for President of the United States in 1900, 1904, 1908, 1912, and 1920.

with complete local autonomy of their own. It issues charters either to trade organizations by themselves, or else general charters which will admit any railroad man of good character, irrespective of what branch of railway works they may be engaged in. While it has no wish to interfere with the internal workings of the different brotherhoods at present in operation, it aims to bring them into complete touch with each other, and also with the men employed in the mechanical and other branches of railway work, so that in the event of any trouble arising between the employees and any of the railway corporations, the men would have some common centre to rally round, and by concerted and united action prevent the recurrence of such a failure as the Pullman strike was, which failed simply because the Managers' Association were organized in a solid phalanx with only one object in view, while the men were split up into separate organizations; weak because of the want of cohesion which resulted from the want of a central union to rally round. It also aims at making the organization a political power, having for its aim and object the securing for the workingman direct representation in our legislative bodies so as to enable them to frame and enact laws that would give protection to them and their interests. The officers and members of this organization are fully alive to the fact that today we are face to face with a thorough political organization on the part of the employers of labor and the money power which can only be met by a counter organization of the same nature. A great deal of bitter opposition has been experienced in the past by this organization from the officers of the different railway brotherhoods which we are pleased to learn is gradually but surely dying out, as the men begin to see that only in a united front can there be any hope of success, and we hope to see the day, and that right soon, when wiser councils will prevail, and railway labor will be consolidated under one head for the purpose of bringing about their industrial as well as their political emancipation from the shackles that now bind them.

Winnipeg Teamsters Union

The above is probably the youngest union in the city, having yet to celebrate the anniversary of its first birthday. However, throughout the eleven months of its existence it has done several things that have had a beneficial effect on not only its members, but on all those who earn their livelihood by driving teams and general draying. Mr. W. Carmichael is President, and P. Maitland, Secretary, and at the Trades Council the representatives are D.J. McDonald, R. Colburn, and R. Johnston.

Operative Plasterers' Association

Operative Plasterers are not behind the other building trades of Winnipeg in the matter of organization. On January 6, 1893, the first meeting was held and the organization put on a good footing with the following officers: President, G. Tuck; Vice-President, M. Wiley; Recording Secretary, Geo. Clark; Financial Secretary, Jos. Madill; Treasurer,

J. Barr; Tyler,¹¹ J. Stanish. Before the year was out the local union affiliated with the International Association, the objects of which are to protect its members from unjust and injurious competition, and secure, through unity of action, that protection and encouragement which laborers, as the first producers of capital, are entitled to and must receive from society and the government. The association urges upon all who toil at the craft for a livelihood in the United States and Canada to join in the efforts to secure, through the power of organization, a steady demand and fair compensation for their toil, a position in society which, as wealth producers, they are justly entitled and must attain if the spirit of sincerity and honesty of purpose controls their deliberations and actions. The lot of Winnipeg plasterers has been comparatively smooth, only once there being any semblance of a difficulty with the contractors, when during the depression which prevailed in 1894 wages were lowered temporarily but are now at a satisfactory scale, while nine hours constitute a day's work. During the four year the president's chair has been filled by Messrs. Geo. Tuck, W. Paulson, Geo. Clark; Jas. Caithness, and Fred Patterson, the present occupant. The other officers this term are: Vice-President, S. Burns; Secretary, G. Clarke; Financial Secretary, J. Lenez; Tyler, Jos. Madill. Every competent working plasterer in the city is a member of the union, and this showing speaks for itself.

Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen

The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen was organized at Port Jevvas, N.Y., on December 1, 1873, with a membership of less than a dozen, and its growth and influence from that time until today has been widespread. Its members are working under its schedules of agreement on nearly every road or system in the United States and Canada, and are receiving remuneration for their services never dreamed of when the order was organized. Their official organ, the *Firemen's Magazine*, is so well known that comment upon it is unnecessary, it having a circulation of nearly 40,000, and is in every way an up-to-date periodical. The two main departments in the order are known as the Beneficiary and Protective departments in which every member is obliged to participate. The insurance is against disability and death, and all members totally incapacitated or unfitted to follow their occupation either by accident or disease by the loss of a hand, foot, or eyesight, after a rigid examination and their case being adjudged a legal one, draws the full amount of their policies, which are respectively 14500, \$1,000 or \$1,500 at the option of the member. The Protective department is thoroughly organized, each road or system having their boards of adjustment, which are operated upon a common-sense business basis. On the whole the Fireman owes more to his organization than any other

¹¹ The Tyler is the doorkeeper of the lodge.

class of men in the train service, as his position today from a financial and social standpoint, is equal to that of almost any class of skilled labor. Winnipeg, Brandon, Rat Portage, Grand Forks, Fort William and Medicine Hat have lodges in first-class order. Debates on mechanical and social questions fill the evenings devoted to Lodge work, to the benefit of the members of the lodges mentioned.

Winnipeg Journeymen Tailors Union

Journeymen Tailors of Winnipeg have been organized since May 11th, 1892, when the above union was instituted by Mr. B. Fairburn, who was its first President. Mr. Fairburn, was an old union man before locating here, and devoted a great deal of time and energy in effecting an organization among his craftsmen here. He had associated with him as the first union officers, Mr. W.T. Peace, Vice-President; Mr. C. Hearn, Financial Secretary; Mr. Percival Cole, Recording Secretary; Mr. Samuel Brooking, Treasurer; Mr. Alex. Cameron, Sergeant-at-Arms.

In a revision of the Bill of Prices, this union had some difficulty with the employers, and a general lock-out occurred on February 20th, 1893, which resulted in a doubtful victory for the masters after a hard-fought struggle of ten weeks' duration. Not many of the old hands consented to return at the terms dictated in the Bill of Prices determined upon by the Master Tailors Association, and quite a number of the locked-out journeymen commenced business for themselves and are now among the most prominent of our merchant tailors. Mistakes probably were made on both sides in the management of the negotiations for a settlement, but it is safe to say that a valuable lesson has been effectually taught the contending parties, and it may be many a day before further trouble is experienced by this union. At the second election of officers in July, 1892, Mr. Peace was elected to the chair, and he was followed by Mr. Geo. McCord for the term starting January, 1893. For the second term of 1893 Mr. S. Brooking occupied the chair. He was followed by Mr. Chas. Hearn, who in turn was followed by Mr. Charles Warrick, who held the position till the present term, when the following officers are in charge: President, Alex. Cameron (Hudson's Bay); Vice-President, Miss Rae (George McCord); Recording Secretary, H. Jennings (Peace & Co.); Financial Secretary, Miss Graham (M.B. Lee); Treasurer, A. Mitchell (W.R. Donagh). The union meets regularly in Trades' Hall the first Monday in each month and would invite any members of the craft who have not yet identified themselves with the union to send in an application for favorable consideration.

Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners

The Winnipeg Branch of the above society was opened in the city on the 4th of June, 1893, Mr. B. Nicholson, of Alfred Street, being the first Secretary. This Society has branches in Great Britain, Ireland, the United States, South Africa,

and Canada. The head offices of the Society are in Manchester, England; it has a membership of over 40,000, and at the end of last year after distributing \$736,620 for benefits amongst its members, had assets valued at \$432,870. Mr. S. Maber is the present energetic Secretary of the branch, whilst Mr. Geo. Crook occupies the position of branch President. Mr. Robert Underwood, Mr. Doner and Mr. Geo. Elliott are the delegates to the Trades and Labor Council. The estimation in which the officers of the union are held by all who know them is shown by the fact of the general secretary, Mr. F. Chandler, being appointed a police magistrate in the City of Manchester, England.

V WINNIPEG'S MILLIONAIRES

There is general agreement among historians that one of the major reasons for Winnipeg's rapid growth and development in the pre-war period was the role played by Winnipeg's businessmen. There were literally dozens of commanding individuals in the city during this period who built up major business organizations and fortunes and who, collectively, made the Winnipeg Board of Trade such a powerful organization.

In large part, the city's commercial elite's impact on Winnipeg stemmed from the fact that in this pre-1914 period a major proportion of local enterprise was conducted and owned by men who considered Winnipeg their permanent home. For them advancement of the city implied enlargement of their local enterprise. In contrast, the post-war period saw an increased number of branch offices in the local economy. The individuals who managed local branches were typically newcomers to Winnipeg, subject to transfer elsewhere and aspiring to positions in head-offices in Eastern Canada. The relative paucity of out-standing, Winnipeg-oriented, entrepreneurial figures after 1914 reflected the altered circumstances. Thus the businessmen of pre-war Winnipeg were in a very real sense the last of a very select, powerful, and important group.¹

The following document deals with some of Winnipeg's most successful businessmen.² It provides a great deal of information on Winnipeg merchants, financiers, entrepreneurs, and promoters; source material that would make an excellent starting point for a study of Winnipeg's urban elites and decision makers.³

WINNIPEG'S EVER WIDENING CIRCLE OF MILLIONAIRES

The conversation drifted to millionaires. Someone made the statement that Winnipeg has more millionaires than Montreal or Toronto. An argument followed:

¹ Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, passim*; Bellan, "Development of Winnipeg," *passim*; and Careless, "Winnipeg Business Community," *passim*.

² *Winnipeg Telegram*, January 29, 1910.

³ Further information on these and other Winnipeg businessmen can be obtained from the following sources: C.W. Parker, ed., *Who's Who in Western Canada* (Vancouver, 1911); J.K. Johnson, ed., *The Canadian Directory of Parliament: 1867-1907* (Ottawa, 1967); F. H. Schofield, *The Story of Manitoba*, Volume II (Winnipeg, 1913); and Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth*.

“How many millionaires are there in Winnipeg, anyway?” someone asked.

“Fifty,” announced the real estate man with his accustomed optimism. The musician ventured five, and so the guesses ranged.

The conversation, however, set a *Telegram* representative thinking and he started a systematic investigation of the subject. A list was prepared of Winnipeg's millionaires. It was revised and revised by business and financial men. Some names were added and then later dropped. The list, as it was finally made up contained nineteen names. The list, if it errs at all, errs on the side of conservatism. There are many men in Winnipeg whose wealth ranges from half a million to a million dollars and perhaps over.

It is barely possible that the list of Winnipeg millionaires could be extended to twenty-five without stretching the truth. Here is the list, though, as it was finally prepared: J.A.M. Aikins, K.C., W.F. Alloway, J.H. Ashdown, N. Bawlf, Edward Brown, D.C. Cameron, D.S. Currie, E.L. Drewry, C. Enderton, Rev. C.W. Gordon, E.F. Hutchings, W.C. Leistikow, J.D. McArthur, Rod McKenzie, Sir Daniel McMillan, A.M. McNichol, Alex Macdonald, A.M. Nanton, Capt. W. Robinson.

That makes a list of nineteen names, a pretty creditable list of millionaires for a city the size of Winnipeg, and which a quarter of a century ago was but a speck on the map.⁴

While there are at least nineteen millionaires, the list would probably run well up to fifty if those who are worth from a half million to a million were included and with those worth from a hundred thousand to half a million it would chase well up to several hundred.

Montreal has probably fifty millionaires. The *Telegram's* Toronto correspondent in writing a list of the millionaires of the Queen City only put the list at twenty-one, so that as a city of wealth it is likely that Winnipeg is not far behind the Ontario capital.

A well-known financial man, speaking to The *Telegram* pointed out that it is a great deal harder to estimate the wealth of Winnipeggers than of eastern men. In the east wealthy millionaires have a large portion of their money in vested in stocks, bonds and similar securities, the value of which is easily estimated. In Winnipeg more wealth is represented by real estate. It is probably more valuable than stocks but the ready

⁴ For some reason the article in the *Winnipeg Telegram* included material on only seventeen men rather than the nineteen listed above. No explanation was given. The two men omitted were W.C. Leistikow and J.D. McArthur. Leistikow was born in Germany in 1852, lived for a time in Minnesota and came to Manitoba in 1874 and Winnipeg in 1907. He was a grain merchant, President of the Imperial Elevator and Lumber Company, and a member of the Grain Exchange. He was also a director of the Northern Crown Bank. J. D. McArthur was president of J.D. McArthur, a firm engaged in railroad contracting and wholesale and retail lumber.

present value is a little difficult to estimate. Western men also, he pointed out, are continually launching into new enterprises, investing their money in western development schemes. The values of such propositions are hard to estimate off-hand.

“Winnipeg,” he said, “is not far behind Toronto in the number of its wealthy men. It will not be many years until it will pass the Queen City and even give Montreal a close run as a city of wealth. There are hundreds of men holding Winnipeg and western property at the present time, which if the country continues to prosper and expand will as values rise, be bound to be related as millionaires.”

J.A.M. AIKINS, K.C.

J.A.M. Aikins, K.C., holds the somewhat unique position of being a millionaire lawyer.⁵ Mr. Aikins is a many-sided man and it is not alone as the unquestionable leader in every sense of the Western Canadian bar that he is a Winnipegger of wealth. That he enjoys and has enjoyed one of the most lucrative practices of any lawyer in the Dominion for nearly a third of a century does not entirely explain the fact that he is a Winnipeg millionaire. He has ever had confidence in Winnipeg and the future greatness of Western Canada and in that confidence has invested largely in real estate. He had done more. He has given tangible evidence of his confidence in the building of one of the largest business blocks to Western Canada and in one of the handsomest residences in the city of Winnipeg. And Mr. Aikins is yet in the prime of his manhood and his great intellectual power.

A publicist of weight, a speaker of impressive force and a public-spirited citizen, Mr. Aikins is an indomitable worker in every case and in every cause which he espouses. An educationalist of earnest purpose and of deep interest in religious progress, he holds an influential position in the social, professional and business life of Winnipeg.

W.F. ALLOWAY

J.W.F. Alloway is of Winnipeg's beginning and is further evidence of the ability that distinguished the pioneer business of Winnipeg men when the Red River settlement began to evolve from a Hudson's Bay Company post at the confluence of the rivers into a distinctive business centre apart from the fur trade.⁶ From the year 1870 to the present time, Mr. Alloway has ever been an active factor in the life of

⁵ Aikins was born in Ontario in 1851 and after graduating from Toronto University came to Winnipeg in 1879. Among his many activities, he found time to serve as counsel for the C.P.R., bursar of the University of Manitoba, president of the Y.M.C.A. (1879-82), member of the Wesleyan College Board, and director of the Manitoba Agricultural College.

⁶ Alloway was born in Ireland in 1852 and came to Manitoba in 1870 as a member of the Red River Expedition. He served as a member of Winnipeg city council in 1876-77 and again in 1879-80. He was also a Governor of the Winnipeg General Hospital.

Winnipeg, shrewd and attentive to his private interests he has ever been connected with enterprises of moment in civic and provincial progress.

He is a son of an officer of the British army, and was born in Montreal. He was a member of the fast Red River expedition, and upon the disbandment of that redoubtable corps took up his residence in Winnipeg.

Entering into partnership with H.T. Champion he instituted the financial business of Alloway & Champion, who have been the leading private bankers and prominent financiers in Winnipeg for a third of a century.⁷ Mr. Alloway is a millionaire and while the major portion of his wealth has been acquired in his regular business, still much of it has come to him through astute investment in real estate in pursuance of his confident belief in the city and country's growth.

A social figure of prominence and thoroughly Western Canadian in his point of view, he is widely known throughout Canada in both the business and social world of his native country. Mr. Alloway has, during the last decade, spent considerable of the winter months abroad in southern Europe or in Egypt.

JAMES H. ASHDOWN

As in the beginning of Winnipeg's corporate existence, James H. Ashdown is of the essence of the commercial spirit of the Western Canadian metropolis.⁸ As the city has grown the enterprise and fortune of Mr. Ashdown have grown. He has been the embodiment of Winnipeg's essentially commercial progress.

It was in the first trying hours of the Red River Rebellion in 1869 that Mr. Ashdown, a young man, almost a lad, English by birth but educated in the Spartan training of a log school house in Huron County, Ontario, came to the little Red River settlement known to the outside world as Fort Garry.

An expert workman he was the pioneer tinsmith and hardware merchant of Western Canada and the little building where his first store was conducted, occupied until the other day, the site of the Great West Life building now in course of construction on Lombard Street.

Incidents of the shrewdness, economy and enterprise of the pioneer hardware merchant during the first years of his business life have become part of the story of Winnipeg's commercial growth.

⁷ See P. Lowe, "All Western Dollars," *Manitoba Historical Society Transactions* (1945-46), pp. 10-25.

⁸ Ashdown was born in London, England, in 1844, he came to Canada in 1852 and to Manitoba in 1868. He served several terms as Alderman and Mayor of Winnipeg. He was also Governor of the Winnipeg General Hospital, charter member and President of the Board of Trade, and a founder of Wesley College. Besides his wholesale business, Ashdown was President of the Canadian Fire Insurance Company, and a director of the Northern Crown Bank and the Northern Trust Company.

The success that has come to him has been the outcome of over a third of a century's assiduous work, unflinching confidence and keen business ability. Mr Ashdown owes little of his prosperity to chance, speculation or real estate investment. The avenues through which have poured the golden returns which make him a millionaire have been almost entirely the channels of legitimate commerce. The rise in real estate values have been merely supplementary.

Devoted as Mr. Ashdown has been in the enormous wholesale and retail hardware business he has also been public-spirited to a degree. Few, indeed, are the enterprises of public moment that he has not been concerned in and in public affairs affecting the business and social progress of Winnipeg, he has been at times almost aggressively prominent since the city's beginning.

He is a millionaire, how much money no one but Mr. Ashdown, a religious man, knows. At the same time he is personal evidence of what may be achieved in Western Canada through the conventional channels of trade.

NICHOLAS BAWLF

Nicholas Bawlf may not admit to being one of Winnipeg's millionaires, but the public think so.⁹ He is possibly the pioneer grain dealer of Western Canada and while there have been several avenues by which wealth has come to him the source of his undoubted success was the product of Western Canadian soil.

Mr. Bawlf came to Winnipeg in the seventies from the town of Smith's Falls in Eastern Ontario and entered into the grain and provision business. To him as much as to any single individual is due the credit of making the character of the products of the Western Canadian prairies known to the outside world on exhibition and to market, until a doubting world had become convinced of the fertile nature of Western Canadian soil, and the opportunities offered the industrious farmer.

With the settlement of the country and the growth of Winnipeg as its great market place, Mr. Bawlf's enterprise grew until he became one of the leading grain exporters as a business man interested in various enterprises.

Mr. Bawlf has been a successful man largely through the faith in Western Canada's agricultural possibilities and his enterprise in keeping pace with the needs of the country in his investment in business institutions that answered those needs.

Broad-minded and public-spirited, Mr. Bawlf, however, does not seek prominence in public life, but his influence is felt in everything that bends to the material advancement of the city and the moral welfare of its citizens.

⁹ Bawlf was born in Ontario in 1849 and commenced business in Winnipeg in 1879. Besides his grain business, Bawlf served as alderman in 1883-84, and was director of the Standard Trust Company, the Great West Permanent Loan Company, and the Bank of Toronto. He also had business interests in the Canadian Fire Insurance Company, the Great-West Life Assurance Company and the Northern Crown Bank. He was president of the Winnipeg Grain Exchange in 1897.

EDWARD BROWN

A recent addition to the ranks of Winnipeg's millionaires is Edward Brown who within the past few months has moved from Portage la Prairie to Winnipeg. ¹⁰ As a businessman in his home city Mr. Brown was very successful, while he has made a fortune in investments in western farm lands. He has also speculated with considerable success in Winnipeg realty.

D.C. CAMERON

D.C. Cameron, as the leading lumberman of Western Canada should be a millionaire, for Western Canada had been in its building since he, a young man from Vankleek Hill, near the city of Ottawa, came westward in the first years of the eighties.¹¹

Prominent and dignified as the position is which Mr. Cameron now occupies in the business and social life of the Canadian West, it may be said that he is essentially the architect of his own fortune.

It was in the order of things that Mt. Cameron, a native of the much exploited lumber region of the Ottawa valley, should shrewdly see the opportunities for successful lumber operations in the Lake of the Woods and Rainy Lake districts at the time the sections of the Canadian Pacific railway were being completed between Lake Superior and the Red River. He then became interested in timber operations and milling on the Lake of the Woods and Rainy River and for a number of years during the depression in Western Canada carried on successfully a large lumber business with headquarters at what is now known as Kenora and Keewatin, on the Lake of the Woods.

Through those arduous years when the future of the west was considered dubiously, Mt. Cameron perseveringly in the face of countless difficulties carried on extensive operations. With the turn in the tide of progress Mr. Cameron's business was in the condition to reap the many profitable advantages which his confidence and prescience has anticipated. His business grew and he became a wealthy man. With the acquirement of available capital he increased his operations erecting larger mills and established depots and other mills in Winnipeg, and as the more feasible centre of his field of business took up his residence in Winnipeg nearly a decade ago.

The field of New Ontario became too small for the enterprising business spirit of Mr. Cameron, who with the knowledge of lumber and his belief in Western progress,

¹⁰ Brown was born in Ontario in 1865; he moved to Portage la Prairie in 1888 and to Winnipeg in 1909. He served as mayor of Portage la Prairie for six years. He stated his occupation as "financial agent."

¹¹ Cameron was born in Ontario in 1854 and arrived in Winnipeg in 1880. Besides his lumber business, he was President of Maple Leaf Flour Mills and a director of the Northern Crown Bank, the Manitoba Bridge and Iron Company, and the Gas Traction Company.

realized the market that Western Canadian development offered. He became largely interested in British Columbia timber limits and milling properties, and today the millionaire lumberman of Winnipeg is a considerable factor in the lumber situation that holds such an important position in the business progress of a country extending from lake Superior to the Pacific ocean.

Mr. Cameron is a force in the social and political life of Winnipeg as well as a distinct influence in the business world of the west through his wealth and business.

D.S. CURRIE

D.S. Currie is another of Winnipeg's bachelor millionaires. He occupies the unique position of having been a civic servant of a progressive city during the most trying and aggressive period of its growth, and to have achieved wealth in office without anyone questioning his personal of public integrity. D.S. Currie's millions were acquired off his own bat. That he played a run-making innings and never neglected an opportunity to score is to his credit and particularly to his bank credit. While others at the wicket or in the outfield may have lagged in the game Mr. Currie's eye was ever on the ball. Today Mr. Currie is one of the richest men in Canada.

His birthplace is a small town in the Maritime provinces, and he is of Scottish race. This combination was itself sufficient to inform the young North West Mounted Policeman of seventeen, for it was as a rider of the plains that D. S. Currie came -west of the Red River of the opportunities that lay at the feet of the shrewd man at the beginning of Western Canadian development.

A business man to his finger tips, his sojourn with the North West Mounted Police having ended, he entered the supply and financial department of the Canadian Pacific Railway then in the course of rapid construction across the Western Canadian prairies and his acute business ability was quickly recognized. So well established did his reputation become that he was given in the middle eighties the responsible position of controller, virtually treasurer of the City of Winnipeg.

Profoundly confident of the future of the City of Winnipeg as the metropolis, and thoroughly aware of the comparative value of city property at a time when many had lost heart or were financially involved, he invested gradually and largely in centrally located Winnipeg business property. Through the trying hours of business depression Mr. Currie held on to his property and still holds the major portion of his investments, and is now the possessor of some of the most valuable business sites in Western Canada.

Little more than middle-aged with his capacity for pleasure unimpaired, Mr. Currie has become a globe trotter, stepping aside, however, on occasions to make profitable investment in mining propositions in both Western Canada and the western American states. He is yet a Winnipegger and his headquarters are yet in the city where he has achieved his chief financial success.

E.L. DREWRY

E.L. Drewry, typical Canadian though he may be in his enterprises and in his point of view, is an Englishman.¹² Born in the South of England not sixty years ago, he came to this continent in his boyhood, and as a young man came to Winnipeg in the middle seventies. He quickly and shrewdly foresaw not only the present opportunity that offered to the brewer in a great grain growing country but also the great market that malt liquors would have in a situation socially and climatically circumstanced as was the Canadian West. He instituted the first brewery of consequence in Western Canada and from beginnings, by shrewd and generous business conduct, soon succeeded in establishing a great lucrative trade which he kept pace with by increasing his facilities, improving the quality of his products and introducing the manufacture of aerated waters.

Mr. Drewry's millions were acquired through his own initiative, his knowledge of western conditions and his thorough business capability. While the growth of the city has added to the value of his considerable real estate holdings it is mainly to his business as a great brewer that his present position as a Winnipeg millionaire is due. Kindly, generous and public-spirited to a degree, Mr. Drewry is actively interested in all matters of consequence to the religious business and humanitarian betterment of the city and is unsparing in his contributions of time and money in that behalf. He has been an efficient alderman, a member of the legislature and few institutions that make to the educational and benevolent progress of the city that he is not actively concerned in.

CHARLES ENDERTON

Charles Enderton may in his modesty repudiate the statement that he is a millionaire for Mr. Enderton is not assertive except in real estate exploitation.¹³ A shrewd, modest but tenacious business man Mr. Enderton came to Winnipeg away back in the latter eighties when the business situation was depressed and optimism at a discount. An American by birth and training and of experience as a practising attorney in the northwestern states of the American Union, Mr. Enderton was more than a buoyant optimist of youthful fervor. He was shrewd and far-seeing. He entered the real

¹² Drewry was born in England in 1855 and after emigrating to North America he spent a few years in St. Paul, Minnesota. He began the Redwood Brewery in Winnipeg in 1881. He served as President of the Board of Trade and the Northwest Farm Lands Corporation and as director of the Home Insurance and Savings Association, the Arctic Ice Company, the Middle West Investment Company, and the Manitoba Linseed Oil Mills.

¹³ Enderton was born in La Fayette, Indiana, in 1861 and came to Winnipeg in 1894 when he established his real estate business.

estate field as an agent and as an investor. He foresaw the growth of Winnipeg and its requirements in the near future as a residential centre in a country with all the opportunities of business prosperity. He invested at a time when real estate investment was practically at a standstill in suburban property in Fort Rouge and other probable residential quarters. Though trying years when the "hope deferred that maketh the heart sick," caused many to relinquish their investment, Mr. Enderton confidently carried his holdings until a comparatively few years ago he began to realize on his properties, particularly in Fort Rouge where he held and still holds some of the most desirable residential property in the city. Mr. Enderton, although in the early forties as to age, is easily in the millionaire class and withal is a bachelor. Strongly interested in municipal and social progress in Winnipeg he is a prominent factor in the charitable and fraternal life of the city.

REV. C.W. GORDON

It is not often that a man of letters reaches the millionaire class, but the west has the distinction of having an author who, if he is not a millionaire is said to be very near the magic mark.¹⁴ He is Rev. C. W. Gordon, Ralph Connor, whose books have had such a wonderful sale in Canada, United States and Great Britain. Mr. Gordon also is said to have been very successful in his real estate investments in Winnipeg.

E.F. HUTCHINGS

E.F. Hutchings is another Winnipeg millionaire who provided evidence of the fact that financial prosperity comes as much to the one who devotes his life to a legitimate business enterprise in Western Canada, the reputed chosen field of the speculator, as in the older established business parts of the world. ¹⁵ Mr. Hutchings is the distinct embodiment of the success of the man who single mindedly concentrates his business efforts along one channel. Something Mr. Hutchings may owe to the increase of real estate values, but little as compared with his successful achievements as the leading merchant in saddlery and horse equipment in Western Canada. It is questionable if Mr. Hutchings is not the leading merchant in his line in the whole Dominion.

¹⁴ Born in Ontario in 1860. Gordon was ordained in the Presbyterian ministry in 1890. In 1894 he became minister of St. Stephen's Church in Winnipeg. During his lifetime he wrote some twenty-five novels under the pseudonym "Ralph Connor." One of his better known works was *The Foreigner* (1909) which drew heavily on his experiences in the City of Winnipeg. It deals with the difficulties foreign immigrants in Winnipeg had adjusting to a new way of life.

¹⁵ Hutchings was born in Ontario in 1855 and came to Winnipeg in 1876. He began the Great West Saddlery Company in 1878. His other business interests included the Capital Loan Company, the Bird's Hill Land and Gravel Company, the Canadian Fire Insurance Company, and the Great Western Loan Company. He was a member of Winnipeg City Council in 1887-88 and 1894-95.

Born in the County of Leeds, Ont., he came as a young man in the early seventies to Winnipeg. A skilled workman he soon established a lucrative business and in the little prairie metropolis of the west. As Winnipeg grew and settlement proceeded his business increased. With a thorough grasp of the Western Canadian situation and unbounded confidence in its future, Mr. Hutchings keenly and resolutely resolved to extend his business operations throughout the whole of the rapidly developing area, now known as the three prairie provinces. The success that has attended his enterprise and the executive ability displayed in the conduct of his far reaching interests, the western world is familiar with. In the zenith of his business life and as active and aggressive as ever, Mr. Hutchings takes a keen, if unobtrusive interest in public affairs. As one of the wealthiest and most conservative of Winnipeg's business men his efforts on behalf of manufacturing enterprise in Winnipeg are a potent factor in the propaganda in that behalf.

RODERICK J. MACKENZIE

Roderick Mackenzie is a millionaire.¹⁶ He also is a bachelor helping to verify the belief that Winnipeg has proportionately the largest number of wealthy bachelors of any city in the world. He was born in Ontario, the son of William Mackenzie, the magnate of the Canadian Northern railway, and half a dozen almost equally large enterprises.

It may be that the son may have owed much to the training and influence of the father in the early stages of the former's career, but more probably is due to the dashing enterprise, intuitive knowledge of business and keen knowledge of men and things of Roderick Mackenzie that the latter is a Winnipeg millionaire. Mr. Mackenzie is not only a young man, as successful business are considered, the meridian of life is yet to be passed, but few are his peers in a bargain involving six figures or in the conduct of enterprise involving millions. He is a man of Celtic temperament and adaptable to a degree, and his clever mind seems to be as applicable to railroad construction as to railway management, to real estate investment as to coal and lumber exploitation, to the management of men as to the successful conduct of a racing stable.

Approachable, generous and Bohemian to the ordinary observer, Mr. Mackenzie, despite his social qualities, is distinctively a strict and shrewd western business man when his folding desk is opened or the plans of a business project unfolded.

¹⁶Mackenzie was born in Ontario in 1873 and came to Winnipeg first in 1885, and permanently in 1895.

SIR DANIEL McMILLAN

Sir Daniel McMillan, while the representative of H.M. the King, as lieutenant-governor of the province of Manitoba, is also a Winnipeg millionaire. A many-sided man is his honour. One of the picked officers of the Red River expeditionary force of 1870 under Colonel Garnet Wolseley, he was one of the pioneer millers of Western Canada and was a most successful miller. A publicist of note, he at the same time became a millionaire. It would be difficult to state accurately as to which source of business enterprise is due in greatest degree the fact that his honor is a millionaire. His operations as a mill owner were financially successful. His dealings in lumber were great. His investments in landed property and his varied financial enterprises have all been remunerative. However, that may be they have all contributed to place and capable level-headed and far-sighted ex-captain of the Ontario battalion of the Red River expedition of 1870 in the millionaire class.

Sir Daniel McMillan was born in Whitley, Ontario, in 1846. Entering the Canadian volunteer service at any early age, he saw active service in the Fenian Raids of 1866, and subsequently was chosen as one of the officers of the Red River expedition.

Young Captain McMillan liked Western Canada and shrewdly foresaw its future developments. His present dignified position is the reward of that foresight and a strenuous life.

Keen business man as Sir Daniel McMillan has ever been, he was also a soldier and a loyal Canadian, and he was major of the 95th Battalion, in the Northwest Rebellion in 1885, being promoted to the command of that corps in 1887. He was elected to the Manitoba legislature in 1880 for Centre Winnipeg retaining the seat until 1900. He became provincial treasurer of the Greenway administration, 1889. He was appointed lieutenant-governor of Manitoba in 1900.

A.R. McNICHOL

A.R. McNichol, one of the richest men in Western Canada and easily in the millionaire class, is younger than he looks and Mr. McNichol is not yet even half a centenarian by several years. He is accused of being forty-five, but with the cautious reticence that is one of his distinguishing qualities Mr. McNichol neither "palliates or denies." He is a bachelor, a condition like his large fortune it may confidently be taken that he is alone responsible for.

Born in the neighborhood of ambitious Hamilton, in the province of Ont., and educated in the public and high schools of his native province, Mr. McNichol came to Winnipeg in the early eighties of last century, and soon became known as one of the most energetic and successful life assurance agents and managers in the Dominion.

With accumulated proceeds of remunerative commissions and the direct personal knowledge of business conditions in Winnipeg and Western Canadian growth and possibilities, Mr. McNichol became an investor in real estate, particularly in Winnipeg in whose future even in its darkest hours he ever had confidence. He has reaped the rewards of his confidence, and is now one of the largest individual holders of remunerative rent yielding central property in the City of Winnipeg.

Never a boomster he has tenaciously held his property through good and ill times until now on the eve of Winnipeg's greatest development he is the owner of business properties in Winnipeg that are variously estimated from one to two millions of dollars in value. A great traveler, his globe trotting proclivities increasing with its fortune, Mr. McNichol manages to give four or five months annually to the social life of Winnipeg and personal supervision of his large interest in the city.

ALEXANDER MACDONALD

Alexander Macdonald is a millionaire by his own making and a Scotsman by birth. He is one of the pioneer wholesale merchants of Winnipeg and as such became a millionaire, largely as he was an investor in real estate in the early eighties of the last century that the bulk of his wealth is almost entirely due to the legitimate profits of essentially commercial enterprise. Coming to Canada as a young man he entered upon his commercial career in the Country of Huron, Ontario, but in the middle seventies came to Winnipeg.

After acquiring a knowledge of the local situation he entered into business as a general merchant and by 1880 was recognized as one of the leading wholesale merchants in provisions and prominent contractor of such supplies to the Indian and North West Mounted Police departments of the Dominion government in Western Canada. Through this connection and his knowledge of Western Canadian conditions, he became interested in mercantile establishments in the growing towns of the west.

Quietly but at the same time aggressively he obtained large business connections not only in Winnipeg but throughout the great northwest and laid the foundation of his fortune. With the growth of the country his wealth increased until he is now easily a millionaire. Shrewd and aggressive business man though he is Mr. Macdonald is also deeply interested in public affairs, political, municipal and general. He was an earnest and capable member of the city council of Winnipeg for several years (1887-88) and also a most efficient mayor (1892). In his parliamentary ambition he has not been so successful though it may be due to his independence and aggressive expression of opinion.

A.M. NANTON

A.M. Nanton, is probably one of the youngest if not the youngest millionaire

in the Dominion who owes his wealth to his own efforts.¹⁷ Of a well-known Ontario family, a native of Toronto and an old boy of Upper Canada college, he is distinctively of the best spirit of enterprising Canadianism. Although only in the zenith of middle age he has achieved a quiet dominating influence in Western Canadian business life as much through his own quite forceful personality as through his prominent connection with the strong financial house of Osler, Hammond & Nanton, whose affairs he conducts in the Canadian West from the western headquarters of Winnipeg. It was in the early eighties that Mr. Nanton first came to Winnipeg in a subordinate position in the house in which he has since become one of the controlling minds. Through the varying progress of the Canadian West during a quarter of a century he has manifested his confidence in the country's future by the great and varied enterprises, in which, largely through his initiative, the firm of Osler, Hammond & Nanton have entered into and to him is largely due the recognition of the firm as one of the influential financial institutions of Canada. In railways, street railways, lands, timber limits, bonds, debentures, etc., the interest of the firm and their wide-spread connection are concerned in every part of Western Canada.

Deeply interested in the municipal and social welfare of the city of Winnipeg, Mr. Nanton has ever given a quiet but strong support to progressive civil and private enterprise and to the organization devoted to sport, horse breeding and athletics. As a horse lover his influence on behalf of the Winnipeg Horse Show has been a great factor in the success achieved.

CAPT. WILLIAM ROBINSON

Captain William Robinson may evade the charge, but there is no doubt about his standing as a millionaire. ¹⁸ He will always be Captain Robinson for he was one of the most pioneer captains of the Red River when Winnipeg was young and the question of Western Canadian transportation was largely dependent upon the stern-wheelers up the Red and Assiniboine rivers.

A western river captain, "Bill" Robinson has many of the strenuous characteristics that mark the resourceful and masterful type, but he is more. He is a shrewd, keen man of affairs, a man with an intuitive knowledge of business outlook and opportunity, and a mental discipline that eminently fits to carry great schemes of organization and exploitation to a successful result.

¹⁷ Augustus Meredith Nanton was born in Ontario in 1860 and came to Winnipeg in 1883 when he opened the firm of Osler, Hammond and Nanton. His business interests included the Great-West Life Assurance Company, the Alberta Railway and Irrigation Company, the Dominion Bank, the Winnipeg Electric Railway Company, the Northern Trust Company and the Manitoba Bridge and Iron Works.

¹⁸ Robinson was born in Rawdon, Quebec in 1849 and came to Winnipeg in 1875. He began building steamboats in 1878 and was a founder of the Northwest Navigation Company. His other business interests included lumber and fish and he was vice-president of the Northern Crown Bank.

An Eastern Canadian by birth, he has not forgotten the frugal lessons of his boyhood in Ontario, and his enterprises, great and complex as they may seem, owe as much of their success to Captain "Bill" Robinson's knowledge of economic organization and exploitation as to his belief in Western Canadian Progress, his personal local knowledge and his farseeing enterprise. As head of the great fish business of Western Canada with its attendant fleets on Lake Winnipeg, as a financier involved in some of the biggest distinctively Western Canadian financial houses, he is essentially a Western Canadian millionaire who finds time, however, to devote considerable of his time and means to the Methodist church, in which is prominent and to acts of generous charity.

VI

WESTERN CANADIAN IMMIGRATION ASSOCIATION

Like their counterparts in other North American cities, Winnipeggers were fascinated with the growth of their community. The city's politicians, businessmen, and newspapers were constantly measuring their community's progress in quantitative terms - miles of streets and sewers, value of manufacturing output, dollars of assessment, numbers of buildings, and so on. But the one index that stood out from all others was that of population growth. The number of residents in the community at any particular time was considered to be of permanent importance, especially since a growing population meant increased profits for real estate agents and businessmen in general.

It was with some alarm, then, that the Winnipeg business community viewed the creation of the American Immigration Association of the Northwest in 1904. Organized in St. Paul, Minnesota, this group's purpose was "to keep moving Americans away from Canada."¹ To counter their move, a meeting of persons owning Canadian lands was held, somewhat ironically, in St. Paul, Minnesota. The initiative for the gathering seems to have come from American businessmen who owned Canadian lands, but the meeting was well attended by official delegations from Winnipeg City Council, the Board of Trade, and the Real Estate Association, as well as private businessmen. In fact, the meeting was clearly dominated by Winnipeg businessmen. The result of the gathering was the creation of the Western Canadian Immigration Association.²

The W. C. I. A. lasted for four years and was disbanded at a meeting held at the C.P.R.'s Royal Alexandra Hotel in Winnipeg on March 31, 1908.³ During its years of operation it met with mixed success in its publicly stated objective of facilitating the co-operation of

¹ K.D. Bicha, *The American Farmer and the Canadian West, 1896-1914* (Lawrence, Kansas, 1968), Chapter 5. See also Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth*, pp. 113-19.

² The Western Canadian Immigration Association should not be confused with the short-lived Western Canada Immigration Association founded in Winnipeg in February, 1896. See Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth*, p. 110-113; and Harold Troper, *Only Farmers Need Apply: Official Canadian Government Encouragement of Immigration from the United States, 1896-1911* (Toronto, 1952), pp. 33-57.

³ Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth*, p. 119. The annual reports of the W.C.I.A. can be found in the Department of the Interior Papers, Record Group 76, Public Archives of Canada.

all Western Canadian commercial interests in a "harmonious, systematic and effective effort to attract desirable population and investment capital." Indeed, in one case it actually generated hostility among federal immigration agents.⁴ The work of the W. C. I.A., is important, however, not so much because of its impact on the immigration of Americans to Canada, but because it was one indicator of the lengths to which Winnipeg businessmen went to sustain the growth and prosperity of their community.⁵

WESTERN CANADIAN IMMIGRATION ASSOCIATION: ITS ORIGIN, ORGANIZATION AND PURPOSES

It is apparent that hereafter American immigration into Western Canada is to be got only by going after it. It is a mistaken impression that there are no more cheap lands or attractive opportunities in the United States for the moving thousands of the Republic that are constantly seeking new locations. Never before has the intending settler been pulled so many ways as at present. Almost every Southern state is conducting an active publicity or immigration bureau in some form or other, and the Southern and Southwestern railways are exerting themselves to attract population to their regions as never before. All Western and Northwestern states, and railroads especially interested in them, are aroused, and an association has just been formed in the Northwestern states which has for its special object the retention of settlers in the American Northwest. By means of encouraging railway rates, attractive advertising, personal solicitation, cheap lands, and in other ways, the whole South, Southwest, West and Northwest of the United States are putting forth unparalleled efforts to get new population. It is apparent, therefore, that Western Canada must make extraordinary efforts if it wishes to continue to get its share of those most desirable settlers, the American farmers, as every new settler in Western Canada is a benefit to all of the commercial interests of that region, whether they have land, lumber, dry goods, groceries or other commodities to sell, or whether, like railways, they are interested in transportation.

The Western Canadian Immigration Association was formed to unite these interests in harmonious, systematic and effective effort to attract desirable population and interest capital; and every person or corporation that has any financial interest in Western Canada, should belong to this association and contribute to its treasury.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 117-19.

⁵ The following text is taken from a pamphlet published in 1904 in Minneapolis. Its author was Theodore M. Knappen, secretary of the W.C.L.A. The original document is in the Public Archives of Canada. The constitution and by-laws of the W.C.I.A., which were also included in the pamphlet, have been omitted here.

For further information, to contribute to the Association or to obtain membership, write the secretary, Theodore M. Knappen, 223-225 New York Life Bldg., Minneapolis.

ITS ORIGIN

The Western Canadian Immigration Association was formed in St. Paul, Minnesota, in the latter part of January, 1904, at a meeting of about eighty gentlemen interested in various ways in the development of western Canada. For some time, the necessity of organizing and uniting those whose interests would be advanced by the progress of western Canada had been apparent. On December 16, 1903, Mr. J.H. Haslam, 312 Jackson street, St. Paul, being assured of support by other interested gentlemen, issued a call requesting American dealers in Canadian lands and Canadians having various interests in the Canadian west, to meet at St. Paul, January 25, 1904, for the purpose of forming a permanent organization for the promotion of immigration into western Canada from the United States. In response to this call about eighty persons met in the parlors of the Merchants' hotel, St. Paul, at two p.m., January 25, 1904. From the start great enthusiasm and interest were apparent; those who had been instrumental in starting the ball rolling were more than gratified.

The meeting was called to order by Mr. Charles L. Douglass, of Chicago. Upon motion of Mr. R.I. Crisp, of Winnipeg, seconded by Mr. E.A. Smith, of Menomonie, Wisconsin, Mr. Douglass was unanimously elected temporary chairman of the convention.

Upon motion of Mr. A.C. Hawkins, of Chicago, seconded by Mr. R.C. McDonald, of Winnipeg, Mr. C.M. Weiss was elected temporary secretary.

Mr. J. H. Douglas, of Winnipeg, moved, Mr. R. H. Jones, of Carroll, Iowa, seconding, that the chair appoint a committee of three on credentials. The motion being carried, Messrs. J. Einhan; H.S. Ctotty, of Winnipeg, and O. A. Robertson, of St. Paul were appointed such a committee. The committee reported that all present and registering were entitled to a seat in the convention, and the report was unanimously adopted. On motion of Mr. J.H. Haslam, seconded by Mr. A.C. Hawkins, a temporary press committee of five was appointed as follows: Messrs. W. Sanford Evans, R.C. McDonald, William Pearson, Winnipeg; F.B. Lynch, George Urquhart, St. Paul.

Upon motion of Mr. A.C. Hawkins, of Chicago, seconded by Mr. J.H. Douglas, of Winnipeg, the chair was requested to appoint a committee of five on permanent organization, and the following delegates were named: Messrs. A.C. Hawkins, Chicago; J.H. Haslam, St. Paul; John H. Douglas, Winnipeg; James Scott, Winnipeg; J.W. Briggs, Winnipeg. This committee having reported an outline of organization, the convention proceeded to organize as follows:

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

Mr. H.S. Crotty, of Winnipeg, named J.H. Haslam, of St. Paul, for president of the association, and Messrs. George Urquhart, of St. Paul, and A.D. McRae, of Duluth seconded Mr. Haslam's nomination. Charles L. Douglass, of Chicago, was nominated by Mr. E.H. Smith, of Menomonie, and the nomination was seconded by Mr. A.C. Hawkins of Chicago. Messrs. Thomson Bcattie and R.C. McDonald, of Winnipeg, and H.H.Honans, of Harvey, N.D., were appointed tellers; the ballots being collected, the tellers reported that Mr. J. H. Haslam had received a majority of all votes cast. Upon motion of Mr. Charles L. Douglass, seconded by Mr. F.B. Lynch, of St. Paul, the election of Mr. Haslam was made unanimous.

Mr. Haslam having taken the chair, it was moved by Mr. William Peatson, of Winnipeg, and seconded by Mr. F.B. Lynch, of St. Paul, that Charles L. Douglass be elected first vice president; on motion of Mt. W.J. Christie, Winnipeg, seconded by Mr. R.C. McDonald, Winnipeg, James Scott, of Winnipeg, was unanimously elected second vice president. On motion of Mr. Charles L. Douglass, seconded by Mr. J.W. Briggs, of Winnipeg, Mr. N. Halsey, of Peoria, Ill., was unanimously elected third vice president. On motion of Mr. S.A. Coldren, of Iowa City, Iowa, seconded by Mr. H.S. Crotty, the chair appointed a committee of five on constitution and by-laws, the same being Messrs. A. C. Hawkins, Chicago; I. H. Jones, Carroll, Iowa; Frank March, D.W. Bole and G.F. Catruthers, Winnipeg.

The convention next proceeded to the election of an executive committee. Upon motion of Mr. Lynch seconded by Mr. A.D. McRae, the chair appointed Messrs. F.B. Lynch, A.D. McRae and James Scott to report fourteen names from which the seven members of the executive committee should be selected. It was provided in the motion that the executive committee should appoint all standing committees, secretary and treasurer of the organization, and designate the duties of the secretary. The nominating committee reported the following names: Messrs. D.W. Bole, O.A. Robertson, Frank Match, G.F. Cartuthers, R.C. McDonald, S.A. Coldren, Hugo Ross, F.B. Lynch, J.W. Briggs, A.D. Andrews, A.D. McRae, W.J. Chtistie, J.M. Dahlby, H.S. Crotty. At this point the convention adjourned until 10 a.m. January 26.

PROCEEDINGS OF JANUARY 26

The convention was called to order at 10:30 a.m., by President J.H. Haslam. On motion of Mr. Frank March, seconded by Mr. Hugo Ross, of Winnipeg, a motion was put and lost that the committee of three previously appointed to select fourteen names, be requested to retire and report the names of seven gentlemen, who should constitute the executive committee. The convention then proceeded to select the seven members of the executive committee from the list of fourteen names reported on the 25th.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The following persons having received the highest number of votes, were declared to constitute the elective members of the executive committee: Messrs. D.W. Bole, chairman; G.F. Carruthers, A.D. McRae, O.A. Robertson, F.B. Lynch, S.A. Coldren, W.I. Christie.

Mr. A.C. Hawkins, chairman of the constitution and by-laws committee, reported the committee's draft of constitution and by-laws and the same was unanimously adopted.

Upon motion of Mr. F.B. Lynch, seconded by Mr. D.M. Stewart, C.M. Weiss was requested to act as temporary secretary of the convention until relieved of his duties by the appointment by the executive committee of a permanent secretary. At the afternoon session there was a general discussion of the best way to finance the association. The finance committee retired to discuss the question and reported that several land companies were pledged to give amounts already set opposite their names, and a subscription list was opened, President Haslam starting it with \$500.

The executive committee reported that it had selected Mr. Frank L. Patton, of Winnipeg, as treasurer of the association and had made up the other standing committees as follows:

Transportation Committee - C.M. Weiss, St. Paul; C.L. Douglass, Chicago; O.A. Robertson, St. Paul; William Georgeson, Winnipeg; S.A. Coldren, Iowa City.

Publicity Committee - W. Sanford Evans, Winnipeg; Theodore M. Knappen, Minneapolis; G.S. Stebbins, Chicago; Col. A.D. Davidson, St. Paul; James Porter, Reinbeck, Iowa.

Finance Committee - F.E. Kenaston, Minneapolis; H.S. Ctotty, Winnipeg; Alderman John Russell, Winnipeg; G.F. Cartuthets, Winnipeg; F.B. Lynch, St. Paul.

Entertainment Committee - Hugo Ross, Winnipeg; J.D. Peplcr, Winnipeg; A.C. Hawkins, Chicago; J.A. McRae, St. Paul; A. Chtistofferson, St. Paul.

A general discussion of the duties of the secretary followed and the matter was finally left to the wisdom and discretion of the executive committee. The meeting then adjourned until 10 a.m., January 27.

PROCEEDINGS OF JANUARY 27

The meeting was called to order by President Haslam, who asked Mr. Evans to take the chair while he retired for consultation with the executive committee on the selection of a permanent secretary. On behalf of the executive committee Mr. Bole reported that they had a suitable man under discussion and were in hope of being able to engage him, and would recommend paying a salary of \$3,000 or more.

The president resumed the chair and a general discussion as to the raising of funds took place.

On motion of Mr. F.B. Lynch, seconded by Mr. A.D. McRae, a press committee of five was appointed by the chair; three members of the committee to be

representatives of Winnipeg daily newspapers. The chair appointed Messrs. D.E. Sprague and R.D. Waugh, and the editors of the Morning Telegram, Free Press and Daily Tribune of Winnipeg. On motion of Mr. D.W. Bole, seconded by Aid. J.G. Latimer, a vote of thanks was extended to the St. Paul dealers in Canadian lands for the generous entertainment they had provided for the delegates. On motion of Mr. O.A. Robertson, seconded by Mr. D.W. Bole, the convention adjourned sine die.

DISCUSSIONS OF PURPOSE AND POLICY IN THE CONVENTION

At the first session of the convention there was a lengthy discussion on what should be the title of the association. It was first proposed that it be called the American-Canadian Immigration association, but the delegates from western Canada thought that as the purpose of the organization was the promotion of the settlement of western Canada, that fact should be brought out plainly in the official title. They also said that they feared it would not be easy to get support from various governmental bodies in Canada if the Association were not so named. The result of this advice was the adoption of the name, "Western Canadian Immigration Association," it being pointed out that with such a broad name the association was free to take up work in any country, if in the future that should be found advisable.

At this session while waiting for the report of the committee on organization, Chairman Douglass called upon various delegates for speeches, and responses were made by Mr. McPherson, general passenger agent of the Canadian Pacific; Mr. Shaw, traffic manager of the Canadian Northern; Mt. Evans, Mr. Fowler, Mr. Russell, Mr. Sprague and Captain Carruthers, representing various Winnipeg bodies. All of these gentlemen expressed their great interest in the proposed organization and pledged their best efforts to further the settlement of western Canada through the organization.

FINANCE

Much time was devoted by the convention on the second and third days to a discussion of the scope and nature of the association, and the amount of money it would require. At the afternoon session on January 26, Mr. D.W. Bole expressed the belief that the publicity committee should have an advertising fund of at least \$10,000 or \$15,000.

Mr. O.A. Robertson stated that this company was prepared to subscribe liberally, but that there seemed to be some doubt in the minds of those present at what amount subscriptions should be started. Mr. A.D. McRae, representing the Saskatchewan Valley Land Co., spoke along similar lines and Mr. W.T. Andrews suggested that the proper way to arrive at a basis of subscription was to assess the interested land men at the rate of one cent an acre. Mr. D.M. Stewart advocated the use of a traveling car filled with the products of western Canada. Mr. F.T. Griffin, land commissioner of the Canadian Pacific Railway, expressed himself as opposed to the car idea, stating that his company had tried it several years ago, with very disappointing results. Mr. Griffin said that his company would co-operate with the association. Encouraging speeches were also made by Alderman J.D. Latimer, Winnipeg; C.M. Robinson, Winnipeg; Jas. Potter, Reinbeck, Ia.; Harry E. Hopper, Indianola, Ia.; Mr. White, of the Dominion Immigration Department, and others.

THE RAISING OF FUNDS

At the morning session on January 27, Mr. Robertson, on behalf of the Red Deer Lumber Company, pledged a subscription of \$500, and A.D. McRae, on behalf of the Saskatchewan Valley Land Company, stated that his company would increase its subscription from \$500 to \$1,500 on condition that other parties interested would subscribe as liberally in proportion. Mr. McRae was in favor of raising a large sum, and stated that a small amount would not enable the association to make any headway towards its purpose. Mr. D.W. Bole, of the Bole Drug Company, wholesale druggists in Winnipeg, announced that his company would make a liberal subscription, and thought that he could speak for his fellow wholesale merchants in Winnipeg and the territories in saying that when the finance committee was ready to interview the different business interests, the wholesalers would strongly and liberally back up the association; he suggested that every person should pledge himself to support the association for at least two years, and subscribe a certain amount for each year. In that way, he thought, the association would start off under very favorable conditions.

Mr. D.E. Sprague, a wholesale lumber merchant of Winnipeg, fully agreed with Mr. Bole and said he was ready to make his subscription at any time and was positive that his fellow merchants would do likewise.

Alderman Latimer, of Winnipeg, stated that he was greatly impressed with the importance of the movement and had no doubt the city of Winnipeg, as a municipality, would respond generously when called upon. The dominion and provincial governments he was convinced would also give substantial evidence, by means of large subscriptions, of their interest and confidence in the movement.⁶

A \$50,000 CAMPAIGN FUND

Mr. F.B. Lynch, of the Northwest Colonization Company, emphatically declared that a fund of at least \$50,000 should be raised and that he thought the proper method to pursue would be to get a very large amount of private subscriptions, before approaching either the dominion or local governments of Canada; this, he said, would show that the association was on a solid foundation, and well worthy of aid. Mr. Lynch's view met with general approval and it was the consensus of opinion that \$50,000 would be needed successfully to carry on the work of the association for two years. It was taken as the opinion of the convention that the association should set out to obtain subscriptions to the amount of at least \$50,000. Something over \$5,000 was subscribed in the convention and it was estimated that the Winnipeg land and real estate interests would contribute \$10,000 more; it was practically promised that the American companies would give at least twice as much as they had already pledged, in case the various Canadian interests contributed liberally.

METHODS OF WORK: EMPHASIS LAID ON GENERAL PUBLICITY

As stated in the preamble of the constitution, the general purpose of the association is the promotion of immigration to western Canada. The manner in which this purpose was to be realized was left to the executive committee and the other permanent committees, acting under its direction. In a discussion on the afternoon of January 26, as to the duties of the secretary and the policy of the association, it came out very plainly that it was the desire of the convention that general publicity should be obtained for western Canada as largely as possible by the use of "readers," editorial notices and the dissemination of news regarding western Canada, and the correction of false reports and impressions about that country. It was the general opinion, as voiced by Mr. James Porter, of Reinbeck, Iowa, that the secretary should avoid as much as possible receiving inquiries regarding the purchase of land; that the proper policy for

⁶ In fact, one of the problems of the W.C.L.A. throughout its short history was a lack of funds. Although it did receive small amounts from the City of Winnipeg, the federal government, and the Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan, there was a distinct absence of support from the different cities, towns, and rural municipalities of the West. Apparently these localities felt they could carry on publicity campaigns for their area better than could an organization centred in Winnipeg. See Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth*, pp. 114-19.

the association would be to give publicity to western Canada, generally speaking, in such a way that the association's name does not appear. Mr. Pearson, of Winnipeg, agreed with Mr. Porter, and made the point that the association's advertising or publicity should not in any way interfere with individual advertising, which could be continued as in the past; and that the association should concern itself largely with descriptive and news matter designed to bring western Canada, its advantages and resources, widely before the American people. It seemed to be Mr. Pearson's idea, that what might be called the organization and operation of a news bureau, would be a large part of the work of the association. Mr. W.T. Andrews thought that the association should have a printed list of its members, and that whenever the secretary received an inquiry for land, a list of members could be mailed to the inquirer; this suggestion, however, did not meet with general approval.

A second line of work, it was suggested, would be securing railway rates and other transportation concessions looking to the facilitations of the movement of settlers to western Canada; but in the end the questions of railway rates, advertising, transportation facilities, and all similar questions were turned over to the executive committee with full authority to act.⁷

THE BANQUET

On the evening of January 26, the delegates to the convention sat down to a banquet in their honor, tendered by the St. Paul dealers in Western Canada lands. The President, Mr. J.H. Haslam, presided, and after toasts to President Roosevelt, proposed by Mr. W. Sanford Evans, editor of the *Winnipeg Telegram*, representing the Winnipeg Board of Trade, and to King Edward, by Mr. Theodore M. Knappen, of the Minneapolis journal, there was a long list of addresses.

Mr. Evans spoke on "Our Cousins", paid a handsome compliment to the American people, and expressed the hope that many of them might be induced to migrate to Canada. "We and Canada", said Mr. Evans, "desire you for our friends; we know you and admire you, and realize that with the United States and the British Empire hand in hand, we can face and control the world."

President Haslam said that the United States could not begrudge the immigration of the Americans into Canada because the Republic has within her borders between one and two million native born Canadians; the next best thing for the United States, he said, to having an American move from one part of this country to another, is to have

⁷ The W.C.I.A. utilized a wide variety of techniques to spread its message between 1904 to 1908. It hired a full-time secretary who published numerous articles in American newspaper and agricultural journals; organized free tours for American journalists throughout the West; published a magazine called *The Canada West*; and operated a general information bureau. See Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth*, pp. 116-17.

him go into Canada. The mingling of two peoples of the same blood, traditions and institutions, was sure to bring about to closer union of the English speakers of the world.

Mr. Knappen spoke of the possibilities of the Canadian West and the certainty of enormous expansion within that region within the next few years.

Mr. Frank Fowler, of Winnipeg, devoted much time to an interesting discussion of the agricultural possibilities of western Canada. He showed that with the most conservative figuring, it would have to be admitted that it is only a question of time and population until 28,500,000 acres will be devoted to wheat raising in Manitoba and the Territories.

Prof. Thomas Shaw, of the Minnesota Agricultural College and editor of the *St. Paul Farmer*, said that winter wheat raising was quite possible in the Canadian Northwest and predicted that clover will be successfully grown fifty miles north of Edmonton. He declared that climatic conditions in the American and Canadian Northwest were such that they would always lead the world in wheat production.

Captain G.F. Carruthers, of Winnipeg, gave a most interesting talk on the surprising extent and enormous resources of western Canada.

Mr. B.C. Parker, Morden, Manitoba, gave an account of the development of agriculture and horticulture in Manitoba.

Vice President C.L. Douglass, of Chicago, delivered a humorous talk which elicited much laughter, his subject being "The Pursuit of Man." He stated that the man he was pursuing was the fellow interested in Canadian lands. He gave it as his judgment that the association was full of promise for good and far-reaching results, both in the United States and Canada.

Mr. F.E. Kenaston, of Minneapolis, a member of several Canadian land companies and the American-Abell Threshing Machine Company, of Toronto, spoke of instructively on "Money and How to Get it."

Mr. F.B. Lynch, of the Northwest Colonization Company and the Red Deer Lumber Company, spoke both seriously and humorously on "Landed Interests;" taking the ground that the land dealer might be a respectable person.

Mr. D.E. Sprague, of Winnipeg, responded to the toast, "Home Building."

Mr. D.W. Bole, of Winnipeg, made a brief speech.

Mr. W.J. White, superintendent of the Canadian government agencies in the United States, discussed immigration.⁸

Alderman Russell, of the Winnipeg city council, had for his subject "Old Fort Garry," and Harry Lewis, assistant general passenger agent of the Soo Railway, spoke for the railroads.

⁸ White later became a strong critic of the W.C.L.A. since he and his government colleagues felt it undermined the activities of the Federal Immigration Branch. See Troper, *Only Farmers Need Apply*, pp. 54-55.

VII

WINNIPEG DEVELOPMENT AND INDUSTRIAL BUREAU

While the W.C.I.A. was designed to deal with the concern of Winnipeg's businessmen in regard to immigration and land promotion, another separate organization was felt necessary to attract industry. Early in 1906 Winnipeg newspapers set out the urgent need of a publicity bureau in Winnipeg. Pointing out that Toronto, Fort William, Regina, and many other cities already had such organizations, the Winnipeg Telegram and the Manitoba Free Press warned that unless similar steps were taken by Winnipeg the city would be in danger of losing its position as the chief manufacturing centre in Western Canada.¹

Acting on these suggestions the Winnipeg Board of Trade appointed a committee to interview City Council "to urge the necessity of having some proper descriptive literature issued for the purpose of affording information regarding the opportunities presented in Winnipeg to industrial enterprises." This initiative on the part of the board met with almost instant agreement, for at a meeting held in May 1906 and attended by all the major business organizations of the city, it was decided to organize an association under the name of the Winnipeg Development and Industrial Bureau.²

During the first seven years of its existence the W.D.I.B. was very active in promoting Winnipeg and in other aspects of civic affairs. Reporting on the period 1907-10, for example, the commissioner of the bureau reported that he had handled 58,000 enquiries for information and had in that time sent out as many letters in reply. Other work carried out by the bureau included the opening of the first civic art gallery in Canada in Winnipeg in December 1912; preparation of illustrated lecture material for use in England, Eastern Canada, and the United States; investigation of the utilization of Canadian flaxstraw, wire grasses and other natural resources; the production of moving pictures; the promotion of an "Annual Business Men's Tour of the West to promote closer business relations with Winnipeg; " and the setting up of a Civic Improvement Committee to work in conjunction with the City Planning Commission.³

Like the W.C.L.A., the Winnipeg Development and Industrial Bureau illustrates the concern of Winnipeg's civic and business leaders with the rapid growth of their community.⁴

¹ *Winnipeg Telegram*, 14 September 1906; *Manitoba Free Press*, 25 April 1906.

² Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth*, p. 121

³ The records of the W.D.I.B. are located in the Provincial Archives of Manitoba.

⁴ This report was presented at the Annual Meeting of the W.D.I.B. held March 7, 1911.

**WINNIPEG DEVELOPMENT AND INDUSTRIAL BUREAU:
FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT**

PAST PRESIDENTS

W. Sanford Evans, 1906-7
Neil T. MacMillan, 1908-9

PRESIDENT

F.W. Heubach, 1910-11

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

A.A. Andrews, John D. Atchison, W.L. Ball, Geo. W. Barrett, Dr. J.H.R. Bond, C.N. Bell, W.J. Bulman, M.F. Christic, F.J.C. Cox, E.L. Drewry, W.T. Devlin, F.W. Drewry, W. Sanford Evans (Mayor), J.J. Foot, Geo. H. Greig, C.R. Hegan, F.W. Heubach, J.B. Hugg, H.W. Hutchinson, Geo. J. Hynd-man, J.R. Lamb, C.C. Lindsay, Aid. C. Midwinter, N.T. MacMillan, J.H. McCarchy, Geo. H. Miner, E.A. Mott, Wm Pearson, C.B. Piper, Dr. Robt. Rorke, C.D. Shepherd, H.E.R. Rogers, Aid. R.J. Shore, Alex. Simmers, John Scovel, F.C. Turner, Con. R.D. Waugh, J. Pender West, Geo. Wilson, Thos. Wilson, J.S. Woodsworth.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

F.W. Heubach, President; W.J. Bulman, Alex. Simmers, Vice- Presidents; W.L. Ball, Chairman of Finance; Wm. Pearson, Chairman of City Planning Committee; A.A. Andrews, Chairman of Entertainment and Convention Committee; J. J. Foot, Chairman of Advertising and Publicity Committee; J. B. Hugg, Chairman of Lcgislaicon Committee.

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

To The Members of The Winnipeg Development and Industrial Bureau Gentlemen: I have the honor to present to you this report for the year 1910, the fourth year of our organization and work for furthering the welfare of Winnipeg as a city and a business centre. Following the excellent example set by my predecessors in the office of president of this Bureau, I shall leave the several points of routine work to be taken care of by our commissioner and shall take up matters of general interest and of general endeavor on the part of our members.

The year 1910 was the busiest and biggest in the history of the Bureau and this statement carries no disparagement of the work of previous years but is rather a plain statement of fact, arising out of increased demands, more funds, wider scope; in short the greater volume of business and work that comes to all well-conducted enterprises in a city of such remarkable growth as Winnipeg. Through its work at home and abroad this Bureau has become known to a larger number of people each year and continued good results keep the stream of inquiry and information that has been set in motion and

fled by the Bureau, at flood and growing greater all the time. It is my privilege and duty, I think, to commend the work that is done by our commissioner and the efforts made by members of this organization who give faithful and loyal service to make the story and conditions of Winnipeg and Western Canada known wherever they go and who take such a hearty interest in the home work of the Bureau - its advancement to higher planes and to greater service to our city and country.

The work of 1910 has been carried on along the lines which experience has proved to be valuable and has been extended and elaborated by improvements suggested by experience and interest. Among the new activities of the Bureau and increased effort of committees toward expansion of the work and endeavor of the organization, may be mentioned the plan for assisting British workmen to bring their families to Winnipeg, the annual business men's excursion through the Western Provinces, the practical educational campaign in the annual electrical show at the Winnipeg Industrial Exhibition, the plans furthered for a permanent exhibit of our natural resources and manufactured articles, the special efforts and organization on the part of our convention and reception committees for the promotion of conventions and the entertainment of visitors to our city, participation in the civic work of investigating and reporting upon plans, complaints, and requests from manufacturers, the endeavors on the part of the Bureau Board in the peaceful settlement of industrial disputes between capital and labor, investigations carried out with reference to the utilization of waste products - particularly the flax straw industry - the excellent plan carried out for a permanent Winnipeg display at Philadelphia, and the appointing of a special commission to make personal calls upon manufacturers interested in locating industries at Winnipeg.

The annual business men's excursion - put in practice for the first time last May - proved a splendid means to the end of getting near to the business men of our sister cities of Western Canada. It enabled those who took part in the trip to set up closer and better relations with their trade than any amount of correspondence could do and placed our own business community upon a more friendly and intimate basis than existed before.

The plan for assisting British -workmen to bring their families here, although in operation for only a few months, has produced excellent results in enabling worthy men to establish their homes in Winnipeg sooner than they might otherwise be able to, and has increased the population of the city by a considerable number, making for better living and for increased business for our tradesmen. The second annual electrical show at which many new appliances were exhibited, created further favorable interest in Winnipeg's power development and the many domestic and industrial devices shown were the means of arousing a wider interest in the use of electricity.

The progress made in negotiations for securing larger offices in a special industrial building in which a permanent exhibit of our natural resources and manufactured goods might be installed was satisfactory and it is hoped that during the coming year that the obstacles which prevented the carrying out of the plan will be removed.

I am sure that too much praise cannot be given the members who so heartily contributed toward the entertainment of convention delegates during the year. The admirable spirit displayed by the City Council in extending to such important visiting bodies as the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, the Canadian Society of Civil Engineers and others, official receptions and luncheons, is to be highly commended. Public spirited citizens who responded so cordially throughout the year by contributing the use of their time and automobiles for the entertainment of visitors all made possible the successful operating of Bureau activities during the year.

The trip made by our secretary, Mr. Roland, and Controller R.D. Waugh for the purpose of calling upon manufacturers in United States cities and in Eastern Canada, was a move in the right direction. Personal visits to industrial firms who contemplate establishments in Winnipeg, must result in good. Accurate information cannot be had in any other way so completely as by personal investigation and such visits must have the effect also of convincing inquirers that we are interested in them and willing to do our part in securing branch or main factories for Winnipeg.

Thanks to the very generous grant made for Bureau work by the city, all of our publicity and other operations have been carried on with vigor and effectiveness during the year - the first year that the Bureau has had a real sufficiency of funds - and the work that has been done shows the value of being able to do things which we knew before should be done but for which we had not enough money. With a proper sum at our disposal, the Bureau has been able to get out some of the finest publicity literature that was ever published by a similar organization. The class and character of this literature makes a telling story of Winnipeg's fitness for business, investment, manufacture, trade, and as a living place, and tell it in a way that is easily caught and as easily understood. We have been enabled, too, to deal more generously, not to say fairly, with the press in the matter of paid advertising and have also secured a vast amount of free publicity through the medium of stories sent out to papers and magazines in our own country and abroad. In many other ways the civic grant of \$25,000 for Bureau purposes, in 1910, has enabled our organization to enlarge and perfect its work. More valuable than the mere money to us is the spirit of appreciation which made it possible for the Bureau to get so liberal a grant from the city. Such a grant is an endorsement of the Bureau's work by men who have had the opportunity to see and size up what the Bureau has been doing for the past four years.

I shall not dwell upon such matters as the increases in bank clearings, building permits, immigration, crop acreage, grain production, railway ex-tensions, custom returns, postal revenue, etc. These increases have been truly remarkable during the year, and the figures are important, but the Bureau is fully abreast of the times in publishing all such statistics and distributing them not only among our members but to thousands of persons, business houses, and various bodies throughout the world.

At the risk of prolonging my report, I feel that I must refer again to the work the Bureau has done along industrial lines - for the encouragement of the splendid progress that Winnipeg has made in manufacturing. It has been truly said that commerce can make a large city but never a great city. The city that becomes truly great must have industries as well as commerce and the work done by the Bureau in bringing in new industries is thus particularly valuable because it makes for true greatness and enduring worth for Winnipeg. An industrial census of the city taken in July shows that we have 236 factories which employ 14,400 hands and produce \$36,000,000 worth of goods. The capital invested is \$26,000,000 and the monthly pay roll from our industries exceeds \$750,000 every month. A large number of these factories have been brought to Winnipeg directly or indirectly as a result of Bureau work, and a large list of important enquiries are now on hand to be dealt with. The completion of our municipal power plant will add a very strong inducement to those which we now offer to manufacturers.

The Bureau has kept up its interest in Canada's International Exposition and Selkirk Centennial. I regret that I am not able to say that the Dominion Government grant of \$2,500,000 has been placed at the disposal of the Exposition Executive, this matter being still under consideration by the Government. The people of Winnipeg have done their part in voting for a by-law authorizing an appropriation of \$500,000 and by subscribing for an equal amount of exposition stock. When the Dominion Government shall have made the grant asked for, there will be ample funds at the hands of the Exposition management for opening up operations upon what will be the biggest and best work of the kind ever undertaken in Canada.

I recommend for 1911:

That all of the work so well begun in 1910 be carried on in the same manner, subject to changes dictated by conditions, of course, and that the energies of our organization be steadily directed toward keeping fast hold upon all that is good and striving for new and better things from time to time.

That the idea of expansion of the Bureau, in work and office equipment be developed and carried out as soon as possible and in the biggest and best way that can be devised.

That a still greater effort be made for the development of Winnipeg as a convention city. With this recommendation I would couple the necessity of an adequate convention hall in Winnipeg where large assemblies may meet.

That every assistance be given to the valuable work in further developing the work of assisting the families of British workmen to Winnipeg. Speaking on this point I wish to particularly emphasize the keen interest and the wide spread publicity given this movement in Great Britain that I found among the public men and the press of England while visiting abroad.

That the same combined effort be made by members in interesting the business community in the membership of the Bureau, and that in view of the completion of the municipal power plant, adequate support by the City Council be continued in order to enable the work of the Bureau to be carried out on a scale worthy of the aims and enthusiasm of the members.

That the idea of a City Planning Commission be given full support and that a special committee under this head be named as a standing committee for the year.

That due consideration be given for the proper carrying out of the increased editorial work in connection with the preparation of special articles for the outside press and the regular work of issuing the weekly western letter by our Press Service Department.

I lay this report before you, knowing that it is imperfect but sure of your indulgence in this matter. You have all been most kind and helpful during my term of office and I thank you for it. I also desire to thank our commissioner, Mr. Roland, for the obliging and careful manner in which he conducts the business of the Bureau and for the untiring energy that accomplishes so much of the Bureau's work and relieves others of burdens that might become too heavy for their patience, if not for their endurance.

F.W. Heubach, President

COMMISSIONER'S REPORT

To The Directors and Members of The Winnipeg Development and Industrial Bureau

Gentlemen:

It becomes my duty, for the fourth time, to make a report to you of what has been done by the Bureau in 1910, and of details of my own work in connection with the Bureau's general activities. You are, in a general way - and many of you in a special way -

familiar with the work and processes of the Bureau; with what we do and how we do it. For the information of new members and others who may not have had the opportunity of following the details of our business - which have been even more than usually various during the year - I will refer to departmental work carried on as follows:

The activities of the Winnipeg Development and Industrial Bureau for the year 1910 can be best summed up by saying that the Bureau has proceeded upon the lines laid down in former years and followed since, with such amplifications as we have found desirable from time to time. As is known, we operate and conduct a general free information bureau, open to all.

Beginning on the basis of a local bureau, our business has become an institution known all over the world. Requests for information about Winnipeg and the West are received from all quarters of the globe. To furnish these facts we compile statistical information of a class and kind that will promote all interests in the City of Winnipeg; we are printing in convenient and concise form, literature for free distribution; are preparing and supplying press articles and information for visiting convention delegates, tourists and editorial writers; we are continually holding personal interviews with manufacturers, capitalists and others who seek information respecting opportunities open; we investigate prospectuses presented by promoters who seek local capital; and we investigate the manufacturing possibilities of many important lines of industry. An important feature of our work is that of supplying lecture matter and stereopticon views dealing with the growth of Winnipeg, for use in England, Eastern Canada and the United States; in fact, the work is carried on with the view of doing the most good to the most people in our community.

After the lapse of a year, however, it well may be that things which happened have been lost sight of in the press of other matters and this report may serve as a reminder of things done and things to do.

Following the annual meeting of the Bureau, which was held on March 28th, 1910, and the election of Mr. F.W. Heubach as president and Mr. T.D. Robinson and Alex. Simmers as vice-presidents, it was resolved: "That that part of our Bureau Executive which had hitherto been called the Executive Committee, shall hereafter be termed the Board of Directors, and that the Executive Committee of the Association shall be composed of the officers and the chairman of all standing committees." At a special meeting of the nominating committee named by the president, the following standing committees with their chairmen for the year were named:

Finance Committee: - W.L. Ball, Chairman.

Membership Committee: - All Members of the Executive. Expansion of Home

Industries Committee: - W.J. Bulman, Chairman. Convention and Entertainment

Committee: - A.A. Andrews, Chairman.

Canada's Exposition Committee: - N.T. MacMillan, Chairman.
Civic Improvement Committee: - R.D. Waugh,
Chairman. Legislation Committee: -J.B. Hugg, Chairman.
Pictorial Publicity Committee: - Prof. Osborne, Chairman.

At a meeting held April 26th, 1910, the proposed plan for a business men's excursion through the West was introduced by the Expansion Committee and it was recommended:

“That the Executive Committee heartily endorse the proposal of a business men's excursion, to visit the principal cities of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, and that the committee take necessary steps to carry the proposed plan into effect so that excursion may leave Winnipeg May 28th.”

This recommendation was adopted and the plan was successfully carried out as will be seen in the report of the expansion committee. The excursion was a splendid success from every point of view and will be repeated as an annual business outing, and upon a larger scale this year.

At the Bureau meeting, April 26th, Mr. Bulman reported that a special committee had waited upon the Market and License Committee of the City Council in relation to the matter of enlarged office room for the Bureau to include space for installing a permanent exhibit of natural resources and manufactured products. This matter - at this time and later - was taken up and developed to some extent but the plan has not advanced beyond the stage of a proposition which is highly rated by the Bureau Executive and which may become an accomplished fact at some later day. This plan is outlined in the report of the Expansion Committee.

During July and August the Bureau sent out blank forms of enquiry to manufacturers asking for information relative to the industrial standing of the city and in September completed the census which shows that Winnipeg has now 236 manufacturing establishments with invested capital of \$26,000,000 and employing 14,400 hands whose monthly pay-roll amounts to \$750,000. The returns show that the output of all industries now amounts to \$36,000,000. In view of the Government census of 1906 showing the output of all Winnipeg factories to be \$18,983,000, it is very gratifying to be able to announce to the world Winnipeg's growth and standing as foremost among the cities of the whole continent. Provincial returns show that forty-seven new industrial companies were incorporated in 1910 with Winnipeg as their head office, and that the authorized capital of these manufacturing companies was \$8,942,000.

In May, 1910, the City Council appointed this Bureau as an agent to inquire into and report upon requests and complaints received from manufacturers. During the year, a number of such requests and complaints have been taken up and dealt with. These

matters included applications for rebates of water, gas and power rates, for spur track sidings and for the occupation of public street allowances. These cases have been taken up, inquired into and disposed, nearly always satisfactorily. This new department of Bureau work calls for much detail work but we believe it has been attended with good results and that the Bureau has been able to assist civic officers in a necessary work that would have devolved upon them, otherwise.

The successful second annual Electrical Show in which the Bureau has assisted the power development department to bring to a successful issue, was largely patronized in 1910 during the Winnipeg Exhibition, it being estimated that as many as 100,000 people visited the Electrical Show. All detail work of securing special exhibits of electrical devices and industrial installation from manufacturers in Canada, England and the United States and the work of installing these rested upon Mr. F.A.

Cambridge and your secretary and it is the wish of Mr. Cambridge that in this report we express our appreciation for the assistance rendered us by individual members of the Power Committee and of the Industrial Bureau. I may also point out that this educational campaign in the uses of power for domestic purposes is supported by the City Council who make a special appropriation each year to defray the expenses of the exhibits.

During July arrangements were carried out successfully through Mr. J. A. King of the Great West Film Co. for the production of three thousand feet of moving picture film of Winnipeg. This series of living pictures included the visit of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Prime Minister of Canada to Winnipeg, the Official Opening of St. Andrews Locks, the operations at the big Municipal Power Plant at Point du Bois, the Water Carnival at Lake Winnipeg and a complete reproduction of Winnipeg's business streets, parks, school playgrounds and bird's-eye views of the city; all of which are in commission now in the moving picture shows of Canada, England and in some points in United States.

Real work in the promotion of the proposed International Exposition for 1914 was carried out in the year and among those prominently identified in the raising of the required amount were officers and members of the Winnipeg Development and Industrial Bureau. All meetings of the Exposition Directors and of sub-committee on finance were held in the Bureau Board rooms and your secretary has acted on all occasions as secretary to that board. The work imposed upon the citizens of Winnipeg in raising the \$2,500,000 to meet the suggestions of the Dominion Government has been fully completed and it now rests with the parliament of Canada to officially announce their participation and support towards bringing to a successful issue Canada's first great International Exposition at Winnipeg in 1914.

The committee in charge of entertainment have carried out their work of entertaining distinguished visitors and convention delegates in a most cordial and helpful spirit, the

details of which come under a special report of the work of committees in another part of this report.

A good arrangement was made as a result of negotiations opened a Bureau meeting held July 5th, when a proposition was submitted through a letter from Mr. Frank A. Harrison, of the Canadian Exhibit and Publicity Company of Philadelphia, that the Bureau rent space in the company's display rooms in Philadelphia and have a permanent exhibit maintained there. The arrangements were completed in November and the result, so far, from this source of publicity is satisfactory.

By resolution of the Board of Directors a space was taken in the Philadelphia Exhibit of 5 units of 15 feet and a permanent exhibit has been installed under the supervision of Mr. Harrison. Large photographs of Winnipeg, some measuring as large as eight feet in length, form a part of the exhibit and our publicity literature is on file there at all times, so that visitors may be supplied with complete information concerning Winnipeg without delay. A feature of the Philadelphia plan is that Mr. Harrison acts as agent for the Bureau to make personal investigation and report of any industrial or other propositions made to the Bureau from any person or firm in the Philadelphia district, without extra charge. Duplicate copies of the pictures on exhibition at Philadelphia have been secured by the Bureau and the Board of Control has asked for their use at the City Hall.

Two important items of business transacted at a meeting held August 22nd were the discussion of a business men's excursion to explore the resources that lie about Lake Winnipeg and a plan submitted by Mr. J.F. Given, of Chicago, for the utilization of flax straw for textiles. The Lake Winnipeg trip was first proposed for the fall of 1910, but it was decided that the date of the trip was too late for effective work to be done and the excursion will likely be made this year instead.

The flax straw proposition, which is one of immense importance to Winnipeg and Western Canada, was followed up by a special committee after Mr. Given's visit to Winnipeg and another proposition of the same nature was taken under consideration made by Mt. Jonas Brolin, of Duluth, and the committee on industrial investigation, who were appointed to interview manufacturers in the United States, were authorized to complete the investigation by going to Duluth with samples of flax straw and having a demonstration made of the representations made by Mr. Brolin. The committee - made up of Controller R. D. Waugh and your secretary - spent a full day in examining the experimental plant of the Western Linen Company at Duluth.

It should be remarked that this tour of personal work with manufacturers was an outcome of the appointment of a special committee consisting of C.B. Piper, M.F. Christie, Alex. Simmers, N.T. MacMillan and the secretary, whose recommendations were endorsed by

the Directors and the necessary funds authorized to carry out the plan, which involved the work of calling upon some 30 manufacturers in twelve cities in United States and Eastern Canada, these being selected from a list of 160 enquiries the Bureau had on hand from manufacturers who were looking toward Winnipeg as a possible location for their industries. The report of this committee will be published in separate form as a supplementary to the annual reports for the year.

On December 16th, a meeting was called to deal with the street railway strike which was a very great detriment to the holiday business and public convenience. The result of immediate action being taken by the Directors was that other business bodies, including the City Council, also took up the matter and happily the strike was settled and we have reason to believe that the Bureau had some part in bringing the matter to a successful and peaceful issue.

Publicity is one of the chief functions of this Bureau, but I find it impossible in limited space to dwell at any length upon the various campaigns carried out in the year. This department of our work is such that it cannot be discussed in detail for the reason that giving publicity to its accomplishments would be detrimental to further success.

For the information of members I have given a complete list of publications in which Bureau advertisements were carried in -1910, which will convey some idea of the extensive campaign carried on throughout the year. In making a strong appeal to those who want to know the conditions that obtain here and the countless opportunities our city and country affords for work, investment and the starting of industries, it has been my policy at all times to deal with such in as conservative a manner as possible, giving only such in-formation as would result from closest investigations. In the hundreds of thousands of pieces of publicity literature mailed out from the Bureau offices during 1910 to points all over the world we have always devoted some space to advertising Western Canada as a whole, believing in the policy of making known what is back of Winnipeg as a business and industrial city. The publications sent out were made up of leaflets, illustrated books, circulars, business directories, crop reports, weekly bulletins, calenders and lists of various sorts in special booklets prepared for set occasions when such publicity material could be made the most effective.

Thousands of complimentary letters have been received in return for the 1910 Illustrated Winnipeg, of which 15,000 copies were carefully distributed to outside points. The same might be said with regard to our 1911 annual calendar which reached the offices of 5,000 editors, manufacturers and investment companies during January, 1911. The 42-page illustrated book, entitled "The Corner Posts of a Great City," also returned hundreds of enquiries and letters of appreciation and amazement at the rapid

growth of Winnipeg and its municipal activities. Much valuable publicity has been obtained through our paid display advertising in newspapers, trade journals and magazines during the year 1910, made possible only through the liberal grant by the city, which enabled the Bureau to carry out this campaign and has resulted in even greater benefits than was anticipated in our obtaining the publication of a large number of special and illustrated stories. In order to further impress upon our members the value and the magnitude of this department of the Bureau, I will reproduce an extract from my January report to the Directors as follows:

“In the distribution of special illustrated matter the greatest care has been exercised in compiling our mailing lists. From our general list of some 20,000 enquiries we selected 8,000 names of those whose communications were of an industrial or investment character. In addition to these sample copies of each were mailed direct to 600 managing editors of Canadian, British and United States papers. In each enclosure we submitted an offer to supply them a weekly free press service and special illustrated stories for 1911 with the result that up to this date we have added to our regular weekly bulletin service the names of 96 editors who have signified their willingness to publish our matter during the year. This brings our weekly letter mailing list up to 217 which covers publications as follows: - 94 Eastern Canada, 66 British Isles, 52 United States, 2 France, 2 Germany, 1 Australia.”

To further illustrate the interest shown in Winnipeg and Western Canada, I desire to point out that with these requests there came to hand in January, no less than 24 applications for special stories of from 1000 to 3000 words each, with pictures.

The above requests for special stories are preferred from some of the best periodicals in England, Eastern Canada and the United States. Another feature of the year's publicity work was contained in representation at the Toronto Exhibition during September last in conjunction with the Canadian Northern exhibit and other excellent mediums have been obtained by furnishing lantern slides and lecture material for use in the United States, Great Britain and Eastern Canada by lecturers who wished to talk upon Winnipeg and Western Canada.

In every way the year 1910 was the best the Bureau has ever had, and it not only brought good results but it points the way for better work and greater returns for the year 1911. In concluding my report, I wish to thank the President, Directors and Bureau Members for their cordial co-operation which is so essential in our work and to express my appreciation to the local press for liberal space given our reports during the year. The interest displayed by citizens and the spirit that has prompted our Directors and Committees to form such well attended meetings throughout the year all make possible the successful work of building up a bigger and better Winnipeg.

Respectfully submitted,
CHARLES F. ROLAND, Commissioner.

REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE

To The President, Directors and Members of The Winnipeg Development and Industrial Bureau

Gentlemen:

It is my privilege and very great pleasure to present this fourth annual report of the finance committee of this bureau.

It is gratifying to be able to call your attention to this most satisfactory condition of the Bureau's financial affairs.

The year has been one of unusual activity in every department of the Bureau, and consequent heavy expenditure, but there was still a substantial balance in our treasury at the close of our fiscal year, Jan. 31, 1911.

This surplus after all accounts had been paid to that date, amounted to \$13,958.40, and of this sum the Bureau had a cash balance in the bank of \$9,869.90. I think you will agree that this is a most satisfactory showing at the close of a most strenuous year, a year in which more work was done and work of a more expensive character than any previous year in the history of the organization.

Permit me to call your attention to the auditors' report. I will deal with the items only in round numbers and as briefly as possible.

The total assets of the Bureau amounted to \$14,000, consisting of cash \$10,400; due from subscribers, \$2,000; printed matters, cuts, stationery, etc., \$ 1,100; office furniture, \$500; liabilities, nil.

With regard to an item due from subscribers, \$4,220, I may say that as about \$1,700 of this amount was due for the year 1907-08 along with some subscriptions of later date, but of doubtful nature, it was decided, after careful consideration, to write off the sum of \$2,302.37. It is possible that a portion of this sum may be collected, but it was deemed wise to be on the safe side and only carry in our assets what is believed to be good.

Under disbursements heavy items of expense have been necessary to carry on the extensive publicity campaign of the Bureau.

The advertising has cost the large sum of \$8,073.12; printing has amounted to \$3,501.92; the fact that the postage account was \$918.03 will convey to your minds the extent of the work carried on in 1910.

The year was a notable one in the entertainment of conventions and other public visitors to the city, and we are glad to report that the Bureau was able to tender the city council considerable assistance in entertaining public guests.

We are pleased, however, to be able to report that through the co-operation of public-spirited citizens in devoting time and supplying automobiles on these occasions, that the total expense was only \$69.96, which I am sure you will consider so moderate that the Bureau will be free from the charge of extravagance.

Through membership fees, the Bureau has collected during the year the sum of \$4,482.

The business men's excursion, which was organized and carried through by the Bureau, at a cost of \$ 5,381, netted the Bureau a profit of \$ 11.10, and was of inestimable value to those who were able to avail themselves of the opportunity of making the trip.

As the Assisted Passage Department will be dealt with fully in the report of another committee, I will only refer to certain items in the account.

We had at the close of the year in the bank, \$332; balances due from applicants covered by note, \$1,300; amount borrowed from bank, \$1,100; advance payments made by applicants, \$424.

This branch of service undertaken by the Bureau is no charge on our finances. The scheme is financed wholly outside the Bureau on the personal guarantee of certain of our members and other business men of the city. The work was considered of such importance that the Bureau has taken it up and requested our secretary to act as trustee.

This very materially increases his work, but he uncomplainingly discharges this duty with the same energy and faithfulness which characterizes his entire Bureau work.

This, I believe, deals with figures entering into the annual report, but I wish to offer a few comments in closing.

Referring to our cash balance at the close of the year, it must be borne in mind that we have to depend on this and the quarterly subscriptions from our members to carry on the work until July next.

The success of the Bureau has been made possible by the generosity of the civic government and the hearty support of the business men of Winnipeg, to all of whom we desire to express our appreciation. Without this co-operation, we should have been unable to accomplish what we have and I am sure we all appreciate the good offices of those who have rendered such steady and substantial aid in this Bureau.

It is most important that the City council and subscribers have reason to retain confidence in the management of the funds passing through this Bureau, and be impressed with the knowledge that all funds are handled with the same care and discretion which prevails in the management of any private business. I may say that each month the accounts are passed upon by your committee and only paid after being approved.

I may say that the considerable balance shown for 1910 proves that the expenses are regulated by the needs of the Bureau, rather than by the amount at our disposal, proving that funds entrusted to the care of this organization are safeguarded by economy and conservative management.

In closing, it may not be out of place for this committee to express its high appreciation of the services rendered this Bureau by your indefatigable secretary.

All of which is most respectfully submitted.

W.L. BALL, Chairman.

REPORT OF EXPANSION COMMITTEE

To The Board of Directors and Members of The Winnipeg Development and Industrial Bureau

Gentlemen:

This committee, appointed by the Board of Directors last year, to promote the expansion of present industries and to attract buyers for what Winnipeg has to sell, has done considerable work during 1910 on the lines laid down in the report which came before the last annual meeting for adoption, in which you may recall a number of recommendations were made, outlining what was believed should be done for the expansion of Bureau work and to make it more effective.

The outstanding feature of the plan proposed was enlargement of the Bureau offices, securing space for this purpose and to make a permanent exhibition of the industrial products of the city and natural, undeveloped or partly developed resources; grouping the Bureau offices and the permanent exhibit and placing the whole thing in charge of our commissioner.

This plan has been advanced by your committee from time to time throughout the year and approved by the Board and by the business men of the city generally, who have been brought into communication with the proposition. The matter has been taken up and investigated by your committee and has been thoroughly threshed out at several meetings of our Bureau Executive. Offers of space were received from several sources but no place has been found suitable yet by this committee. Among other proposals made in the search for adequate quarters for the Bureau enlarged according to the plan outlined, it was proposed to take over the old city market building and make of it an Industrial Exposition centre, with space allotment to manufacturers who had expressed their willingness to participate. This was taken up before the City Council and favorably received, but for some reason we could obtain no definite action although many deputations waited upon the various municipal committees. It was then suggested by members of the City Council that the power sub-station on King Street be enlarged to permit of this. The power engineers agreed it was a good idea and some steps were taken to acquire extra ground for this purpose but the city solicitor found some legal reason which prevented this being done, and today we stand with a scheme endorsed by everybody who studied it, but unable to get proper space for its development, the ideal spot, in the opinion of Committee, being the old market building.

Imperial Home Reunion Movement

Another branch of Bureau work taken up by this committee has made good and substantial progress. This is the plan for assisting worthy British workmen to bring their families to Winnipeg. This new department of Bureau work was organized at a meeting of the Executive Committee held September 15th, when, after the plan had been outlined and discussed, the following resolution was adopted:

“That the Bureau put the plan proposed by Mr. W.J. Bulman into operation and proceed to assist employees located in Winnipeg in bringing out their families.”

After the meeting Mr. Roland and myself spent a few days canvassing our leading citizens; we were thus enabled to raise all the money necessary and the rest of the rules governing this money was adopted at a meeting of all subscribers to this fund, the organization work taking about a month of time. The guarantors appointed an Advisory Board whose business is to administer this fund, and since their appointment they have met one night every two weeks when they take up in a personal way with each borrower and settle the terms to suit their various needs. The project thus set in operation has since developed into proportions far beyond the anticipation of those who were enthusiastically connected with its promotion. Up to January 31st the Advisory Board, before which all applicants must appear, has investigated 69 requests of which 42 have been granted and 27 rejected. The number of applicants who have been accepted by the Advisory Board, in three months operations, represent 42 families and an aggregate of 192 persons who have been enabled to come to Winnipeg, and many good purposes have been served at the same time. Apart from promoting better conditions and surrounding men with family life, the plan works out to the betterment of the business community as a whole in-as-much as it gives the workmen a greater degree of stability and contentment; it brings no inconsiderable number of new people to our city as permanent residents and as consumers, where otherwise money for their support was largely sent out of the city. There has been no falling off in interest in the plan from the beginning; rather, interest increases as time goes on. Those who have been helped show their appreciation by letter or personal thanks for the manner in which transportation and other details have been carried out by the committee in charge and the plan has been given endorsement by the people and press of the British Isles in such form as to create a wide amount of publicity beneficial to the general work the Bureau is engaged in. It is pleasing to report that applicants for assistance have done remarkably well in the matter of first and subsequent payments on the money advanced by the guarantors and that advanced deposits run up to more than twenty per cent of the money required. Altogether the practical and ethical results of this plan are excellent in every respect.

Trade Expansion

The business men's trip through Western Canada was organized by this committee. The first excursion of this kind was started last spring and created wide-spread interest in business circles in Winnipeg and throughout Western Canada. The tour that was made of principal western points helped our business men to meet customers in person whom they had never seen and would not be likely to in the ordinary course of trade.

It impressed the business public of the whole west with the fact that Winnipeg is the chief trade centre of the country and that our men and firms are interested in becoming intimately acquainted with their customers and the requirements of the trade. The 2,200 mile itinerary covered by our 1910 excursion included stops at each of the following cities, long enough to enable business men to visit their customers: - Portage la Prairie, Brandon, Regina, Moose Jaw, Medicine Hat, Lethbridge, Calgary, Banff, Strathcona, Edmonton, Camrose, Wetaskwin and Saskatoon.

Steps have already been taken and preparations for a larger and better trip are outlined for this year. Requests have been received from western cities for permission to attach special cars to the Winnipeg business men's special train and arrangements to this end are being made. The itinerary for the 1911 excursion will be changed to visit other important trade centres not touched last year, and it is expected that the date of leaving Winnipeg will be during the last week of May or the first week in June.

Respectfully submitted, W.J. BULMAN, Chairman.

WORK OF OTHER COMMITTEES

Important work was done for the Bureau throughout the year by the committee in charge of entertainment. During the year, this committee, under the able chairmanship of Mr. A.A. Andrews, has developed from demands for immediate work in showing visitors the principal points of interest in Winnipeg, a high degree of usefulness, and as an advertising feature for the city the entertainment of distinguished visitors and convention bodies stands foremost for beneficial results. Among the more important conventions handled by this committee - who have been greatly assisted by citizens in giving their time and the uses of automobiles during the year - were:

The Canadian Manufacturers' Association; The Western Canada Cricket Association; National Grand Lodge of Canada of the International Order of Good Templars;
Bristol Chamber of Commerce;
Third General Assembly of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada; Brandon Business Men's Excursion;
The Glasgow and Welsh Choirs;
The Canadian Society of Civil Engineers, and others.

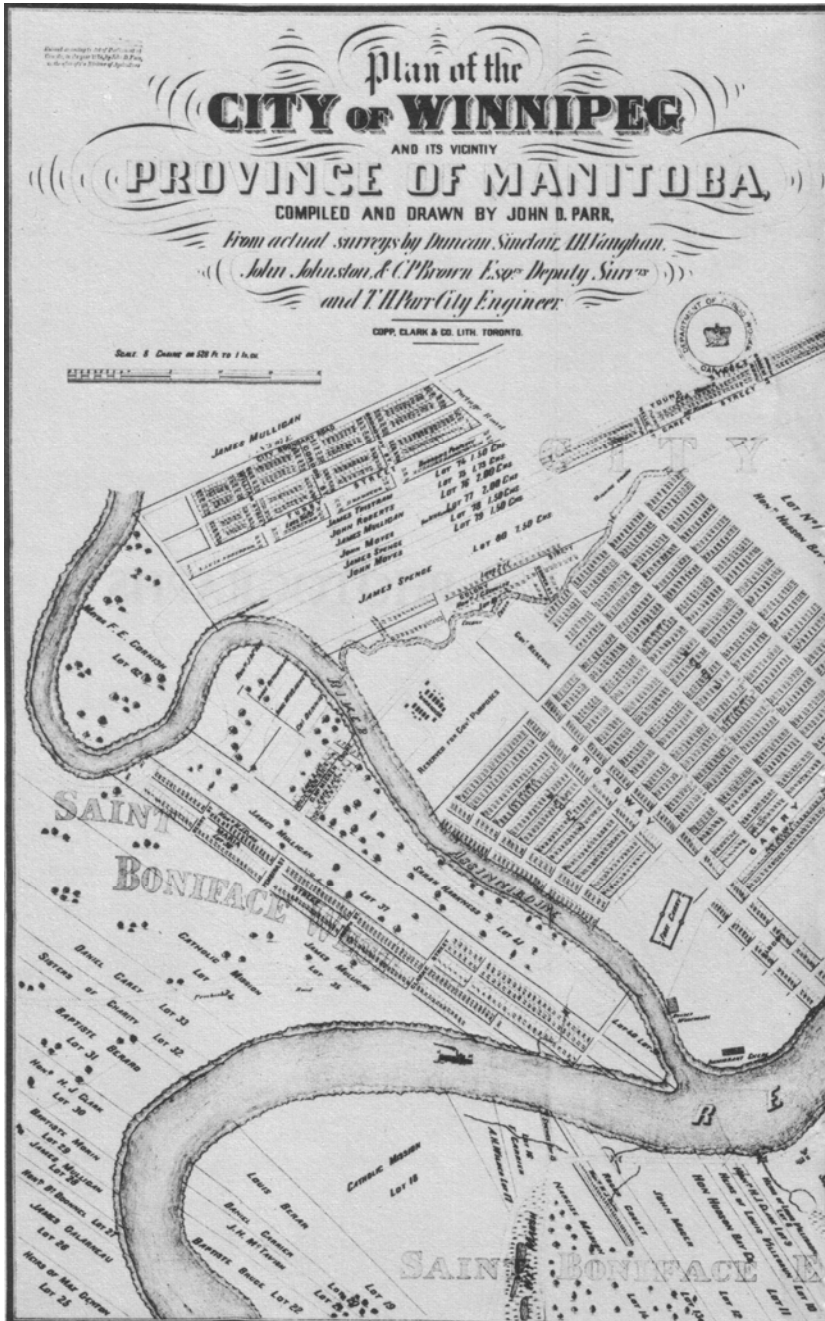
Through the entertainment and convention committees of the Bureau there were issued on each occasion of visiting conventions during the year, special souvenir guide books to Winnipeg which have been highly appreciated by visitors receiving them. The entertainment committee feel that the civic reception committee of the

City Council assisted in a very large degree by extending to the more important visiting bodies civic receptions and luncheons.

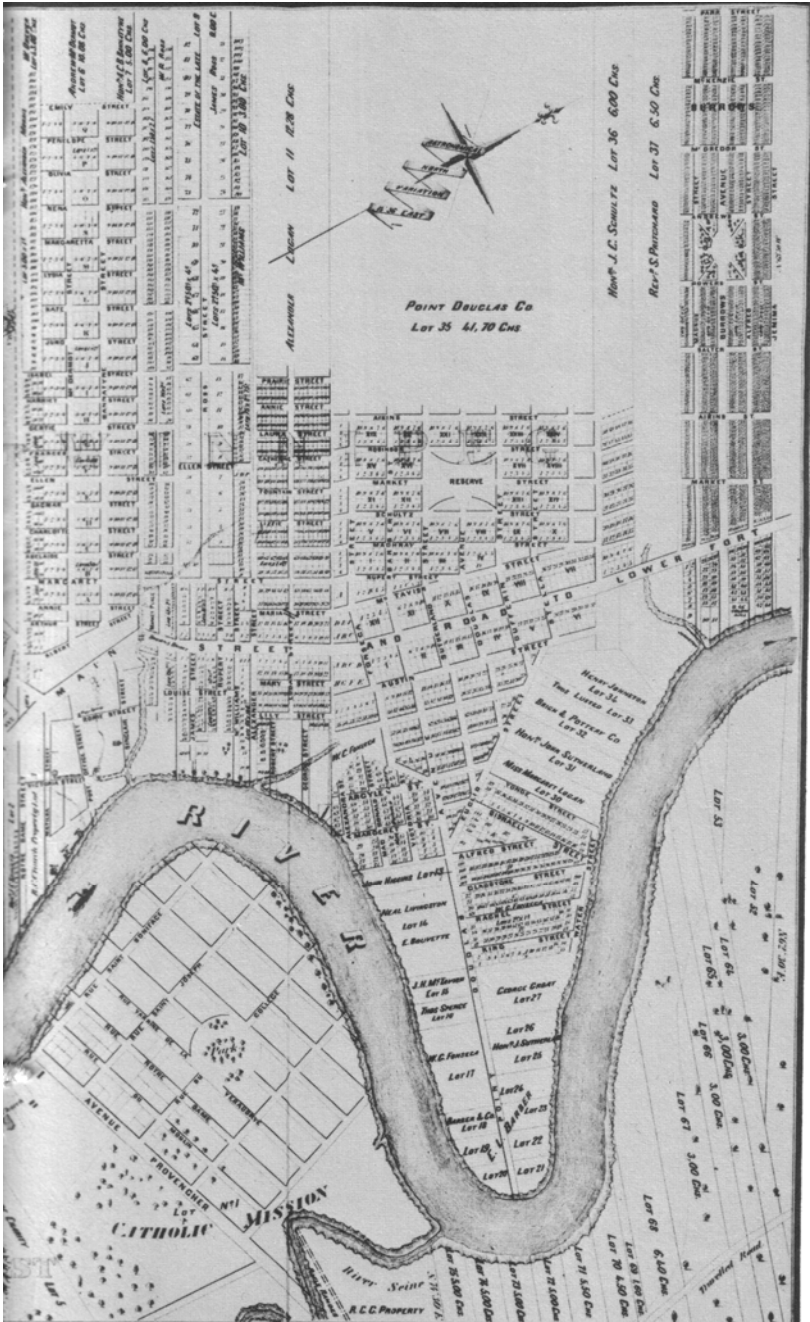
Another branch of Bureau work in which effectiveness and results have been accomplished, is the pictorial publicity committee under the direction of J.G. Norris and C.S. Tyrrell, the latter devoting much time and energy to the original plan of having moving pictures taken of Winnipeg during the visit of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and at the time of the annual Winnipeg Exhibition.

Due recognition must be given to the energetic work of Mr. W.R. Ingram in his contribution of articles throughout the year as part of his work as a member of the Editorial Committee. The Legislation Committee have had no important work to consider, analyse or report on during the year, and owing to the delay in negotiations with the Dominion Government, the Exposition Committee have had little to do in matters relating to the proposed 1914 Exposition.

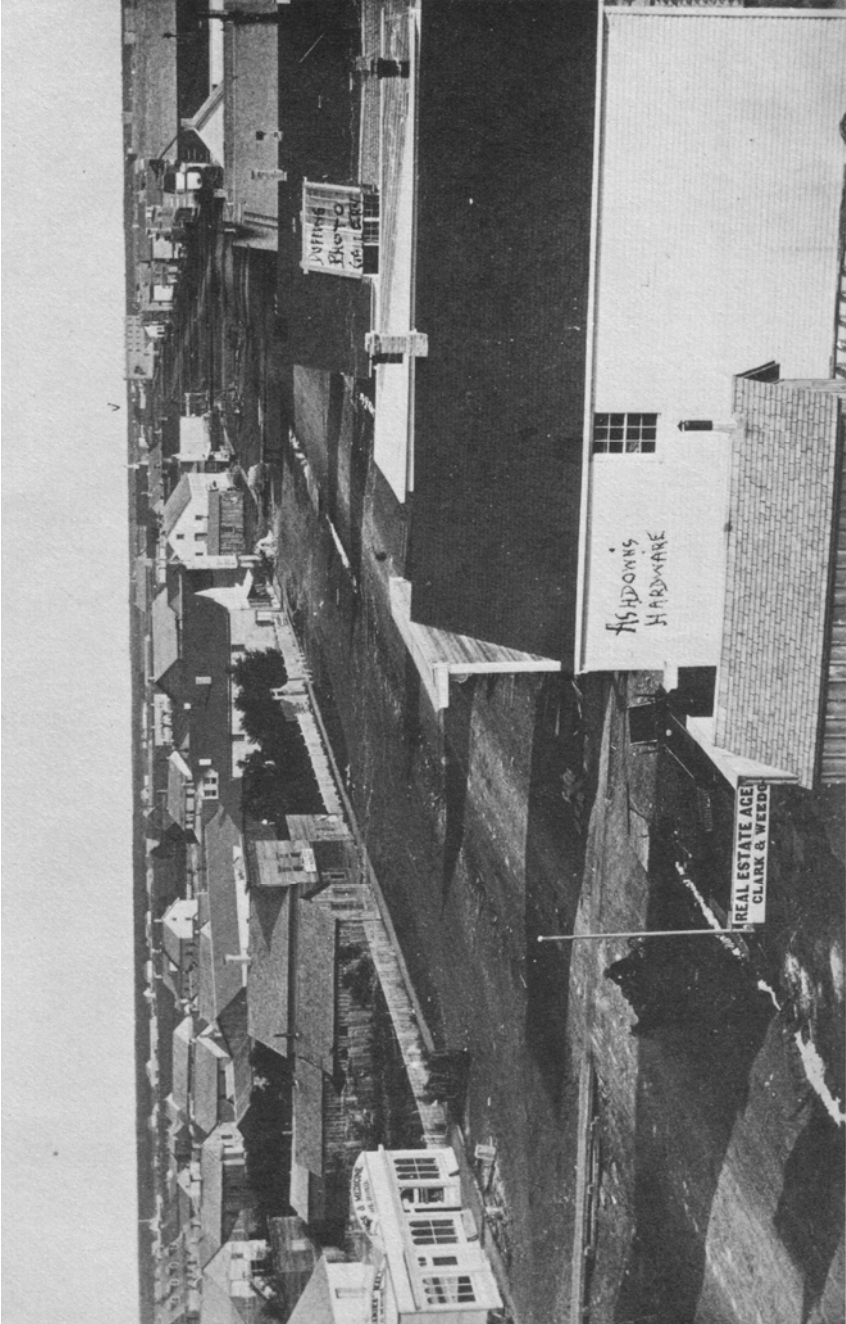
ILLUSTRATIONS



1. Plan of the City of Winnipeg and its vicinity, 1874.

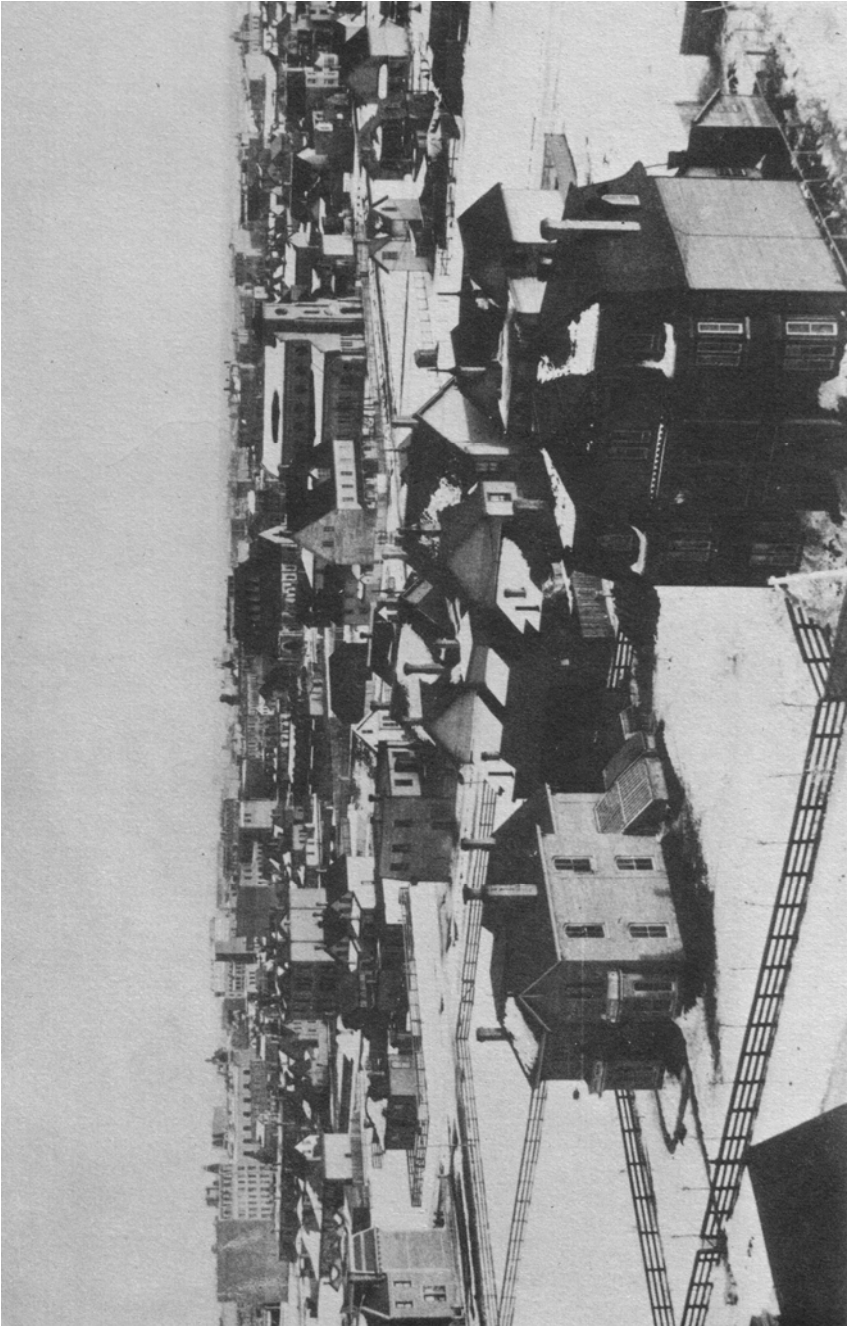


Courtesy: National Map Collection, Public Archives of Canada.



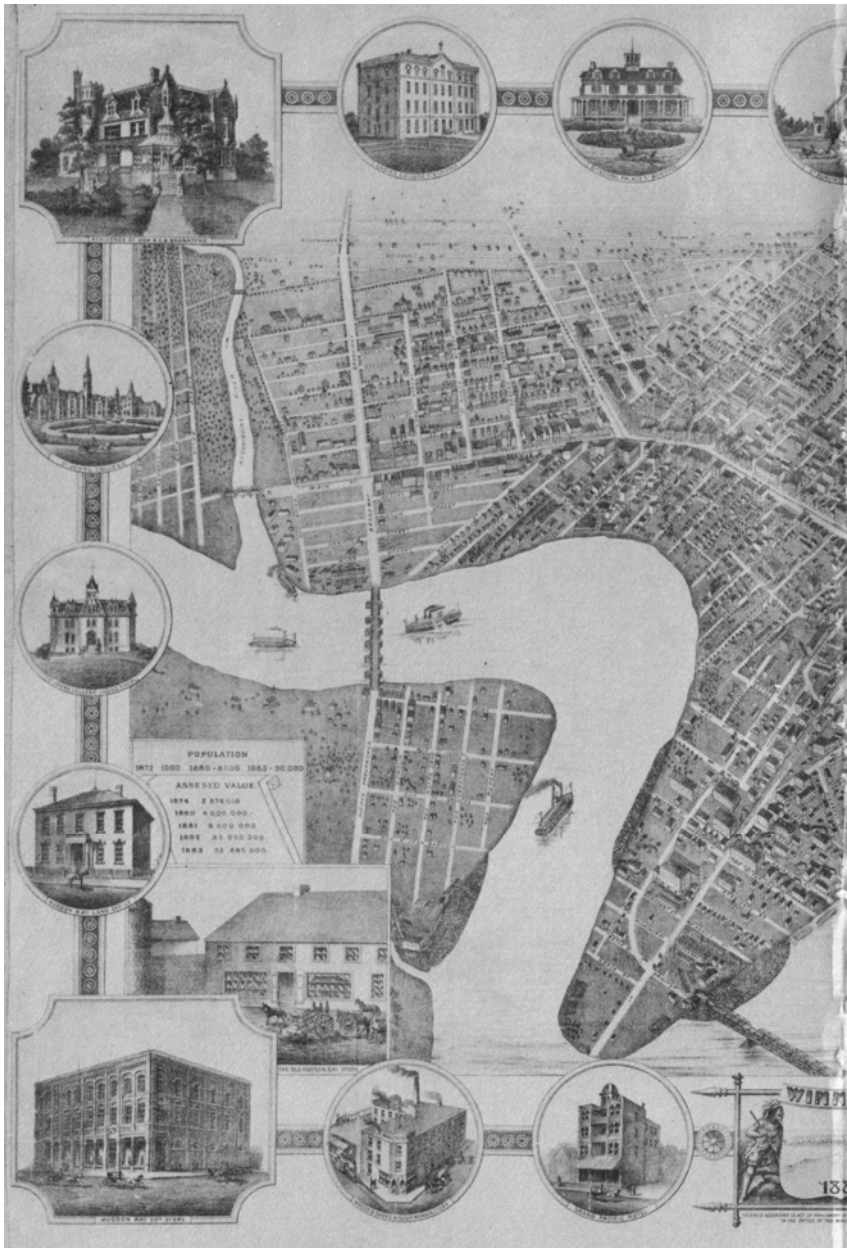
2. View of Winnipeg, 1874.

Courtesy: Provincial Archives of Canada.

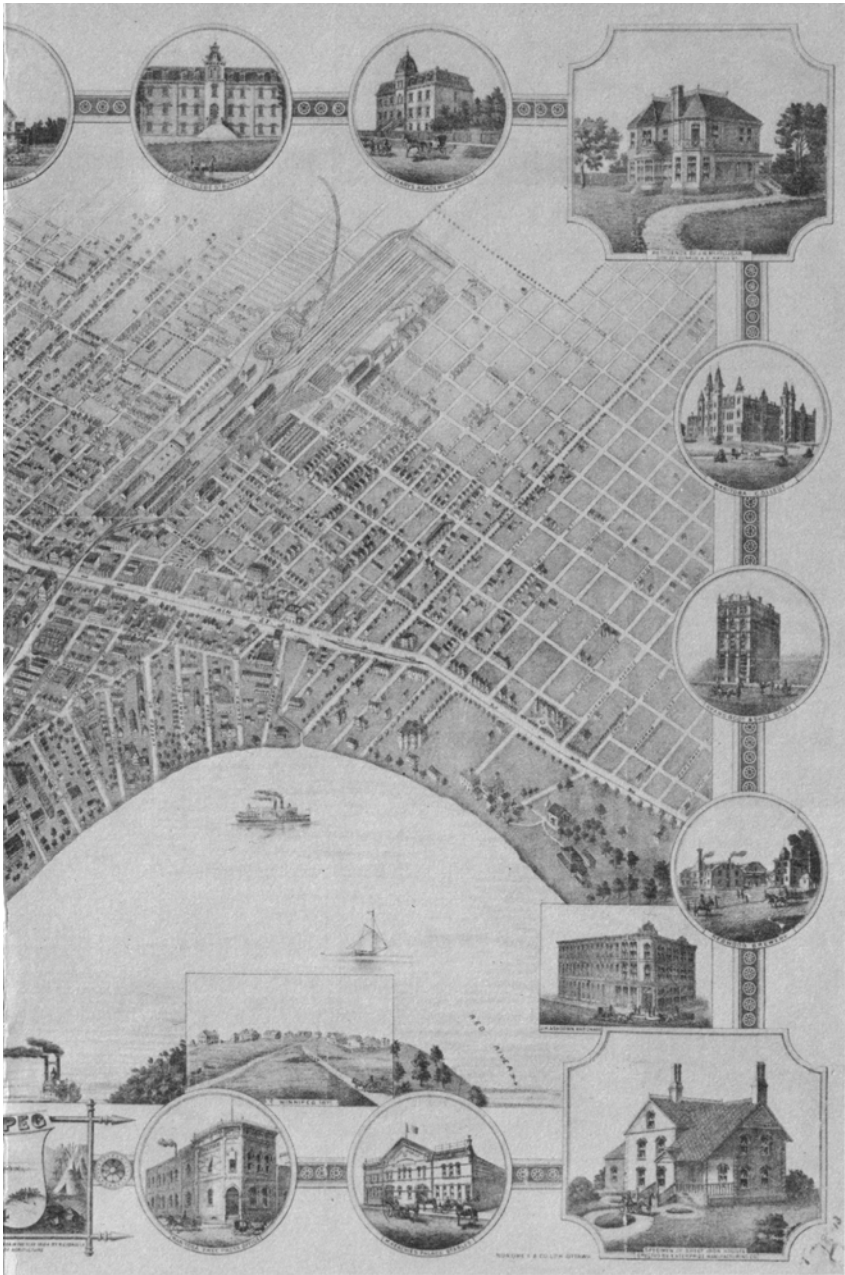


3. View of Winnipeg, c. 1884.

Courtesy: Provincial Archives of Manitoba.



4. Bird's Eye View of Winnipeg, 1884.



Courtesy: National Map Collection. Public Archives of Canada.



Hudson Bay Company's Mill



Western Bank Co. Office, 100 York Street



JAMES H. GORDON
Woolman and Retail Hardware



Western Hotel, Exchange
Market Square



Winnipeg Hotel, Exchange Street, First



Merchants' Bank, Main Street
Exchange Street, First



HOTEL DE VILLE
Richard Arthur, First - 107 Princess St. and Butler Street Sts.



HOTEL MANTORA
W. W. Sprague, Manager - One Main and Water Streets

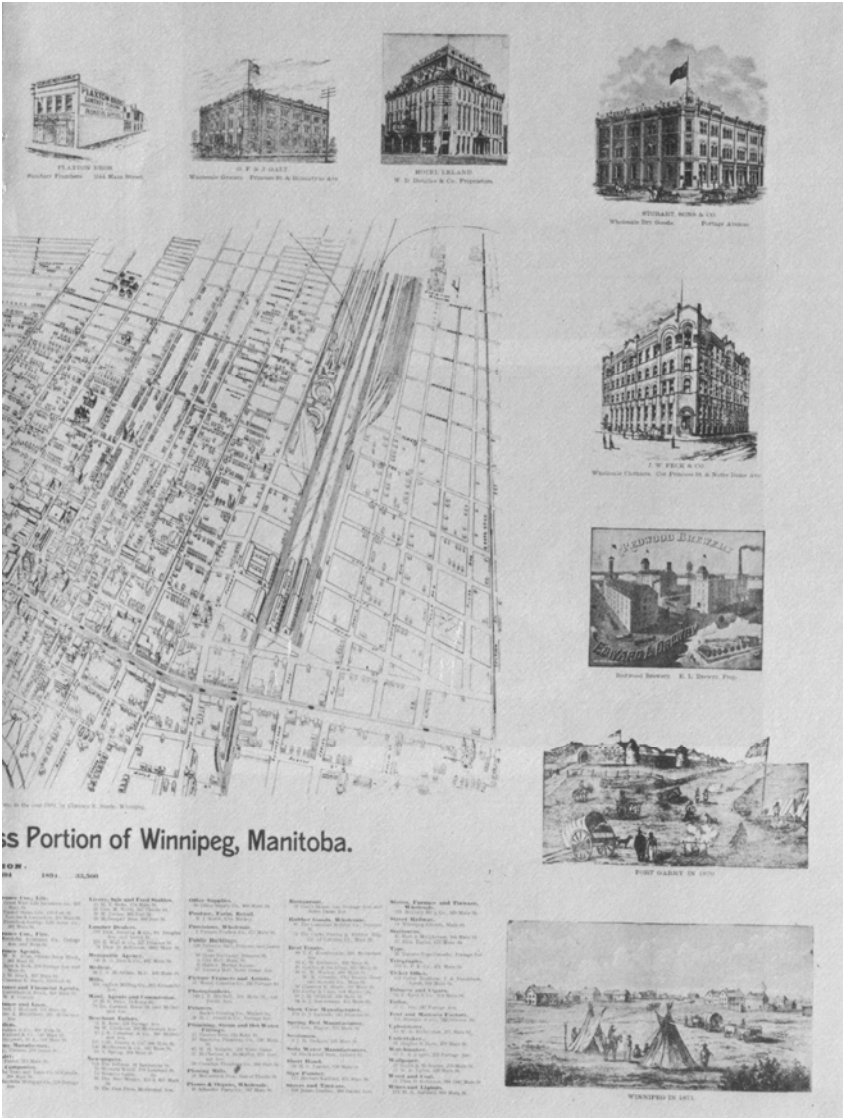


Bird's Eye View of the Central Business

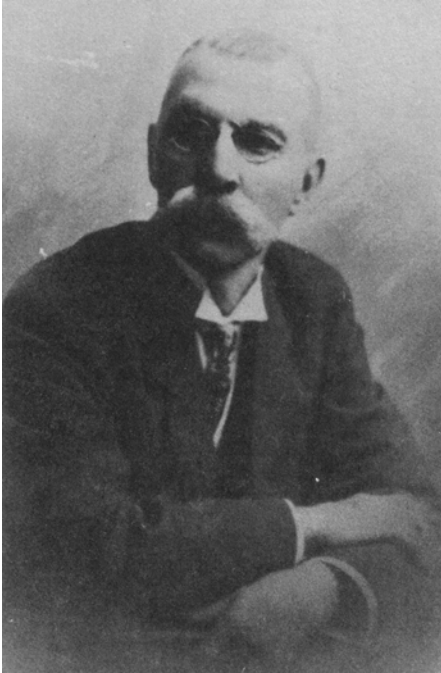
1871 1,400 POPULATION 1883 10,000

Architects J. C. Thompson, 24 Exchange St. W. G. Thompson, 24 Exchange St.	Business J. C. Thompson, 24 Exchange St. W. G. Thompson, 24 Exchange St.	Engineering J. C. Thompson, 24 Exchange St. W. G. Thompson, 24 Exchange St.	Printers and Publishers J. C. Thompson, 24 Exchange St. W. G. Thompson, 24 Exchange St.	Stores and Retail J. C. Thompson, 24 Exchange St. W. G. Thompson, 24 Exchange St.
Accountants J. C. Thompson, 24 Exchange St. W. G. Thompson, 24 Exchange St.	Attorneys J. C. Thompson, 24 Exchange St. W. G. Thompson, 24 Exchange St.	Bankers J. C. Thompson, 24 Exchange St. W. G. Thompson, 24 Exchange St.	Booksellers J. C. Thompson, 24 Exchange St. W. G. Thompson, 24 Exchange St.	Commission Merchants J. C. Thompson, 24 Exchange St. W. G. Thompson, 24 Exchange St.
Doctors J. C. Thompson, 24 Exchange St. W. G. Thompson, 24 Exchange St.	Druggists J. C. Thompson, 24 Exchange St. W. G. Thompson, 24 Exchange St.	Electricians J. C. Thompson, 24 Exchange St. W. G. Thompson, 24 Exchange St.	Estimates J. C. Thompson, 24 Exchange St. W. G. Thompson, 24 Exchange St.	Exporters J. C. Thompson, 24 Exchange St. W. G. Thompson, 24 Exchange St.
Factories J. C. Thompson, 24 Exchange St. W. G. Thompson, 24 Exchange St.	Fishermen J. C. Thompson, 24 Exchange St. W. G. Thompson, 24 Exchange St.	Flour and Grain J. C. Thompson, 24 Exchange St. W. G. Thompson, 24 Exchange St.	General Stores J. C. Thompson, 24 Exchange St. W. G. Thompson, 24 Exchange St.	Hardware and Iron J. C. Thompson, 24 Exchange St. W. G. Thompson, 24 Exchange St.
Hotels J. C. Thompson, 24 Exchange St. W. G. Thompson, 24 Exchange St.	Insurance J. C. Thompson, 24 Exchange St. W. G. Thompson, 24 Exchange St.	Iron and Steel J. C. Thompson, 24 Exchange St. W. G. Thompson, 24 Exchange St.	Land and Water J. C. Thompson, 24 Exchange St. W. G. Thompson, 24 Exchange St.	Lumber J. C. Thompson, 24 Exchange St. W. G. Thompson, 24 Exchange St.
Manufacturers J. C. Thompson, 24 Exchange St. W. G. Thompson, 24 Exchange St.	Merchants J. C. Thompson, 24 Exchange St. W. G. Thompson, 24 Exchange St.	Miners J. C. Thompson, 24 Exchange St. W. G. Thompson, 24 Exchange St.	Money J. C. Thompson, 24 Exchange St. W. G. Thompson, 24 Exchange St.	Real Estate J. C. Thompson, 24 Exchange St. W. G. Thompson, 24 Exchange St.
Shoemakers J. C. Thompson, 24 Exchange St. W. G. Thompson, 24 Exchange St.	Shipbuilders J. C. Thompson, 24 Exchange St. W. G. Thompson, 24 Exchange St.	Starch and Flour J. C. Thompson, 24 Exchange St. W. G. Thompson, 24 Exchange St.	Textiles J. C. Thompson, 24 Exchange St. W. G. Thompson, 24 Exchange St.	Wholesale J. C. Thompson, 24 Exchange St. W. G. Thompson, 24 Exchange St.

5. Bird's Eye View of the Central Business Portion of Winnipeg, 1894.



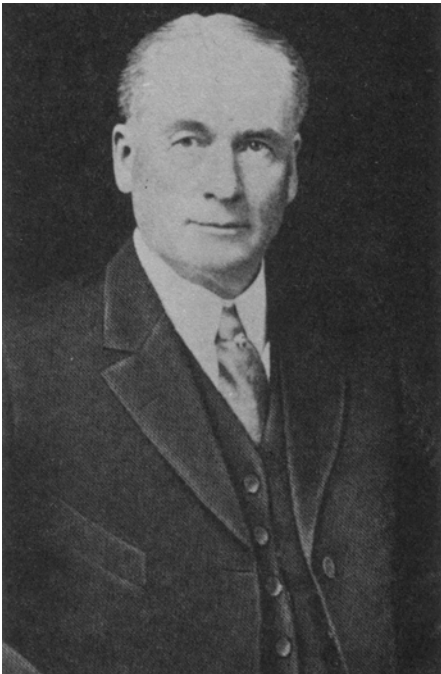
Courtesy: National Map Collection, Public Archives of Canada.



6. W.F. Alloway



7. J.H. Ashdown



8. Sir J.A.M. Aikins

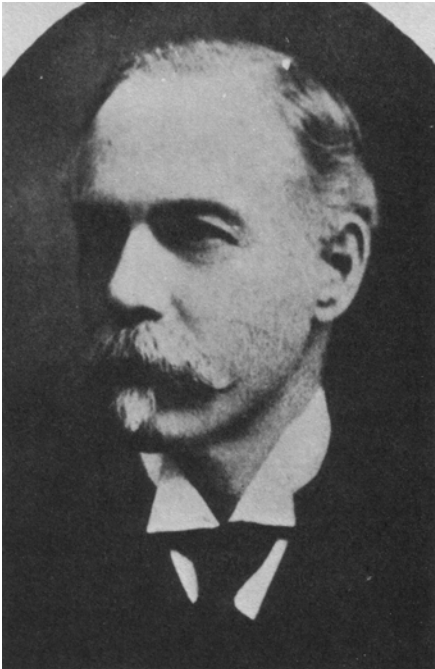
Courtesy: Provincial Archives of Manitoba.



9. Rev. C.W. Gordon ("Ralph Connor")

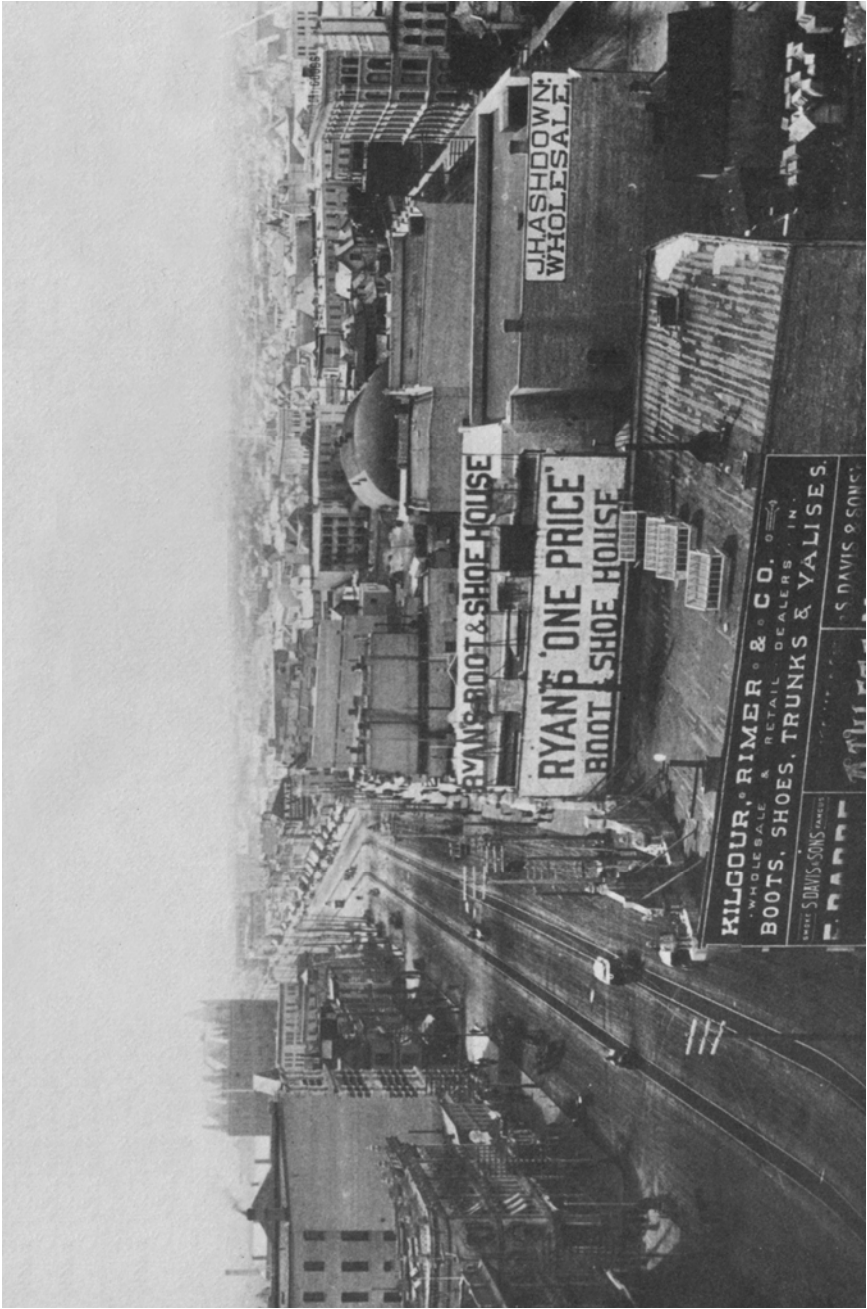


10. J.D. McArthur



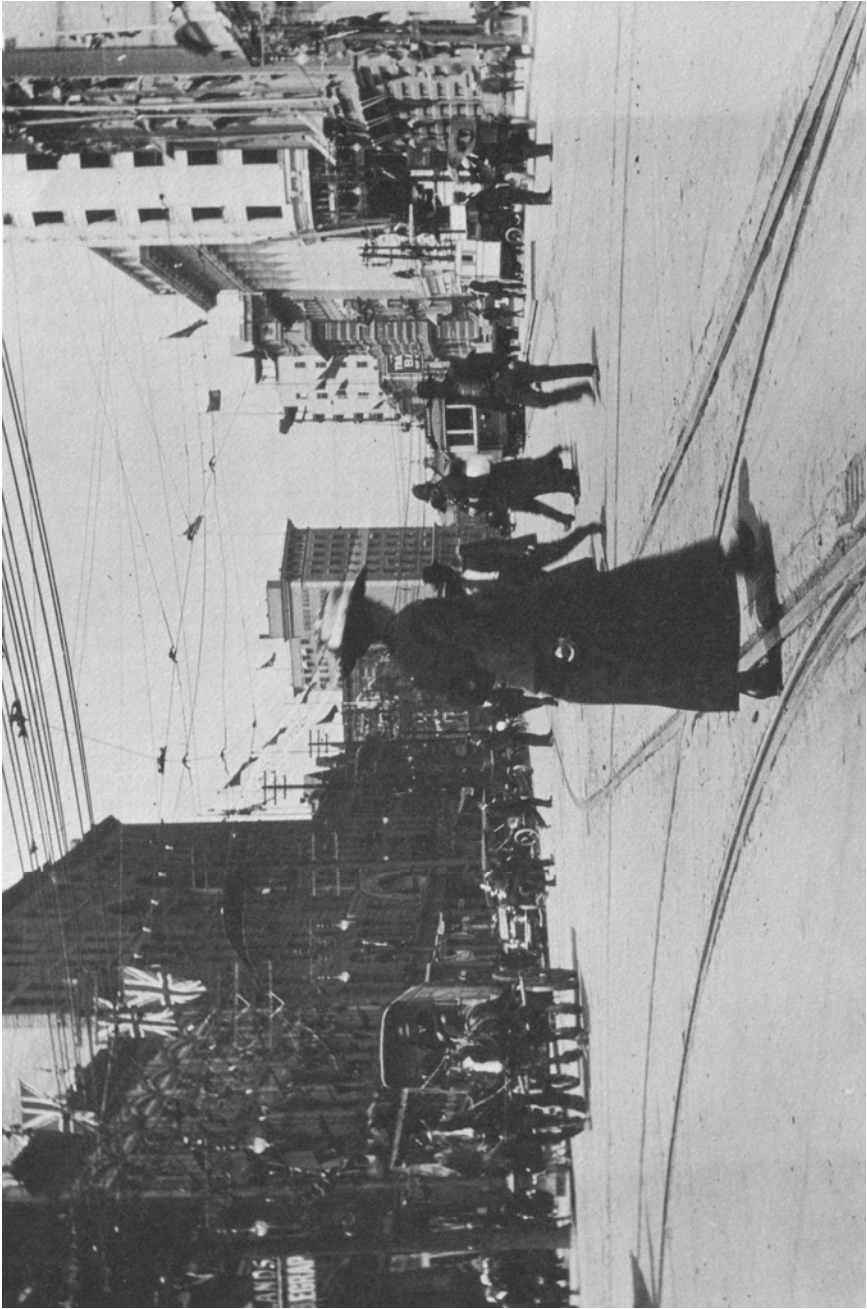
11. D.H. McMillan

Courtesy: Provincial Archives of Manitoba.

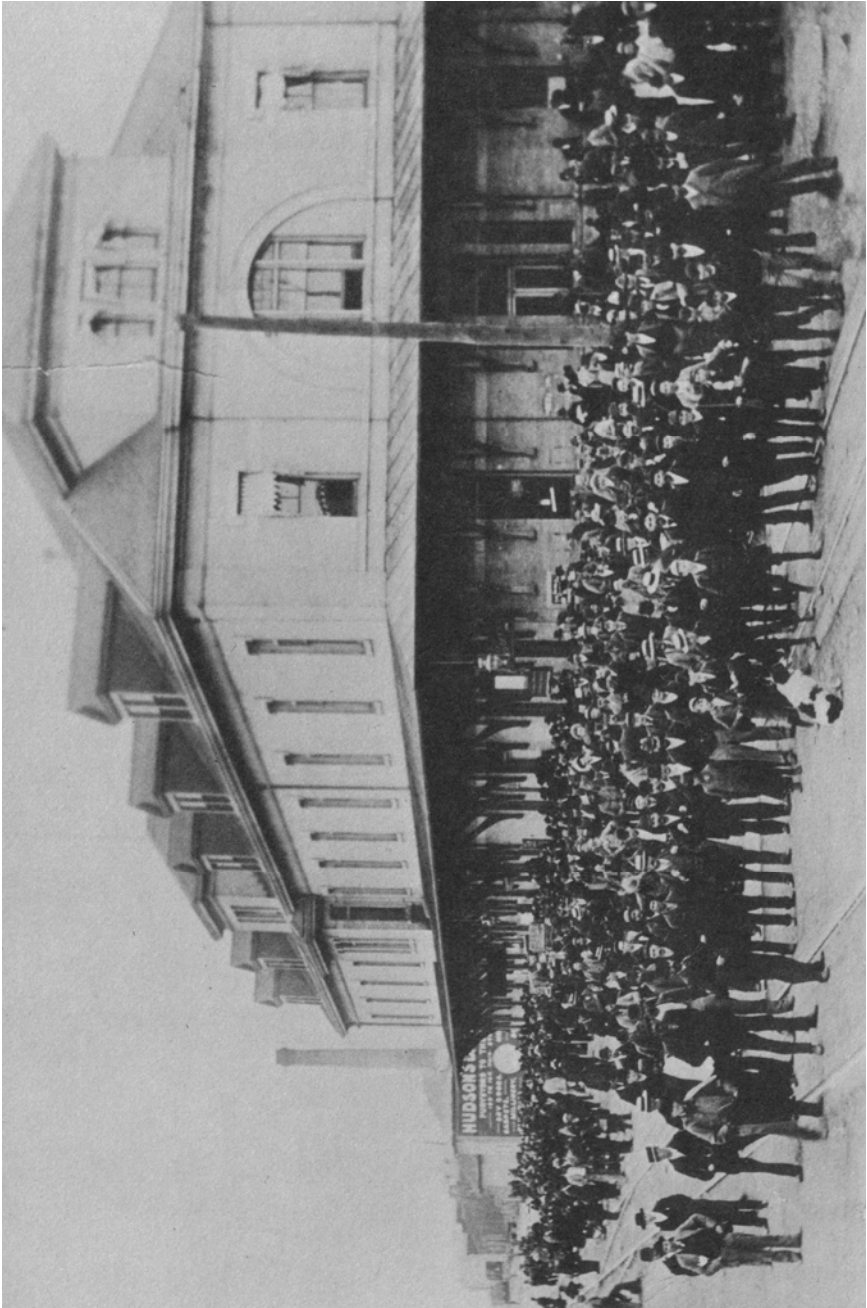


12. View of Winnipeg, c. 1895. (Main Street, South from City Hall).

Courtesy: PAM

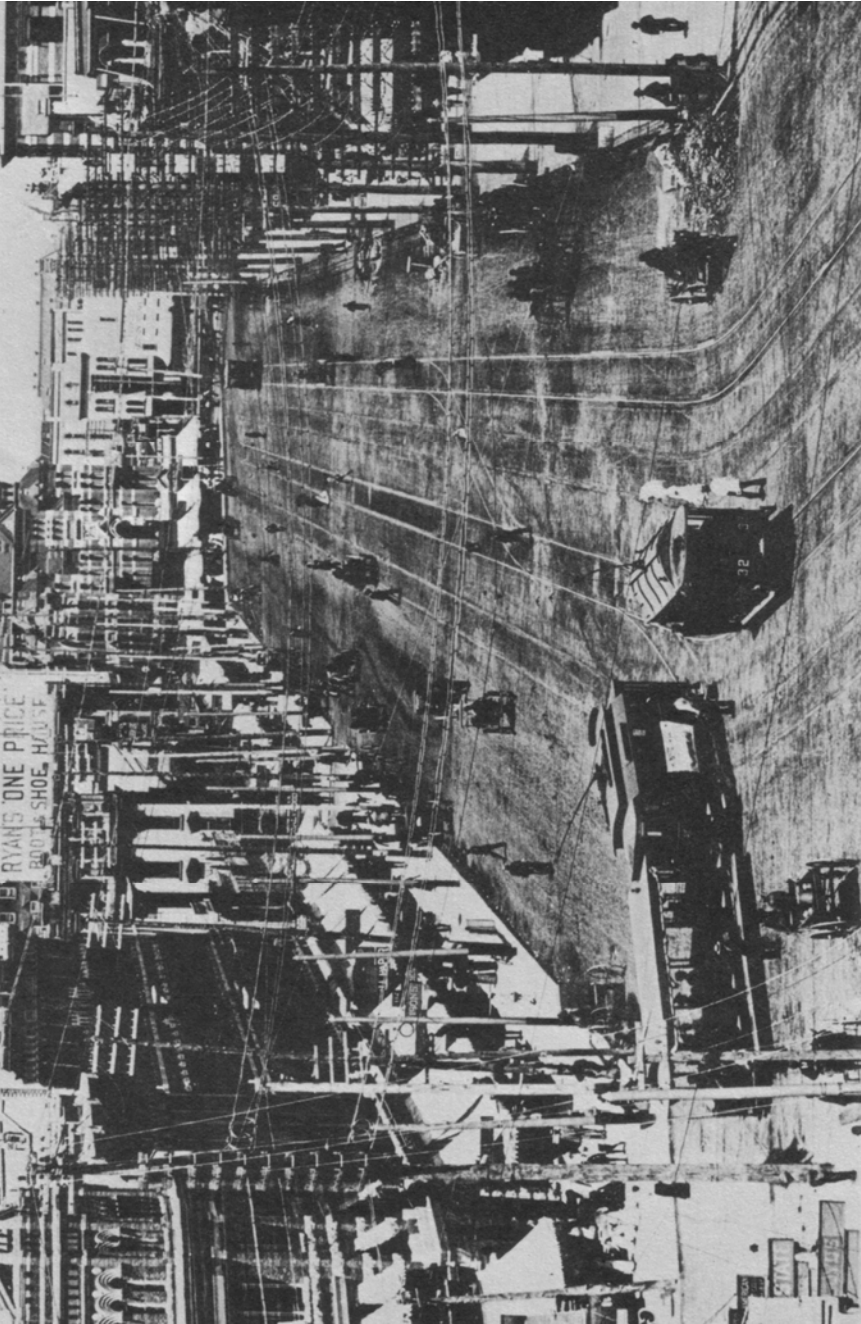


13. View of Winnipeg, c. 1912 (Main Street, north from Portage Ave.). Courtesy: PAM



14. C.P.R. Station, c. 1900.

Courtesy: Provincial Archives of Manitoba.



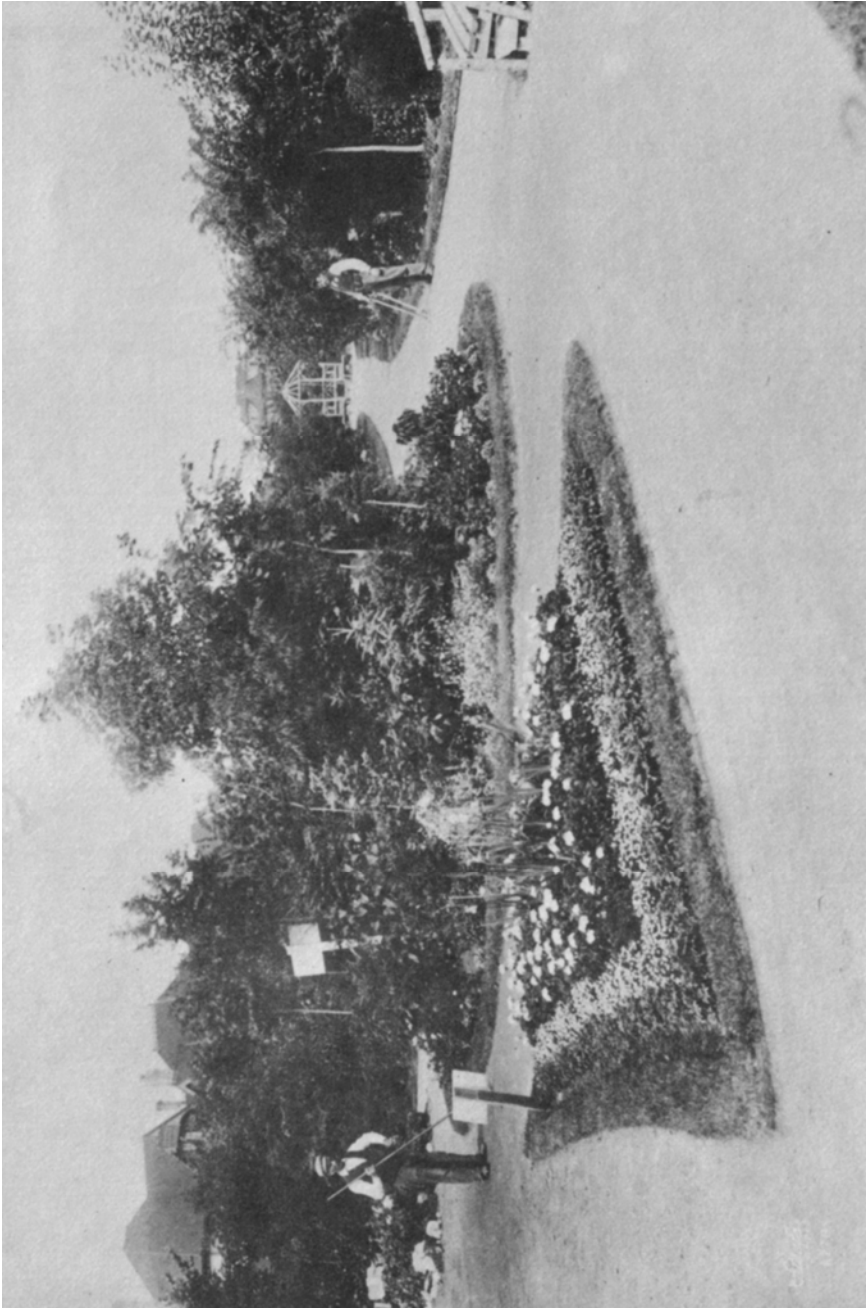
15. Main Street, c. 1894.

Courtesy: Provincial Archives of Manitoba.



16. All People's Mission (Central Institute), 1909.

Courtesy: PAM



17. Assiniboine Park, c. 1910.

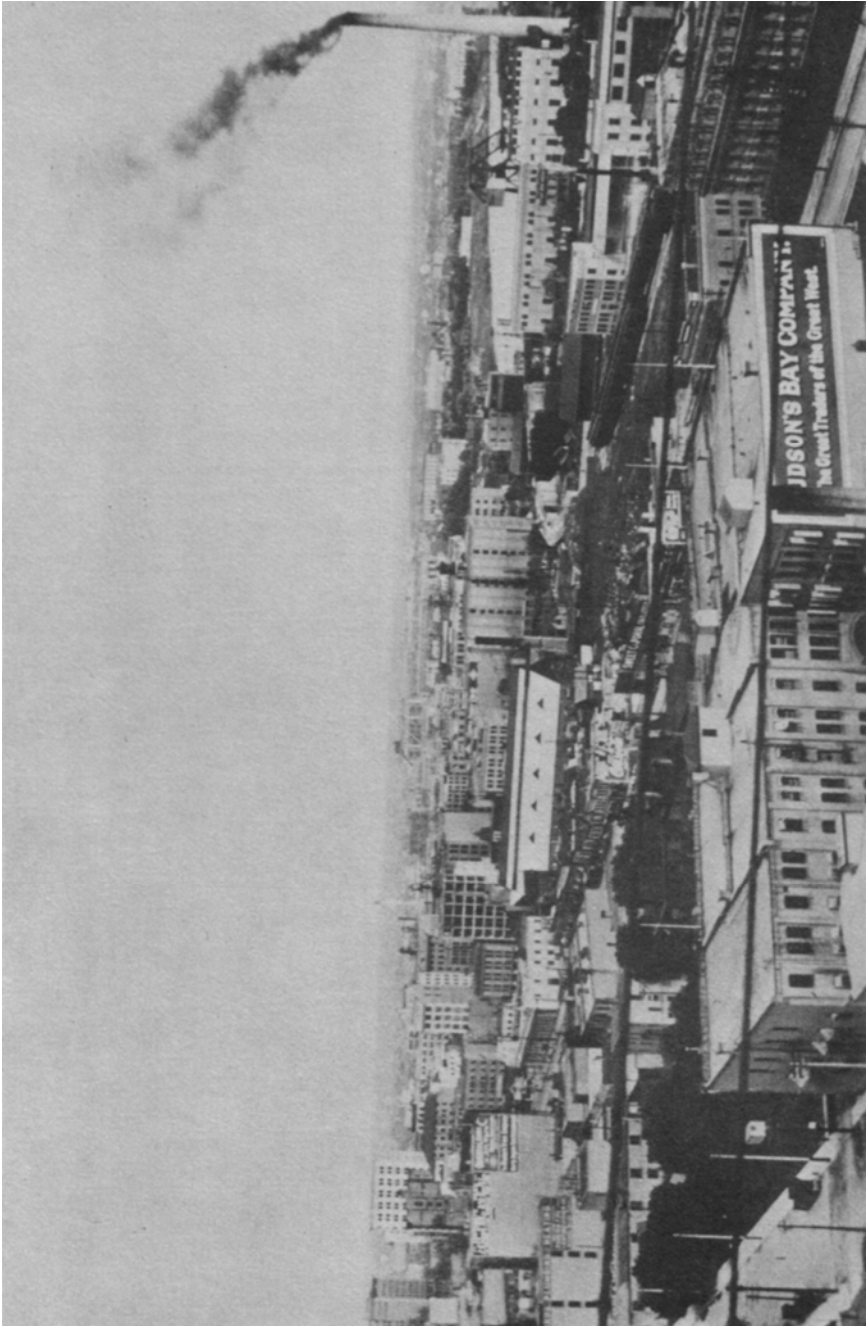
Courtesy: Provincial Archives of Manitoba.



18. Hathaway's Guide and Bird's Eye Map of Winnipeg, 1911.



Courtesy: National Map Collection, Public Archives of Canada.



19. View of Winnipeg, c. 1914.
Manitoba.

Courtesy: Provincial Archives of

VIII

TYPHOID IN WINNIPEG

Typhoid fever, virtually unheard of in North America today, reached alarming proportions in Winnipeg in 1904-06. Typhoid was not a novel disease in Winnipeg in the pre-war period and in the 1870s and 1880s had been commonly called "Red River Fever" since it was then attributed to the drinking of raw Red River water.¹ Outbreaks of the dreaded disease occurred frequently, the worst prior to 1904 taking place in 1893-94. The city's Board of Health had pointed to Winnipeg's inadequate water supply and "filthy sewers" as the major cause but at that time City Council's response did not go beyond utterances of condolence to the victims. By 1900, with the start of operation of a municipal water system, it was felt that the conditions complained of were remedied and council seemed content to ignore all evidence that this was not in fact the case.² The consequences of this stance proved tragic, as the following report makes clear.

Yet the epidemic, while tragic in itself, did have positive effects. It made Winnipeggers aware of the necessity of increased supervision of matters pertaining to public health and of the need for legislation to enforce a certain standard in living conditions. This was significant in an age where social legislation was relatively alien to municipal, provincial, and federal governments. The epidemic finally stirred City Council to greater efforts in the direction of securing an alternative source of water supply for Winnipeg. Equally important was the fact that the typhoid epidemic hastened the demise of one of the symbols of the frontier town, the box closet, the last of which was removed in 1909. Thus the epidemic led to the realization in Winnipeg that a laissez-faire attitude toward living conditions and the health of people had to be abandoned. In the years after 1906, there was in the city a discernible shift of emphasis towards a positive, educational approach to public health.³

REPORT ON TYPHOID FEVER IN WINNIPEG

In accordance with the instructions of the municipal authorities, the following report is respectfully submitted.⁴

¹ R. Mitchell, "How Winnipeg Waged War on Typhoid," *Manitoba Medical Review*, Vol. 49, No. 6 (June-July, 1969), pp. 166-67.

² Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth*, pp. 207-22.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 207-45.

⁴ City of Winnipeg, *Council Communication #7475*, read 20 February, 1904, C.W.

An excessive prevalence of typhoid fever is no new thing in Winnipeg. The following table (Table I) shows the death-rates from 1900-1903 as calculated from the deaths reported to the City Board of Health and to the Department of Agriculture through the Office of the City Clerk. The population estimates were obtained from information supplied by the Assessment Commissioner. The figures upon which the death-rates are based are given in detail in Appendix I.⁵

**TABLE I: CLASS AND DEATH-RATES
FROM TYPHOID FEVER IN WINNIPEG**

Year	Estimated Population	Cases	Death Rate Per 10,000 Pop'n	
			Bd. of Health	Dept. of Agriculture
1900	42,500	582	7.99	11.75
1901	44,800	349	8.04	11.83
1902	48,400	356	5.99	9.50
1903	56,700	489	8.11	8.46

Whichever mortality record be accepted as the closer approximation to the truth, it is apparent that the death-rate from typhoid fever in Winnipeg has for some years been in marked excess as compared with that in the majority of other American and European cities. This is true even if the population estimate be increased 20 per cent in the years named and the death-rate correspondingly lowered. To facilitate comparison, recent average death-rates for a number of other cities are given in Table II.

**TABLE II: AVERAGE TYPHOID DEATH
RATES IN SELECTED CITIES**

City	Death-rate per 10,000 Pop'n	City	Death-rate per 10,000 Pop'n
Lawrence	2.6	Louisville	6.0
Albany	5.1	Milwaukee	1.8
Baltimore	3.5	Minneapolis	3.9
Boston	3.0	New York	1.9

⁵ Appendix I, a detailed statistical account of typhoid fever cases from 1900 to 1904, and Appendix II, "Regulations for Combatting Typhoid Fever by the German Imperial Board of Health," have been omitted.

Buffalo	2.7	Omaha	2.8
Chicago	2.8	Philadelphia	5.4
Cincinnati	3.5	Pittsburg	10.8
Cleveland	4.0	Providence	2.4
Columbus	3.1	St. Louis	2.3
Denver	3.8	St. Paul	2.3
Fall River	1.5	San Francisco	3.7
Detroit	1.9	Washington	6.8
Indianapolis	3.8	Berlin, Germany	0.5
Jersey City	2.4	London, Eng.	1.4
Kansas City	3.1	Hamburg	0.9
Los Angeles	4.3	Rotterdam	0.2

The year 1904 in Winnipeg showed a still further increase in the amount of typhoid fever, so marked indeed as to excite considerable apprehension. That this alarm was amply justified is shown by the record of cases and deaths. These are as follows:

Estimated Year	Cases	Pop'n,	Death-Rate per 10,000 Pop'n.	
			Bd. of Health	Dep't of Agriculture
1904	1276	67,300	19.74	24.85

A critical examination of the available data showed an interesting and significant distribution of the cases both in time and space. It soon became evident that several factors had conspired to produce the abnormally large amount of typhoid fever that occurred in Winnipeg in 1904. For the sake of clearness these may be considered under separate heads.

(1) *Contact Infection.* A very serious feature of the situation in Winnipeg is the occurrence of a large number of cases in house groups. In perhaps the majority of dwellings in which typhoid fever appeared, the first case was followed more or less promptly by other cases in the same household. In one district of the city, regarding which definite and detailed information was secured by a house-to-house canvass, twenty-four houses were found to have two or more cases of typhoid fever while only nineteen had a single case each. Other results of this sanitary census will be given below. In nearly all instances in which more than one case occurred in a house the dates of infection are such as to point unmistakably to a more or less direct transfer of the specific disease germ from the individuals first attacked to other members of the household. The following instances are typical of this class of infection:

House A	1st case	Sept. 15.	House B	1st case	Nov. 1
	2nd "	Oct. 27		2nd "	" 18
	3rd "	Jan. 9		3rd "	Dec. 24
				4th "	Jan. 1
				5th "	" 21

Twelve houses in this group had more than two cases each, three had as many as five cases and one had six. The general sanitary conditions and surroundings of the houses in this district are by no means unfavorable, but are on the contrary distinctly superior to those prevailing in many other parts of the city. It must be added that the majority of the cases in this locality occurred in the cold season from the middle of November to middle of January.

The reason why the disease has clung so persistently to certain households may be briefly considered. It is now known that the typhoid bacillus may multiply in the body of the patient in immense numbers. The discharges both from the bowels and from the bladder may contain countless millions of living microbes, and a very small amount of infectious material, therefore, is capable of infecting many persons. Bacteriologists have found, for example, that a single drop of urine may contain as many as twenty-five million typhoid bacilli. One element of peculiar danger is the fact that typhoid germs occasionally persist in the urine of typhoid convalescents for weeks and even months after complete recovery has taken place. Special vigilance is necessary to combat the peril from this source. Not only are the bowel and bladder discharges commonly the carriers of the specific germs, but it is also true that the sputum is sometimes infected with the specific bacillus, and that under such conditions typhoid bacilli may even be discharged by coughing or sneezing into the air in the immediate neighborhood of the patient. Measures of individual isolation, and unremitting watchfulness in the disinfection of bedding, clothing and table utensils used by typhoid fever patients and convalescents would therefore seem to be plainly indicated. Abundant evidence has been secured that in Winnipeg, as in many other American cities, the household precautions against the spread of infection from case to case have not been as rigorous as is desirable. In some instances food has been prepared for the members of a family by the individual who was at the same time performing some of the duties of nurse to a typhoid fever patient. Members of a patient's family and even outside visitors have in some instances associated more or less freely with a patient or convalescent, and in more than one household disinfection of the excreta and of the bedding and other articles used by the patient has not been carried out with the rigor necessary to stamp out all traces of infection...

(2) *Lack of Sewer Connections.* The large number of outside privies in Winnipeg is undoubtedly favorable to the maintenance of typhoid fever, and in the past has been

largely responsible for the prevalence of the disease during the warmer months of the year. According to statements received from the office of the city engineer, the number of buildings in the city of Winnipeg is approximately 12,200, and the number of sewer connections only 5,600. The existence of numerous outside privies loosely constructed and with the contents freely exposed both to insects and to larger animals is a constant menace to the health of the city. Some of these privies must occasionally be used by persons suffering from mild or unrecognized cases of typhoid fever or by convalescents from this disease. Under the conditions that prevail in more than one section of the city the transfer of infectious material from these outhouses to the dwellings and persons of neighbors is not only possible, but in greater or less degree certain to occur. The enormous number of disease germs that may be discharged by a typhoid fever patient or convalescent and the long period during which these microbes are known to remain alive in accumulations of fecal matter, furnish abundant opportunity for the dissemination of the disease from these infected foci. At the time of the writer's visit, fecal material from some of these privies was seen scattered over the whole width of the alley. Children play in the alleys upon which these privies abut, and may readily soil their shoes, clothing and even fingers with infectious material. Dogs and other animals may convey infection into houses in ways that need not be specified.

Perhaps the most mischievous carrier of infection under the circumstances described is the common house-fly. It has been shown on more than one occasion that this pestiferous insect is a common purveyor of infection. The house-fly is bred in large numbers in horse manure, and the intermingling of stables and privy vaults seen in some of the back lanes of Winnipeg affords peculiarly favorable conditions for the spread of infection by this means. The importance of the common house-fly in the spread of typhoid infection was emphasized by Majors Reed, Vaughan and Shakespeare in their report on the "Origin and Spread of Typhoid Fever in the U. S. Military Camps During the Spanish War in 1898." They state that in many of the camps:

Flies were undoubtedly the most active agents in the spread of typhoid fever. Flies alternately visited and fed on the infected fecal matter and the food in the mess tents. More than once it happened when lime had been scattered over the fecal matter in the pits, flies with their feet covered with lime were seen walking over the food. Typhoid fever was much less frequent among members of messes who had their mess cents screened than it was among those who took no such precaution. Typhoid fever gradually died out in the Fall of 1898 in the camps at Knoxville and Meade with the disappearance of the fly, and this occurred at a time of year when in civil practice typhoid fever is generally on the increase.

In a recent epidemic of typhoid fever in Chicago it was found that flies and

open privy vaults abounded in those districts where the disease was most prevalent. The investigator states:

“The streets in which the sanitary arrangements are worst had the largest number of cases of typhoid fever during this epidemic, irrespective of the poverty of the inhabitants. “
 “Flies caught in two undrained privies, on the fences of two yards, on the walls of two houses, and in the room of a typhoid patient were used to inoculate 18 tubes, and from five of these tubes the typhoid bacillus was isolated.”

The past history of typhoid fever in Winnipeg bears out this plain inference from the sanitary conditions. During the five years for which record has been obtained, typhoid fever has prevailed most extensively in August, September and October. These are the very months when infection in the ways indicated would be most likely to take place. The danger from fly infection is plainly at its maximum during this period. The local distribution of cases is wholly in accord with the assumption of this mode of infection. In September 1904 there were eight times as many cases reported from Ward 5 as from Ward 2, although the population of the former was only about twice as great as the latter. Throughout the summer of 1904 Wards 4 and 5, in which the conditions for the spread of infection by the ways indicated are most favorable, contributed by far the larger number of cases of typhoid fever appearing in the city. In fact the disease was definitely localized in the quarters where open privies abound.⁶

It must be remembered, however, that in sanitary matters the welfare of one section of the city is inseparably connected with that of another. The in-terests of the community so far as public health is concerned are not restricted by geographical or social boundaries. The presence of a large amount of in-fectious material from typhoid fever patients in the open privies of Wards 4 and 5 is a distinct menace to the health of the whole city, and, as recent events have shown, is likely sooner or later to involve even distant districts.

(3) *Milk Infection.* In one district of the city it was thought desirable to make a house to house canvass in order to obtain full and precise information regarding the occurrence and distribution of all typhoid fever patients. The section chosen for this purpose lies between Pottage Ave. and the Assiniboine River, and is bounded by Kennedy St. on the west and Main St. on the east. This particular portion of the city was selected both because of the relatively recent dates upon which many cases from this district have

⁶ Ward 2 was in Winnipeg's "South End" while Wards 4 and 5 were in the "North End." Ward 4 was a relatively well-to-do area of the city while Ward 5 was part of the city's "foreign quarter." See Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth*, pp. 148-73.

been reported to the Board of Health, - a circumstance that was thought to facilitate the securing of accurate data - and also because of the peculiar localization of cases within this area. Detailed information was procured regarding 89 cases occurring in this district between July 1, 1904 and January 24, 1905.*

This house to house canvass elicited further information of a very suggestive character. Tabulating the cases by houses and milkmen (the five dealers having the largest number of customers in this district), the following relations appeared:

TABLE III

Milkman	Total number of Houses Supplied	Number of Houses in which Typhoid Fever Occurred
A	29	14**
B	18	4
C	18	1
D	10	6
E	10	1

The peculiar incidence of the disease upon milk routes A and D as compared with the others is too pronounced to be a mere coincidence. Milkman A, for example, supplied 29 houses in 14 of which typhoid fever occurred, while milkmen B, C and E together

** In 4 out of the 15 houses on this route in which no infection appeared the milk was habitually boiled.

*As illustrating some of the difficulties with which the local board of health was beset in investigating a typhoid fever epidemic, it may be mentioned that only 70 of these 89 cases had been reported to the Board of Health, or about 78 percent of the number actually existing. If the same ratio was maintained throughout the city, several hundred cases of typhoid fever actually occurred of which the Board of Health received no record. Furthermore it must be noted that the dates on which the cases are reported to the Health Office are in some instances not to be taken as the dates of inception of the disease. Twenty-five cases that had been reported to the Board of Health but regarding which more accurate information was obtained by canvass, were selected at random for comparison. Seven of these had been reported to the Board of Health within three days after the beginning of the disease so far as the latter could be fixed by the date of the taking to bed and summoning a physician; eight more were reported within ten days, and the remaining ten cases were not reported to the Board of Health until 10 to 15 days had elapsed. From these facts it can be readily seen how greatly the work of local officials must be hampered by the lack of precise information concerning the occurrence and date of onset of the disease. Prompt action on the part of the health authorities would be greatly aided by a further systematization in the methods of reporting and supervising cases of typhoid fever. In any attempt to combat further epidemic spread, the advantages of a full knowledge concerning the occurrence and distribution of all cases is so obvious as hardly to need comment.

supplied 46 houses in only 6 of which typhoid fever appeared. Milkman A supplied 160 persons, 34 of whom developed typhoid fever. Milkmen B, C and E supplied 274 persons, 14 of whom developed typhoid fever. A connection between a particular milk route and the specially heavy incidence of typhoid fever in this district is thus shown to exist. Milk route D, although supplying a smaller number of residents in this quarter, was also probably implicated in some manner with the spread of the disease, as shown by comparison with routes C and E. Careful enquiry failed to elicit any history of frank typhoid fever in the family of milkman A, and the precise manner of infection thus remains unaccounted for. It is, however, by no means necessary to suppose that the disease occurred in the milkman's family in order to account for the spread of the disease by milk. It has been shown that in times when typhoid fever is particularly prevalent in a community, healthy individuals who for one reason or another are immune, may nevertheless harbor the specific typhoid bacillus and be a medium for spreading infection. In considering milk-borne epidemics of typhoid fever this possibility must always be reckoned with. The practice, furthermore of taking measuring vessels and other receptacles into houses in which typhoid fever is present may easily lead to dissemination of disease germs along a particular route; other possibilities of this sort will readily suggest themselves. In this connection it is highly significant that two of the largest milk routes, C and E, have remained practically exempt from infection.

In another and distant section of the city, evidence pointing to the implication of still another milk route was secured, but, owing to the large amount of time necessary for an exhaustive investigation, the facts obtained were less complete and therefore less convincing, and need not be presented in detail here. Both the dates of onset and certain other features in the distribution of a considerable group of cases pointed, however, to milk as the probable vehicle of infection.

It must not be forgotten that in every locality where typhoid fever is prevalent and where opportunities for infection are so numerous as they have been in the city of Winnipeg in the last six months, infection of some one or more of the milk supplies is not only probable, but almost certain to occur. This is one of the recognized evils that follow in the wake of a great accumulation of infectious material in a community. Danger from this source can be much diminished, however, by frequent inquiry into the health of those engaged in producing and delivering the milk and especially by preventing the infection of the milk or of the milk vessels en route.

(4) Water Supply. The main water supply of Winnipeg, derived from an artesian well, has been frequently tested in the past by competent analysts, and with uniformly favorable results. There is nothing in the sources of this water, in the softening treatment to which it is subjected, or in its epidemiological

relations to cast suspicion upon its wholesomeness. Not so much can be said for the water of the Assiniboine River, which has been used at times as an accessory source of supply. The watershed of this river above the water intake is exposed to pollution at many points; it has in fact been generally recognized that the use of raw Assiniboine water was objectionable and to be avoided as much as possible. On two occasions in 1904, raw Assiniboine water was turned into the city mains to eke out the inadequate supply and meet the emergency caused by large fires. Examination of the following table (Table IV) showing the reported cases of typhoid fever tabulated by weekly and fortnightly* periods reveals several interesting facts.

**TABLE IV: CASES BY WEEKS AND FORTNIGHTS WITH PROBABLY
"IMPORTED" CASES DEDUCTED**

Time Periods	Indigeneous cases	Imported cases	Total cases
July 4-17	10	6	16
July 28-31	6	4	10
Aug 1-15	11	23	34
Aug 16-28	44	40	84
Aug 29-Sept 11	41	47	88
Sept 12-25	60	65	125
Sept 26-Oct 9	41	51	92
Oct 10-23 51	32	83	
Oct 24-Nov 6	55	55	110
Nov 7-20	41	29	70
Nov 21-Dec 4	25	39	64
Dec 5-18	27	25	52
Dec 19-Jan 1	18	27	45
Jan 2-15	43	77	120

There is noted first a rapid rise in the amount of typhoid fever, reaching its maximum in September at the time when fly infection might reasonably be supposed to manifest its greatest effect. A decline in the number of cases reported then sets in precisely as was the case in the four preceding years. This decline is abruptly checked in the

* The grouping of cases by fortnights tends to eliminate minor deviations due to irregularity in reporting, and to bring the essential time relations into clearer relief.

fortnight October 24 to November 6, when the number of cases reported rises to 110 as compared with 83 in the preceding fortnight. In the succeeding bi-weekly periods the decline again continues with considerable regularity until in the period December 19 to January 1 a minimum of 45 cases is reached. Instead of continuing to decline, however, a striking increase of almost explosive character is shown in the next fortnight when the cases reported registered 120. It is a highly suspicious circumstance that the dates on which the Assiniboine water was pumped into the city mains, namely October 10 and December 28, correspond with the dates of probable infection of the cases reported in the two periods referred to.

Supposing, however, that infected water played no part in the production of typhoid fever on the occasions mentioned, it must be strongly emphasized that even the occasional use of the raw Assiniboine water is an unwholesome and dangerous practice. Bacterial examinations made by the writer of the river water collected at the intake of the pumping-station showed the presence of fecal bacteria in the water in considerable numbers. On days when the Assiniboine water was being pumped, water drawn from the taps in the southern portion of the city showed likewise the presence of fecal bacteria. The northern portions which, from their location, were presumably receiving chiefly or wholly water from the artesian well, did not contain any objectionable bacteria in the tap water at the time the examination was made.

Other Considerations. The condition of the *city* sewers in Winnipeg has been such as to give rise to the conjecture that the emanations from the manholes or from defective plumbing might account in some way for the prevalence of typhoid fever. It is difficult, however, to find support for this view in the known facts of typhoid epidemiology. The typhoid bacillus has never been found in sewer air which, indeed, for obvious mechanical reasons, is usually freer from bacteria of all sorts than ordinary air. It is extremely unlikely, judging from existing bacteriological data, that sewer air is the vehicle by which the typhoid germ is conveyed from place to place, and the ascertained facts regarding the distribution of typhoid fever in Winnipeg lend no countenance to the view that sewer air has been a direct means of transmission in the present outbreak.

At the same time it must be remembered that the highly offensive stenches arising from decomposing matter in sewers have often been shown to exercise a depressing and weakening influence upon human vitality. It is quite within the bounds of possibility that the noisomeness of the city sewers has thus played some part in rendering certain persons more susceptible to the attack of the typhoid bacillus. Under certain conditions an individual may be able to resist infection even when typhoid bacilli enter the alimentary canal; the same individual, when in a weakened state, may be unable to ward off the invasion.

It follows that it is possible that those bacilli which in a healthy person can not effect a lodgment in the tissues, may be able to gain a foothold in the body of a person weakened by inhaling noxious gases. It is in some such way, if at all, that we must conceive the peculiar condition of the Winnipeg sewerage system to have influenced the spread and maintenance of typhoid fever.

The question of possible infection by ice-supply was considered but no reason was found for attaching suspicion to this source. Ice that has been for some time in storage has only very rarely been connected with outbreaks of disease, and whatever might be true of isolated individual cases of typhoid fever, there appeared no ground for believing that the excessive amount of the disease in Winnipeg could be attributed to impure ice.

In view of the facts that have been instanced regarding the frequency of contact infection, it is desirable to emphasize once more the multifarious ways in which infection can occur when once typhoid fever has become firmly established in a community. During the whole course of the illness and often far into convalescence immense numbers of typhoid bacilli leave the body of the patient. The dangers to which the whole community is exposed from unrecognized or unsupervised cases of typhoid fever are therefore countless. Almost any raw foodstuff may be the vehicle for infection. Milk, butter, raw vegetables, fruit, bread, if handled by typhoid convalescents or peddled by persons dwelling in infected houses, may become a means of spreading the disease. Under some conditions it is apparent that laundries may aid in dissemination of the infection. In short, it is unnecessary to enumerate all the possible ways in which infection can be transmitted, and typhoid fever become fastened to the shoulders of a community as an endemic disease. Experience and common sense will serve to point the way to these dangers and to discover means for their avoidance. Thorough disinfection is the key to the situation.

Specific Recommendations

(1) To deal with the prevention of contact infection the health officer should be in the possession of ample power and financial resources for isolating, disinfecting and carrying out such other measures as are in his judgment necessary to prevent spread of the disease from the case under supervision. Every fresh case of typhoid fever is a new focus of infection and unless stringently controlled, is a more or less direct menace to the whole city. Prompt notification of new cases is imperative.

(2) In those parts of the city where sewers exist, connection of all houses with the sewers should be enforced and that as speedily as practicable. Until such time as this is accomplished, temporary measures such as thorough disinfection with milk of lime should be promptly applied. Of foremost importance is the abolition of the open outhouses. It is evident that it is not consonant with the public safety that any person ill with typhoid fever should be allowed to remain in a house without sewer connection.

(3) Milk measuring vessels or general receptacles of any sort should not be carried into or removed from houses in which typhoid fever is present. The daily delivery of milk must be made with suitable precautions. Inspection of the sources and routes of milk supply cannot be too vigilant at times when typhoid fever is known to prevail.

(4) The existence of private wells renders efficient control of the city's drinking water more difficult than if a single source of water supply existed. The use of such wells should be restricted and their number reduced as rapidly as possible. It should be made physically impossible for the employees of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company and for those of the City Railway Company to draw water for drinking purposes from taps connected directly with the Assiniboine or Red River. Experience under similar conditions in many cities has shown the futility of merely providing hortatory placards. In this connection it may be once more pointed out that a single case of typhoid fever due to drinking impure water may become a center from which scores or even hundreds of other cases will arise.

Water from the Assiniboine River should be used little as possible.

(5) I would recommend finally the employment of a man who has had experience in the management of epidemics to take charge of the whole situation and to institute and enforce the necessary measures for stamping out all traces of infection. In conclusion I wish to acknowledge my deep obligation for the effective assistance rendered during the investigation by the various municipal departments and officials who have placed at my disposal all available data, and to express especially my indebtedness to Dr. Gordon Bell who has afforded me valuable laboratory facilities and has greatly aided me in various ways.

Respectfully submitted,
EDWIN O. JORDAN.

IX

ALL PEOPLES' MISSION

Founded in the early 1890s, All Peoples' Mission became an official agency of the Methodist General Board of Missions in 1899. In its early years, under the leadership of Miss Dolly McGuire, the Mission grew steadily.¹ In 1907, however, a new era for Methodism in Winnipeg was inaugurated with the appointment of J.S. Woodsworth as Superintendent. As a result of his efforts, All Peoples' rose from just another charitable organization to become one of the city's - indeed Canada's - most noteworthy social welfare agencies. As Woodsworth's biographer has noted, "All Peoples' was a pioneer ... in the attempt to reach and serve a section of the population which was largely isolated from the denominational churches; in its germinating of new and imported ideas; and in its attempt to close the gap between rich and poor, alien and native."²

All Peoples' chief concern was not sectarian religious activity but the provision of adequate facilities for the assimilation of foreigners and a decent social life for the young and old of Winnipeg's North End. Woodsworth believed that the crux of Winnipeg's social problem in these years was the tremendous influx of the foreign-born and the resulting complicated problem of assimilating a new and very different population. To help solve this problem, the Mission undertook a great many programs. Besides a dramatic increase in physical facilities, All Peoples' staff grew to twenty full-time workers and well over a hundred student and church volunteers. Moreover, in order to better serve the needs of a multilingual ethnic population, several workers endeavoured to learn Polish, Ukrainian, German, and other languages.

As the following document illustrates, the actual work carried on by the Mission was remarkable, both in scope and the number of people reached.³ Perhaps most important of all, however, was the fact that through its work with the newcomer and in its effect upon established society, All Peoples' Mission helped in no small way to ease the impersonal materialism of Winnipeg prior to 1914.⁴

¹ See G.N. Emery, "The Methodist Church and the 'European Foreigners' of Winnipeg: The All Peoples' Mission, 1889-1914," *Manitoba Historical Society Transactions*, Series III, No. 28 (1971-1972), pp. 85-100.

² K. McNaught, *A Prophet in Politics: A Biography of J. S. Woodsworth* (Toronto, 1959), p. 42.

³ *Annual Report for 1908-1909*, in Woodsworth Papers, PAC.

⁴ See Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth*, pp. 192-94.

ALL PEOPLES' MISSION, WINNIPEG.

Report, 1908-1909.

A Word of Introduction.

All People's Mission is the effort of the Methodist Church to meet the special needs of the immigrant population of Winnipeg. It is under the direction of a City Mission Board composed of the Methodist ministers in Winnipeg and representative laymen from the various Methodist Churches. It is supported by contributions from the city churches; by grants from the General Missionary Society and the Woman's Missionary Society; by special donations from individuals, churches and societies and by collections taken in the Mission meetings.

The Mission Centres.

The work which is largely institutional in character, is carried on through four Mission centres - Maple Street, Stella Avenue, Burrows Avenue and the Institute. The staff consists of two ministers, two probationers (at college), four deaconesses, four kindergartners, a teacher and an interpreter. In addition we have a band of over one hundred volunteer workers - men and women - who regularly assist in some department.

Our Aim.

Our aim is to bridge the gulf between our well-to-do, church-going Canadian citizens and the immigrant peoples, often alien in language, race, religion and social life and ideals. Our policy is flexible and is the practical working out of our watchwords: 1. First things first. 2. Thy Kingdom Come. 3. Lord, open our eyes. 4. Not to be ministered unto, but to minister. 5. Supply real needs. 6. Fill the vacant niche. 7. Do it now. 8. Stay with it. 9. Prevention better than cure. 10. Organized helpfulness.

Co-operation.

So far as possible, we try to co-operate with all the various agencies of Social Service. We rejoice in the progress of the city generally. During the past year the Associated Charities has been well organized, a Playgrounds Commission has been appointed, a Tenement House By-Law is to be submitted, a juvenile Court has been established, the North Winnipeg Hospital has been incorporated, the Children's Hospital opened, a branch Free Kindergarten built, a Day Nursery started, and, latest of all, representatives of our various Evangelical Churches are seriously facing the question of Canadianizing the foreigners. Better Housing, Winter Work, Compulsory Education, Factory Inspection, the Control of the Drink Traffic - these and many other reforms still lie ahead of us.

A Brief Review.

In our Mission Work it seems a long time since a year ago. We have journeyed far and much has taken place. Our new Institute, corner Euclid and Sutherland, has been built and equipped and now a second is under construction at Stella Avenue. Our staff this year was increased by one deaconess, supported by Fort Rouge friends, who has given her time largely to work among the boys. This summer we expect to have the services of four probationers from Wesley College, and application has been made for four additional deaconesses. As soon as possible we should secure a man - a specialist - who could devote himself to work among the older boys. We regret that we have not been able to secure satisfactory foreign workers. Arrangements are now being made to send Mr. Chambers to Austria for two years to make a thorough study of the Polish language and the Polish people.

We have been somewhat handicapped by the illness of our deaconesses, but Newdale Circuit sent a helper to our assistance for six months, so that most of our work has gone steadily on throughout the year.

The Work at Maple Street.

The division of the work at Maple Street was effected without serious disarrangement. The services there go on as usual. During the year 52 people were received as members, a number of these having been converted in the meetings; a Young Men's Club has been formed. The Mothers' Meetings (English) are largely attended. In the German week-night service the pastor of the Evangelical Association Church has given valuable assistance. The Sunday School will soon be as large as before the "swarming." The Sunday evening congregations generally fill the building. With the prospect of a settled pastor the outlook is encouraging.

The Institute.

The work has already justified the wisdom of the Board in placing such a building in this location. The classes are well attended, and, we believe, the helpfulness which goes out from this building will mean much to the life of the community in which it is situated. More than that, this fine structure has done much to bring the possibilities and needs of the work before the public.

At Stella Avenue.

The work has been much as last year. In several departments the numbers were limited only by the accommodation. We hope for larger things next year.

Burrows Avenue Sunday School.

Our little Sunday School at Burrows Avenue has more than held its own. The sewing school has been large. The night school, although not large, has been

quietly doing good work. We feel that we are nearer the people than ever before. It is highly desirable that a Kindergarten be opened in this building during the coming year.

The Polish National Church.

The congregation of the Polish National Church has been granted the use of the church, which they formerly owned. This church has had a precarious existence, but is still living. The congregations are large, and the present priest seems to hold the confidence of his people. In spite of its weaknesses and dangers, this independent movement has great possibilities.

The Prospect of New Work.

Within a few weeks we hope to open some work in a new district west of Stella Avenue - somewhere in the vicinity of the Exhibition grounds. A thorough canvass is now being made.

The Fresh Air Work.

It is expected that our deaconesses will be engaged in Fresh Air work again this summer. Last year 174 children were kept for some time at the Camp and 87 persons given a day's outing. It should be remembered that the training is as valuable as the fresh air.

Interesting Statistics.

The following statistics and general information concerning the work have been compiled by Miss Allan:

"In our Kindergarten, Industrial Classes, Clubs and Sunday Schools we are meeting regularly 909 children. Of these 202 came only to Sunday School. Of the 707 in our other classes 235 are under 8 years of age, 352 from 8 to 14 years, and 120 14 years or over.

"According to nationalities, these are divided as follows: From the British Isles, 154; Canadians, 57; Americans, 2; Poles, 148; Germans, 127; Jews, 109; Russians, 37; Syrians, 23; Ruthenians, 27; Roumanians, 6; Bohemians, 6; Swedes, 5; Danes, 2; Slovaks, 2; Icelanders, 1; negress, 1.

"According to religion they are divided as follows: Protestant, 237; Roman Catholic, 234; Jews, 109; Lutheran, 78; Greek Independent, 2; Polish Independent, 5; Greek Orthodox, 31; Syrian Catholic, 11.

"Of the 707, 344 attend our Public Schools, 30 the Catholic Separate Schools and 11 the German Lutheran Schools. Many children of school age are kept at home to care for smaller children while their mothers are out working. Quite a number are themselves employed outside the home, while a great number wander the streets learning only that which is evil and degrading. In one home a boy of 14 and a girl of 11 support the family. The father of one of our 11-year-old girls asked us to find her employment. One of our girls, aged

13, is neither allowed to go to school nor to take a position, but is kept home to carry driftwood and keep the family supplied with fuel in this way.

A Glimpse into the Homes.

“Several of the workers speak of well-kept homes. Would that we could say this of all our homes, but these are conspicuous because they are exceptional. One worker tells of an English home as being so dirty that few foreign homes are in a worse condition. In many cases children are growing up in homes where many boarders are kept, and where the environment is anything but helpful. One mother is dying of consumption, the result of a life of drunkenness and sin and her children are even now little street arabs. In many homes drinking and fighting are everyday occurrences. Even where there is ample money to provide a comfortable home, things are often no better. A Polish mechanic, earning \$80.00 a month, lives just like his neighbors.

The Work Among Adults.

“In our work for the adults we have our night schools and Mothers’ Meetings. This winter in the Night School we have enrolled SS persons of various nationalities. Many of these men are in the city for only a few weeks or months before going further west, but even in a short time they are able to get a grasp of our language which is of untold value to them. Our English Mothers’ Meetings have been well attended (average 4S), very successful and helpful. The German Mothers’ Meeting too has been very successful and has had an average of 50. The Slavic Mothers’ Meetings have not been well attended owing, no doubt, to the fact that few of the women understand English well and none of our regular staff or workers are able to speak to them in their own tongue.

Work Among Children.

“At each branch of the Mission we have a Sunday School, and through these four schools we reach some 500 people weekly. We also have a Boys’ Brigade, with a membership of 45, and at Stella Avenue a Loyal Temperance Legion, with an enrolled membership of 50, but with a much larger attendance when the programme is specially attractive. Many of these children attend three or four classes or services each week, and are thus brought into direct contact with several of the workers, each of whom is working to ‘help them to the highest living.’ ”

Investigation.

During the first year we have made a careful canvass of certain districts. This has not only given us very full information, which has been necessary in our own mission work, but it has enabled us to produce statistics which have proved helpful in the

advocacy of various reforms. A special investigation made by our interpreter for the Associated Charities in the vicinity of our Euclid Street Institute may be of general interest. In 41 houses there were 120 "families," consisting of 837 people, living in 286 rooms. Of these 837, 446 belonged to the family and 391 were boarders. During inspection 291 men were seen during working hours in these rooms, and 423 men were said to be out of employment. Of the 837 people, 787 were living in rooms described as "dirty," only fifty living in clean rooms.

Finance.

The reports of our treasurers show that our current expenditure last year was about \$10,000. Of this amount the General Missionary Society contributed \$3,860; the Woman's Missionary Society, \$800; friends throughout the country for special purposes, about \$ 1,000; the remainder being raised in Winnipeg.

Our Institute, valued at \$15,000, is within \$2,000 of being paid for; \$5,000 of this was contributed by the General Missionary Society, the remainder, with the exception of a grant of \$500 from the Winnipeg City Council, being raised by Winnipeg Methodism. Three thousand dollars has been paid on the Burrows Avenue property, \$2,500 by the General Society and \$500 by the Winnipeg Board; the latter is responsible for the balance of \$2,000.

The New Institute at Stella Avenue.

This summer the Stella Avenue Institute, which with equipment will cost \$12,000, is being built. The General Missionary Society has made a grant of \$5,000, and it is confidently anticipated that the greater part of the balance will be raised in Winnipeg within the next few months.

Our people are responding splendidly to the appeal for institutional work among the strangers in our cities. The load is heavy, and we trust that soon many more will come to our help.

Work of the Various Departments.

Let the following extracts from the reports of the workers tell something of the details of the various departments:

The Institute Kindergarten.

"The new building has made possible much that we have longed for in the past. We feel that we have come into closer touch with the homes and hearts of the children and parents. Their sweet confidence and trust in one is often touching, and inspires one to greater zeal in sowing the seed for the Master's kingdom. Many of the children are with us all day, and although a large school has been very trying at times, still Miss James and Miss Walkey feel with me that the little ones have been benefited. One hates to see the children wandering the streets with no place to play, and hearing so much that is vile. How one longs for a law that will compel ignorant and bad parents to send their

little ones to school. We have five Russians at present - three boys and two girls - who are like little wild animals and as sharp at stealing as children can be. Such children as these will, and already are, leading others astray. During the year we have come into touch with 218 children - some only for a short period - but the majority have been with us for a long time. Thirty-one of these were English-speaking, while 187 were foreign. One gets some idea of the number of children in this district by examining the roll book. From Barber Street alone we have 35 little ones, and almost every street has a goodly number. The average attendance for the year was: Morning, 50; Afternoon, 56. During November and December there was a great deal of sickness; 35 children were ill with measles at one time. Two deaths resulted. Out four children who were deserted by their mother ate doing well in the Home of the Friendless, and our Marinza in the Deaf and Dumb Institute is reported as being a very bright child. It has been a blessing to the family to have her there, as the parents now make an effort to send the other children to school.

"Wee Martha, the Syrian lassie, is now almost better after having spent five months in the hospital. Dr. Galloway has accomplished wonders with this child. Without his treatment she would never have been able to walk even had she lived. Her parents were too poor to do anything for her." - Miss Mason.

Stella Avenue Kindergarten.

"We started school last September with an enrollment of 76 children, and I find that 21 of these are still attending. This gives an idea of the many changes in the district. Our average attendance from September to the end of May was 42. We have had twelve nationalities represented - Canadian, English, Scotch and Irish, 11; Polish, 39; Norwegian, 1; Swede, 1; Slovak, 2; German, 31; Russian, 12; Bohemian, 1; Russian Jews, 6; Polish Jews, 4; Romanish Jews, 1, and one little Indian girl, whom Sophie, our little blind Slovak girl, brought to school. Sophie was intensely pleased and delighted because she was like teacher and had brought a little girl to school. One great drawback to the work is the wonderful amount of moving the people do. Sometimes we have the children only a short time when they move away - often out of the district, and too far for the children to come to school regularly. If one could keep them longer so much more could be accomplished." - Miss Blanchard.

Work Among the Girls in the Institute.

"In presenting my first annual report of the work done among the girls at the Institute, I am pleased to report that the work has been prospering notwithstanding the many changes we have found it necessary to make in order to meet the various needs. I am pleased with the present organization, which enables me to reach weekly an average of 118 girls, representing 13 different nationalities. Many of these girls attend two or three classes during the week. We have a Senior and Junior Club for girls over 13 years of age. During the year we held 83 meetings, with an average attendance of 48.

Our sewing classes include girls from 7 to 12 years. We held 61 of these classes, with an average attendance of 70. We have held 55 classes in Kitchen Garden and 16 Cooking Classes. We have also had 41 Children's Meetings, including Sunday morning services and extra classes.

"During the winter we secured work for 141 persons, believing it better to help the needy in this than in any other way. We have made 1,457 calls in the homes of the girls, often spending half an hour with a mother who could not speak a word of English, in order to win her little girl for a class. What seems a crying shame to our city and is such a drawback to regular attendance is that so many of our girls are made the burden bearers for the family in the way of carrying wood. They are found along the river or railroad tracks with their backs all bent with the weight of their load. Cannot something to be done to relieve these children? We owe much to our volunteer workers for their services this winter. They have come to us willing to give their best in order to help our girls to a higher life." - Miss Hart.

The West End Work.

"The work this year among the girls in the north-west end of the city has on the whole been very encouraging. The parents of the children as a rule receive us very graciously in their homes and appreciate the interest we take in them. In our classes we have had an average weekly attendance of one hundred and forty-four. This includes all the departments, and fifty-eight of these girls meet in a second class each week. In the sewing schools we have had many children who would never have to come to another department in the Mission. These children are of many nationalities and religions, and in age from seven to fourteen years. The average attendance here has been 107. We try to grade our work so that we shall not lose any whom we have closely touched. When the girls complete their course in sewing they are promoted into the Junior Girls' Club unless they go to work before that time, then when these girls leave school to begin work in factories, laundries and book-binderies they are transferred into the Senior Club, which meets after work hours. Two months ago an Elocution Class was formed among these senior girls, which is in charge of a volunteer worker. It is small as yet, for when we mentioned it to the girls they did not even know the meaning of the word 'elocution,' but we hope that if the teacher continues to give her services the interest will grow until a number of girls will realize the privileges offered in this class. In the Kitchen Garden classes the interest has been sustained all through the winter months, and we often hear encouraging remarks from the parents regarding the way the children take their share in the household duties.

"The cooking school has not been as well attended as we would like. The children have been obliged to walk so far to their class that the parents have

interfered and refused to allow them to attend, but we hope this difficulty will be done away with when we get into our new building next fall. In all these classes we have noticed improvements in many of the girls, and feel that we have at least gained the confidence of all. Our hope in these classes is to instill higher ideals and standards of life and to lead them to the One 'Who is able to keep them from falling.' "

- Miss Tonkin.

Special Work Among Boys.

"While boys' work has perhaps had the first place in my programme, my time has been divided among three other branches as well. Since October I have visited the General Hospital 30 times, conducted Night School 93 nights, held 25 foreign Mothers' Meetings and 95 Club meetings.

"In our Night School we have German, Hebrew, Swedish, Ruthenian, Russian and Polish scholars. During the winter months we had an average of 25, and, although our numbers were not large, we feel that it was time well spent. The boys come to learn English, but there is never a night that we do not have discussions about religious and social questions; we have splendid opportunities of impressing on them our standards of right living and thinking. The boys' work has been largely experimental this year. We have been in touch with over one hundred boys during the winter, and feel that we have begun to get a 'grip on Harry.' The gymnasium and bath are attractions, and these alone have a wholesome effect. We aim at not only keeping the boys off the street, but building up strong, noble characters; working on the principle that prevention is better than cure and that it is much cheaper to save the boy now. To quote from an American Boys' Worker: 'It costs \$150 a year to keep a man in jail and only \$10.00 a year to keep a boy out of jail.' "

- Miss Hattley.

A Glimpse of the Struggles of the "Other Half."

"It may have been entirely due to the extraordinary amount of distress, or partly to the fact that we are better known in the district, but, whatever the cause may be, we have had an unprecedented number of appeals for employment and clothing this year, which have not ceased yet, men still being unable to obtain work which yields enough to support their families.

"One has had to make himself a positive nuisance to the city authorities, as well as to his friends and acquaintances, when besieged by men and women imploring for the sake of their families that work might be given them. Investigation of appeals revealed much to make one's heart bleed. One room contained no less than fourteen souls, men, women and children in-discriminately mixed. We thought it right to compel a reduction in the number; the family unable alone to pay the rent of this fairly large room moved, and we found them a few days later, the family of eight in a room 9 x 11 feet. The two beds, the cookstove and the barrel comprising the effects occupied all the floor. The two doors had been lifted off their hinges, and in full gaze of a number of single men

occupying the adjoining room the family lived its life. Really they were better off when living 14 in a room.

“Touching cases of community of goods came before our notice: lodgers supporting the families with which they boarded, spending every cent they earned upon them; families taking widows with their children to share their meagre supply of wood, sauerkraut and potatoes, not tasting bread for weeks together. The noble characteristic of the often-despised Galician might well be copied by the Canadian.

“Only once did we discover fraud, a sham widow, who sank down upon the parsonage doorstep in well-feigned exhaustion and told a woeful tale of oppression, robbery and outrage. But we investigated, and an investigation is no mere visit. Every room in the house was looked into, for we were suspicious, and every barrel uncovered. We found the father in the attic enjoying tobacco and vodka, the meal barrel full and the children well clothed and nourished. We had given 50 cents on the first appeal, and by threatening, through the city authorities, prosecution for obtaining money by false pretences unless the man went to work, we had our lazy-boned fraud breaking stones in the city yards, working out the money we had advanced.

“On the other hand, men have refused to accept from the city groceries for which they did not work, even when the home contained nothing but a few potatoes.

The Truth Taught at a Baptism.

“The baptisms this year have been particularly interesting. On one occasion when baptizing a foreign baby in the home of its parents quite a touching scene occurred as the pastor explained the rite, slowly and with much repetition, and interpreter explained what was said to some who could not understand English. The fact that the little one was God’s own child from the moment of its birth and was not, as they believe, a heathen or a Jew, fit only for hell, and that this had been the relationship of each one of them to God, was a new truth to them, and everyone was visibly affected. God came very near to us that night. When the sponsors had their duties and responsibility explained to them, that which they had lightly promised to undertake seemed too great a burden and they could not take the vows, but with trembling supplication the mother received her child as God’s own little son, to train him as such for his heavenly Father. The sacrament meant more to the pastor that night than ever before, and henceforth will have a deeper significance.

The Weddings.

“The weddings have been of diverse nationalities, and our circuit register is unique in Methodism we believe. Some who had lived together unmarried for years came to be married. Everything goes to show that our work is not in vain, but we are, by the grace of God, freeing the souls of men and raising the moral tone.

“We have our problems, many and diversified. In attempting to solve them we are often at our wits' end. Yet, when we are down-hearted, encouragement always comes. What can we do to help the girl of immoral tendencies? How can we counsel and uplift the weak and unwise parents who permit - for the lack of restraint from evil amounts to permission - the degradation of their daughters? The Belgian girl, what can we do for her? We are sorry for her - deceived by employers who brought her from Europe; deceived, married and in a few months forsaken by a worthless Englishman - what can she do? She says she cannot write home, and if it were not for her baby she would kill herself. She is facing life's problems; can she win out? Then there is our fellow-Britisher, who has come as an aided immigrant; he needs our help; how can we help him? He is an altogether different problem from the man of foreign speech, and is harder to reach.

Encouragement.

“May 26th was the day on which the Jews visited their friends, and the parsonage was not forgotten. Jews, big and little - grateful for help in the sewing schools, the night schools and the Bible Class - came to let us know we were accounted their trusted friends.

“A letter lies before me from an Englishman. Five months ago he, with his wife and two children, was dependent on the city. The father worked a day or two digging sewers, a day or two breaking stones, and received groceries in payment. His spirit was being crushed out of him. To-day, through the kind-ness of a friend of the pastor on a former circuit, this man is doing well in a country town, winning the respect of his employer, all of the townsfolk and of us here, for he has returned every cent it cost to send him and his family to the country. On a good-sized lot they have built their little shack, and their new baby opened its eyes on what will, in a few months, be his father's freehold home.” - Samuel East.

Relief.

“Never have so many demands been made upon us for relief as in the past year. We greatly appreciate the supplies that have sent in to us to meet the needs of the work. Boxes and bales to the number of 84, containing clothing and bedding, have been sent in from country appointments. From the city, too, we have had a large supply of second-hand clothing, besides food and canned fruit; the latter has aided us materially in serving lunches to the kindergarten children and the women of our Mothers' Meetings. At the holiday season we were aided in our work by the Associated Charities, the *Telegram*, the Salvation Army, and by private individuals. By co-operation with these parties, the arrangements concerning the giving of Christmas baskets and stockings was much more satisfactory than in previous years, with the result that there was little or no duplication, and no deserving family was left

without receiving very generous Christmas cheer. Our workers all feel that among the happiest experiences of the year is the privilege of helping take Christmas cheer to the homes where no preparation has been made for this great festival. In one home the father had been ill for three years, and the mother was often unable to secure work, so the support of the family fell largely on the 14-year-old daughter. Up to Christmas all the fuel used by the family had been gathered by this young girl along the river bank. Needless to say a box of groceries and a cord of wood were very acceptable. Although they could not express their thanks in words, gratitude shone in their faces. Another box found its way to a poor old blind man, who sits alone day after day whiling away the time playing on an old flute. The couple with whom he makes his home were out of work at the time. Another box went to a gloomy tenement and helped to feed and clothe five very needy Polish boys whose father had been out of work for a long time. Another home not forgotten was that of an old couple of some eighty years, who live in a tiny room without any of the comforts that we feel should surround old age. They have no children to care for them, and were very grateful to be remembered at this season."

Fresh Air Department.

During July and August out Deaconesses are released from their regular work in the Mission to engage in Fresh Air work at the Camp at Sturgeon Creek. Last summer, of the 174 children cared for during the season there, 127 were from the Mission District. The Camp is as little like an institution and as much like a home as it is possible to have it. The good food, the free play, a certain amount of housework, the regular hours of sleep, the devotional hours and the quiet influence of trees, flowers, birds and all nature, as well as the personal touch of Christian workers, must have an uplifting effect on the lives of children who know life only as they see it in a crowded tenement where dirt, poverty and general wickedness hold sway.

One of the Deaconesses writes of this work: "Four parties were entertained during the month. The first week the party was composed of members of the girls' club. There were girls with whom we were anxious to get into closer touch and to find out something of their inner life as we could not in class work. The next party were boys. They were all foreigners whose homes we had visited, but who had never attended the Mission. We were anxious to secure them for our fall classes. In addition, we had some six or eight children who remained with us during the entire time. These were children whose parents were dead, in the hospital or jail, and who had no home to go to An hour or two each day was spent in putting into practice kitchen garden methods, and even the boys enjoyed their lessons in bed-making, dishwashing, etc. The balance of the day went by all too quickly in the woods gathering flowers and picking berries; or in

bathing, fishing, hunting crabs; or in playing baseball, flying kites, or on the swings, and in the many other ways in which boys and girls find amusement. In the quiet hours we found time to gather around the organ and sing patriotic songs or gospel hymns, teach the Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments, and tell over and over the stories of Moses and David, of Ruth and Esther, and talk about Jesus, the children's Friend.

"We hope these children have returned to their homes not only stronger in body, but with purer thoughts, and with aspirations ever directed toward that which is good."

Hospital Work.

In the public hospitals in Winnipeg there are on an average thirty or forty registered as Methodists. Of these only six or eight will be found to be directly connected with the city churches. Many are from points throughout the provinces. In addition to those entered as "Methodists" there are many who are glad to have a call from the chaplain or visiting deaconess. During the past winter we joined with several other churches in supplying volunteer nurses for the Bethesda Free Dispensary, or, as it has now become, the North Winnipeg Hospital. Miss Walkey writes of this work: "As representing All Peoples' Mission. I have been going to the hospital every Saturday from 2 to 5 p.m. The specialist in eye, ear and throat troubles comes at that time, and my duty has been to assist him in every way possible, both in his examinations and operations. There are at least twelve cases examined each Saturday and one operation. Almost all these operations have been to remove the tonsils and adenoids from suffering children. Those deriving benefit have been almost all foreigners, of all nationalities. The kindly treatment they receive at the hands of these skilled physicians and the atmosphere of unity, cheerfulness and courtesy which exists throughout the whole place cannot but break down prejudice of all kinds."

A regular hospital visitor writes: "A great many in the hospital, as throughout the city, are 'strangers' - their homes in the East or over the seas. There is a pathos in the eager grasp of welcome, the moistening of the eyes, as the lonely, weak patient greets the new-found friend. Here is a fever case - more than 'a case' when you have visited him for six or eight weeks and he has told you all about the old home 'down East.' He is away from home for the first time. He came out with the harvest excursions and had rather a rough time of it. True, he has seen a bit of the West, but his earnings have been more than eaten up by this illness. But he forgets all his troubles as he chinks of the latest bit of good news. The doctor has told him he can get home by Christmas. After weeks of milk and gruel, just to think of turkey and plum pudding! And then, the home folk - there never was a more homesick boy. "And this young man - pneumonia, a serious case. He came out last spring from England. He has not known how to take care of himself. A farmer had him sleeping

in a barn, and, unaccustomed to such exposure, he caught this 'cold.' With no money, and no work in view, he dreads the winter, as well he may. Will we write a letter home? Of course we will, and we make it as cheerful as possible, for this will be the Christmas letter from the 'wandering boy.' But our minds will revert to a similar case two years ago. The second letter had to tell of a death and a burial among strangers in a strange land.

"We are in a women's ward. They are nearly all foreigners. This is a German woman, that a Jewess. But here is our Methodist. We could almost tell it from her face; she is so bright and happy. She had such a good doctor and the nurses were so kind. We are almost glad that something has given her a few weeks' rest. But she is eagerly looking forward to the day when she may get back to the home in the country and the children for whom a neighbor is caring.

"And here in a private ward lies a poor girl, half-defiant, half-shrinking. 'Did anyone send you to see me?' 'No,' replies the chaplain, 'I am visiting the Methodist people.' She laughs and replies with attempted carelessness: 'Oh, yes, I used to attend Sunday School and play the organ.' But soon defiance and carelessness are gone. She is thinking of her once happy, innocent life. She is sadly coarsened. Her story is one that ought not to be possible in a Christian land. Poor girl! 'May we have a few words of prayer?' ventures the chaplain. There comes a startled, half-reluctant consent. But when we raise our heads her face is wet with tears.

"Thus we pass from ward to ward. Often we can give only a few words of greeting or leave a paper or magazine or a few flowers. Sometimes we are glad to get through, but sometimes we feel very thankful that we have this privilege of giving a few words of encouragement or a message of hope."

What Does The Superintendent Do?

Perhaps someone may ask, What does the Superintendent himself do? I confess that it is rather difficult to give an answer. The Superintendent does a certain amount of preaching and pastoral work, but that is the small end. He is a son of business manager, promoter, publicity agent, collector, clerk and messenger boy all rolled into one. His special task is to keep the machine in good running order and push for all he is worth.

Outside of his own immediate work, the Superintendent has felt it his duty to take an active part in whatever makes for the general welfare of the community. During the past year he has served on the Deaconess Board and its Fresh Air Committee, the Council of Associated Charities and its Committee on Investigation and Relief, the Board of the Children's Aid and Its Foster Home Committee, the Anti-Tuberculosis Society and its Committee on Education and Publicity, and the Playgrounds Association. During the year we have endeavored to get our work and the need of this kind of work before the

church and the public generally. Innumerable interviews, private correspondence, articles in our denominational papers and in the daily press, some sixty-five addresses in the city and at country points, the publication and wide circulation of "Strangers Within Our Gates" by the Young People's Forward Movement for Missions - all these, we believe, have tended to create a more general interest in the work of All Peoples' Mission.

J.S. Woodsworth, Superintendent.

Supplementary Note.

Since our report of 1907-08 was issued our new Institute has been completed and is already being worked almost to its full capacity. Classes have been started in the Burrows Avenue school-house. At Stella Avenue we are much cramped for room, and should, in the near future, have a building at least as large as the Institute. If we are to keep pace with the needs, additional centres ought to be opened. The financial problem is a serious one. This year, besides grants from all sources, the Winnipeg City Mission Board has become responsible for over \$15,000. This must be raised by Winnipeg Methodism, *in addition* to the General Mission Fund, the Woman's Missionary Society and the Forward Movement Fund. When it is considered that from one-quarter to one-third of the entire population of Manitoba is resident in Winnipeg, and that from one-quarter to one-third of this city population is composed of "foreigners," it will be seen that we are "cackling" not a small local affair, but rather a great national problem. As such, it demands the consideration and the united energies of the whole Canadian Church. We must express our appreciation of the way in which scores of young people from the various city churches and the students of Wesley College have rallied to our assistance.

"We subjoin the programme for the present year. In addition to our four "mission centres," with their various activities, we have other "stations." In the *Immigration Hall* we have been assigned a desk, and during the immigration season a college student devotes his time to this department. The *hospitals* are visited regularly every week. A *Bohemian service* is conducted on Sunday evenings in the home of one of our members. The *homes* of the workers and the *Deaconess Home* are centres of activity, and perhaps the best work of all is done by *friendly visiting* in the homes of the people. Further, we endeavor to *co-operate* with the City Health Department, the hospitals and Free Dispensary and Nursing Mission, the Public Schools and the Children's Aid, the Associated Charities, and other institutions that minister to the needs of the people. We work:

"For the right that needs assistance,
For the wrong that needs resistance,
For the glory in the distance,
And the good that we can do."

J.S.W.

X

PROSTITUTION IN WINNIPEG

Like all prairie cities during this period, Winnipeg had its problems with prostitution.¹

As early as March 1874 city council had received a petition from a resident of Notre Dame Avenue calling for the removal of "Houses of Ill-Fame." Other reports of prostitution followed this one and during the period the problem was periodically raised in the local press and the citizens of Winnipeg endured several "Anti-Social Evil Crusades" vigorously launched by the city's ministerial association but having little impact on solving the problem. ² With a dramatic upsurge in prostitution in the years after 1900, however, a full-scale scandal involving several well-known civic leaders and personalities broke. The result was the formation of a royal commission. The following document is the report of that commission.

As so often seems to be the case, the report of the royal commission changed little in the city. The brothels on Rachel and McFarlane Streets continued to operate openly for a full thirty years until the trade fell victim to amateur competition during the depression.

REPORT OF ROYAL COMMISSION ON CHARGES RE VICE AND OF GRAFT AGAINST THE POLICE

To His Honour
The Lieutenant Governor of
The Province of Manitoba.

By Letters Patent, bearing date the twenty-second day of Nov. A.D. 1910, I was appointed a Commissioner to investigate into and report upon all and any the charges referred to in a resolution of the Council of the City of Winnipeg, passed on the twenty-first day of November, A.D. 1910, which recites as follows:³

¹ James H. Gray, *Red Lights on the Prairies* (Toronto 1971).

² See Joy Cooper, "Red Light of Winnipeg," *Manitoba Historical Society Transactions*, Series III, No. 27 (1970-1971), pp. 71-74. See also Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth*, pp. 246-264.

³ City of Winnipeg, *Council Communication* #9112, read 17 January 1911, CW.

“WHEREAS, according to reports contained in the press allegations of graft have been made against the police authorities in the City of Winnipeg, and it is stated that houses of prostitution pay for police protection;

AND WHEREAS it appears by the press that the Rev. J.G. Shearer gave an interview in which he declares, among other things, that Winnipeg has the rottenest condition of things in regard to the question of social vice, to be found in any City in Canada, and that the City of Winnipeg has a segregated area containing fifty-three houses of ill-fame which could be dosed within twenty-four hours if the authorities were desirous of closing them, but that beyond the fining of the keepers at regular intervals for selling liquor illegally, there is no attempt to suppress them, and that these dives sell liquor 24 hours a day, seven days a week, and as the price of being permitted so to do, each house pays \$400.00 a year and is subject to certain rules and regulations established for them, all of which are contrary to the Criminal Code.” &c.

I at once proceeded to inquire into said matters, and, for that purpose, held public sittings at the City of Winnipeg, taking evidence under oath. The stenographic transcript of the evidence accompanies this report.⁴

The circumstance which gave rise to the matters referred to was an interview which took place between the Rev. John G. Shearer and the representatives of certain newspapers published in the City of Toronto, namely, *The Globe*, *The Mail and Empire* and *The World*.

The evidence of Dr. Shearer disclosed that he is General Secretary for Canada and of the Moral and Social Reform Council of Canada, 5 whose objects are sufficiently indicated by its name; that Dr. Shearer, having returned to Toronto after a journey, with others engaged in a like work, through Western Canada and other places, had been called on by the newspaper representatives referred to, and had made certain statements concerning the aspect of affairs in which his Council was interested. His statement dealt with conditions in various places in Western Canada and some Cities of the Western States of the American Union. Dr. Shearer was more specific in his statements regarding Winnipeg. Apart from the head lines, and with certain verbal corrections, Dr. Shearer accepted as authentic the report contained in the *Toronto Globe* (Nov. 12, 1910) as far as Winnipeg was concerned.

That report reads thus:

“They have the rottenest condition of things in Winnipeg in connection with the question of Social vice to be found in any City in Canada.”

⁴ This evidence can be found in ten folders in Manitoba, *Sessional Papers*, 1911, P.A.M.

⁵ The Moral and Social Reform Council was formed by an alliance of church and labour groups in 1907. It was jointly headed by J.G. Shearer and T.A. Moore, Social Service secretaries of the Presbyterian and Methodist churches respectively. In 1913 it changed its name to the Social Service Council of Canada. See Richard Allen, *The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-1928* (Toronto, 1971), p. 13.

With the above sentence as preface, Rev. Dr. J. G. Shearer in an interview with a *Globe* reporter yesterday, launched a strong indictment against the police officials in the prairie city. He detailed circumstances which he believed to be strongly suggestive of graft. Not the least telling of his points against segregated areas for a certain class of women, was the fact that it offered a ready market for the white slave trade. He gave instances of this.

Dr. Shearer said: "Two years ago they had no vice district in Winnipeg. One year ago they had twenty-nine houses in a restricted area. Now they have fifty-three houses, with probably two hundred and fifty inmates. Every one of these is criminal under the terms of the Code of Canada, yet they are permitted to exist, and instead of the Criminal Code, certain rules and regulations are established for them.

"Here are some of them: 'they must not play the piano too loudly. They must not make noise enough to attract attention on the street. They must not have white female cooks. They must not solicit from the windows and doors.' All of these regulations are, of course, from time to time violated."

"Everyone of these criminal dens is also an illicit liquor dive. Remarkable to say, the inmates receive summonses regularly each quarter from the Provincial license authorities. They come before the Provincial magistrate and pay over \$100.00 and costs. Then they are not disturbed for another three months. These dives sell liquor twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, and as the price of being permitted so to do, each house pays this \$400.00 a year." ...

Speaking of the white slave traffic, Dr. Sheater said: "Some half a dozen of white slave victims have been marketed within the past year in the vice district of Winnipeg. Four of these have recently been deported, two being sent to Scandinavia and two to the United States. One is waiting deportation to England. Two of these cases were discovered through the efforts of our Federation and its detectives while in Winnipeg."

Dr. Shearer was also subsequently interviewed by a representative of the *Mail and Empire* newspaper. A report of the interview was published in the issue of that newspaper of about Nov. 19, 1910. The portion containing allegations of fact is as follows:

"In the first place I reiterate the statement I previously made, and affirm that it was a moderate statement of conditions that I know to prevail in Winnipeg. The Winnipeg City Hall officials will not deny that they have a segregated vice district, in which is permitted the carrying on of the criminal business of social vice - criminal, because expressly prohibited by the Code of Canada. There are in round numbers 50 of these dens of vice. Everyone of the fifty keepers, every one of the 250, or thereabouts, in-mates, and every male frequenter, whether he be a prominent citizen of Winnipeg or not, is a criminal in the term of the code. In addition to this, everyone of these 50 dens of vice is also an illicit liquor dive in spite of the license law of Manitoba, every day of the week and at all hours of the day or night. The officials, moreover, will not deny that no serious attempt is made to close up these dens of vice or to put a stop to the running of these liquor dives. It is not easy to believe that such an utterly disgraceful condition of things is permitted day after day, week after week, and month after month, either for love of vice and crime or on any

high moral principle. What then is the motive? Members of the City Council and City Hall officials are said to complain bitterly that I have been guilty of blackening the fair name of Winnipeg. I have only said what is the truth, and moreover, by no means all of the wretched truth. The true blackeners of the fair name of Winnipeg are those that are responsible for this criminal, disgraceful and debasing condition of things. The vice area has become one of the great show places of Winnipeg. The teal villifiers of the good name of Winnipeg are those that are responsible for the permission, if not the careful protection, of this moral cesspool, the stench of which is making itself felt to the discredit of Winnipeg throughout the Dominion and elsewhere. "

An article based on the interview first above quoted appeared about the same time, as well as in *The Globe*, in the Toronto newspapers known as *The Mail and Empire*; the *News*; *The World*; *The Star*. The articles were published with prominent headlines containing statements either wholly false or grossly exaggerated. Dr. Shearer disclaimed responsibility for these headlines, and himself testified to their inaccuracy. The publishers of the various newspapers were notified of the Commission and given an opportunity of supporting the charges so made, but did not avail themselves of it.

Under the Criminal Code every one who wilfully and knowingly publishes any false news or tale whereby injury or mischief is or is likely to be occasioned to any public interest is declared to be guilty of an indictable offence and liable to imprisonment.

While instances of the application of this provision have not been frequent, it has already been effectually made use of to publish defamatory statements regarding Western Canada. It should be a useful procedure to punish defamatory publications regarding any City. It would be well in case there should be any instance in future when it was thought desirable to apply the clause that it be expressed in the City Charter that the City Council is authorized to instruct and defray the expense of such a prosecution, wherever it may desire to institute it.

The matters charged by Dr. Shearer in the words acknowledged by him require more extended consideration.

In the article complained of it is said that Dr. Shearer launched a strong indictment against the police officials of Winnipeg, and that he detailed circumstances which he believed to be strongly suggestive of graft. Dr. Shearer acknowledged this statement, but explained that he meant by graft the preying upon the immoral woman by those who had exacted high prices for property and generally impositions made upon their class. He did not in evidence make any charge of corruption on the part of the police commissioners, the Chief of Police or any police officer. The language of the newspaper report, taken with the context, would lead any one to suppose that he had detailed circumstances which strongly suggested corruption on the part of the police. The words were no doubt read by the public in that way. No circumstances were disclosed on

this inquiry which would support any such suggestion. All that need be said is that the evidence showed an entire absence of such an offence.

As to the charges recited in the resolution of the City Council that it has been stated that houses of prostitution pay for police protection, Dr. Shearer acknowledged stating to the reporters that the women paid for protection of that nature, but said that he did not mean that they paid the regular police force. The evidence showed that some of them had employed private detectives for their own security. There was no such payment to any member of the regular force.

Dr. Shearer however condemns the condition of things in Winnipeg in regard to the question of social vice, and by the Commission I am required to report upon that, as upon the other matters specifically mentioned.

The evidence shows that for a period, which Chief of Police McRae described as "about a quarter of a century," a number of places known as bawdy houses had been maintained in a Westerly portion of the City, being latterly on Thomas Street,⁶ and that, by reason of police action, in January, 1904, this particular nuisance was abated. This action was taken as a result of a resolution of the Board of Police Commissioners of the City passed in January, 1904, that the Chief of Police be and he was thereby instructed to take immediate steps to suppress all bawdy houses; houses of ill fame and disorderly houses in the City of Winnipeg, and to rigidly enforce the law respecting the same. This simply declared that the Chief of Police should carry out the law.

The common law of England may be thus described, using the language of an accepted authority: "It is clearly agreed that keeping a bawdy house is a common nuisance as it endangers the public peace, brings together dissolute and debauched persons, and also has an apparent tendency to corrupt the manners of both sexes by such an open profession of lewdness."

This principle was, at an early date, embodied in the Statute Law of Canada. Sections 225, 228, 238, and 239 of the Criminal Code declare the crime and impose the penalty.

It is hardly necessary to point out that the enactment of the Criminal Law rests with the Dominion Parliament and that the administration and enforcement of that Law in each province is the function of the respective provincial governments. No provincial authority may alter or suspend the Criminal Law of Canada.

The Provincial Legislature, in enacting the City Charter, expressed its view on this subject, in so far as it could do so, by enacting that the City might pass by-laws not inconsistent with the provisions of any Dominion or Provincial Statute for suppressing disorderly houses and houses of ill fame.

⁶ The name of Thomas Street was changed to "Minto" in October, 1904.

The City Council passed upon the subject in By-Law 1599 by declaring that no person should keep or maintain any disorderly house or house of ill fame in the City.⁷

The Board of Police Commissioners for Winnipeg is appointed under the Winnipeg Charter to govern the police force.⁸ They are empowered to make regulations for rendering the force efficient in the discharge of all its duties. It is declared by the Charter that the duties of the Constables include the special duty of preserving the peace, preventing robberies and other felonies and misdemeanors and apprehending offenders, and that the Constables are liable to all the duties and responsibilities which belong by law to constables duly appointed.

Nowhere can there be found any suggestion of authority in the Police Commissioners or any member of the force for withholding the enforcement of any law in any area in the City as against any class of offenders.

I can approach the matter and deal with the facts solely in the light of the law applicable to the matter as declared by the powers in whom that jurisdiction is by law vested.

That law does not authorize anything but entire suppression of the offence. No policy, by whatsoever name it may be known, which involves any conditional or unconditional toleration of this crime, or immunity from punishment therefor, has any recognition by the law of Canada. The Provincial and Municipal legislation on the subject in the present case both emphasize this.

The facts as disclosed by the Police Commissioners of 1909, and the Chief of Police, show that in that year there was brought about by them a condition of affairs at variance with the principle of the common law above quoted, and the statute of law of Canada, as found in the Criminal Code, and contrary to the spirit of the Provincial legislation as found in the City Charter, and of the City By-Law referred to.

The reasons for this action are summed up in a letter of Hon. T. Mayne Daly, Police Magistrate of the City, to the Board, dated April 20, 1909. There had been a conspicuous failure of justice in regard to the punishment of convicted offenders. In Mr. Daly's view, from statistics and experience, immorality in the City was largely on the increase, and he was convinced that the system in vogue during the previous five years had proved an utter failure; he said that conditions were worse than they were in January, 1904, when the houses on Thomas Street were raided, and that houses of prostitution were scattered all through the City, notwithstanding diligence on the part

⁷ By-Law 1599 was passed in 1899. See *By-Laws of the City of Winnipeg*, 1874-1899, pp. 57-60.

⁸ The Board of Police Commissioners was established in 1884. See *Statutes of Manitoba*, 1884, Chapter 78, section 179. See also Chief Constable McRae, "The Police System of Manitoba," *The Canadian Municipal Journal*, Vol. 2. No. 10 (Oct. 1906), pp. 393-95.

of the Morality Officers, that his experience in the juvenile Court had shown that immorality among young girls was increasing and that venereal diseases were spreading rapidly.

The Board of Police Commissioners thought that the situation thus described might be ameliorated by bringing about new conditions. They accordingly passed the following resolution, with preamble:

"A communication was received and read from T. Mayne Daly, Police Magistrate, addressed to Alderman F.J.C. Cox, Chairman of the Board, giving a view of the morality question for the past five years and giving as the conclusion he had arrived at that the best thing the Board can do is to refer the whole matter to the Chief of Police with instruction to act in accordance with his best judgment towards relieving the City of the terrible and growing evil, also submitting a summary of immoral women convicted in Police Court since January, 1904, also a list of reputed houses of prostitution now in the City with the address of each.

Moved by Police Magistrate Daly, seconded by Alderman McMeans, and resolved that the following resolution passed at the meeting of the Board of Police Commissioners on the 9th day of January 1904, as follows:

"Resolved that the Chief of Police be and is hereby instructed to take immediate steps to suppress all bawdy houses, houses of ill-fame, and disorderly houses in the City of Winnipeg, and to rigidly enforce the law respecting the same," be and is hereby rescinded, and in substitution thereof be it resolved that all matters relating to the question of houses of ill-fame and dealing with immoral women be left to the Chief of Police, he to act in accordance with his discretion and best judgment.

Referring to this action of the Police Commissioners, Chief of Police McRae says "It was their intention that I would bring about new conditions by these women getting into one locality by themselves."

Acting on this the Chief of Police showed a copy of the resolution to one of the most prominent of the women,⁹ a woman who had been a keeper on Thomas Street, asked her if the women could be got together in one place, and told her that he had nothing to do with the selection of the place. The Chief of Police said this woman understood, having lived under conditions that previously obtained, that they were going back to the old order of things.

The "old order of things" was that which existed on Thomas Street as already described. It may also be illustrated by the fact that at its termination in January 1904, when the police took action, 86 women from there pleaded guilty to being either keepers or inmates of bawdy houses.

As a result of the resolution last referred to and the interview with the woman, a number of women at once acquired houses and got together on parts

⁹ The woman's name was Minnie Woods, popularly known as "Queen of the Harlots."

of Rachel¹⁰ and McFarlane Streets, Winnipeg, for the purpose of carrying on their immoral and unlawful traffic.

This change of policy was no mere temporary expedient. It was going back to the old order of things which had existed for 25 years. Many of the women with the knowledge of the Chief of Police, purchased houses in the area, the Chief of Police himself sending to them a man through whom the purchases might be made. These purchases were made at exorbitant prices.¹¹

The conditions imposed on the women may be described in the language of the Chief of Police as follows: They were not expected to parade the streets, to solicit on the street, nor to go up town, not to call in the uptown district, that they were not to have any manifestations of disorderly conduct, that all outward manifestations or disorderly conduct would be suppressed.

A bawdy house is a house kept for the purpose of prostitution. It is not necessary to the crime that indecency or disorderly conduct should be perceptible from the exterior of the house. The observance of these conditions or regulations did not render the offence against the law any the less.

The result of the matter was that in the area selected, there was a conditional license to commit a continuing offence. In view of the law as above stated, neither the Police Commissioners nor the Chief of Police had authority to permit such a state of affairs. Their duty was to see to an un-remitting enforcement of the criminal law in all parts of the City.

These gentlemen sincerely thought that it was in the public interest, for the reasons expressed, that the policy known as passive segregation of the evil should be adopted. They had no thought of abrogating or suspending the law. But any policy that involves the existence of houses of prostitution with any degree of immunity from punishment is contrary to law. If it should appear expedient that there be any such policy, authority for it would have to be obtained from the proper source.

The idea of the Commissioners was to minimize the evil. As was said, "instead of having these festering sores all over the City, to have one open wound in one locality and then gradually close it up by degrees."

How this intention was realized is illustrated by the increase in the number of houses from 29 in October, 1909, to 50 in November, 1910, and by the evidence of Morality Officer Leach, from which it appears that a number apparently not less than 16 keepers of bawdy houses in the area were not to his knowledge engaged in the traffic in the City before this policy was adopted.

¹⁰ The name of Rachel Street was subsequently changed to "Annabella."

¹¹ The real estate dealer's name was J. Beaman. Some of the houses in the area were sold for as much as \$12,000, although they ordinarily would have brought no more than \$3,000. See *Winnipeg Telegram*, 1 Dec. 1910; and *Royal Commission Hearings: Evidence*, Vol. 1.

Some of them had come from towns in the States or other outside places. Some had been on Thomas Street, but had not carried on this illicit business until that state of things had been resumed.

By 1st October 1909, twenty-nine reputed houses of prostitution had been established in the area in question. On that date, as a result of certain actions of the City Council, the Police Commissioners resolved that the Chief of Police be and he was thereby instructed to strictly enforce the law respecting all disorderly houses in the City of Winnipeg.

The Chief of Police gave general instructions to his officers accordingly.

Shortly after the resolution to enforce the law, 29 charges were laid against women in this area for keeping bawdy houses. Out of this number there were then only 2 convictions, 3 cases were dismissed and 24 were withdrawn.

There was from October 1909 a marked increase in the growth of the segregated area, the number of houses having grown from 29 to 50. The evidence shows that notwithstanding this return to the policy of enforcement of the law, the regulations already adverted to were still continued in the area. After 1st October as before, instructions were given to the women forbidding noise, conspicuous lights and as to mode of conduct. The system of reporting when inmates were out of the area and becoming disorderly was likewise continued. The only effect of these instructions or regulations seems to have been to suppress evidence which might have assisted the police in prosecution. The neighboring residents show that conditions were as bad if not worse after October 1909 as before.

The resolution of 1st October 1909 did not result in any special measure to close the houses in the segregated area. Chief of Police McRae, in his evidence, said: "I intended to limit the number and the keepers, but I was slandered and hectorred so much since that resolution that since that time there has been no attempt made to do anything but to enforce the law. The police cannot prevent these people from buying property. All the police could do is to enforce the law if sufficient evidence can be obtained to the satisfaction of the Crown prosecutor."

It is the duty of an ordinary constable to prevent offences where possible. When the Chief said he intended to limit the number he acknowledged the power to do so. It is yet to be learned that because a high police officer is criticised or even slandered by a few members of a community he may rest from the performance of an important part of his duty to the whole community.

The intention to restrict the area and the power to do so are exemplified by the closing up by raid of the police of the houses on the East side of McFarlane Street in the summer of 1909. After October of that year the houses so vacated were reoccupied by the same class and have so continued.

Chief of Police McRae also says in answer to question:

Q. How is it that there are so many more houses down there now than there were in October of last year?

A. There has been no effort made to restrict the number. There is a direct enforcement of the law and no efforts of the police have been made to deter them from buying property.

When enforcement of the law is referred to by the police officers in their testimony, the evidence shows that it simply means that the women are punished when guilty of violence or disorderly conduct.

Apart from the 27 abortive charges laid after the return to law enforcement, there were, during the period from Oct. 1909 to 31st Oct. 1910 twenty-six charges against women within the area for keeping bawdy houses, and 23 convictions resulted therefrom. Of these 23 convictions, four were of women who had already been convicted. So that only 19 women were punished for keeping bawdy houses during the whole period of over a year, and 15 of them only once in that time. Twenty-six charges of being inmates were also during the period in question laid against women from these houses. The charges against inmates were, Inspector Leach says, just for being drunk.

The "enforcement of the law" in the above sense has not reduced the real evil, i.e., the keeping of bawdy houses. The evil has grown under it. That this is not all the police can do is shown by their own testimony. When the Thomas Street area was brought to a finish, Inspector Leach was sent there with instructions from the Chief of Police to see that they closed up. And this, although some of the women owned the property. And Inspector Leach admitted that since then as a result of his vigilance, a number of bawdy houses in the City outside the present area were closed up and that it was difficult for such houses around the City to carry on business owing to the surveillance they were under by the Morality Department.

The Morality Officers says the number of reputed prostitutes outside of the area has been reduced to a very small number, about eight at the time of the inquiry. But Chief McRae says he thinks the number of these women in the City has been increasing because there has been so much advertising about these immoral houses that immoral women are attracted here from all over the continent. According to the Morality Officers they have not established themselves outside of the area, for the officers say there are only eight now and it is said they are all old timers. Then where do the new arrivals locate? Inspector Knox says the increase after October 1909 was made up by inmates who started houses or by women from other towns who, he believed, understood that the district in question was a privileged district. The inspectors agree that the inmates frequently change as they move about from place to place. They average three to each house, so that there was at the time of the inquiry about two hundred women engaged in the traffic in the area.

It was said by the Police Officers that there were at the time of the resolution of 21st April 1909 seventy-one reputed houses of ill-fame in the City, and that the number had become reduced in October to 36, both in and out of the area. It was also stated that

in October 1909, there were 29 such houses in the area, and Morality Officer Leach says that in January 1910, there were only 15 reputed houses of prostitution approximately in the City outside of the area, and at the time of the investigation only 7 or 8. All these figures require to be taken with Inspector Knox's observation that no man in Winnipeg can tell how many prostitutes there are outside the area. Many of these offenders are transient characters. The police records show that there were from 1st October 1909, to 31st October 1910, 82 complaints of disorderly houses outside of the area and 25 convictions of women as keepers of houses of ill-fame likewise outside of the area.

The growth of this vice district is illustrated by the telephone business done there. There are 43 telephones in the area. They are all of the class known as pay telephones. The householder guarantees a revenue of \$40.00 per month, the telephone department taking any surplus that may be found in the cash box. Officers of the department stated that this class of business was not wanted. It had in this case involved new telephone construction on the streets in question. A schedule of returns showed that while the revenue in October 1906 from the ten pay telephones then installed was \$86.60, it had grown in that period so that the number of instruments there in October 1910 was 42, with a revenue for that month of \$526.15 being the highest in the period.

It may be well at this stage to refer to certain of the matters which led the Board of Police Commissioners to pass the resolution of 21st April 1909, which instituted the segregation policy.

Mr. Daly in his letter and also in his evidence, pointed out the failure of justice which had repeatedly occurred owing to the release on bail of convicted offenders. The release from custody in such cases was had by means of a pretended appeal, the law providing for release on recognizances in such cases. By entering into such a recognizance before any justice of the Peace, the discharge is secured pending the appeal. But the grievance complained of lay in the fact that worthless bail had been taken, and the offender immediately released from custody. The sureties in such a case must, under the statute be sufficient sureties. The question of the sufficiency of the sureties is entirely for the Justice before whom the recognizance is entered into. The Justice must see that he has proof of the sureties' sufficiency. On examining into certain of the cases in which there had been such a release from custody, it was found that the justice of Peace there resorted to, had made no independent inquiry into the sufficiency of the proposed sureties, who were procured by the accused and were men unknown to the justice. From their names it would appear that, in many instances where bail had been allowed the sureties were foreigners. The justice referred to was in the cases dealt with by him, content with the statement of the proposed sureties as to their qualification. He did not discharge the duty of investigating the sufficiency of the proposed bail. Justices should, in such cases, at least confer with the police

authorities or prosecuting counsel if they have no other way of ascertaining the responsibility of the bail.

The release of offenders in this way shakes confidence in the administration of justice. In such cases the efforts of the police officers, the trial and the conviction by the Magistrate are all made fruitless and the influence of these officers over evil doers nullified.

But forfeiting the bail was not the only remedy in such a case. When an appeal under any circumstances has been so abandoned or formally dismissed a warrant should issue for the levy of the fine or arrest of the offender, if still in the jurisdiction, to complete the term of imprisonment, as the case may be. It appears from Mr. Daly's letter that in one case at least this was not done, and I infer that he complains of it generally as a practice that had arisen.

Such miscarriage of justice is not the fault of the law. It is the fault of the administration of the law. It is not to be wondered at that under such circumstances the women have become defiant.

It is not the duty of the Morality Officers of the Police Magistrate to look after the case in the technical stages which follow a conviction. That should be the business of the prosecuting attorney. Assuming Justices of the Peace will recognize their duty and responsibility in the matter, these failures of justice need never result if care is taken of the formal matters of the law which are not difficult, but require attention and accuracy.

Another reason that influenced the Board was that houses of prostitution had become a great nuisance in the City. The fact was emphasized by the evidence of residents in the neighborhood of houses in other parts of the City which, up to that time, had been occupied for that purpose. They told of a most deplorable state of affairs. Domestic privacy was intruded upon by men seeking for the evil houses, respectable women were accosted on the street drunkenness was much in evidence, conditions were unbearable for respectable people and there was an accompanying injury to the value of property. The women occupying the disorderly houses were evidently some of those who had formerly been on Thomas Street. The Police from time to time prosecuted offenders, but this state of things, on certain streets in the City, continued until the area on Rachel and McFarlane Streets was adopted.

This evidence was adduced by Counsel for the members of the Police Commission with a view to shewing that wherever such houses congregate the same conditions apply and that it is not due to lack of police protection. This of course depends on the extent of the police protection. One of these witnesses said that at one period his neighborhood was so policed that they were not bothered.

In justification of the policy of passive segregation, reference was made to another City, where it was said that conditions prevailed, and that it was "so successful and quiet there that nobody thinks or knows anything about it."

The evidence of this inquiry shows that in this experiment the result was directly the opposite. No matter how strict were the regulations imposed on the women, they were of no effect in preventing disorderly and abominably offensive conduct in the neighborhood. One of the reasons for the keeping of a bawdy house being declared a nuisance at law is that it endangers the public peace by drawing together dissolute and debauched persons. That such is the result was abundantly proved here.

The place selected, i.e. parts of Rachel and McFarlane Streets, was in the neighborhood of the residence of a considerable number of highly respectable citizens. It was neat the homes of residents of foreign birth. These citizens had wives and families, and most of these people, both adults and children, in going to and fro, between their homes and the City, whether to their work or to school, church or market, had to pass through the area in question. Several of the male residents and two respectable women gave evidence at the inquiry. It was evident that they were people who, not pretending to any rank, were of the highest respectability and exemplary citizens. The state of affairs describe it in detail. The evidence of these witnesses is recorded in the official transcript. Their names are John Mitchell, J.W. Battershill, John Murray, John Tait, Thornton Simmons, A.E. Loader, Mrs. Morefield, Rev. Father Cherrier, Rev. J.S. Woodsworth, Mrs. Bradley, and D.A. Hossack. It is necessary to peruse their evidence to understand what the residents have suffered.

The evidence showed that notwithstanding repeated and forceful com-plaints by the residents, the nuisance continued unabated, conditions not being so bad in the winter months.

These sufferers are not wealthy. In some cases all their property is their home. Such depreciation has resulted from the conditions described that their property has become almost valueless and unsaleable. These men, credible witnesses, testified that these insults and annoyances which they described have continued from July 1909.

That such a state of things should have existed and so continued is a reproach to any civilized community. It is the indispensable duty of civil society to protect its members in the enjoyment of their rights, both of person and property.

It is impossible to say how serious is the evil influence in the surrounding community cast by the presence of these evil resorts. The example of conditions tolerated here as set before the foreign element is most pernicious. That vice should be flaunted before young children in the manner described by the residents is deplorable. Nothing could be more likely to produce the "juvenile offender."

One of the charges made by Dr. Shearer is that every one of these houses is "an illicit liquor dive." The evidence showed that drunkenness was a common thing among them, that deliveries of liquor there were made very frequently

and that many of the keepers had been from time to time convicted of unlawfully selling liquor. This evil seems invariably to be associated with these bawdy houses. The nuisance to the neighborhood is much increased by the drunkenness.

The City Police, while having legal authority to do so, have never undertaken the prosecution of offences against the License Act, the reason being that that is a matter within the jurisdiction particularly of the Provincial Officers, and it was not thought well to interfere with their work. Section 230 of the License Act as introduced by amendment in 1908 declares that it shall be the duty of all municipal constables and police officers to assist in the enforcement of the provisions of the Act and for that purpose they were given all the powers of license inspectors, and one half of fines levied by means of their action were to go to the Municipality. On the 27th day of April 1908, the Chief License Inspector addressed a letter to the Mayor, and Chairman of the Police Commission calling attention to the amendment and asking that the City Officers join with the Department in enforcing the Act.

The Chief of Police stated in evidence that he did not know anything about the change in the law above mentioned; that he never had any occasion to look up the law; he acknowledges that the powers given in the License Act "might contribute to the lessening of the sale of Liquor in a much greater degree than what it is," and that the powers of search might contribute to success in detecting other offences, such as bawdy houses. The right of search is to be founded on a warrant which can of course be granted only on reasonable grounds but from the evidence adduced it would seem that ample ground frequently existed for the issue of such a warrant.

From the fact that the City receives substantial revenue from licenses to sell liquor, it would not seem out of place that its police force should, by special officers, if necessary, unite with the Provincial police in the prevention of illicit liquor dealing.

Dr. Shearer after making the charge as to illicit liquor dealing, says: "Remarkable to say, the inmates receive summonses regularly each quarter from the Provincial License authorities. They come before the Provincial Magistrate and pay over \$100. and costs. Then they are not disturbed for another three months. These dives sell liquor twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week and as the price of being permitted so to do, each house pays this \$400. a year."

The facts as to this charge are as follows:

Charges of this nature, i.e. for selling liquor without license, were prosecuted before Magistrate McMicken in the Provincial Police Court.

Notwithstanding that the law provides a much heavier minimum for subsequent offences, increasing as the offence is repeated, this was never imposed, the penalty inflicted always being the minimum or a first offence.

The maximum penalty for third offence is \$ 1,000.

Convictions were had in the following months in the number stated:

June 30 or July 1909	eighteen.
December 1909	nineteen.
March 1910	eight.
May 1910	nineteen.
June 1910	eighteen.
September 1910	seventeen.
November 1910	thirty six.

The charges in each of these respective months were generally laid in groups, each group on the same day of the month and for offences charged on the same day. An exception took place in November 1910, when 31 were charged and convicted at one time and 5 at another.

One of these women was convicted five times. Nine others were convicted four times; eleven others were convicted three times, and seventeen others were convicted twice. If the convictions are reckoned by each house, instead of by the names of the women charged, the number of repeated offences is even higher.

The Provincial Police Magistrate explained that a force could not at all times be kept in oversight of this area and that the charges were laid at the periods when they were available for that duty. There is no adequate explanation of the imposition of the minimum fine in what is probably the worst class of offences of illicit liquor selling that can be found. The traffic was no doubt continuous and could not be stopped by penalties which it was not difficult for the offenders to satisfy.

Had the City's Police Department interested itself in this phase, even at the expense of special officers for the work, there is no doubt there would have been immediately obtained results which would have gone far to reduce the nuisance to which the illicit sales of liquor in the area gave rise.

The evidence showed that in such houses the illicit sale of liquor is a common occurrence. Section 130 of the Liquor License Act declares that any person selling liquor by wholesale to any person whom he knows or has reason to believe to be selling liquor without license shall be guilty of an offence and punishable therefor. This is a question that might well be applied here.

The question now arises; What is to be done? Fifty houses together in one area, of general reputation as houses of ill-fame. Their keepers known to follow that life and many of them repeatedly convicted of illicit liquor selling. Is this state of affairs, with its accompanying nuisance as already described, to continue, subject to punishment when disorder appears and to an occasional small fine for breach of the License Act? If not how is it to be terminated?

There is no doubt that in this, as in most other serious crimes there is

considerable difficulty in legally proving the offence. But if ever there was an occasion when it would seem possible to secure the evidence to successfully prosecute, this should be one.

That offenders of this class are crafty and astute at eluding justice is well known. They generally have the money necessary to strongly resist prosecution and take advantage of every technicality. But in view of the state of affairs revealed on this inquiry, it is not to be believed that vigilant and energetic officers could not, by quite proper means, secure the evidence necessary to convict these offenders of both classes of offence. And if penalties of imprisonment in the one case, and the maximum fine, or alternative imprisonment in the other, were imposed, the resistance would not long endure. Even although, as is said, this evil can never be wholly eradicated in any City, there is no doubt that once these offenders are subjected to a rigorous application of the law, the nuisance will be reduced to the lowest possible point. But the whole system must be made equally strong. Prison doors must not be opened to straw bail or because of technical objections.

It is of course difficult in the very nature of things to secure direct evidence of the main offence now under discussion. Mr. Daly pointed out that there is a wide power of search in regard to a certain class of disorderly houses, which did not apply in regard to supposed bawdy houses. Section 641 of the Code declares that on a written report from a chief police officer that there are good grounds for believing that a place is kept as a common gaming house, authority may be given by a Magistrate to such officer with constables to enter and take into custody all persons found in such places and bring them before the Magistrate. The granting of such a warrant is carefully guarded from abuse. Such a provision as this would be of great assistance in suppressing this evil traffic. While this is a matter for Dominion Legislation, I have inserted reference to it here in order that, if the suggestion commands itself, it may lead to some action to obtain the necessary amendment. An amendment providing for the summary and immediate hearing of appeals from the Magistrate would be valuable. As was pointed out by Mr. Daly, the length of time during which a conviction may be unenforced pending appeal tends to defeat justice.

In the result, I have to report:

1. That the charges as to vice in Winnipeg appearing as headings to the newspapers items in question are not true.
2. As to the charge made by Dr. Shearer, so far as it condemns the condition of things in Winnipeg in regard to the question of social vice, I have to report that a policy of toleration of the offence in question in a limited area, with regulations as to conduct was adopted by the Police Commissioners; that such an area was accordingly established by immoral women; that since October 1909 there was no attempt to restrict the increase of houses of vice in the area, and the number of houses of this class grew from 29 to 50.

3. That illicit liquor dealing has been general and continuous in the houses in this area, and that, as already particularly shown, the law regarding the same has not been properly enforced.

4. That the result of the above state of affairs has been the disturbance of peace and good order in the locality, a menace to morals and great depreciation in value of property of the neighboring residents.

5. That the above conditions were not brought about by the corruption of any police authority, and that the occupants of the houses referred to do not pay for police protection.

Respectfully submitted,
(sgd.) H. A. Robson, Commissioner.

Winnipeg,

January 11, 1911.

Received: CITY CLERKS OFFICE
Winnipeg January 17th, 1911
Certified true copy
(sgd.) C.J. Brown
City Clerk.

XI

CITY PLANNING COMMISSION

City planning suddenly became a matter of great concern in North America in the decade before the First World War. Almost every large Canadian city was affected by a new spirit of “civic pride and responsibility” and took steps to become involved in the “noble idea of city planning.”¹ Since Winnipeg considered itself to be one of the most modern cities on the continent, it follows that it also appointed a planning commission.² The following document is the report of that commission.

Unfortunately, many of the plans and proposals outlined in this document were not to be realized for many years. Yet the planning report is an extremely important document since it enunciates, both implicitly and explicitly, a set of basic premises that were felt to be of great importance for urban society. It was noted in the report that the community had to be built for social and personal well-being as well as for economic, technological, and physical growth and that the city's organization (or reorganization) in these terms could be partially guided, unified, and enhanced by comprehensive planning. It was also recognized that such planning required the collaboration of experts and citizens and that it could be achieved only by a slow and gradual process that depended largely on education. The fact that the discovery and elaboration of these ideas was not accompanied by their implementation does not deter from their significance. They were important because of the prospect they offered for the growth of such ideas as a departure from the laissez-faire attitudes of the past, rather than of the City of Winnipeg in the years immediately following the preparation of their report.³

¹Canadian Annual Review, 1913 and 1914, describes the growth of the movement in Canada. Between 1909 and 1914 City Planning Commissions were appointed in Calgary, Regina, Edmonton, Saskatoon, and Lethbridge. For a general historical review of city planning see Alan F.J. Artibise and Gilbert A. Stelter, eds., *The Usable Urban Part: Essays on Politics and Planning in Modern Canadian Cities* (Toronto, 1979).

²Alan F.J. Artibise, “Winnipeg and the City Planning Movement,” in D.J. Bercuson, ed., *Western Perspectives I* (Toronto, 1974), pp. 10-20.

³City of Winnipeg, *Council Communication*, #9700 1/2, read 22 Jan. 1913, C. W. This document was found in very rough, “galley proof” form in the city records. The maps, diagrams, charts and in some cases appendices mentioned on the report were not found. After an intensive search of city records, I concluded they were destroyed, although I do hope some other researcher will prove me wrong. In some cases I have omitted sections, particularly appendices, that did accompany the original report.

CITY PLANNING COMMISSION REPORT

TO HIS WORSHIP THE MAYOR AND MEMBERS OF THE CITY COUNCIL.

Gentlemen. The City Planning Commission appointed under By-law No. 6825, to consider and report to the City Council upon a City Planning Scheme for the City of Winnipeg, begs leave to submit the following report.

In 1911 the City sought and obtained an amendment to its Charter as follows:

Section 703 of the said Charter is hereby amended by adding the following new sub-section thereto: (3b) For appointing a commission or commissions to consider and report upon a city planning scheme, the distribution of population, and other problems relating to city organization and government, and to provide for defraying the cost thereof.

Acting under powers thus granted the following By-laws was passed on June 5th, 1911:

By-Law No. 6825

A By-law of the City of Winnipeg appointing a City Planning Commission.

The Municipal Council of the City of Winnipeg in Council assembled, enacts as follows:

1. The following, namely:

The Worshipful the Mayor of Winnipeg, W. Sanford Evans, Esquire; Controller James G. Harvey, Vice-chairman of the Board of Control; Alderman William G. Douglas, Chairman of the Works and Property Committee; Alderman J.A. Potter, Chairman of the Health Committee; Alderman Frank O. Fowler, Chairman of the Fire, Water and Light Committee; Controller Richard D. Waugh, Chairman of the Good Roads Committee; Alderman Charles Midwinter, Chairman of the Railways Committee; The Honorable George R. Coldwell, Provincial Municipal Commissioner; Donald A. Ross, Esquire, Representative of the Architects' Association; F.H. Davidson, Esquire, Representative of the Builders' Association; William Pearson, Esquire, Representative of the Winnipeg Real Estate Exchange; R.S. Ward, Esquire, Representative of the Trades and Labor Council; D.E. Sprague, Esquire, Representative of the Board of Trade; N.T. McMillan, Esquire, Representative of the Industrial Bureau; Professor E. Brydone Jack, Representative of the University of Manitoba; R.M. Simpson, Esquire, M.D., Representative of Provincial Board of Health; T. Wilson, Esquire, Representative of the Parks Board; and Hugh Sutherland, Esquire, Representative of the Winnipeg Electric Street Railway Company;

all of the City of Winnipeg in the province of Manitoba; shall be and they are hereby appointed a Commission, to be called "The City Planning Commission," to consider and report to the Council upon a City Planning Scheme for the City of Winnipeg.

2. Such Commission shall make its report to the Council from time to time.

DONE AND PASSED, in Council assembled this 5th day of June, A.D. 1911.

The Commission advertised for a secretary and was formally organized on October 4th, 1911, Mr. F. J. Cole being appointed Secretary. Since that date 49 meetings of the Commission have been held in addition to a very large number of meetings of Committees.

To report upon a City Planning Scheme for the City of Winnipeg, as instructed in the appointing By-law, required that the Commission should as a first step investigate actual conditions in the City and collect the many and varied facts which must form the basis for a plan that will correct existing defects and properly provide for future development. It was recognized that it would be wise, and, indeed, necessary to submit the final drafting of a plan to experts of world-wide experience, but the elementary local material for such work must first be gathered and the Commission must qualify itself to understand, to select and to recommend.

Although the vital importance of improved housing and city planning schemes is today everywhere acknowledged, and there are few progressive cities which have not already undertaken or are not now preparing to undertake constructive work along these lines, and although there is already an extensive literature upon the subject, yet it is still difficult to obtain definite guidance as to the best methods to be followed. Not only were the instructions to your Commission broad and indefinite, but there does not yet exist in the Province of Manitoba any general framework of legislation, such as exists in England in the Housing and Town Planning Act, and has recently been passed in the Provinces of Ontario, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, which would create powers and indicate general and constitutional methods of procedure. Your Commission, therefore, had to rely upon its own judgment as to the methods and plan of action which best suited its own resources and the special conditions prevailing in this City and Province.

The first general point which became clear was that a plan for this City would not be confined to the present actual city-limits, but to be effective must reach out into the adjoining territory. As no representatives of adjacent municipalities had been included in the membership of the Commission, it was decided to lay before these municipalities the necessity for coordinate action and to invite each to appoint a representative who would sit with the Commission as an honorary member. The invitation was received in a very .

cordial manner and it is evident that the adjoining municipalities will be ready to cooperate in a broad spirit in any plan which may be in the best interests of the district as a whole. The following representatives were appointed in response to this invitation: V. Mager, Representative of St. Vital;

His Worship Mayor Berry, Representing St. Boniface; S.R. Henderson, Esquire, Representing Kildonan; E.C. Harvey, Esquire, Representative of Springfield; Councillor H. Ardern, Representative of Rosser.

Coming to the general principles involved, your Commission accepted three main objects as those to be chiefly served by a City Planning Scheme. These objects are health, convenience and beauty. The ideal city must be so laid out as to assure for all the citizens proper light and air, recreation space, and sanitary facilities, and must in addition have such restrictive regulations and such equipment for inspection as will tend to secure to all citizens the maximum of good health. The ideal city must be as convenient as it is possible to make it, and this will involve the proper width and direction of main highways and subsidiary streets, adequate and properly distributed transportation facilities, etc., and these questions must be studied with a view to the present and probable future movements of the people between their work and their homes and the places of recreation, and would involve ultimately the planning of zones which would bring about an economic distribution of places of work and places of residence. In respect to all changes the aesthetic consideration must be kept in view, for the element of beauty in architecture, in the arrangement of streets, bridges, boulevards and parks, in the proper treatment of focal points and the creation of attractive vistas, as well as in the detail of street lamps and of everything else allowed upon the streets is a most important factor, in educating the taste and stimulating the pride of citizens and in attracting the better classes of those who travel and of those who seek new homes.

This general conception of the nature of the problem led to the sub-division of the work and the appointment of the following Committees:

1. *Social Survey Committee*, under the chairmanship of Dr. R.M. Simpson, to investigate and report upon the general social and health conditions.

2. *Housing Committee*, under the chairmanship of Mr. Wm. Pearson, to investigate and report upon housing conditions.

3. *The Traffic and Transport Committee*, under the chairmanship of Prof. Brydone Jack, to investigate the present traffic facilities and report upon what might be required in the way of new or larger streets and better street railway facilities and upon what provision should be made for the future entrance and extension of railways.

4. *River Frontage and Dockage Committee*, under the chairmanship of

Alderman F.O. Fowler, to report upon river traffic and to make recommendations upon dockage requirements and the treatment of docks and wharves and of the river banks generally.

5. *The Aesthetic Development Committee*, under the chairmanship of Mr. Donald A. Ross, C.E., to gather for the use of the Commission all the available data relating to civic aesthetics as worked out in other cities, and to report on any desirable aesthetic improvements in the City.

6. *The Physical Plan Committee*, under the chairmanship of Mr. N.T. McMillan, to study the existing plan of the City and to prepare a new plan on which would be placed, as far as possible, the recommendations from the other Committees, having in view the eventual production of such a physical map of the City as would be demanded by an expert called in to prepare a comprehensive plan for Greater Winnipeg.

On account of the amount of work involved and the desirability of enlisting the interest and advice of citizens well qualified to be of service, the various chairmen were authorized by the Commission to invite citizens to act upon these Committees, and it is satisfactory to record that the Commission thus obtained the services of some of the most experienced men in the City - engineers, lawyers, doctors and business men. The names of these citizens are set forth in the reports of the Committees.

The work was carried out under the direction of these Committees, the chairmen forming a special Executive Committee, and at various stages the Commission as a whole was called to meet with the Committees and worked with them in the final preparation of the reports. The reports of the Committees thus worked out have been adopted by the Commission, and are incorporated in this report as the report of the Commission on the details dealt with.

The amount of work the Commission could accomplish was, of course, limited largely by the amount of money available for meeting the necessary expenses of investigation. The Committees were asked to make an estimate of the cost of carrying out the work entrusted to them, and each Committee carefully prepared its programme and sent in the estimate. The total estimates amounted to \$15,000.00 and the City Council was approached with a view to providing this money, but the total amount made available for the use of the Commission was only \$7,119.20.

The appropriations were granted as follows:

9th October, 1911	\$2,500.00
29th January, 1912	3,000.00
21st October, 1912	<u>4,000.00</u>
	\$9,500.00

At the end of the fiscal year, April, 1912, there was a credit balance of \$2,380.00	2,380.00
which instead of being carried forward into next fiscal year was written off, leaving total appropriation available for Commission's use:	\$7,119.20

The curtailment of the appropriations made it impossible for the Commission to carry out the full plan it had formed and it consequently had no opportunity to deal with such problems as river frontage and dockage and the provision for future railway facilities, where specially trained assistance was required. The Aesthetic Development Committee's work, needing the expenditure of money on data and photographs for the guidance of the Commission as to precedents, etc., was considerably hampered, as, with the small appropriation, the Committee was able to collect only such data as was sent free by the courtesy of other cities.

To indicate the amount of detailed work carried through by the Commission, it may be sufficient to state that the living conditions of 2,222 houses were personally investigated by representatives of the Commission and the information obtained tabulated; that, 4,212 houses were visited in order to obtain information as to the movements of population to and from employment; that real estate values in relation to rentals were worked out in several hundreds of cases; that the building by-laws of fifty cities were carefully examined and compared with conditions existing in this City; that the birth and death register at the City Hall for a period of two years was carefully analysed to arrive at the statistics of infant mortality; and that draftsmen were continuously employed for six months preparing drawings and plans for the Committees, and that no less than - of such drawings and plans are submitted with this report.⁴

Although all was accomplished that was possible in the time and with the means at the disposal of the Commission, the work is far from complete, and this report is submitted with a positive recommendation that in some form the work should be continued and experts engaged to give final shape to the physical features of a City Plan. All the material gathered is, your Commission believes, important and such as must necessarily be available before general conclusions can be safely reached. Instead, however, of reporting at the present stage simply a summary of the investigations undertaken, your Commission has decided to submit certain concrete recommendations for changes and improvements, wherever it could feel justified in doing so, confining these recommendations largely to immediate needs and to the first works to be undertaken, merely indicating other changes that can perhaps afford to be

⁴ No drawings and plans were found in a search of civic records.

finally considered in the light of a complete plan. Such recommendations deal, for example, with an effective setting for the new public buildings about to be erected in the City, with the first new north to south main highway required, etc.

The City of Winnipeg is fortunate in many of the fundamental features of its present physical plan and is proceeding in many respects upon sound lines, but your Commission considered that it should attempt to discover those respects in which the plan was defective and in which changes should be made, and for this reason the report deals with the things that are wrong rather than with the things that are right.

As stated above, the detailed report of the Commission is to be found in the reports of the various Committees submitted herewith, but in general it may be reported:

1. Your Commission finds unquestionably that there are serious defects in the present plan and in present conditions and many dangerous tendencies, which must be corrected to provide properly for the development of the City.
2. That there is overcrowding in many quarters.
3. That, with the encroachment of business structures and the increasing price of land, the tendency of buildings that were once private residences and good class apartment blocks to degenerate into crowded, low class tenements is marked and already constitutes an evil.
4. That there is much poor construction, particularly perhaps in the smaller houses, and that this faulty construction tends to produce discomfort and insanitary conditions.
5. That many rows of houses are so arranged on narrow lots as to prevent the proper access of light and air to certain rooms.
6. That the infantile death-rate in Winnipeg is too high and varies strikingly in different wards, proving that conditions in certain districts are unfavorable and calling for educative work along the lines of child welfare.
7. That provision should be made for still further parks and open spaces, the most marked present deficiency being in the central districts, and that more playgrounds, or "neighborhood centres," should be established at properly distributed intervals.
8. That the erection of examples of "Model Housing" should be urged upon the attention of private capital, and, failing a response from that source, upon the Civic Authorities.
9. That a further revision of the City Building By-Law is necessary, and that the amendments which were for so long a time before the Committee of the Council, and which have recently been adopted by the Council, do not in many important respects meet the needs of the situation.
10. That both the Building Inspector's and the Health Department's staffs are undermanned and that larger appropriations should be made to enable

these departments to adequately cope with the problems before them.

11. That many new main highways must be planned by extending, straightening and in some cases widening existing streets and by building bridges or subways and perhaps by opening up entirely new thoroughfares.

12. That all main highways should extend directly far beyond the present limits of the City.

13. That the idea of boulevards around the City should be encouraged and advantage taken of the River banks in the neighborhood of the City to establish picturesque driveways, so that a great natural opportunity which has been largely lost within the City itself may be worthily utilized wherever it still remains in the interest of the district as a whole.

14. That the problem of a more systematic planning of extensions of the street railway should at once engage attention, the present method by which a decision as to routes is arrived at between the City and the Company being most unsatisfactory. In this connection much may be expected from the supervision of the Public Utilities Commission, but experts must be employed who will study the problem in its connection with the general city plan, with the ascertained movements of population and with the probable and desirable growth of business and residence districts.

15. That there are already conditions which threaten future congestion of traffic in certain districts, such as that between Notre Dame Avenue and Portage Avenue from their junction westward to Donald Street and particularly toward the apex of this triangle after the convergence of Ellice and Notre Dame Avenues. The erection of office buildings, too high for the width of the narrower streets and therefore attracting a disproportionate number of people, will inevitably increase the difficulty at such points.

16. That, as it is certain that more railway tracks will be required within the City and in the future new railways will seek to enter the City, this problem should be carefully studied without delay with a view to indicating, in justice to the citizens and in the interest of the railways, the areas in which such development can take place to the greatest general advantage.

17. That there is a more urgent duty upon private citizens and upon the civic authorities in Winnipeg, than in many other places of more striking and varied natural location, to create by architecture and by the landscape gardener's act pleasing vistas in the streets, effectively breaking wherever possible, by an attractive resting place for the eye, an otherwise vacant stretch of straight and level roadways; that the City Council should take power to regulate the height of building in proportion to the width of streets; and that partly in some cases by municipal control, but chiefly by voluntary observance of private individuals, the heights and styles of architecture of adjoining buildings should be correlated.

18. That it is as clearly a dictate of common sense to plan a city as it is to plan any other intricate and important structure rather than trust to the partial and divergent views of individual workmen; that it is a saving of money to work to a comprehensive plan, for it does not mean that the complete conception shall be put under contract at once or that more should be done at any one time than the community can well afford, but it does mean that every bit of work carried out is done in the right place and in the right way, so that it need not be undone in the future and loss through waste is largely eliminated, even if no account be taken of the greater value in public convenience created by the expenditure; that in other respects also it is the highest economy, for in addition to producing the maximum of convenience with its saving of time and effort it will conserve and promote the health of the citizens and will enlarge and elevate the spirit of the common life.

With regard to legislation, your Commission recommends that the Government of Manitoba be approached without delay with a view to the passage by the legislature of this Province of a general Housing and Town Planning Act. It is suggested that the administrative body to be named in such Act might perhaps be the Public Utilities Commission, and that in addition to the powers this administrative body might have to give official sanction to the plan drawn up by legal authorities, it should have also the power upon request of a local authority to arrange for the preparation of a plan, for while certain municipalities in this Province might prefer to undertake this work through agencies created by themselves, yet there may be other municipalities or districts which would gladly avail themselves of the service the Commission could so effectively command, and the accumulated experience of the Commission and the knowledge of best sources of expert advice would put at the disposal of this Province the best obtainable results with the least possible expense.

Finally, your Commission recommends that the City Council make provision for continuing to completion the work upon which the Commission has been engaged. This might be done by appointing a new Commission with powers that, as a result of the work of the present Commission, can be readily defined. In view of the great amount of detailed labor involved and the consequently heavy call it must make upon the time of the Commissioners, and in view of the necessity of expert advice, it is recommended that, instead of being constituted like the present Commission, the new Commission be constituted of expert town planners, not more than three in number who would be engaged to draw up a complete plan, upon the basis of which the City Council can formally adopt a plan of the City, which can be officially approved under the terms of a general Act, if and when such Act is passed by the Legislature. It is suggested that, in addition, the City Council encourage, by its approval and by the active participation of members of the Council and

leading civic officials, the formation of a strong voluntary association of citizens, which could lend support at all stages and assist in educating public opinion. It is believed to be important that the planning and the gradual realization of the ideal city should enlist the active interest of the citizens, manifested through an organization formed for that purpose.

Your Commissioners are confident that public opinion in Winnipeg is prepared to support such an organization. Indeed, an organization has been in existence for some time, having been formed several months before the appointment of this Commission. As a matter of record the history of this movement leading up to the formation of the Town Planning Committee of the Winnipeg Industrial Bureau and the platform of this Committee are briefly set forth in Appendix A. It will be remembered that representatives of this Committee waited upon the Committee of Works and Property and later upon the City Council to support the creation of the City Planning Commission and that the programme of the Committee was given to the council as an indication of the scope of the enquiry the citizens of Winnipeg desired. Your Commission, believing that its general objects would be served thereby, co-operated with the Committee in organizing in the City of Winnipeg in July, 1912, a National Congress, the first to be held in Canada, a printed report of the proceedings of which is attached.⁵

An exceptionally large and valuable collection of exhibits was brought together from this continent and from Europe, and the papers and addresses delivered have been widely acknowledged as important contributions to the literature of the subject. On the suggestion of His Royal Highness, the Duke of Connaught, who, with the Princess Patricia, honored the Congress with his presence, a National Town Planning and Housing Association was organized, which it is hoped will strengthen and promote in all parts of Canada the movement toward better conditions. Winnipeg has thus been taking its part and manifesting its interest in the working out of the great problems of civic health, convenience and beauty, and it is the conviction of your Commission that the citizens of this City will not be satisfied with anything less than the very best that can be planned for Winnipeg, and that they will endorse the action of the authorities in any attempt to deal as intelligently and comprehensively with these problems as other cities are now doing, and will be prepared to assist by voluntary organization in the practical work and in the education of public opinion without which the best results cannot be accomplished.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

⁵ The printed report was not found in civic records. However, reports of the National Congress on Housing and Town Planning can be found in the following sources: *The Canadian Municipal Journal*, Vol. VIII, No. 8 (August 1912), pp. 291-293; *ibid.*, No. 9, p. 338; *The Western Municipal News*, Vol. VII, No. 7 (July 1912), pp. 217-219; and *Manitoba Free Press*, 15 July 1912, 16 July 1912, and 18 July 1912.

APPENDIX A**To City Planning Commission's Report**

The first organized movement in City Planning in Winnipeg was made by the Civic Improvement Committee of the Industrial Bureau under the Chairmanship of Mr. Wm. Pearson. As a result of the interest taken in the question a City Planning Committee was appointed, and was constituted as follows: Wm. Pearson, Chairman; Dr. J.H.R. Bond, John D. Atchison, J.R. Lamb, W.T. Devlin, N.T. MacMillan, J.S. Woodsworth, C.D. Shepard, H.W. Hutchison, W. Sanford Evans.

After carefully studying the work undertaken the following platform was adopted and printed for distribution.

Programme

- (1) A campaign of Public Opinion.
- (2) The study of Conditions, Causes and Remedies.
- (3) Actual work in an endeavor to remedy specific conditions.

(1) A CAMPAIGN OF EDUCATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

- (a) To increase the membership of the Committee by gaining representatives from all the business and public organizations, thus giving the movement the strongest possible standing in the community.
- (b) The distribution of literature, circulars, etc., through the Industrial Bureau.⁶
- (c) Lectures and addresses by experts and by members of the Committee.

(2) THE STUDY OF CONDITIONS, CAUSES AND REMEDIES

- (a) The formation of small committees of those sufficiently interested to study all available information for the purpose of guiding intelligently the various activities connected with the movement.
- (b) Making provisions for a library of books, magazines, etc., on the general subject and its sub-divisions.
- (c) Providing a fund to cover the expenses of literature, lectures, etc.

(3) ACTUAL WORK IN AN ENDEAVOR TO REMEDY SPECIFIC CONDITIONS.

After the membership of the Committee had been enlarged sufficiently to provide an effective and representative organization, sub-committees should be formed to deal with certain specific phases of the work.

- (a) The Housing Problem.

⁶ This refers to the Winnipeg Development and Industrial Bureau. See Document VII.

The improvement of housing conditions in the present congested districts by influencing the opinion of landlords and the erection of suitable tenements and cottages at the lowest possible rental.

The control and restriction of such congested districts and the general slum territory.

The encouragement of rapid transportation to the suburbs, to relieve and prevent the formation of congested districts and the encourage any tendency of the working class to move into the out-lying districts.

The formation of garden suburbs.

To co-operate with the authorities in the enforcement of present health laws, and, furthermore, to urge the adoption of better sanitary regulations.

Assisting the authorities in combating overcrowding of houses in congested districts.

The development of open spaces and playgrounds.

The enforcement of the best regulations in regard to building construction.

(b) Factory Problem.

The enforcement of laws in regard to health conditions in factories.

The prevention of sweated labor.

The prevention of child labor.

The encouragement of suitable large factory buildings for the joint accommodation of a number of smaller industries, thus providing the best health conditions for labor.

(d) The drawing up of such plan of the City as will provide for future development, such plan to take cognizance of some of the following features:

To provide main arteries for traffic from the outskirts to the centre of the City.

To restrict and regulate the size of lots and new subdivisions.

The co-operation with municipalities adjoining the City towards these ends, more particularly with those portions of municipalities which the City may be expected to include at some future date.

In such a plan cognizance should be taken of all possible railway entrances and the general plan of the City should make it clear that railways will only be allowed to enter at certain points.

The building of a main boulevard around the City connecting the outside park system.

Such a plan should endeavor to arrange for the location of a factory district or groups of factory districts. The adoption of many other ideas that are provided for on the English Town Planning Act and on the Continent of Europe, where the same are suitable for local conditions.

**Joint Committee's Report
on Proposed Civic Centre**

To the City Planning Commission:

Gentlemen. - The Aesthetic Development, Traffic and Transportation and Physical Plan Committees acting as a joint committee to consider the proposal for a civic centre for Winnipeg begs to report as follows: -

Your Committee has studied the problem from four points of view - what other cities are doing and have done, the present site and its facilities, the proposals submitted by Mr. J.D. Atchison, and the relation of these proposals to the City as a whole.

In all schemes designed for the improvement of cities an effort should be made to so locate buildings of a public character that each will be seen to the best advantage, and the entire group of buildings will represent the public activities, and taken together will form a Civic Centre. Such buildings will necessarily be of such importance that they will be monumental in character and of the highest standard of architecture, in contrast with buildings erected by private individuals for purely commercial purposes.

Winnipeg is now facing an opportunity for creating a Civic Centre, which is without parallel in the history of town planning movements, in that there is not a single obstacle in the way under existing conditions. The Provincial Government is about to commence work on the Capital building, which will be without doubt, the finest in the Dominion, and the citizens of Winnipeg will soon be obliged to build a City Hall in keeping with the City's importance as the capital of Manitoba and the commercial Centre of Western Canada. What is more logical than that these two buildings should form a basis of a civic centre?

After careful consideration of the problem from all points of view the following resolutions were unanimously adopted and forwarded to the City Council on March 11th, 1912.

- (1) "That this joint Committee recommends a trans-city highway along the following route, Pembina, Osborne, Colony, Balmoral, Isabel and Salter, to give greater facility for north and south traffic, to relieve present congestion and avoid future congestion."
- (2) "In view of the trans-city highway this Committee recommends the proposal of Mr. J.D. Atchison to locate the Civic Centre and Mall as shown by general plan submitted (not attached), subject to the necessary modifications, and that the present City Hall and Market Site be transformed into a Public Square, similar to St. James' Place, Montreal."

The scheme referred to in the above resolution calls for the widening of Vaughan Street by extending the west line 88 feet, thus creating a "Mall" or "Plaza" 134 feet wide, connecting the Provincial group of buildings dominated by the dome of the Capital Building, centered on the Mall to the

south, with the City Hall to the north, also centered on the axis of the Mall facing the Capital. The Plaza furnishes an opportunity in the future for the location of buildings which will be required from time to time in the City's development, such as a Public Library, Museum, Art Gallery, Post Office, Auditorium and other buildings of a similar nature. The entire control of the Plaza should be in the hands of a commission, so that the character and location of the buildings erected may be registered.

The practicability of this scheme cannot help but be apparent to anyone who studies the plan of the lay-out of the properties affected. The lots on the west side of Vaughan Street are over 200 feet in depth, and the scheme proposes the laying out of a regulation city block of 260 feet from street to street west of the Plaza, and the opening up of the Trans-City Highway to the West of this new block created.

At the present there is not a building on the property affected of sufficient importance to interfere with the carrying out of the project, while the new Y.M.C.A. building, just completed, is located on the east side of Vaughan Street, and becomes one of the buildings appropriate for the scheme.

It is important that the work be commenced at once for several reasons.

(1) The Government is preparing to commence operations in connection with the erection of the new Parliament Building, and the success of the scheme depends on the location of this building, which shall be centred on the axis of the Mall.

(2) The Hudson's Bay Company which controls almost two-fifths of the frontage affected, will soon be starting the erection of their new building.

(3) The Central Church which controls two hundred feet will soon be commencing the erection of a building which should be properly placed, so as to enter into the scheme in harmony with the rest of the buildings.

(4) The citizens of Winnipeg will soon be called upon to vote for the construction of a new City Hall,⁷ and while the scheme is not entirely dependent upon the City Hall project, it is greatly enhanced by the establishment of a City Hall Park, bounded by the Trans-City Highway on the west, and the City Hall centred on the axis of the Mall. The City Hall Park should include all the property in the triangular space between Kennedy, Balmoral and Ellice, and Balmoral Street should be widened to one hundred feet and become a part of the Trans-City Highway. All of which is respectfully submitted⁸

⁷ For a discussion of the face of this project see Alan F.J. Artibise, "Winnipeg's City Halls, 187G-19G5," *Manitoba Pageant*, Vol. XXII, No. 3 (Spring 1977), pp. 5-10.

⁸ The next section of the *Report* is the "Dockage and River Frontage Committee Report." It has been omitted here. For a full discussion of attitudes toward river transportation in Winnipeg during this era see Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth*, pp. 77-87.

Report of the Social Survey Committee

To the City Planning Commission:

Gentlemen. - The Social Survey Committee begs to report as follows:
Under the Chairmanship of Dr. Simpson, the following Committee was constituted: -

Dr. Douglas E. M. Wood

This Committee was instructed to investigate living conditions in the City of Winnipeg, especially in their relation to health, and to report its findings together with recommendations for improvements if found necessary.

In order to ascertain the facts as to living conditions your Committee carried out a Social Survey as far as the funds at its disposal would allow. As the Committee's inspectors had no hand, the day before the house was inspected (the following letter was delivered):

“Dear Sir, or Madam:

“The Town Planning Commission is paying special attention to housing conditions in the City of Winnipeg in order that it may make recommendations for the improvement of any bad conditions and suggest preventive measures for the future.

“With a view to gaining this information, Toronto and many other large cities have made a compulsory examination of the properties in large areas of the cities. The Winnipeg Town Planning Commission, believing that the citizens may see the good that may accrue from such an enquiry, does not wish for compulsory examination but asks for the co-operation of all concerned.

“Within a day or two an inspector acting under the Commission will visit this house, and all others in this area, for the purpose of gaining certain information. You need not give this information if you have any objection to giving it, but it is hoped that all will co-operate in an attempt to give the people of Winnipeg the most healthy, convenient and inexpensive homes in the Dominion.
Yours Truly.”

We are pleased to record that refusal was met with in less than 10 per cent of the houses visited. In all 2,222 houses were inspected and the information is tabulated and filed on cards, of which the following is an example:

The Town Planning Commission

Date

Inspector			
Street	No.		Name of Tenant
Nationality			Length of time in Winnipeg
Landlord Address			
Kind of House	Rent Paid		
Condition of Exterior			Condition of Interior

No. Inmates	Lodgers	Children
Rooms	Total No. No. Bedrooms	
Size of Rooms	No. Bedrooms without Windows -	
No. Animals in House		No. People living in Cellar
People living in Basement		Rooms without Windows
Plumbing, present or absent		Bath
Sink	W.C.	Outside privies
Yards	Garbage Cans	Walls
Ceilings	Cellars	Milk Supply
Lighting	Nuisances	
Private House	Tenement	Boarding House
Private House converted into Tenement		
Remarks		

It is from this information voluntarily given that most of the deductions and recommendations were made. A large number of dwellings to which shops are being added were visited, also a large number of shops used in part for sleeping purposes.

Many lodging houses have been visited during the night and day, and many water-closets in apartment blocks and tenement houses were examined. The births and deaths registered at the City Hall were studied very carefully and an analysis of births and deaths worked out in order to ascertain the relation between infantile mortality and bad living conditions. Hospital registers were examined and the births and deaths referred to the address of the patents. The analysis were made in many ways; according to date of register; stillbirths excluded from births and deaths; stillbirths included in births and death; etc.

The analysis chosen for this report is based on the actual dates of births and deaths, and stillbirths have been excluded from the figures, this being the basis on which infantile mortality is quoted in other towns. In order to obtain some idea of the effect of lack of registration on this data about 50 cities were written to and in the cities where the error had been ascertained it was found that from 5% to 10% of births were estimated as being non-registered. Similar allowances should be made in reading the figures given in this report.

Infant Mortality

Births and deaths as taken from the Vital Statistics Record in the offices of the Medical Health Officer, City Hall, according to the date of registration.

Ward 1 111.6 deaths per 1,000 births

Ward 2	134.8 deaths per 1,000 births
Ward 3	122.0 deaths per 1,000 births
Ward 4	211.5 deaths per 1,000 births
Ward 5	282.3 deaths per 1,000 births
Ward 6	214.9 deaths per 1,000 births
Ward 7	148.1 deaths per 1,000 births

A large number of living rooms in the city being inadequately ventilated, the city authorities should make special investigation into the possibilities of a ventilation system to suit our climatic conditions.

The disposal of water in many cases is unsatisfactory and provision might be made for compelling an adequate system of disposal in order to prevent unhealthy dampness beneath the house. The drainage of basements and cellars is in many cases unsatisfactory; there seems to be a need for a by-law clearly defining a standard of drainage.

As so many people spend evenings in crowded places of amusements, Special attention should be given to the ventilation of these buildings. With regard to heating these places with hot air, the re-heating of air should be prohibited. There being a number of localities through the city where pools of stagnant water are found, especially in the deep guttering by the side of certain roadways, provision should be made for preventing such stagnation.

With the growth of the City the smoke nuisance is becoming very marked, and in the interests of the citizens at large the present smoke by-law should be rigidly enforced, as it has been proved that large volumes of smoke can be prevented by proper firing, fuel and up-to-date appliances.

In certain quarters such conditions were found as in the opinion of this Committee would have a bad effect on the health of the City, notably in-sanitary premises, overcrowding, and insufficiency of fresh air and sunlight. In order to ascertain as far as possible just what the effects of existing bad conditions are the available data has been used to ascertain the infantile mortality, which is sometimes employed as an index of certain sanitary conditions. The results of the analysis have shown that the bad conditions which have been found and a high infantile death rate go hand in hand. In parts of Wards 5 and 6 overcrowding is too general, with these unsatisfactory home conditions general parental ignorance has been noticed. Even those with the most superficial knowledge of home conditions of this City will see the relation of unsatisfactory conditions to the high infantile death-rate.

As mentioned before, the foregoing analyses are as actually found in the City registers, but it should be pointed out that there is every reason to believe that the true figures are not so unfavorable as the registration of births is unsatisfactorily carried out, with the result that, while there is the registration of

practically every death, there is not the registration of anything like so great a proportion of the births. The dangers of this laxity of registration are obvious, and steps should be taken to enforce the penalty clause for non-registration.

The best legislation alone will not meet the conditions; the City should have a very earnest campaign of education on the laws of domestic hygiene and child-care.

Recognizing the good services of the people who are now actively engaged in this work in Winnipeg, this Committee desires to point out that the infantile death-rate is not due to incompetence or lack of earnestness on their part, but from insufficiency of funds at their disposal to carry on the work to the extent that it should be carried on.

Every encouragement, financial and otherwise, should be given the private philanthropic bodies already engaged in this work.

This Committee considers that a Child Welfare Bureau would be a legitimate enterprise to be undertaken by the City and one that would result in the saving of many lives.

It is only ignorance of the evil effects arising from bad air and insufficient sunlight that makes certain people tolerate them. These people should be educated in such a way that they will realize to the fullest extent the relation between the health of their offspring and ill-lighted, badly ventilated rooms. That education and the change of environment such as is advised does have a great effect on people used to dirty surroundings, has been amply demonstrated by the change not only in the living conditions, but the demands of the people who have been transferred from congested cities to model industrial towns and suburbs. Much of the money now spent on curing disease and punishing crime would be unnecessary if living conditions were changed.

The climatic conditions make it difficult to maintain pure air in the living rooms, it should be the duty of everyone to see that additional sunlight is afforded to offset the dangers arising from vitiated air.

Little or no attention has been paid to the importance of sunlight as a preventor of disease, with the result that there are many persons living in quarters where there is insufficient sunlight to insure the health of the occupants. The lack of light together with the vitiated air, is a direct encouragement to the spread of tuberculosis, and though even through ignorance certain people tolerate these conditions, the educated citizens should realize not only their moral responsibility in this matter but also the direct danger to themselves, as diseases generated in the small, ill-lighted, badly-ventilated room may be carried through the whole City. It may be distributed through the public conveyances, through the schools, in places of amusement, and other places where people congregate.

The matter of the protection of our milk supply is one of the most vital importance, and your Committee desires to recommend that only milk from tested herds or which has been pasteurized be sold in the City.

While the protection of food "posed for sale is as good as in any City in the Dominion, the practice of wrapping food-stuffs in old newspapers is a dangerous one and it should be forbidden by law.

The present system of collecting house refuse could be made more efficient if collection were made more frequent.

In some of the tenement buildings it has been found that there are no yards, and consequently no place for garbage receptacles except inside the building or in the lane. This is insanitary and it would be desirable that in the future no tenement building be built without yard provision.

The unlighted water-closet is too prevalent, as from investigation it was found that too often w.c.'s without light are not kept as clean as they should be, and it is therefore recommended that in the future no permit be given for tenement houses where the w.c.'s have not a reasonable amount of direct light. The occupation of houses before they are completed is too, although it is against the law for landlords to allow occupation before completion. There should be a heavy penalty for this offence.

While the wooden-walled dugout is no longer legal, the present demand for concrete, stone or brick walls is not sufficiently stringent, and too often, while complying with the letter of the by-law, the spirit is broken by putting in walls which are not sufficiently strong to retain the earth, resulting in cave-ins in many cases.

Many cities have recognized the evils which may arise from uncovered earth beneath the floors of dwelling houses, and by-laws have been passed compelling the builders to cover the whole of the building area with 2 layer of concrete. Such a law would be in the best interest of the health of this City; this is an effective provision against the dangers from ground air etc.

Where cavities and gullies have been filled in with refuse, provision should be made for the prevention of the erection of dwelling houses on such sites.

In a large number of cases shops were found used in part as sleeping and living quarters, the part used as a dwelling too often being without windows. Where such shops are used partly as dwellings, the law should insist on that part used as a dwelling being provided with sufficient windows. In these cases such rooms should be closed and not used for either living or sleeping purposes.

Many houses being rendered almost uninhabitable in winter owing to the method of construction, regulations should be embodied in the building by-laws which will secure better protection from the cold, particularly for the plumbing.

This Committee has learned that the Tenement House By-law may be so changed as to make it necessary that three families occupy a house before the house comes under the Tenement Act. The definition formerly employed in

the Provincial Health Act which set the number at two should be adhered to. All of which is respectfully submitted.

**Report of the Aesthetic
Development Committee**

To the City Planning Commission:

Gentlemen, The Aesthetic Development Committee begs to report as follows:

Under the Chairmanship of Mr. Donald A. Ross the following Committee was constituted:

D.A. Ross, Chairman

H.E. Matthews

J.D. Atchison

W. Finland

W. Percy Over

J.P. West

Prof. Featherstonehaugh

Prof. Broderick

G. Champion

F. C. Hall

Your Committee has felt that its work would of a necessity depend largely upon recommendations made from time to time by the other Committees, more especially recommendations from the Committee on Traffic and Transport and the Physical Plan Committee.

The idea which your committee has kept in view is that it should prepare itself by collection of books, photographs, drawings and sketches from other cities, so that it would be able to make recommendations for the beautifying of the City in harmony with, and to illustrate, the recommendations which would be brought down by other Committees.

Your Committee therefore instructed the Secretary to secure such information and books as would be useful for the work laid down, and the Committee was informed that these books would be secured for the use of the Commission through the City Librarian. Your Committee found, however, that they were unable to secure the desired papers through the medium suggested, and therefore asked for an appropriation in order that they might be enabled to properly carry on their work.

When the City Council did not grant the Commission the amount requested by it, your Committee felt that it would be better to forego in the meantime the collection of the necessary documents and books so that other Committees, whose work was of a more pressing nature, might have sufficient funds to enable them to prosecute their work to some conclusions.

While your Committee has thus been seriously handicapped, it has nevertheless, through the courtesy of other cities, been able to secure many photographs and drawings and much information relative to the treatment adopted by various cities for dealing with street intersections, angles of streets,

and focal points, as well as treatment for civic centres, playgrounds and community centres for congested districts.

Among questions which have been discussed by this Committee, and upon which it is prepared to make recommendations, are the following:

1. Civic Centre
2. Treatment of focal points in streets
3. Workmen's houses
4. Squares and parks
5. Electric light and telephone poles
6. Signs and billboards
7. Height of buildings
8. Smoke prevention
9. River driveways
10. Bridges
11. Street Improvement Associations
12. Appointment of a permanent Advisory Board on Civic Aesthetics.

Your Committee has taken very strong grounds against the erection of a new City Hall on the present site, believing that the site is altogether un-suitable for a building such as should represent the future status of Winnipeg, also believing that the proposed Trans-City Highway and Civic Centre on the present Manitoba College grounds, connected by a broad Mall with the projected Provincial Government Buildings, would be more centrally situated for the Citizens at large, and would lend itself more readily to the aesthetic treatment to which our civic buildings must in time attain.

Winnipeg has not yet realized the possibilities for the aesthetic treatment of city streets which has been brought to such a fine art in many cities of Europe. Much can be done now at comparatively small cost to the City or to property owners, that in after years will entail heavy expenditure to realize. Legislation should be secured that would enable the City to place restrictions on the class of buildings to be erected on focal points, so that our opportunities of securing the erection of commanding structures at such points would not be lost in the future as they have been in the past.

In the laying out of new streets, changes in direction or alignment should be made to break the dreary monotony of an endless vista.

Your Committee, in co-operation with the Architects' Association, had under consideration a scheme for securing competitive drawings for workmen's houses at various costs, so that intending builders could purchase, at a nominal price, drawings that would ensure them an artistic and convenient home. Conditions of such competitions held in other cities were secured, but owing to lack of funds, this work could not be carried out. Your Committee would recommend that this work be carried out by the City Council.

Much can be done, before realty values become prohibitive, in the way of decorating our streets with small squares adjacent to the busy thoroughfares. In comparison with other cities of similar size, Winnipeg is woefully deficient in small squares in the down-town districts, to which clerks and workmen can regularly repair to refresh themselves at noon or in the evenings. With the exception of Victoria Park, Central Park and the square surrounding Fort Gary Gate, there is no such accommodation as we refer to in the down-town district. These squares need not be of large area, but should be so distributed that advantage could be taken of their cool shade and restfulness by many who have neither time nor opportunity to go to the larger parks.

Your Committee strongly recommends the placing of the electric light and telephone poles in lanes wherever practicable in future extensions, and the adoption of the underground conduit system on all central streets.

Legislation should be secured to regulate and restrict the rapidly growing nuisance of advertising signs and billboards, whose crude and inartistic effrontery could at least be curbed, if not abolished. Regulations as to size of signs, height and style of billboards, and size of letters to be employed would do much towards improving existing conditions.

As the beauty of a street is greatly marred by acute differences in the heights of adjoining buildings, your Committee would recommend to the citizens of Winnipeg that as far as possible buildings in the business districts should be made to conform to a common standard of height, and, in any case, it is recommended that the height of buildings be rigidly regulated by legislation to one and a half times the width of the streets on which they face, this from the purely aesthetic point of view.

To preserve the buildings, parks, streets and lawns of the City from disfigurement due to soot, and to preserve the purity the atmosphere, your Committee would recommend that the existing by-law on smoke prevention be rigidly enforced.

As the possibilities for beautiful river driveways are exceptional in Winnipeg, your Committee recommends that steps be taken to prevent further buildings being put up along the river banks, and that sections of driveways be constructed along the Assiniboine and Red Rivers, such sections to be connected together as it may become possible.

As specific instances the following are recommended: 1st. The extension of Scotia street along the river bank to the new Kildonan Park, and suggesting that the co-operation of the adjoining municipalities be obtained in continuing this driveway to St. Andrew's Locks. 2nd. The diversion of Crescent Road to follow the river bank out to Tuxedo Park.

Your Committee hopes that no further bridges will be erected without due consideration being given to the architectural design, and reaffirms its previous recommendations that all bridges should be the full width of the street serving

them and of permanent construction.

Your Committee believes that much good could be accomplished by the formation of Street Improvement Associations by which means the citizens could band together to improve the appearance of their streets at a small cost. As an indication of the means to be employed by these associations acting in conjunction with a landscape architect, your Committee suggests effective tree planting in the front lawns and boulevards, harmony in fencing and hedges and in the use of color in painting houses and in the general arrangement of houses to be built on vacant lots.

Your Committee would further recommend that the City Council should appoint a permanent Board of Advisors on Civic Aesthetics whose function it would be to give professional advice to the Council on such matters as the treatment of statuary and monuments, traffic islands, lamp-standards, buildings restrictions, bridge design, docks and river banks, boulevards, parks and streets.

Your Committee believes that such a board would assist the Council in securing more artistic results with an expenditure of very little additional money.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

Signed, D.A. Ross, Chairman.

Report of the Housing Committee

To the City Planning Commission:

Gentlemen, The Housing Committee begs to report as follows:

Under the Chairmanship of Mr. William Pearson the following Committee was constituted:

Mr. J. Appleton	Mr. C.W. Rowley
Mr. H. Edwards	Mr. C.D. Shepard
Mr. J.H.T. Falk	Mr. D.E. Sprague

The Committee was instructed to ascertain the facts relative to Housing Conditions in the City of Winnipeg, causes of unsatisfactory conditions if existent, and possible remedies.

To the extent of the funds available the Committee collected facts by personal investigation by competent investigators. In the course of this investigation two thousand two hundred and twenty-two houses were visited and examined, and the facts gathered from this examination and from the information given by the inhabitants, have been tabulated on index cards.⁹ On the basis of these facts your Committee makes its findings as to Housing Conditions in Winnipeg.

⁹ This raw data was not located in civic records.

The Building Codes and Tenement-House By-laws of a great number of cities on the American Continent have been obtained and compared with those of the City of Winnipeg. The Reports and Recommendations of the National Housing Association of Great Britain and the National Housing Association of America, together with the Reports of their Branches, have been studied for guidance and precedent.

Details of lay-outs, control and living conditions have been obtained from a large number of Model Towns and Suburbs shewing their influence on the inhabitants.

There were collected and made available for the study of the Committee the details of the chief Municipal Housing Schemes, the Reports of Co-operative Mutual Building Associations, Co-operative Housing and Heating Schemes, and Co-partnership Housing.

The relation of Winnipeg real estate values to rents in areas in transition from the residential to the commercial stage have been worked out in several hundred cases.

Lodging houses were visited and their management, condition and accommodation noted.

The Committee carried its investigations as far as the funds would allow, but there are still other phases of the Housing Problem yet to be examined, and your Committee desires to point out that an equally extensive survey of conditions throughout the entire City would be of immense value.

Your Committee begs to set forth its Findings and Recommendations under the following headings.

Findings

- (1) Distribution of Houses per Acre
- (2) Density of population per House
- (3) Character of Construction
- (4) Degeneration of Apartment Blocks and Residences into Tenements and Shacks
- (5) Problems of Administration
- (6) Relation of Real Estate Values to Rents
- (7) High Rents and Industrial Development

Suggested Remedies

- (1) Legislation for the Control of Future Subdivisions
- (2) Legislation Covering Distribution of Buildings in given Areas, Size of Rooms, etc.
 - (a) Houses.
 - (b) Tenements.
- (3) Development of Rapid Transportation Facilities

- (4) Development of Model Suburbs for Workmen
- (5) Lodging Houses
- (6) Well Constructed Houses at Reasonable Rentals
- (7) The Development of Co-operative Mutual Building Associations
- (8) The Zone System
- (9) Improvement of Construction
- (10) Enlargement of Present Organization of Health and Building Departments
- (11) Better Scavenging

Findings

The building of houses on 25 ft. lots with a uniform set-back from the street is most undesirable. It produces a thoroughly unsatisfactory distribution of houses. It allows a minimum amount of sunlight and air, many rooms having windows only three to four feet from the opposite wall and the top-light cut off by the overhang of the eaves, an arrangement giving many poorly lighted rooms and hence an encouragement to the spread of tuberculosis.

There is a very pronounced overcrowding per room in certain districts: this particularly refers to bedrooms. In our survey covering 2,222 houses the data as to population was largely from voluntary information and your Committee is of opinion that worse conditions obtain than the survey indicated, inasmuch as the presence of lodgers was rarely admitted.

As an instance of overcrowding, from voluntary evidence of the occupiers there were sixteen houses in one street and twenty houses in another where overcrowding per room existed contrary to the City Health By-law requirements.

Your Committee noted a large number of cottages being built with all the bedrooms so small that two adults cannot occupy any one of them without breaking the City Health By-law which calls for 400 cubic feet for each adult occupying a bedroom.

It is the evil effects of overcrowding that we largely attribute the un-satisfactory infantile death-rate in certain districts. The Social Survey Committee has found the infantile death-rate in Ward 5 nearly three times greater than in Ward I (see Social Survey Report).

Available data has made possible an analysis of the death-rate, and, reasoning from the reports of other towns where the data is more complete, your Committee is confident that, coupled with the high infantile death-rate, there is the lowered physique of the survivors.

Data before your Committee with respect to building construction has shown that, while there is a commendable amount of good construction, there is too much low-grade and inferior material used, especially in cottages. In too many cases methods of construction are not all that could be desired. Inferior

construction results in bad wracking and settling of the dwellings at an early date, with consequent cracking of plaster and rapid deterioration of the property generally. Such deterioration affects adversely the health and character of the unwilling occupants, or result in the cottages being inhabited only by families already sub-normal in respect to health and character of the unwilling occupants, or result in the cottages being inhabited only by families already sub-normal in respect to health and character who most of all need the best housing conditions.

In winter the false economy in construction is paid for by the heavy charges for plumbing and heating, charges which, directly or indirectly, fall upon the occupants. Sanitation and health problems also occur; the one because frozen plumbing frequently cuts off the water supply, and the other because a single stove is found inadequate to heat more than one or two rooms of a four or five roomed cottage, so that the whole families crowd into a single warm room and leave the rest of the house vacant.

It is found that the older apartment blocks and to a large extent the old residences, which are being encroached upon by commercial and industrial property are tending to develop into tenement houses of a dangerous type. As an instance of the apartment block degeneration, it was found that in certain suites every room is occupied to its fullest extent, even the kitchen being used as a sleeping apartment.

a) Health Department.

While recognizing the excellent work of the Health Department, your Committee is of opinion that the staff is too small to adequately protect the health of a City such as Winnipeg. The prevention of overcrowding and its consequent evils is referred to particularly.

b) Building Inspector's Department.

Your Committee finds that the Building Inspector's Department is altogether inadequate for the work that should be done. The present force is too small to make any pretence of inspecting building construction a satisfactory manner.

The greatest need of inspection during construction exists in the case of buildings for which neither architects nor responsible contractors are employed. Many medium-priced houses and small low-priced cottages have no supervision worthy of the name, and are frequently put up as an irresponsible way of making money, resulting in bad living conditions for those who can ill-afford to bear them.

In certain well defined districts your Committee has found property in a bad state of repair and let at high rental for the accommodation afforded; the land being held for commercial development the existing houses are of secondary consideration. Several hundred cases were worked out by your Committee in which the percentage of rental return was established in relation

to the present market value of the property. In some cases in central districts the rental return was merely nominal, being as low as 1 per cent. In such cases little is voluntarily done by owners of houses which are likely to be pulled down at any time. Your Committee would point out that this condition of affairs is a menace to the health of the City.

Your Committee has not been able to complete a study of rents in Winnipeg and their tendencies nor make a comparative study of conditions in other similarly situated centres, but is profoundly impressed with the importance of this question in relation to the industrial development of the City. High rents must retard industrial development, for with high rents, wages, to ensure a permanent labor supply, tend to become too high for firms selling in a keen competitive market.

As far as practicable the sub-division of acreage into 25 ft. lots should be prohibited. The necessity for the access of light and air makes width of far greater importance than depth. Future sub-divisions should be so controlled that a clearance to lot line of 6 ft. can be required - a practice that is commonly carried out in the Old Country with no appreciable hardships to the owner.

(a) Houses.

Where land is already sub-divided and sold out in 25 ft. lots the un-desirable living conditions should be controlled by legislation that will call for all important rooms to have light from front or back, irrespective of any side windows. Among all the problems of city life your Committee feels that none is of greater importance than this question of an efficient use of the land to get the maximum sunlight and free access of air for a given number of house per acre.

The Building By-law should call for a minimum of 800 cubic feet in at least one bedroom.

(b) Tenements.

The problem of degenerating apartment houses, tending towards one family in one room is to be met mainly by a fully staffed department supported by stringent by-laws. The same is true of the old-time residence degenerating into a tenement house pending the development of the neighborhood into commercial property. Your Committee is of opinion that the present by-laws governing tenement houses in the City of Winnipeg do not sufficiently safeguard the occupants, and with a view to bringing them into line with those of progressive cities of this Continent, a large number of tenement house by-laws have been studied and analyzed. As a result of this analysis your Committee recommends that the following clauses be inserted in the Tenement House by-law of this City.

1) That the present minimum height of rooms may be 8 ft. 6 in. in place of 9 ft. 0 in. (This is a concession in favor of the owner that in our opinion works no hardship on the tenant.)

2) That inner courts shall have a minimum width of ten feet for two-story tenement, and such widths shall increase two feet per each additional storey. The length of the inner court shall be at least twice the above minimum width.

3) That outer courts shall have the minimum widths of inner courts as specified above.

4) That lot-line courts may have a minimum width of half that called for in inner courts, provided that there is filed in the Land Titles Office an easement granted by the owner of the next lot binding him to keep an equal area clear on his lot for any type of building, making the total width equal to the area of an inner court.

5) That all bathrooms and water-closet apartments shall open on a street, lane, court or yard, in order to furnish ventilation and at least a moderate amount of daylight.

6) That all water-closet compartments in tenement houses shall have a floor of impervious composition other than wood and carried at least six inches up the walls.

7) That at least one room in each apartment of a tenement house shall have an area of 150 square feet, and every other room shall have at least 70 square feet.

The above recommendations were brought before the Fire, Water and Light Committee of the City Council, which Committee has in hand the drafting of a new building by-law, with the following results: -

- 1) Not adopted. 2) Not adopted. 3) Not adopted. 4) Not adopted.
- 5) Not Adopted. 6) Adopted. 7) Not adopted.

The present requirements of the Tenement House by-law in relation to the above clauses are as follows: - 1) Each room shall be in every part not less than 9 feet high from the finished floor to the finished ceiling. 2) Inner courts of all new tenement houses shall have minimum widths as follows: -

Storeys	Present Law	Proposed Law	Housing Committee Recommendations
2	6	7	10
3	7	10	12
4	8	13	14
5	12	16	16
6	16	19	18

3) Outer courts of all tenement houses hereafter erected shall have not less than the following widths in all parts: -

Storeys	Proposed Law	Housing Committee Recommendations
2	6	10
3	7	12
4	8	14
5	12	14
6	16	18

4) Lot-line courts under the existing law may become inner courts by the erection of an adjoining building, other than a tenement, which will result in the lot-line court becoming an inner court of half the width it should be.

5) The present law will allow bathrooms and water-closets opening on to a shaft which will not provide a reasonable amount of light.

6) Adopted as recommended by the Housing Committee.

7) In each apartment there shall be at least one room containing not less than 120 square feet of floor area, and every other room shall contain at least 70 square feet of floor area.

Your Committee has learned that the definition of a Tenement may be so changed in the new Building By-law as to make it necessary for three families to occupy a house before it comes under the Tenement House By-law. If this change is made it will have the undesirable effect of making it possible for two families to occupy almost every house in the City, whether the houses are fitted for tenements or not. It is therefore urged, that the old definition of a tenement be adhered to.

One of the most satisfactory remedies for central overcrowding in other large cities is the development of cheap and rapid transportation to the outer suburbs. Your Committee strongly urges the development of Model Suburbs for workmen wherever reasonable transportation can be provided. It is the opinion of this Committee that it would be a good investment for business organizations of the City of Winnipeg to promote the growth of low-priced, well constructed cottages for workmen, grouped in model suburbs, even though the net returns were only equal to the returns on the average investment bond. Better housing conditions mean better workmen and a more stable labor market.

As much of the overcrowding per room in the City of Winnipeg is due to the seasonal influx of certain classes of workers - lumbermen, construction men, etc. - and inasmuch as the efforts of the Health Department to reduce overcrowding are and will remain ineffective so long as there is insufficient accommodation for these seasonal laborers, your Committee recommends the erection of suitable lodging houses; if private capital is not forthcoming for their erection, the City should in its own interest erect them, and, from experience in other cities, they should prove

financially profitable. The Municipal Lodging House, moreover, has the advantage over the one erected by private capital, in that it can more adequately regulate the conduct of its inhabitants.

Where private capital is not producing the proper results, your Committee is convinced that, for the sake of getting the correct standards of construction, it will become expedient to introduce a scheme of Municipal Housing. Experience has shown that many large cities such as London, Liverpool, Manchester, and new Industrial Towns such as Letchworth, have been forced to adopt Municipal Housing Schemes, while in rural districts the Local Government Board and the County Councils have found it necessary to relieve the situation by providing decent homes at fair rentals.

Much of the improvement in housing conditions in the Old World being the result of co-operative Building Societies, your Committee is of the opinion that similar good results would accrue from the establishment of similar societies here. These societies advance a very large proportion of the value of the property, and the repayment is spread over a much longer term of years than is customary in this country, and the rate of payment of principal and interest is but a small sum per month on every \$1,000.00 advanced. The working of these societies ensures a good standard of building, as, in their own interests, they have the property surveyed at several stages during construction.

There being a danger of bad housing conditions arising from the mixing of factories and dwellings, your Committee is of the opinion that the question of effective development of a Zone System and Good Housing are intimately connected.

Efficient periodic inspection by public authorities should take place on every building during erection, and the inspectors should be given power to condemn both faulty construction and bad material. The danger of giving minor officials autocratic power should, however, be guarded against.

Your Committee recommends that the Building Inspector's Department be extended at once, so that a thoroughly effective administration of a satisfactory Building Law may be obtained. There should be on file a record of all inspections, whether or not defects are found, and such inspections should be made at specific stages in the construction of the buildings. The ultimate development of the Building Inspector's Department should be that the final certificate of occupancy is based on periodic inspection by trained public employees during construction, and which resultant certificate shall state the, number of inspections and the conditions found.

There being a danger of the old buildings in certain quarters becoming a source of disease infection, your Committee recommends that there be thorough and periodic inspection of such buildings; and to this end, in the interest of public safety, the Health Department should be so increased as to allow for this inspection, also to see that the present Health By-laws are more rigidly enforced.

An increased appropriation should be made for the Scavenging System, inasmuch as the present inadequate service necessitates the accumulation of refuse and ashes which litter the lanes and lots and in consequence give to the cultivation of hygiene and tidiness amongst the citizens.

In conclusion your Committee wishes to emphasize that in its opinion the most immediate results for bettering some of the conditions indicated in this Report can be obtained by the City Council and the Board of Control assuming a more sympathetic attitude towards the Health Department, and at once making a much larger appropriation for materially increasing the staffs of both the Health Department and the Building Inspector's Department.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

Signed, William Pearson, Chairman

Report of the Physical Plan Committee

To the City Planning Commission:

Gentlemen, The Physical Plan Committee begs to report as follows: Under the Chairmanship of Mr. N.T. McMillan the following Committee was constituted:

J.D. Atchison	W.J. Boyd	G.H. Miner	H. R. Tarr
F.B. Bennett	A.L. Crossin	Horace Ormond	

This Committee was instructed to prepare a Physical map of the City of Winnipeg and its environs, showing its chief physical features, such as public services, main highways, railways, etc. As the various Committees of the Commission brought in recommendations they were referred to this Committee for the purpose of studying them 'in relation to the whole, and after adoption by the Commission, as much as possible has been placed on the special general map prepared in order that a person may see at a glance the changes and conditions suggested in relation to the City as a whole.

There being no existing map of the City of Winnipeg suitable for the purpose, the Secretary was instructed to secure the services of a draftsman and prepare a new map of the City to such a scale as would allow of a clear demonstration of the recommendations made from time to time. In connection with the building up of this map your Committee regrets to have to point out the waste of time which has been necessary owing to the nature of the data supplied by the City Authorities. The blue-prints in many cases being twenty years out of date, necessitated considerable labor in investigating the changes made subsequent to the special survey. The time spent in bringing the material up-to-date has prevented your Committee extending this map to the Outer Municipalities as was intended.

Your Committee divided its work into sections, and these are dealt with in this Report under the following headings:

- 1) Civic Centre
- 2) Highways
- 3) Market
- 4) Auditorium
- 5) Traffic Islands and Alighting Platforms
- 6) Public Lavatories
- 7) Utilization of Old Exhibition Grounds
- 8) Lack of Provision for Connecting Outer Municipalities
- 9) Development of Modern Suburbs for Workmen
- 10) Height of Buildings
- 11) Neighborhood Centres
- 12) Comprehensive Plan

It was the intention of your Committee to deal with the Civic Centre last, making it the climax to the whole scheme of improvements suggested, but the fact of the Legislative Buildings being about to be built, together with the fact that the City Council were considering the erection of a New City Hall at once, forced the Committee to take immediate action in the matter. This Committee considers the present site of the City Hall quite inadequate for a Civic Centre such as the City of Winnipeg will demand in the near future. In addition to the inadequacy of the site, it is realized that there is a rapid change taking place which will make the surroundings such as are not usually associated with a Civic Centre.

The Traffic and Transport Committee having made the provision of a New Cross-town Highway one of its first recommendations, together with the fact that the new Legislative Buildings are located on this suggested new highway, led your Committee to consider the practicability of connecting the Legislative Centre by this highway.

Your Aesthetic Development Committee realizing the aesthetic possibilities of a group of public buildings such as are to be built in our City within the next few years made a careful study of the matter and finally adopted a scheme prepared by Mr. J.D. Atchison, which places the new Civic Centre on the present Manitoba College site, and opens up Vaughan Street as a Mall connecting it with the Legislative Centre.

Having carefully studied the growth of the City and the tendency for the Manitoba College site to become eventually the centre of that activity usually associated with a Civic Centre, this Committee would emphasize the scheme as prepared by the Aesthetic Development Committee, and gives four main reasons for doing so.

1)The opportunity which now presents itself is such as few cities have the fortune to have, as it gives Winnipeg the opportunity for making the finest

group of buildings in the Dominion of Canada.

2)The site will be the centre of activity by the time the City can afford to build a Civic Centre worthy of its size.

3)The scheme places both the Legislative and Civic Centres on a highway which will be one of the chief routes of the City.

4)The Provincial Government is apparently not only willing but anxious to cooperate in making the scheme worthy of Greater Winnipeg.

There being a lack of through highways in many parts of the City, this Committee urges the adoption of the Main Highway Scheme as laid down by the Traffic and Transport Committee; but in order to make the construction of these highways inexpensive, there should be a body created and legislation secured giving powers of excess condemnation similar to those obtained in many progressive cities. A draft of an Act giving the powers suggested is submitted herewith. Many of the most expensive and drastic improvements in older cities have been carried out by bodies with similar powers to those set forth in this Act, and with a profit to the City. It is powers such as suggested that have made possible the vast improvements in London, England, where, after buying the property and making the new streets, the Council usually has sufficient land left for sale to cover the expense of the whole improvement. The surplus land, owing to the enhanced values created by the improvements, often sells for a larger sum than has been expended on the improvements, thus making improvements not only without cost, but also actual profit to the community.

The lack of proper market facilities should be met at once by the provision of a Municipal Market, where the consumer and producer are brought directly together. The recent trial market, organized by the Million for Manitoba League and the Industrial Bureau, proved the demand for such a market, but it is believed that with a city developing so rapidly, the City should be content with a temporary market until such time as a suitable permanent location can be decided on. In the opinion of this Committee the same tendency that led to the suggestion of the Manitoba College site as a suitable one for the Civic Centre points to this neighborhood as the best site for the future market.

There being no permanent auditorium in which to accommodate the many conventions which choose Winnipeg as a meeting place, provision might be made for an auditorium and committee rooms to occupy the second floor of the market building, especially if time proves the suggested site a suitable one for a Civic Centre.

The increase in both speed and volume of the City street traffic has made the provision of traffic islands and alighting platforms necessary, and these are urgently required in the two main wide streets, Main Street and Portage Avenue. Sketches and suggested positions on these streets as set out on the general map submitted herewith are examples of what should be done. In

choosing the sites for traffic islands your committee had in view these serving two purposes - a place of refuge for a person caught in the traffic, and a regulator for vehicular traffic entering or leaving main thoroughfares.

The public lavatory facilities are absolutely inadequate for a City of the size of Winnipeg, as with the exception of an unsatisfactory public convenience on the north side of the City Hall, the City is without public lavatory provision, the public having to rely almost exclusively on the accommodation afforded by the hotels. This is a very unsatisfactory state of affairs, and this Committee suggests that money spent on a subterranean public lavatory at the corner of Portage Avenue and Main Street would benefit the City in several ways.

There being a need for good cottage building and designing in the City, part of the Old Exhibition site should be utilized for a Model Housing Scheme for workmen. A suggestion for subdividing the site is submitted in the general plan, which provides for playing fields and parks. The scheme of development should embody a competition for plans and specifications in order to obtain the best ideas. A demonstration of the possibilities of building good cottage design and construction. There being a need for convenient "apparent factories" in which small manufacturing firms can find accommodation with all the facilities the City offers, provision should be made for such factories on this site.

The Main Highway Scheme as recommended by the Traffic and Transport Committee should be provided for without further delay, and in order that these main arteries shall actually connect as desired, it is advisable to have permanent survey lines laid down on the ground to check up with the surveys of Outer Municipalities. In order to carry out this scheme for future development powers should be obtained similar to those set forth in the Housing and Town Planning Acts of England, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, etc., copies of which Acts are submitted herewith. Older cities in Europe and the oldest cities in the Dominion having worked out schemes for model suburbs for workmen as a means of improving health and living conditions generally, at the request of the Housing Committee, this Committee has studied some of the methods of lay-out and development, and as an example of this method of development and control, a scheme is submitted from the report of the National Housing Council of Great Britain, where it has been amply demonstrated that the economic loss from large and cheap lots is met by the addition of a few cents per week on the rent. From the mass of data and proceedings now available, this Committee is of opinion that similar schemes can, and should, be worked out for Winnipeg while the surrounding land is still cheap and capable of re-subdividing to meet the conditions.

Unless a rigid rule is set for the maximum height of buildings in the City, Winnipeg will at an early date be faced with the same problem now worrying the authorities in New York, Chicago, and other large cities. The injurious physical

effects of high building in cutting off light and air are well known, but the eventual street congestion which they create is not so fully recognized. Making its deductions from findings of a Special Committee appointed in New York to study this problem, your Committee recommends that the maximum height for buildings be not more than one-and-a-half times the width of the streets on which they face. The time seems now opportune to establish regulations before values of business properties become based on potential high buildings.

Older cities, especially Chicago, having demonstrated the good influence of neighborhood centres or playground parks, this Committee recommends that such centres be developed on or near the sites marked on the general map. Older cities have found by actual experience that the cost of these centres is offset by improved conditions of health, morals, etc., the effect on juvenile delinquency being particularly marked.

In the study of the City, Your Committee realized not only the opportunities that the City has had and lost, but also the immense and intricate problem of working out such a scheme for the future as will make the most of opportunities.

The development of this City, and practically every other Canadian City, is too haphazard; there is no comprehensive scheme for the City as a whole - no master hand to work out such a scheme, and under our system of municipal government, with its ward politics and lack of continuity, we cannot hope for anything but haphazard development with all its consequent evils.

Just as a complex building needs the master hand of the architect to arrange its component parts and blend them into one magnificent whole, so does the City need a master designer - a landscape architect - a man to take the available material and build it up into a convenient, beautiful mass without waste of material.

Just as the architect prevents waste by having a comprehensive plan of his buildings with every work taken up in its proper order, so does the skilled landscape architect and town-planner study his material and the requirements of his clients, and then work out such a scheme as will prevent waste and give as much convenience and beauty as the money will allow.

Our City needs such a well thought out plan and our finances demand that the utmost value be obtained from every dollar spent. If the heavy and unnecessary expenditure which older cities are faced with is to be avoided, the City must without delay have courage to look into the future and must have in mind Winnipeg as one of the world's largest cities. The Committee admits its inability to deal with this vast work of planning for the future, and just as men secure the best architects to design and carry out economically their best buildings, so should the City secure the services of one of the best town-planners to take the available material secured by this Commission and make a plan for our future development which will give the

maximum convenience for the minimum of expenditure - a plan that will make the most of our facilities, provide for the future, and give a plain, substantial, convenient city with provision for embellishment as it can afford it.

The various Committees of the Commission have at hand most of the data that would be required by an expert town-planner, and believing that money spent now on a comprehensive plan would save immense sums to the City in the future, your Committee would urge that without further delay the City engage the services of an expert town-planner to prepare a comprehensive plan for Greater Winnipeg.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

Signed. N.T. McMillan, Chairman.

Traffic and Transportation Committee Report

To the City Planning Commission:

Gentlemen. The Traffic and Transportation Committee was instructed to examine and study the present traffic and transportation facilities and to work out a scheme which will provide for the future.

Under the chairmanship of Prof. E. Brydone Jack the following gentlemen consented to act as a Committee:

- | | |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| J.T. Chapman, Assiniboia | A. McGillivray, Good Roads |
| V. Major, St. Vital | A. K. Godfrey, Board of Trade |
| E. Partridge, Kildonan | C.F. Roland, Industrial Bureau |
| Mayor Berry, St. Boniface | F. W. Heubach |
| H. Hardern, Rosser | Hugh Sutherland, Street Ry. |
| E.C. Harvey, Springfield | Geo. Stephen, C.N.R. |
| Controller Harvey, Controllers | W.P. Hinton, G.T.P.R. |
| Controller Douglas, Board of Works | J. Armstrong, H.B.R. |
| Geo. Champion, Public Parks | A. C. Emmett, Good Roads |
| Col. Ruttan, City Engineer | R.D. Waugh, Good Roads |
| J.W. Harris, City Assessor | J.A. Heketh, Can. Soc. C. E. |
| W.F. Tallman, Street Commissioner | C.C. Chataway, Man. Land Surveyor |
| C.S. Tyrell | Leo Ward |
| | C. H. Dancer, Dept. of Public Works |

In order to arrive at a basis for a main artery system connecting the City with the Outer Municipalities, representatives of the latter were asked to co-operate, and at a meeting at which the surrounding Municipalities were represented, a scheme of main highways was worked out and put on a map for detailed consideration.

The matter of a new crossing, an overhead bridge, or a subway over the C.P.R. being a live question at the time of the appointment of the Committee, a careful study of the

movements of the people living north of the C.P.R. tracks were made. In order to study this question with unbiased minds, graphic maps were made with the aid of material gathered from 4,312 houses. Agents of the Committee called at each of these houses and obtained the facts by personal enquiry. On these maps the home of every person was connected with his or her place of employment by a direct line. These maps have been loaned by request to the Traffic Expert called in to advise the Public Utilities Commissioner.

Your Committee desired to study the whole of the City in this systematic manner, and had commenced to work out graphic maps for the other parts of the City, also dealing with the distribution of the people at the rush-hour, with a view to suggesting relief lines, but were unable to proceed further owing to lack of assistance and funds.

Your Committee has not the complete data, but it is evident that much of the street car congestion existing is caused by the fact that certain lines have to carry traffic which might be diverted to other routes. For instance, as many as 192 passengers were counted by a member of the Committee on one car during the rush-hour. Apart from the danger and discomfort, we would point out that such crowding naturally tends to a slow service, because so much time is lost unloading. This Committee is also of the opinion that much time is lost by the slowness of movement on the part of the passengers in entering cars and especially in preparing to leave them.

The Street Railway Traffic needs a most exhaustive search, study by experts, who should consult and work with the Street Railway Officials and the City Council in order to secure such an efficient and economical service as will be beneficial both to the citizens and to the Street Railway Company.

Your Committee also wishes to point out that so far no definite scheme for the entrance of steam railways into the City has been considered. Some definite plan for the entrance of new railways and extensions for the present service should be laid off and areas provided for wholesale and industrial purposes, with streets suitably developed to serve the same.

In order to handle the different phases of this work in a systematic manner sub-committees were formed to study the work which was divided into the following classes:

- 1) Ordinary Street Traffic
- 2) Street Railway Traffic
- 3) Steam Railways and Traffic arising from them
- 4) River Traffic and Traffic arising from it

The finds and recommendations of the sub-committees are set out under the above headlines.

1) ORDINARY STREET TRAFFIC

The basis laid down at the conference of the Traffic and Transport

Committee with the representatives of the Outer Municipalities has been carefully studied, and as a result of this study it is recommended that the following highways be adopted as a main artery system as soon as the necessary developments can be carried out: (See Map No.)¹⁰

In making this recommendation your Committee would point out the urgent necessity for a main artery system such as this would provide.

The main obstructions to traffic which exist throughout the City are:

The C.P.R. yards on the North.

The Assiniboine River and railway tracks on the South.

The Red River on the East.

The various railways on the West.

The centre of the City must be connected with the districts outside this range of obstacles, and as the obstacles are extremely expensive to overcome, every dollar spent in surmounting them should have in view the linking up of the whole City and not merely the parts adjacent to the crossings.

In studying the present inadequate crossings over the obstacles above-mentioned, we find that their efficiency is greatly reduced by the lack of relation one with the other - for instance, the lack of relation of the crossings of the Assiniboine river with those of the C.P.R. tracks. The insufficient width of the bridges is to a large extent responsible for the retarding of the traffic. ...¹¹

2) STREET RAILWAY TRAFFIC

The development of an efficient street-railway service is a matter for experts working in conjunction with the City Council and the Street Railway Company. But it is not necessary to employ experts to point out some of the existing hindrances to the development of an efficient service in the City. Main Street and Portage Avenue being crowded with cars which do not really belong to them, results in a reduction of service over the greater pan of the City, as cars entering this part of the system are hampered. The City should aim at such a routing system as will reduce the congestion on these two main thoroughfares.

With the present lay-out of the City your Committee realize that little improvement can be made, but with the development of a systematic main artery system such as is recommended improvement in the street-car service along should be easy.

Much of the cross-town traffic having to traverse three sides of a square, your Committee would point out that as an instance, the improvement that would be made

¹⁰ No map was found with the report.

¹¹ At this point the report continues for seven or eight pages with a survey of traffic problems on the city's major streets. In the interests of space this section has been omitted here. Also, without the diagrams and maps which were to have accompanied the report, this section is particularly difficult to follow.

possible by the development of the cross-town highway as shown on Map No. ...¹² In addition to carrying the Fort Rouge traffic direct to the North End, this would give relief at the corner of Notre Dame and Portage Avenue, as a loop car-service could be adopted using Notre Dame, Isabel, Salter, Logan and Princess, and with a subway under the C.P.R. tracks at Princess Street a still more useful service could be obtained by using Notre Dame, Isabel, Salter, Inkster, Main, King and Princess. While it is believed that the Notre Dame-Isabel route will eventually be an important one, deductions from the graphic map already referred to leads this Committee to recommend for present service a route along Princess Street and Logan Avenue crossing the C.P.R. tracks at Salter Street. Your Committee is strongly of opinion that the development of an efficient street-car service should be trusted to an expert who would have in view not only the immediate demands, but the relation of the service to the rapidly developing City as a whole.

The hindrance caused by narrow bridges, by subways and level crossings has already been referred to; until these impediments are removed an improvement in the street-car service will be difficult, if not altogether impossible. In making a recommendation that it would be in the best interests of the City to have these obstructions overcome, this Committee would point out that they affect everyone who uses the street cars, since the congestion at the bridges and subways as well as the holding up of traffic at level-crossings, is felt over the whole route.

3) STEAM RAILWAYS AND TRAFFIC ARISING THEREFROM

The steam railways entering the City at present are the Canadian Pacific Railway, the Canadian Northern Railway, the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway, The Transcontinental Railway and the Midland Railway. Each of these railways with their numerous branches, yards and shops, cuts off the City into many different sections. It does not seem that the entrance of these steam railways has been considered on any broad scheme which would be convenient and beneficial to either the City or to the Railways themselves, but, that the en-trance has simply followed the line of least resistance.

Your Committee considers that some broad and comprehensive scheme should be worked out for the entrance of any new lines and for the development of existing lines.

The question of reserving certain districts for warehouses, wholesale houses, for manufacturers, for freight distribution and for interchange of freight between the various roads should be thoroughly investigated at once. These districts could then be so laid out and planned that proper and adequate facilities would be provided for the handling and distribution of all goods,

¹² No map was found with the report.

materials, and supplies entering the City over the various railroads: and each district could be so planned that it would provide the special conditions and facilities required to efficiently and economically handle the traffic in and arising from that particular district.

Adequate provision should also be made for communication between these districts, also for communication with the retail districts of the City, and the localities where these materials and supplies are used, by providing routes for heavy traffic.

Your Committee realizes that this would mean a very exhaustive study of present conditions and the routes of travel of the various commodities brought to the City by the railways, and that a sufficient staff of trained and competent men should be employed. The co-operation and assistance of the officials of the various railway companies should also be secured. It is to be regretted that your Committee did not have sufficient funds at its disposal to employ the services of men who could devote their whole time and energy to this work, but it is recommended that this work be undertaken by the City at the earliest possible date so that the best possible use may be made to the present conditions and so that all future development may proceed along some definite scheme. Your Committee feels assured that any money expended in this way will be amply repaid by improved conditions in the future.

4) TRAFFIC ARISING FROM RIVERS AND DOCKS

Since the St. Andrew's Locks have been opened the traffic from the River has increased greatly and will increase still more as the new district added to Manitoba is developed and opened up. Any scheme for taking care of this traffic must be investigated in connection with a general scheme for docks along the River, and some main artery should be provided to connect the present and proposed docks of the future.

This problem should receive the careful and earnest attention of the City in consultation with the members of the Harbor Commission. Your Committee desires to point out that it is now an opportune time to consider this question when the Harbor Commission is considering the location and facilities for docks along the river banks.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

Chairman.

XII

WINNIPEG: THE GATEWAY OF THE CANADIAN WEST

This review of Winnipeg's development is typical of the optimism that prevailed concerning the city. It describes in glowing terms the development of the "Gateway City" and concludes with a section predicting even a greater future for Winnipeg. There predictions did not come true, however, for the recession of 1913 and the outbreak of war in 1914 had a profound impact on Winnipeg. After a long period of persistent and prodigious growth, immigration halted, land sales subsided, and commercial activity contracted. In short, Winnipeg was on the threshold of a new era, one in which the city experienced the first sustained break in its prosperity.

Yet this sharp decline in Winnipeg's fortunes did not alter or diminish the prior material progress that was so aptly detailed by the Canadian Annual Review.¹

Winnipeg has been the pioneer centre of Canada's Western Provinces, the pivot of early Western history and lacer Western development; it has become the greatest grain market on the continent, the chief distributing, industrial, and financial city of the Canadian West. Practically, this progress has been a matter of 40 years' evolution, in its greatest proportions, a matter of ten years' growth; technically, the founding of the City lies far back in the stormy days of the Selkirk Settlement. Even beyond that period of struggle between the fur-trading Masters of the North lay the time when La Verendrye in 1736 established a French post at this meeting-place of the waters and called it Fort Rouge; thereafter for many years it was known as "The Forks" until in 1803 Alexander Henry established Fort Gibraltar for the North-West Company.

It was in 1812, however, that the Earl of Selkirk, a vigorous, ambitious, and courageous Scotch nobleman, established in the Red River Valley his colony of 270 people. Founded at the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers and at the portals of a vast, unknown wilderness, Fort Douglas was the first and natural name of the Settlement. In 1817 it was called Kildonan after the home parish of the settlers and in 1821 Fort Garry was built by the Hudson's Bay Company as a trading post and settlers' depot, and afterwards re-constructed in 1853. These names appear to have been variously used to

¹ *Canadian Annual Review*, 1912, "Special Supplement."

describe the settlement through its many mutations of fortune until, in 1860, the first house on the prairie north of the Fort was erected and the hamlet growing around it was named Winnipeg - the word meaning, in the Cree dialect, "murky water," and having been applied primarily to the Lake a number of miles north of the village.

The geographical situation of the future city was from the first excellent.² In early days the site commanded wide areas of land and water suited for the fur-hunting and trading of the period; it was about 40 miles south of Lake Winnipeg and only 66 miles north of the boundary line between the United States and British territories; it lay on the eastern edge of the rich agricultural and grazing country which ran from the line of the Red River west for a thousand miles to the Rocky Mountains; it had to the east the mining and timber districts of the Lake of the Woods and the immense hunting and fishing areas between the Great Lakes and the fringe of the Prairies; it had to the immediate north and north-west mineral deposits, timber areas and the fishery resources of Lakes Winnipeg, Manitoba and Winnipegosis; it possessed to the further north unlimited and still unmeasured riches of soil and water reaching to and around the shores of Hudson's Bay. Through the centre of the future capital lay the Portage Avenue which, in its splendid modern buildings and wide thoroughfare, forms part of what was once the trail of the Plain Hunters stretching in an unbroken line westward to the mighty ranges of the Pacific coast.

Through many historic vicissitudes the settlement passed until in 1869-70 it was the centre of the first Riel rebellion. Discoverers and explorers and wanderers, *coureurs-de-bois* and missionaries, hunters and trappers and soldiers, Indian warriors and medicine men, pioneer priests and clergy, Hudson's Bay factors and officials and men, and all the romantic, moving, panoramic life of the Plains had come and gone. They were now to be replaced by the King's Government, by politicians and Commissioners, by the men of modern commerce and finance, by builders, and workmen, and speculators. Up to this time the village had nestled at the foot of Fort Garry and was, in-deed, often known by that name. It had been, in the main, a post of the Hudson's Bay Company and as such bore an important part in the administrative record of an organization which at one time or another extended its sway to the Arctic waters in the north, swept over the prairies and mountains to the Pacific, ran its authority to the far land of the Yukon and its sway into

² It was excellent, that is, with the exception of the fact that the Red River tended to flood periodically. Winnipeg experienced serious flooding in 1882, 1892, 1904, 1916, and 1948. The worst disaster struck in 1950, however, when estimates of damage due to flooding ran as high as \$115 million. The problem was finally solved with the opening of the Winnipeg Floodway in the 1960's. See Artibise, *Winnipeg: An Illustrated History*, pp. 176-78.

the southern regions now known as Washington and Oregon. Occasionally the Company's rule was aided by the British authority which lay behind the grants and charters of Charles the Second. In 1846 Colonel J.F. Crofton with 383 troops was sent out for this purpose and remained two years; in 1867, 100 men of the Royal Canadian Regiment were sent via York Factory and Hudson's Bay; and in 1869-70 Colonel Wolseley led his expedition from Ontario and Quebec and restored peace to the disintegrated settlement which Riel had tried to rule.

This was the modern and practical foundations of Winnipeg. The village, in 1870, consisted of about 30 log-houses with a population in the neighbourhood of 150 persons; in 1874 when it was incorporated the population was over 1,800. In these years and up to 1879, when its people numbered 8,000, the progress was slow. Transportation obstacles were very great and the isolation from the life of Canada, as a whole, was very marked. Supplies had to be brought through the United States and down the Red River in steamboats, while high prices for necessary articles of food, together with the cost of removing from the East, were obvious checks upon expansion. Westward the prairie remained almost unknown and unbroken. With the opening of Railway communication between Winnipeg and the international boundary in 1879, however, came a change; while the ensuing construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway and its final completion to the Coast in 1886 turned the situation into one of larger growth. The figures of population and assessment in these years were as follows:

Year	Assessment.	Popu- lation.	Year.	Assessment.	Popu- lation.
1874	\$ 2,676,018	1,869	1883	\$32,883,200	16,000
1875	2,635,805	2,961	1884	27,444,700	16,694
1876	9,031,685	3,000	1885	19,711,605	19,574
1877	3,097,824	2,722	1886	19,286,905	19,525
1878	3,216,980	3,180	1887	19,392,410	21,257
1879	3,415,065	4,113	1888	19,523,890	22,098
1880	4,008,460	6,178	1889	18,608,120	21,328
1881	9,156,085	6,245	1890	18,612,410	23,000
1882	30,303,270	13,000	1891	19,944,270	24,086
		1892		\$20,328,100	29,182

During this period occurred the "boom" of 1880-82 when prices and values were forced up to absurd heights and, in the inevitable collapse, wrecked many homes,

and fortunes, and financial interests.³ Money had, however, poured into the City, buildings of handsome and durable character had sprung up in every direction, streets had stretched out into the prairie and spacious business blocks been constructed with wonderful rapidity; three years of excitement and activity had turned the small, unimportant, and obscure town into a widely-known city. The reaction which followed lasted some years with the natural results of depression and dullness which, fortunately, proved to be only a marking of time prior to one of the most remarkable developments in the history of the continent.

Following 1886 the settlement, the prosperity, the progress of the country around Winnipeg and of the vast prairie region stretching north, south and west in hundreds of millions of fertile acres, began to be felt in the growth of the City. From 1871, when the Province of Manitoba was formed and became a part of the Dominion of Canada, Winnipeg had been its capital, the seat of its Government, and the home of the Provincial Legislature; it was now to become a commercial and industrial metropolis, the centre of development over an immense area of productive soil, the focussing-point of a net-work of railways crossing the continent and grid-ironing the West in every direction. Back of the City in the spectacular progress of 1900-1912 there lay more than the slowly-developing resources of a small Province - there were the awakening activities of all the area up to the Rocky Mountains. Even in 1912, at the end of the period, and despite the growth of other important centres, this vast country still contributes and must always contribute, in varying degree, to the expansion and riches of Winnipeg.

The territory which formed after 1905 the three Prairie Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta is larger by five times than the United Kingdom and three times the size of the German Empire; it contains 464,000,000 acres of land of which 260,000,000 acres are still unexplored in 1912; its surveyed agricultural lands, constituting the world's greatest wheat-farm, comprise 149,000,000 acres of which only 16 million acres are as yet under cultivation. As population poured into, this region and the almost stationary numbers of 73,000 in 1871, 118,000 in 1881 and 251,000 in 1891 jumped up to 419,000 in 1901 and to 1,322,000 in 1911; as the country became known in Great Britain and Europe and commenced to attract capital as well as settlers; as the production of wheat of the three Provinces grew from 31,486,012 bushels in 1898 to 96,863,687 bushels in 1908 and 177,109,000 bushels in

³ Good accounts of Winnipeg's land boom can be found in Bellan, "The Development of Winnipeg as a Metropolitan Center," pp. 45-70J. Macoun, *Manitoba and the Great Northwest* (Guelph, 1882), Chapter 27; W.J. Healy, *Early Days in Winnipeg* (Winnipeg, 1927), pp. 22-25; Pierre Berton, *The Last Spike: The Great Railway, 1881-1885* (Toronto, 1971), pp. 52-58; and J.H. Gray, *Booze* (Toronto, 1972), pp. 3-19.

1911; Winnipeg became more and more a pivotal point in development, distribution and transportation.

The share of Manitoba in this progress, despite its comparatively small area of 73,000 square miles, or an acreage of 41,169,098 was, of course, considerable. In 1911 through Dominion legislation, and by Royal Proclamation of May 15, 1912, its area was increased to 250,000 square miles, and the Province carried up to Hudson's Bay and endowed with 500 miles of shore-line and an ocean port. In the main Manitoba's contribution to the prosperity of Winnipeg has been agricultural - the bulk of the population outside of that city being, until very lately, tillers and producers of the soil. The number of horses in the Province was 86,735 in 1891 and 232,725 in 1911; the milk cows numbered, respectively, 82,710 and 146,841; the other horned cattle were, respectively, 147,984 and 397,261; the number of sheep totalled 35,838 in 1891 and decreased to 32,223 in 1911; the hogs numbered 54,177 and 176,212 in the respective years. The raising of this stock was not a popular pursuit of the farmers, however, owing to the rich soil and the ease with which grain and other crops could be grown. In 1911 the value of wheat, oats, barley and flax marketed was \$75,384,274; of cattle, sheep and hogs, \$7,825,797; of potatoes, hay and roots, \$15,694,000; of poultry and dairy products \$2,715,000. The money spent on firm buildings was =3,500,000. The following table indicates five years' growth in a Manitoba production of grain, which, in 1900, included 13,025,252 bushels of wheat, 8,814,312 bushels of oats and 2,939,477 bushels of barley and in 1911 totalled 156,000,000 bushels in the three products:

Year	Acreage	Wheat	Total		Oats	Total
		Average Yield.	Product (Bushels).	Acreage	Average Yield.	Yield (Bushels).
1907	2,789,553	14.22	39,688,266	1,213,596	34.8	42,140,744
1908	2,850,640	17.23	49,252,539	1,216,632	36.8	44,686,043
1909	2,642,111	17.33	45,774,707	1,373,683	37.1	50,983,056
1910	2,962,187	13.47	39,916,391	1,486,436	28.7	42,647,766
1911	3,339,072	18.29	61,058,786	1,628,562	45.3	73,786,683
1912	2,823,362	20.7	58,433,579	1,939,982	46.0	87,190,677
		Barley.			Flax.	
1907	649,570	25.7	16,752,724	25,915	12.25	317,347
1908	658,441	27.54	18,135,757	50,187	11.18	502,206
1909	601,008	27.31	16,416,634	20,635	12.26	253,636
1910	624,644	20.75	12,960,038	41,002	9.97	410,928
1911	759,977	31.5	21,000,000	85,836	14.00	1,205,727
	962,928	31.5	33,795,191	196,315	13.6	2,671,729

These facts are essential to any study of Winnipeg's position. It has become a great city with a surrounding agricultural production, in Manitoba alone, valued at

\$101,000,000 in 1911 and yet this touches only one-fifth of the known productive area of the Province - without any estimate of the millions of acres of cultivable land, the lumber, minerals, and fisheries, lying in the new territories recently added. It has become the chief city of the three Western Provinces which, in 1912, produced \$209,000,000 worth of grain from one-eighth of a land area totalling 471,243,338 acres. In this region Senator McCumber in the United States Congress on June 14, 1911, estimated a total future product of 4,260 million bushels while Mr. Harcourt, Deputy Minister of Agriculture in Alberta, had told the British Association in 1909 that the available area might produce 5,000 million bushels! Obviously, therefore, the progress of Winnipeg in the past warrants in this connection, alone, great optimism as to the future. So far as agriculture is concerned, Winnipeg also stands to gain by steadily improved methods of farming; by the instructions and work of the Manitoba Agricultural College, founded in 1906, with its new building at St. Vital nearing completion in 1912 at a cost of \$5,000,000; by a growing comprehension of the value of intensive farming and the necessity of raising stock as well as grain; by the increasingly important opportunities for market gardening in the vicinity of the city; by a progressive movement started in 1912 by the Winnipeg Industrial Bureau, with representation from each municipality in the Province, known as the "Million-for-Manitoba" League;⁴ and by the Provincial and Dominion Governments in advertising the opportunities available to the agriculturist in grain growing, mixed and intensive farming.

Another vital factor in the City's growth has been the evolution of transportation facilities. In 1879 the first Railway to enter the Province ran from St. Paul, Minn., to what was then the village of St. Boniface and was connected by ferry across the Red River with Winnipeg. On July 1st, 1886, the first through train from Montreal to Vancouver on the Canadian Pacific passed through the Capital of Manitoba. During the next 20 years and, especially from 1900 up to the present time, all roads seemed to lead to Winnipeg and nearly all the railways of the West had to find a place in the net-work of lines radiating from that centre. It stood almost at the heart of the continent and, as the years moved on, the Northern Pacific, the Canadian Pacific, the Canadian Northern, the Grand Trunk Pacific and the Great Northern, from time to time passed into the transportation activities of Winnipeg and thence stretched to the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence on the East, to the emigrating and exporting interests of the Republic on

⁴ With the climax of the great boom in Manitoba in late 1912, the businessmen of the province responded by organizing the "Million-for-Manitoba" League. The obvious goal of the League was to be realized by dividing the province into five districts and having each district solicit funds to spend on advertising for immigrants in Great Britain and the United States. The League was not very successful, however, and was disbanded by the end of 1913. See Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth*, p. 120.

the South, to the great wheat fields of the West, and to the wide trading possibilities of the more distant Pacific - through the rapid construction of the Hudson's Bay Railway reaching in 1912 up to the far North and thence across the Atlantic by projected water shipment to Great Britain.

The Railway yards of the Canadian Pacific at Winnipeg became famous as being the largest owned by any single corporation in the world, having accommodation on 135 miles of sidings for more than 12,000 cars and employing about 4,000 men; the C.P.R. Hotel - the Royal Alexandra - was added to the string of palatial hostelries built by this Company across Canada while the Grand Trunk Pacific, in 1912, is constructing an equally elaborate building; the latter Railway and the Canadian Northern have combined in the erection of a handsome Union Station and both Companies have constructed large railway shops and yards employing thousands of men. In 1911 the Great Northern formally established itself in Winnipeg. It was in 1895 that Mackenzie and Mann of the Canadian Northern had entered upon their Western career of Railway construction but it was not till three years later that the Northern Pacific interests (350 miles) in Manitoba were acquired together with valuable terminal privileges and industrial tracks in Winnipeg and a direct connection between the Provincial capital and United States railways to the south. Many extensions and branches followed until, in 1911, there were over 3,000 miles of this Line in the West alone and hundreds more under construction.

Thus it was that from 1886 when Western railway building had showed its first results in the completion of the C.P.R. and 1888 when that Company's so-called monopoly clause was abrogated there had been a slow but steady growth in construction with branch lines gradually spreading out over the country. Then, as it was found that settlement and production followed construction, operations became more rapid with other Railways competing and by 1907 there were 6,421 miles of railway in the three Western Provinces - of which nearly half were in Manitoba. By 1911 this mileage had increased to 10,081, of which 3,466 miles were in Manitoba. The total liability of the latter Province in this connection was (1911) \$20,899,660 in the form of guarantees for bonds secured by mortgage upon the Canadian Northern lines. Such a net-work of transportation facilities in the West meant much during its construction for Winnipeg, the continued expenditure of many millions a year for some time to come means still more; the result of all these lines in full operation, with enormously increased local production and traffic, with interchange between the Orient and Great Britain and all Canada via the Panama route to Europe will, obviously and greatly, exceed any temporary good received from initiatory construction, expenditures or prosperity.

In its system of water transport Winnipeg has been fortunate. Within the borders of Manitoba and about 40 miles from the capital is Lake Winnipeg, a fresh-water sea 300 miles long and 100 miles wide and 2,000 square miles larger than Lake Ontario. Lake Manitoba is another large body of water, and scattered

throughout the Province are many more. The Red River of the north has a winding course through the country and is joined at the spot where Winnipeg has been built by the Assiniboine. The Winnipeg River is of much importance because of its water power, and by means of these waterways Manitoba may eventually have water transportation to the salt seas - north by way of the Red River, Lake Winnipeg and the Nelson to Hudson's Bay, or east by the way of rivets, lakes and canals, to the Great Lakes, only 500 miles away. West, there are waterways - principally the Saskatchewan River - which lead to the Rocky Mountains, and it is one of the dreams of Western empire that a great water transportation route may be constructed from the foot of the mountains to Winnipeg, to the Great Lakes, and thence to the Atlantic. The first link in this mighty chain of rivers, lakes and canals was completed by the Dominion Government when the St. Andrew's Locks were opened (1910) on the Red River 18 miles from Winnipeg, and placed the City in direct water communication, for craft of considerable size, with Lake Winnipeg and the stores of raw material along its shores or upon the islands of the Lake.⁵ The Red River in ordinary seasons has usually been navigable for large craft from this Lake to the International frontier, while the Assiniboine, connecting Winnipeg with the great coal fields along the Saskatchewan, has been navigable at times, and may easily be so again, for 500 miles along its course.

In this connection local transportation facilities have been important and constitute in 1912, and in various ways, an issue of wide public interest. The Winnipeg Street Railway was opened in 1882, and was first run by horse cars. In 1890 it was operated by electricity under the control of the North West Electric Light Company. In 1900 this concern and the Manitoba Electric and Gas Light Co. were consolidated as the Winnipeg Electric Street Railway Co., and in 1904 amalgamation took place with the Winnipeg General Power Company. From then until 1910 the united corporation controlled all the street railway, gas, and electric power business of the City with (in 1912) 75 miles of street railway lines and large Power works at Lac du Bonnet, which had been completed in 1907. Largely under the control of Sir William Mackenzie, this Company showed during the years 1900-1911 an increase in the total cost of property from \$2,009,788 to \$16,312,465, in gross earnings from \$280,132 to \$3,828,749, and in net earnings from \$109,537 to \$1,928,782. In 1900 the passengers numbered three and half a millions, in 1908 22,019,507 and in 1911 40,281,245.

Meanwhile, however, the City was seeking lower rates and becoming favourable to municipal ownership principles, which were already applied,

⁵ A detailed account of Winnipeg's attempt to become "The Port of the Northwest" can be found in Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth*, pp. 77-78.

including control and operation, to waterworks, stone quarries, a fire alarm system, the asphalt plant, and a high pressure system for better protection from fire. In 1906 the citizens approved the borrowing of \$3,250,000 to be expended in acquiring the site and constructing the necessary plant and works for bringing electric power and light into the City from Point du Bois, 77 miles away, on the Winnipeg River. In 1912 the plant was in full operation with a claimed reduction of 70 per cent. in the cost of supply to the people, with a total expenditure of nearly \$5,000,000, an eventual development up to 60,000 horsepower and a possible development to 100,000 horsepower.

During this period the financial interests of Winnipeg had expanded in harmony with its general development. In its earlier days the settlers and people of the future city had to depend upon the Hudson's Bay Company in all monetary transactions and a 60-day Bill of Exchange on London was the only means of sending money out of the country. In 1871 the Dominion Government established a Money Order Office and a Government Savings Bank while in December, 1872, the Merchants Bank of Canada opened at Winnipeg the first branch of a Canadian Bank in the West. From that time onwards these institutions became a power in the whole Western country with Winnipeg, for many years, as the chief banking centre. In 1905 the Northern Bank was organized at Winnipeg with Sir D. H. McMillan, Lieut.-Governor, as President, a number of local capitalists as Directors, and J.W. de Courcy O'Grady as General Manager. Three years later the Crown Bank of Canada, with headquarters in Toronto, was acquired and the re-organized institution with a paid-up capital of \$2,200,619 and a Reserve of \$225,000 was styled the Northern-Crown Bank. By 1900 there were 131 Branches of Canadian Banks scattered through Manitoba and the Territories; in 1905 there were 171 such branches; and on December 31, 1912, there were 831 branches in the Prairie Provinces. Manitoba had 90 of these Branches in 1905 and 204 in 1912. The statistics of the Banks having branches in Winnipeg - usually a number of branches for each institution - were as follows on September 30, 1912:

Name of Bank	Opened In Winnipeg	Capital Stock Subscribed	Capital Paid-Up	Reserve Fund
Merchants Bank of Canada	1873	\$6,747,680	\$6,747,680	\$6,410,760
Bank of Montreal	1876	16,000,000	16,000,000	16,000,000
Imperial Bank of Canada	1881	6,753,000	6,602,130	6,602,130
Bank of Ottawa.....	1882	3,857,800	3,825,480	4,595,039
Canada	1882	8,000,000	5,000,000	3,300,000
North America	1886	4,866,666	4,866,666	2,774,000
				Bank of British

Molsons Bank	1891	4,000,000	4,000,000	4,700,000	
Bank of Hochelaga	1892	3,000,000	3,000,000	3,000,000	Canadian Bank
of Commerce	1893	15,000,000		15,000,000	12,500,000
Bank of Hamilton	1896	3,000,000	3,000,000	3,500,000	
Dominion Bank	1897	5,000,000	5,000,000	6,000,000	
Bank of Nova Scotia.....	1899	5,000,000	4,642,450	8,399,430	
Bank of Toronto	1905	5,000,000	5,000,000	6,000,000	Traders Bank
of Canada	1905	4,367,500	4,354,500	2,300,000	
Northern Crown Bank.....	1905	2,862,400	2,706,519	300,000	
Royal Bank of Canada.....	1906	11,560,000		11,560,000	13,170,219 Home
Bank of Canada.....	1906	1,370,000	1,286,050	175,000	
Sterling Bank of Canada	1909	991,900	991,900	300,000	
Quebec Bank	1910	2,500,000	2,500,000	1,250,000	
Standard Bank Of Canada.....	1910	2,000,000	2,000,000	2,500,000	

These figures indicate the importance of Winnipeg and the West of the immense reserve fund upon which they could draw at certain seasons through the circulation of \$100,000,000 of Bank notes and by the use, in some measure, of 1,000 millions of Eastern deposits. Of course, this was not always available when locally or individually wanted, but the elasticity of the Canadian system did help greatly in the movement of crops during many years and in the evolution of youthful industries and local projects in a multitude of new and scattered communities, in agricultural improvement over a far-flung area, and in the civic growth of many rising towns. This may be said without couching more than the fringe of the present-day question as to whether the Banks are doing all that they should in these later times of almost unlimited demand and phenomenal development. The coming of the Banks - especially after 1900 - certainly gave to Western Canada progress of solid and permanent character and brought it into couch with Eastern British money centres.

A number of English and Canadian Loan and Investment Companies, representing an enormous aggregate of capital, also came into these Provinces with a majority centering in Winnipeg. Besides the 42 Bank Branches established in the city (1912) and the 162 others placed throughout Manitoba these Loan Companies have had an important part in recent development and, in particular, have lent large sums to farmers for improvement purposes. In the latter policy they have been freely supported by Eastern Life and Fire Insurance Companies with a Western total for all these interests of \$200,000,000. As production and immigration increased in the West money poured in from other sources and the estimated total brought by immigrants in 1905-10 was

\$326,000,000 while many other millions came from Great Britain through the Banks or by individual investment. Under such conditions a great growth of Banking facilities and operations in Winnipeg was inevitable but that the city should be in a few years become third amongst Canadian centres in its Bank clearings and in the latter part of 1912 reach the second place - with a greater proportionate increase per annum than that of any city on the Continent - was probably not even hoped for when its Clearing House was first established in 1893 following those of Halifax, Montreal, Hamilton and Toronto. The statistics of this development in Winnipeg during its most striking period were as follows:

Year	Bank Clearings	Year	Bank Clearings	Year	Bank Clearings
1898	\$90,664,325	1903	\$246,108,006	1908	\$614,111,801
1899	107,786,814	1904	294,601,437	1909	770,649,322
1900	106,956,792	1905	369,868,179	1910	953,415,287
1901	134,199,483	1906	504,585,914	1911	1,172,762,142
1902	188,370,033	1907	599,667,576	1912	1,537,817,524

Out of this growth in Western agriculture, transportation, and investment came, quite naturally, the establishment of Winnipeg as a great jobbing and shipping centre. For years after the construction of the C.P.R. the wholesale trade of Manitoba and the Territories centred in Winnipeg and even after other Railways had come and other cities risen to prosperity and influence the geographical location of this place remained a powerful factor in its favour. Lying at the entrance to the great prairie region so far as the East was concerned, placed nearest to the storage and shipping cities at the head of Lake Superior, contiguous to the populous area in the United States which centred in Minneapolis and St. Paul, Winnipeg was the inevitable source of distribution and supply to a large part of Western Canada - a position which competitive and rival successes of a later date might alter in detail and application without effect in its net result. The construction of new railways and the supplies for thousands of labourers, the meeting of necessities for pioneer life on the farm and the ranch, and in stock-breeding, mining, lumbering and fishing, the building of houses from the home of the Provincial Parliament to the homes of the incoming workmen, helped greatly in this development.

As time went on the growth of the country produced new and innumerable requirements from villages which blossomed out on the prairie in a night and became cities in a year; immigrants poured in and demanded supplies for a million new people in ten years; shipments had to be made from point to point and, perhaps, for a thousand miles in one direction; settlements had to be provided with new pavements and sewers and gas or electric light appliances; the demand for Eastern manufactures

and especially implements grew with tremendous rapidity. Division of trade and traffic with other cities came in due course but the net volume of business went on increasing until the annual turnover of the wholesale houses (1912) exceeded \$140,000,000 and the wheat and other grains, cattle, furs, sheep, wool, hogs, horses, oatmeal, flour, hides and other Western products were pouring through this gateway to the Great Lakes as through a funnel.

The chief and most spectacular element in this particular growth was the passing of Minneapolis and other famous United States cities and the crowning of Winnipeg as the greatest grain centre of the American continent. This occurred in 1909 when the figures were reported by President George Fisher of the local Grain Exchange as showing 88,269,330 bushels of wheat handled in Winnipeg, compared with 81,111,410 bushels in Minneapolis, 61,084,797 bushels in Buffalo, 56,084,971 bushels in Duluth, 35,354,000 bushels in Kansas City, 30,081,779 bushels in Montreal, 26,985,112 bushels in Chicago and 23,304,300 bushels in New York. Chicago was first in oats with Winnipeg a good second. In 1911 the wheat receipts of the Canadian City totalled 101,326,250 bushels as compared with 96,647,850 bushels at Minneapolis and 42,629,751 bushels at Chicago. During its chief years of development the exact statistics of wheat inspected at Winnipeg were as follows:

Year.	Bushels.	Year.	Bushels.	Year.	Bushels.
1900	12,355,380	1904	39,784,500	1908	75,466,030
1901	45,651,800	1905	65,849,940	1909	94,922,385
1902	51,833,000	1906	73,097,950	1910	88,269,330
1903	40,396,650	1907	54,404,150	1911	101,326,250
		1912	143,682,750		

Passing from such a vivid illustration of progress it is important to note how this City - the centre of a great agricultural production which in 1911 totalled 400,000,000 bushels - has gone quietly and steadily about the creation of industrial interests. In 1890, when the first stage of Western development commenced, Winnipeg (St. Boniface is included in the Census) had industries possessing a productive value of \$5,611,240 and stood ninth amongst the manufacturing centres of Canada; in 1900, at the beginning of the second stage of progress, the value of Winnipeg's industrial output was only \$8,616,248; in 1905 the output had increased to \$18,983,248. The official Census of 1910 showed the total product to be \$39,400,608 or an increase of 602.17 per cent. over 1890 and 357.20 per cent. over 1900. Winnipeg had, incidentally, reached fourth place in the list of industrial Canadian cities with only Montreal, Toronto and Hamilton ahead. Taking the three Prairie Provinces the increase of manufacturing output between 1900 and 1911 was from \$14,892,416 to \$78,794,567 of which latter total Winnipeg had one-half. The total for Manitoba was, in 1911, \$53,673,609

of which Winnipeg produced nearly three-quarters. In detail the City had in 1911 297 establishments or factories, an invested capital of \$36,000,000, and employees numbering over 16,000, with wages paid totalling \$7,614,646 monthly. Local requirements in manufactured goods were at this time stated by Mr. C.F. Roland, Industrial Commissioner, to total \$140,000,000 a year. Careful records compiled by him showed that this demand included \$25,000,000 in agricultural implements and machinery, \$16,000,000 in hardware, \$15,000,000 in groceries, \$17,000,000 in dry-goods and textiles, \$12,000,000 in the iron and building trades, \$6,000,000 in boots and shoes and as much more for automobiles. Primarily a trade centre for supplying these and other products to the Western consumer Winnipeg had steadily widened its industrial scope and, in 1912, it had its rolling mills, structural steel plants, brass foundries, with many iron-works and machine shops; bricks, pressed stone, cement, lumber, sashes and doors, office and bank fittings, clothing, stained glass, flour and brewery establishments; the output of abattoir and packing houses was large and pickles and vinegar, bags and boxes, tin, galvanized iron and wire fences, baking powder, furniture, soaps, paints and oils, cereals, biscuits and confectionery, harness and saddlery; and many other items were produced for an ever-increasing circle of demand.

In 1911 Provincial returns showed the authorized capital of purely industrial new concerns locating in Winnipeg that year to be \$7,695,000 while certain older industrial firms found it necessary, within the year, to increase their capital from \$2,330,000 to \$6,360,000. For the year 1912, 109 charters for purely industrial concerns were issued with a total capitalization of \$19,427,000. Yet it is clear that the city is only on the verge of its development in this respect. In farm machinery, alone, the probabilities are enormous. The principal lines of machinery needed by the markets of the Canadian West are all classes of agricultural machinery, including steam, threshing, plowing and traction engines, municipal equipments such as road scrapers, rollers, etc., railroad cars and supplies, pumping outfits for city wells, excavating and mill machinery. Traction engines hauling eight, twelve and fourteen gang-plows are being brought into use throughout the prairie Provinces and seeding, reaping and harvesting the grain are all carried on in the same large way. Harvesting machinery is sold by the trainload, and it is by no means an uncommon sight to see a complete train of over forty cars loaded with threshing engines and separators coming into these Provinces from Eastern Canada or from across the border. Hence the obvious future before Winnipeg in this connection. It appears to offer much in the way of close and available markets; it has five great railways affording every facility for transportation and provides cheap electric power and light under municipal management; it offers reasonably cheap factory sites and a plentiful supply of various kinds of raw material. Finally, the Custom returns which, in 1901, only totalled \$975,880, were in 1910

\$5,001,624 and in 1912 \$10,484,092 - showing how great the steadily in-creasing imports were and what large opportunities of production might be found therein.

Meantime the City had been growing in other directions. According to the Dominion Census-returns its population had increased from 241 in 1871 to 7,985 in 1881, to 25,639 in 1891, to 42,340 in 1901 and to 136,035 in 1911. In and following 1900 Civic Census figures were collected yearly and these showed an increase of 5.6 per cent. in 1901, 8 per cent. in 1902, 14.6 per cent. in 1903, 15.6 per cent. in 1904, 15.8 per cent. in 1905, 22 per cent. in 1906, 9.5 per cent. 1907, 5.4 per cent. in 1908, 3.3 per cent. in 1909, 8 per cent. in 1910, 14 per cent. in 1911 and 9.6 per cent. in 1912. The 1910 figures were in excess of the Dominion figures and totalled 132,720; those for 1912 were 166,553. Population changes so rapidly in these Western cities that a part of this discrepancy might be due to the difference of a few months in the date of taking; it is quite possible that the local figures are more nearly correct as being obtained by men familiar with the city and with previous yearly returns. However that may be, the growth was very striking.

In area, there was a similar expansion. From the boundless prairie - a land of which the fertility does not seem to have been understood or appreciated until modern days - Lord Selkirk had first carved out for himself what has since proved an empire of wealth. Of his 116,000 square miles along the Red and Assiniboine he gave freely in August, 1817, to his settlers; his heirs in 1836 sold all that remained to the Hudson's Bay Company for \$414,000; in 1869 the Company surrendered their title to the British and Canadian Governments for \$1,500,000 and one-twentieth of all the land surveyed for settlement. Then came the period of gradual growth, the village passed under town and then city conditions, fortunes were made and lost in 1880-5 by speculation based upon a future environment of production which was not to be in existence for many years. Similar fortunes were made in 1909-12 based upon actual development in a great surrounding region; if speculation occasionally went beyond the progress of this movement it had behind it and around it the obvious excuse.

Stretching out upon the prairie and curving in and around the junction of the two rivers Winnipeg came to include within its city limits 16,000 acres or about 25 square miles. St. Boniface, a flourishing manufacturing town of 8,000 people, connected with Winnipeg by several bridges across the Red River and with the latter city's outlying growth surrounding it on three sides, became a practical, though not technical, part of the Provincial capital. It boasts the possession of the Cathedral of a Roman Catholic Archdiocese and the recent construction of terminal stock-yards and abattoirs which are the largest in Canada and said to be second only to Chicago on the entire Continent. Beyond St. Boniface and five miles east of the City another industrial suburb -

Transcona - was founded in 1908 by the Grand Trunk Pacific which established their Western car-shops and operating head-quarters upon what was then the bate prairie. In 1910 the Canadian Pacific also went to Transcona and formed what are described as the largest freight classification yards in the world. A number of factories followed the Railways and business, speculation, and settlement naturally developed. At Selkirk, 20 miles northeast of Winnipeg, the City's port for Lake Winnipeg grew into importance and it has changed gradually from the centre of a large local fishing industry into a suburban residential town reached by electricity from Winnipeg. With this growth of population - civic and suburban - came a corresponding increase in construction of houses, office buildings, factories, etc. In the 12 years of Winnipeg's chief growth the building permits granted were as follows:

1900	\$1,441,8G3	1904	\$9,G51,750	1908	\$5,513,700
1901	1,708,557	1905	10,840,150	1909	9,226,325
1902	2,408,125	190G	12,625,950	1910	15,116,450
1903	5,689,400	1907	6,309,950	1911	17,550,000
		1912	20,475,350		

Under all these conditions it was inevitable that assessments and values should go up and from 1904 they increased at a much greater rate than the population but not apparently out of proportion to the growth of business as shown in manufacturing, wholesale, banking, building and other statistics. The system of assessment up to 1909 placed land and improvements upon practically the same.- basis; after that date land was assessed at its full value and improvements at two-thirds of their valuation. In this way vacant lots and land held for speculative purposes contributed their full share to the city's revenues. As an illustration it may be said that in 1911 the assessment of land totalled \$118,407,650 and in 1912 \$151,795,740 or an increase of 28.2 per cent., and that in these years the assessment of improvements was, respectively, \$54,269,600 and \$62,584,700 or an increase of 15.3 per cent. It may also be added that a small business assessment is made which totalled in 1893 \$3,034,100, in 1903 \$5,399,490 and in 1912, under a different system, \$4,619,280. The following table gives the facts for 20 years:

Year.	Assessment of Lands.	Assessment of Buildings.	Total Rateable Assessment.	Property Exempt fromPopu- Taxation.	lation.
1893	\$11,946,450	\$6,712,150	\$18,658,600	\$4,550,330	32,119
1894	11,730,250	7,030,700	18,760,950	4,424,300	34,954
1895	11,716,010	7,409,500	19,125,510	4,518,780	37,124
1896	11,689,560	7,809,100	19,498,660	4,696,880	37,983
1897	11,622,630	8,123,300	19,745,930	4,876,820	38,733

1898	11,571,230	8,099,450	19,670,680	4,882,920	39,384
1899	11,614,340	8,435,550	20,049,890	4,996,100	40,112
1900	11,971,720	9,344,280	21,316,000	5,657,650	42,534
1901	12,259,730	10,095,870	22,355,600	5,949,600	44,778
1902	12,662,550	11,276,310	23,938,860	6,558,060	48,411
1903	17,920,600	12,953,310	30,873,910	7,722,770	56,741
1904	25,186,160	15,920,710	41,106,870	9,489,030	67,265
1905	33,293,110	20,492,960	53,786,070	11,876,170	79,975
1906	42,253,060	26,546,960	69,624,550	15,128,030	101,057
1907	59,504,110	34,321,850	93,825,960	18,587,940	111,729
1908	62,745,070	40,040,100	102,785,170	21,737,990	118,252
65,449,220	42,548,100	107,997,320	23,405,520	122,390	1910
108,674,070	48,934,150	157,608,220	28,261,920	132,720	1911
118,407,650	54,269,600	172,677,250	27,511,350	151,958	1912
151,795,740	62,564,700	214,360,440	33,241,140	166,553	

Meantime there had sprung up an element of expansion which brought much money into the City, great prosperity to individuals, and some criticism from outside investors and financial interests. In itself the sub-division practice or plan was simple, obvious and natural. With thousands of people pouring into the City, with land values rising and building demands in excess of the supply, it was inevitable that surrounding prairie districts should be bought up by speculative interests, divided into lots and sold to any one who would buy - at home or abroad. During the progress of settlement and development it was and is clear that Winnipeg and similar centres must be hives of industry, activity and investment. The land seeker, the British visitor, the United States prospective settler, all spend money freely. Large supplies have to be bought and, incidentally, the purchase of a lot in the City through which all must pass and in which many must stay is a simple matter. In ten years the Bank clearings had increasing by 1,000 millions, more than 700 million bushels of grain had passed the inspection mark, the industrial out-put had increased five-fold, new buildings costing 100 millions had been erected, the value of real estate within the City had increased from 22 to 214 millions.

The lots sold in 1905 doubled, trebled or quadrupled in value by 1910 - why should not similarly placed lots increase in the same ratio by 1915? The argument was appealing and very frequently good. Unfortunately the unscrupulous speculator as well as the scrupulous one had to be considered and he became a factor in Winnipeg as in all Western and some Eastern cities. The truth seems to be that the real values of Sub-divisions in or around a City such as Winnipeg have depended and must always depend upon (1) their proximity to the expanding portions of the town, upon (2) their ability to attract residents or industries, upon (3) the class of construction in the former case and the proximity to railways in the latter. To understand these values the

employment of reliable agents by outside investors is essential or else the obtaining of personal knowledge. If the purchaser of a lot is taking his chance as the American cowboy would in a game of cards he has chiefly himself to blame should the result be disastrous; although it might be possible to enact legislation which would prevent positive fraud in prospectuses, etc. Speaking to a London journal called *Canada* on June 15, 1912, Sir William Wiseman, Bart., M.P., made these very sensible remarks:

“As far as Western real estate generally is concerned I think it is quite a wrong impression to imagine that it is overdone. A great deal more money is bound to be made in real estate because the cities are all growing. It is impossible to compare real estate values in Canada and England. It is much fairer to make a comparison between Canada and the United States, and if you do compare the big cities of Canada and the United States, you will find that Canadian real estate values are not at all unduly high. One point to be remembered is that the street-car is used very much more in Canada than it is here, and that it enables people to move much further out and yet be within easy reach of their business. Another point is that in Canada there are comparatively few good roads, and the tendency of a city is not to spread out regularly all round, but to spread out along the main roads. The line of development is along the line of accessibility. Within Winnipeg city limits profits made under judicious investment have been very great and will probably continue to be so in varying localities. One real estate agent reported in 1912 26 sales netting the original British purchasers a total of 237 per cent. profit in two years. Others who invested wildly might, at the same time, lose their money or have to hold their land indefinitely. Even in these latter cases there is always a possibility of the City's extension taking some unexpected direction and the rash speculation then becomes an excellent investment. Take, for instance, the original holders of land in, or dose to, the Transcona suburb or the owners of property on Portage Avenue near where the Hudson's Bay Company in 1912 paid \$1,000,000 for a building site! Speculation is, of course, risky whether in land or in stocks and, while any fraudulent sub-division mongers who exist are to be denounced, their action or policy does not in reality affect, nor should be allowed to injure, the credit and good name of greatly prosperous and progressive centres.”

The indebtedness of Winnipeg has been, in the main, the creation of half-a-dozen years - the period of its greatest progress. On Apl 30, 1906, the next public Debt (less sinking funds) was \$6,995,943, at the same date in 1907 it was \$8,323,299, in 1908 the total was \$14,028,753, in 1909 \$16,978,941, in 1910 it was \$18,928,671, in 1911 it was \$22,976,262, and on Apl 30, 1912, the total was \$26,928,952. Some of this increasing liability was incurred for reproductive purposes and the gross Debt of \$30,134,482 in 1912 included

\$4,370,000 spent upon the Hydro-Electric plant and water-power facilities which, upon completion, reduced the rate for power from 9 cents per kwh. to less than 3 cents and has since afforded special industrial rates as low as 8-10 of a cent per kwh. with current for domestic appliances at 1 cent. per kwh. The gross expenditure upon waterworks was \$5,154,985. Local improvements represented a total of \$11,238,683, the high-pressure fire service water-works cost \$929,902 and there was a general expenditure of \$6,940,910 with a school district expenditure of \$1,500,000. An important point in the general and local improvement items was the sum required for new streets and sewers and for the extension of services tendered imperative by the increasing population and ever-broadening city limits. Water distribution and sewerage systems were necessities which grew in their requirements beyond ordinary revenue possibilities while some attention had to be paid to special needs such as parks and boulevards and hospitals.

To offset his indebtedness there is the obvious fact that by 1912 the City owned, controlled and operated its public utilities including light, heat, power, and water supply. Between 1902-12, also, the rateable assessment increased from \$690 to \$1,223 per head and the industrial output from \$190 to \$2,285 per head. The City's balance sheet in 1912 showed Assets totalling \$43,147,314 of which fixed properties described as remunerative and realizable stood at \$10,574,154, Sinking funds at \$3,205,529, and Expenditures to be recovered \$1,140,983. The nominal excess of Assets over all Liabilities was stated at \$5,119,501. By Dec. 31, 1911, also, the City possessed 203 miles of sewers, 79 miles of asphalted streets, 35 miles of macadamized roads and 25 miles of cedar blocks; it had 99 miles of granolithic sidewalk, 352 miles of plank walks, 246 miles of grading and 233 miles of water mains. The construction of Winnipeg's pavements as well as of its buildings had been excellent and of good material. To meet these expenses a portion of the Civic debt was incurred but the chief part was borne by the City's taxation which, during a period of 19 years, was as follows, with Local Improvements included in the total but not specified in a separate column:

Year.	Municipal.	Business.	Schools.	Rate on the \$.		Arrears, 30th April.	
				Total Taxes.	General Taxes, Mills.		
1893	\$ 284,419	\$ 59,468	\$ 85,000	\$475,714	19.60	\$239,103	
1894	280,83	63,511	90,000	495,977	19.60	293,202	
1895	292,839	60,869	94,000	521,603	20.00	300,022	
1896	297,820	61,235	96,500	531,422	20.00	302,318	
1897	61,721	98,090	555,009	20.00	329,125	68,391	
1898	104,590	607,245	21.50	261,099	1899	313,854	73,729
1899	629,835	21.25	293,559			117,930	

1900	375,655	76,201	120,595	725,124	20 mills on bus. tax. valuat'n:231/4	319,708
1901	421,745	81,515	126,975	823,459	mills on realty valuation. 20 mills on bus. tax. valuation; 20.50 mills on realty valuation.	273,271
1902	421,668	108,739	135,210	876,126	23.25	285,217
1903	505,269	116,089	158,823	1,035,430	21.50	204,104 1904
	526,891	120,837	172,220	1,087,099	17.00	248,720 1905
	849,927	176,148	210,000	1,584,736	19.70	312,834 1906
	1,005,133	194,880	241,800	1,909,421	17.90	442,319 1907
	1,145,603	246,734	357,000	2,328,843	16 mills gen. assess. 8.33 % bus. assess.	565,295
1908	1,183,186	199,743	360,000	2,400,894	15.00	815,231 1909
	1,206,518	206,251	415,000	2,533,054	16 mills gen. assess. 6.33 % bus. assess.	871,206
1910	1,226,645	224,133	476,430	2,708,559	10.80 mills gen. ass. 6.67 % bus. assess.	751,887
1911	1,693,385	269,165	595,500	3,428,507	13.25 mills. gen. ass. 6.67% bus. assess.	798,888
1912	1,806,325	307,952	766,000	3,808,900	12.00 mills gen. ass. 6.67 % bus. assess.	834,422

Educationally, the history of Winnipeg has been of exceptional interest. It has had a place in the public mind of Canada and in a part of the political annals of the Dominion because of the Provincial Act of 1890 in which state aided schools were made free and non-secretarian; it has had to deal in later years with bi-lingual complications caused by the influx of people having many tongues and many racial divergencies. The City's public school system has since 1908 been directed by a Department of Education, presided over by the Minister of Education - the Hon. G.R. Coldwell, K.C., and his Deputy, Robert Fletcher, B.A. There is an Advisory Board for the purpose of assisting the Department in technical matters and consisting of ten Members appointed by the Department or elected by other bodies. Provision has been made for both primary and secondary education and the primary course extends over eight years. Secondary education is carried on in the High Schools and Collegiate Institutes. The first Institute was established in 1881 and there were three in 1911 with 32 teachers and 1,456 pupils having choice of three courses - a two-year course leading to a certificate of competency

in commercial subjects, a three-year course leading to matriculation in the University, and a four-year course for a teacher's certificate of the first class.

Professional training for teachers is given in the Provincial Normal and Model Schools. Supervision of the various schools has been in charge of experienced and skilled Inspectors of whom the first to be appointed was Dr. George Bryce in 1876. The funds for the maintenance of the schools are raised by a general municipal tax sufficient to give to each school district \$240 per annum for each teacher, and by a special levy on the land situated within the school district, for whatever sum may be necessary in addition to the amount received from the municipality and the Government's grant which is \$130 per school. The City expenditure upon Schools was \$85,000 in 1893, \$135,210 in 1903, and \$766,000 in 1912. Two adequately equipped Technical Schools costing \$400,000 each were added in 1912, and attendance warranted further additions in this branch of education. Other education statistics of the City are interesting though the great period of expansion was, of course, after 1900. In 1871 there was one school-building, one teacher and 35 pupils in Winnipeg; in succeeding decades or years the figures were as follows:

Year.	Teachers.	Buildings.	Value of Build- ings and Sites.	Pupils.
1876	4	2	\$3,500	123
1886	49	11	220,000	2,831
1896	96	14	397,000	6,374
1900	119	16	487,000	7,500
1903	140	18	750,000	9,500
1904	168	19	774,500	10,308
1905	192	21	1,071,701	11,675
1906	220	26	1,213,931	13,445
1907	248	30	1,552,753	14,802
1908	266	34	1,971,479	15,449
1909	297	33	2,300,000	16,070
1910	340	33	2,800,000	17,738
1911	375	37	3,462,159	19,750
1912	450	42	4,185,000	22,500

The University of Manitoba has only a small building though a new structure is, in 1912, underway. It has been and is confined to instruction in a rather limited number of subjects and was originally founded in 1877 as an Examining body only. It now teaches Mathematics, Chemistry, Physics, Botany, Physiology, Pathology, Bacteriology and Civil and Electrical Engineering. Chairs in English, History and Political Economy have, also, been established, and an endowment of 150,000 acres of land granted by the Province. The Classics and Modern Languages are treated in affiliated denominational Colleges - St. Boniface, Roman Catholic; St. John's, Church of England; Manitoba College, Presbyterian; and Wesley College, Methodist.

There were in 1911-12 744 students in attendance at the University with 23 Professors, Lecturers, etc.

Agriculture is taught at the Provincial Agricultural College near Winnipeg. Greatly increased attendance and need of enlarged facilities compelled the building of a new agricultural College, which was started in 1912. This, when completed, will cost \$5,000,000, and the plans have been characterized by experts of wide experience, as those of the most modern institution of its kind on the Continent. An educational innovation was inaugurated in Winnipeg in 1911 by a special Committee of the Winnipeg Industrial Bureau, providing vocational talks by business men to school boys in the higher grades. This plan is found to be of value in directing the thoughts of the boys, on what their life's work is to be, and has already been adopted by some large American cities.

In other lines of progress the record of Winnipeg has been attractive, but a few only can be indicated here. For many years it was the Western head-quarters for the Federal offices of the Dominion Government and still remains the centre - the Custom House in which returns multiplied five-fold from 1906 to 1910; the Registry of Shipping, Excise, Weights and Measures, Dominion Lands, Oil, Gas, and Electric Inspection, Food Products Examination; the Post Office with revenues increasing from \$125,000 in 1901 to \$1,167,760 in 1911; Grain, Flour and Hide Inspection, the Intelligence Office, Immigration Office, Receiver-General, Government Savings Bank, etc. It is the head-quarters of the Provincial Government and its Departments, of the Supreme Court of the Province and of the Hudson's Bay Company. A somewhat unique institution is the Winnipeg Industrial Bureau which was organized in 1907 with C.F. Roland as Commissioner and with the object of making Winnipeg better known to the world's industrial and investment interests. It started with seven affiliated City organizations and 64 members which, by 1912, had increased to 28 organizations and 840 members. During these years it obtained considerable sums of money for practical work, erected a large building for Exhibition and business purpose, a fine fire-proof Art Gallery and a Convention Hall with 5,000 capacity; and won the co-operation and support of the public. Its President in 1910 and 1911 was F.W. Heubach and in 1912 W.J. Bulman.

A Provincial institution organized by the Industrial Bureau for development along agricultural lines was the "Million for Manitoba League" formed on Jan. 12, 1912, under the Presidency of W. Sanford Evans, the first President of the Bureau, and with the object of promoting knowledge as to Manitoba and encouraging immigration to the point of a million population within a short period - a result which would, incidentally, prove of great importance to Winnipeg. Another organization, started by the Winnipeg Industrial Bureau in 1911, was the Imperial Home Reunion Association, which is Imperialistic in spirit and has become National in scope.

Twenty-six Canadian cities now assist deserving British settlers to bring out their families from Great Britain and Ireland, the Winnipeg branch having already brought out some 1,500 wives and children at a cost of sixty thousand dollars in transportation, without loss to the Association, the money having been repaid by the applicants in small sums. Of the older public organizations the Grain Exchange of Winnipeg was formed in 1887 and had a career intimately associated with the ups and downs of the City and the growth of its grain trade to the very high point of present success. Since 1887 its directing force has been the Secretary, Mr. Charles N. Bell. A re-organization took place in 1908 with John Fleming as President, succeeded by H.N. Baird in 1908-9, George Fisher in 1909-10, A.D. Chisholm in 1910-11, Donald Morrison in 1911-12 and Andrew Kelly in 1912-13. A more modern organization, connected with a different element of progress is the Real Estate Exchange incorporated in 1903 with R.D. Waugh, C.D. Shepard and A.H. Oakes amongst its later Presidents. A most important organization was, of course, the Board of Trade. It entered into the life and development of the City at all points and frequently dealt with subjects of Provincial, National and Imperial importance. Founded in 1879 its Secretary since 1887 has been Charles N. Bell, and to him, as with the Grain Exchange, much of its success was due. The Presidents were usually representative men, intimately associated with the growth of the City, as the following list will indicate:

Year.	President.	Year.	President.
1879	Hon. A.G.B. Bannatyne.	1898	A.M. Nanton.
1880	A.F. Eden.	1899	E.L. Drewry.
1881	W.H. Lyon.	1900	D.K. Elliott.
1882	Jos. Mulholland.	1901	Wm. Georgeson.
1883	C.J. Brydges.	1902	John Russell.
1884-6	Kenneth McKenzie.	1903	G.R. Crowe.
1887	J.H. Ashdown.	1904	H.W. Hutchinson.
1888	George F. Galt.	1905	A. L. Johnson.
1889	James Redmond.	1906	A. Strang.
1890	R.J. Whitla	1907 (part)	G.F. Carruthers.
1891	Stephen Nairn.	1907-08	J.B. Persse.
1892	J.E. Steen.	1908-09	H.M. Belcher.
1893	F.W. Stobart.	1909-10	E.D. Martin.
1894	W.B. Scarth.	1910-11	F.W. Drewery.
1895	R.T. Riley.	1911-12	H. Bruce Gordon.
1896	F.H. Mathewson.	1912-13	E. A. Mott.
1897	D.W. Bole.		

The great Land Companies do a large business from and through Winnipeg, the Loan and Insurance Companies of the East have headquarters there, the Bank of Montreal and the Canadian Bank of Commerce have buildings notable for their cost and size and architectural beauty, the Winnipeg General Hospital is a splendid institution and others of a charitable, religious or educational nature are to be seen in every direction. The City has for years been proud of its Athletic associations. The Senior Four of the Winnipeg Rowing Club have twice been amateur champions of America. The Hockey Club has held the championship of the world and the Dominion and International trapshooting championships have also been captured. In curling, skating, snow-shoeing, lacrosse, golfing, cricket, football, bicycling, lawn-tennis and rifle shooting, the young men of Winnipeg have been prominent and strong efforts have been made to keep these sports free from professionalism. Social Clubs of all kinds have in recent years been a special feature of Winnipeg's private life, while of secret and fraternal associations there are large numbers. The National benevolent societies are well organized and do much good and useful work. Several music and dramatic associations flourish. The Manitoba Historical and Scientific Society maintains a library and museum and has published a large number of valuable papers. The City also has a Free Public Library and a valuable Legislative Library. It may be added that Winnipeg is 710 feet above sea level and is one of the world's healthiest cities with a death-rate in 1911 of only 13.6 per 1,000 inhabitants. The city's artesian well water is unexcelled for its purity. The summer days of Winnipeg have 16 hours' sun-shine while winter is marked by clear weather and an absence of moisture which makes the climate agreeable and even in the coldest weather exhilarating and bright in the extreme.

Since 1907 the Civic Government has been vested in a Mayor, a Board of Control composed of four members and the Mayor, and 14 City Councillors, all elected by ballot - taxpayers and tenants who are British subjects by birth or naturalization being qualified to vote. The Board of Control is, in 1912, the executive body and as such deals with all financial matters, regulates and supervises expenditures, revenues and investments, directs and controls Departments, nominates all heads of Departments, prepares specifications, advertises for tenders for work, materials and supplies required, inspects and reports to the Council upon all municipal works being carried on within the City, and administers its affairs generally except as to the Public Schools and the Police Department. The former is under control of the Public School Board elected annually by the ratepayers, and the latter under the Board of Police Commissioners, which consists of the Mayor, the County Court judge, Police Magistrate, and two Aldermen appointed by the City. The Mayors of Winnipeg, it may be added here, have done their share in promoting Civic development and welfare - many were men of the highest character and

attainments. The names are as follows:

Year.	Mayor.	Year.	Mayor.
1874	Francis Evans Cornish, Q.C.	1894	Thomas William Taylor.
1875	William Nassau Kennedy.	1895	Thomas Gilroy.
1876	William Nassau Kennedy.	1896	Richard William Jameson.
1877	Thomas Scott.	1897	William F. McCreary.
1878	Thomas Scott.	1898	Alfred J. Andrews.
1879	Alexander Logan.	1899	Alfred J. Andrews.
1880	Alexander Logan.	1900	Horace Wilson.
1881	Elias George Conklin.	1901	John Arbuthnot.
1882	Alexander Logan.	1902	John Arbuthnot.
1883	Alexander McMicken.	1903	John Arbuthnot.
1884	Alexander Logan.	1904	Thomas Sharpe.
1885	Charles Edward Hamilton.	1905	Thomas Sharpe.
1886	Henry Shaver Weshook.	1906	Thomas Sharpe.
1887	Lyman Melvin Jones.	1907	James H. Ashdown.
1888	Lyman Melvin Jones.	1908	James H. Ashdown.
1889	Thomas Ryan.	1909	W. Sanford Evans.
1890	Alfred Pearson.	1910	W. Sanford Evans.
1891	Alfred Pearson.	1911	W. Sanford Evans.
1892	Alexander McDonald	1912	Richard D. Waugh.
1893	Thomas William Taylor.	1913	Thomas R. Deacon.

Of the future of Winnipeg little need be added to a narrative which indicates the certainty of greatness. Geographically it is the heart of the continent and of Canada; it is the gateway of a West which must grow to splendid proportions in production, population and wealth; it is the capital of a Province where public prosperity and individual opportunity are manifest. As the Canadian West and North unfold their almost limitless wealth in lands and forests and mines and fisheries; as their railway facilities increase to meet the new and greater output of rich commodities; as the demands of life and trade weave an ever-growing fabric of production over an ever-widening area of settlement, so the importance of Winnipeg must grow and the fundamental resources of Winnipeg expand.