

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

THE GROWTH OF WINNIPEG, 1870-1886

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The Growth of Winnipeg, 1870-1886.

by

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of the degree of

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Randy R. Rostecki,
Winnipeg, May 1980.

"Winnipeg, like the rest of us, was born in mingled
sin and righteousness."

-Stephen Leacock.

CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

In speaking of the American city, Sam Bass Warner, Jr., has stated that the basis of urban growth has been found in privatism and that "its essence lay in its concentration upon the individual and the individual's search for wealth".¹ In drawing his conclusions from studies of Philadelphia, Boston and other large cities, Warner also deduced that "the physical forms of American cities, their lots, houses, factories and streets have been the outcome of a real estate market of profit-seeking builders, land speculators and large investors".² That which is true for the cities of the United States was also accurate for the growing Canadian centres of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Private real estate speculation became a central theme in the growth of cities, and the rising city of Winnipeg was no exception.

In his study of the rise of Western American cities between 1790 and 1830, Richard C. Wade concluded that "the struggle for supremacy among the young cities dramatized the growth of urbanism in the West".³ Each centre sought primacy and power within its hinterland, that is, to be the dominant place among a grouping of urban bodies and the focus of regional economic activity.⁴ The disappearance of the urban frontier became a central theme of Wade's work. Placed in its simplest context, the word "frontier" came to mean the front line of settlement which lay between civilization and the wilderness in America.⁵ That front line was constantly changing, for settlement continually pushed farther west. In the Canadian context, the westward movement of the frontier was noticeable after Confederation and particularly after the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, which opened up the hitherto inaccessible prairie wilderness to Canadian and European settlement.

Richard Wade argued that a metropolis was established when a dominant centre attracted satellite communities and

possessed some specialization of activity.⁶ Such a place exercised leadership among cities.⁷ "But the metropolitan relationship is a chain, almost a feudal chain of vassalage, wherein one city may stand tributary to a bigger centre and yet be the metropolis of a sizeable region of its own."⁸ Thus, Winnipeg during the 1870s and 1880s remained dependant upon the manufacturing and financial services of the East, and in turn became the dominating force within the region which it served.⁹

In becoming a metropolitan centre, did Winnipeg provide a certain atmosphere of stability? In terms of population, Winnipeg by 1886 was the largest city in the Canadian West. At the same time, it exercised an economic control over its hinterland, thereby performing basically the same functions as Toronto or Montreal exercised over their hinterland. While Winnipeg may have been seen by a Calgarian as the essence of Canadian civilization, a Torontonion might have perceived the "Prairie Metropolis" as rather backward because of a lack of paved streets, primitive sewage disposal or rudimentary cultural facilities. Thus, the Winnipeg of 1886 can be considered mature in function and spatial segregation, even though a further twenty years would make its civilization seem rough and immature.

Within the city, this aging process was expressed by spatial development of various portions of the urban body. A business district would arise and would slowly evolve into a series of segregated business functions, such as retailing, wholesaling or manufacturing. Each function affected the value of lands near the site, and this in turn affected the nature of the businesses. Thus, by a certain period, it was a foregone conclusion that bank locations made the choicest pieces of commercial real estate and that the locations of governmental buildings had a great effect upon determining the business centre of a city. The development of residential districts was a part of this same process. Neighbourhoods would tend to be equal in status until the class values associated with industrial capitalism

were established in the region; at this point, the city would be segregated into specialized rich and poor residential districts.

A boom can be defined as an excitation of interest causing rapid growth in a locality. In the nineteenth century usage of the word, booms were associated with real estate speculation. The reasons behind a boom could range from railway construction to mineral discoveries. An example of the former may be seen in the British railway booms of the nineteenth century¹⁰ while the latter is exemplified by the Klondike Gold Rush of the 1890s.¹¹ In other words, a boom would serve to attract outside attention to formerly little-known places. This is not to imply that a boom was necessarily successful in the long run, for unsuccessful booms were more common than successful ones.

The present study will examine the physical consequences of the development of Winnipeg as a metropolitan centre. The study will begin with an examination of the years 1870-1878, a period when the Red River Settlement shed its agrarian obscurity for the economic advantages to be gained by contacts with the United States and eastern Canada. The development of these connections made Winnipeg an important centre in the western Canadian region because some citizens believed that Winnipeg's future lay in the established trade patterns of the outside world.

Prior to 1878, the nurturing of these links had caused the fledgling city to assume certain physical traits which would characterize the place after it had become a metropolitan centre. The intense real estate rivalry between the once-dominant Hudson's Bay Company and the aggressive Winnipeggers was seen in the competition for important government buildings which fixed the pattern of commercial growth. During the same period, a residential housing stock also was created but it was not marked by the social segregation of later years, a fact that was aptly demon-

strated by the locations of services and pretentious dwellings. The theme of the years prior to 1878 was that of an uncertain future, though Winnipeg was the most established centre on the Canadian plains.

This uncertainty was to be ended by the arrival of the railway in the Northwest. The intensity of the struggle for a transcontinental rail crossing at Winnipeg will be examined in detail. The location of the railway crossing with the city became an important issue, for that controversy led to the last confrontation between Winnipeg's rival land-holders. The settlement of this question fixed the city's spatial pattern for the next half century. Winnipeg's commercial areas were thereafter centred between Portage Avenue and the Canadian Pacific Railway line. Similarly, Winnipeg's position as an entrepot for the Northwest was affirmed.

The vision of profit unleashed a wild land boom during the years 1881-1882, in which the future assumed grandiose proportions. Ultimately, the boom subsided but, though the years from 1882 to 1886 were marked by a recession in the city's economic fortunes, Winnipeg did not suffer to such an extent as earlier historians have believed. It will be demonstrated by a chronology of changes in land values that the Boom was not an unmitigated disaster. Indeed, the Boom called attention to the hitherto obscure Manitoba capital, and encouraged an influx of investment money which laid the basis of the city's first fortunes.¹² The importance of earlier site decisions on commercial and residential areas became another factor influencing the Boom, for each zone developed characteristic land values that meant the areas were fit for certain purposes.

Though manufacturing would not become a major part of the city's economic life, the already-established spatial patterns put industry in its physical place within the city. The newly-established wholesaling function, the dominant part of Winnipeg's economy in the years during and immediately after the Boom, was

housed upon similarly appropriate land. Within Winnipeg, the wholesalers were to occupy second-class commercial properties as befitted the nature of their operations. Retailing, on the other hand, established Winnipeg's highest-priced business properties. The retail segment of the economy expanded greatly during the Boom, suffered the most losses in the recession, but by 1886 emerged in a condition vastly different to that of the pre-Boom years.

All this, of course, was based upon an enlarged population base. The bulk of this new population had come from older parts of Canada or areas of Great Britain and brought with them established social patterns. This, in turn, affected land values and spatial location of residential areas and thus introduced an early class structure into Winnipeg, largely based upon living on or near "desirable" or "undesirable" residential properties. Winnipeg's first rich and poor districts arose in great part because of this disparity of land values. Where previous builders took chances by erecting pretentious dwellings on untried sites, it now became a matter of fact that homes of various types could only be found in certain zones. The professional classes thus made their appearance in south Winnipeg en masse. Similarly, there now existed a large body of urban poor, noticeable because of their condition, numbers and situation on the undesirable house properties near the CPR tracks. Though this pattern was to be reinforced in the next half century, it was quite evident by 1883.

This study will demonstrate that, by 1886, the basic process of city-building was complete. By that date, Winnipeg had assumed its modern form. Commercially and residentially, the city on the plains had arrived at the spatial pattern that would govern its development until the rise of suburbs in the mid-twentieth century. In one regard, George Ham had been right, for the Boom had changed Winnipeg forever.¹³

CHAPTER 2 - SPATIAL PATTERNS, 1870-1878.

The physical development of Winnipeg was determined by its location on the banks of two great rivers as well as by the decisions of a number of governments and private citizens. It is true that before 1878, the pace of economic growth was slow, despite ever-increasing connections with the outside world, and that the modern role of Winnipeg as a metropolitan centre arose because of railway development in the late nineteenth century. It will be shown, however, that before the 'eighties, the area at the Forks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers was a site of social and economic importance to the inhabitants of the Northwest, and that the growing permanent population at the Forks determined much of the basic spatial pattern within the area even before the railway arrived.

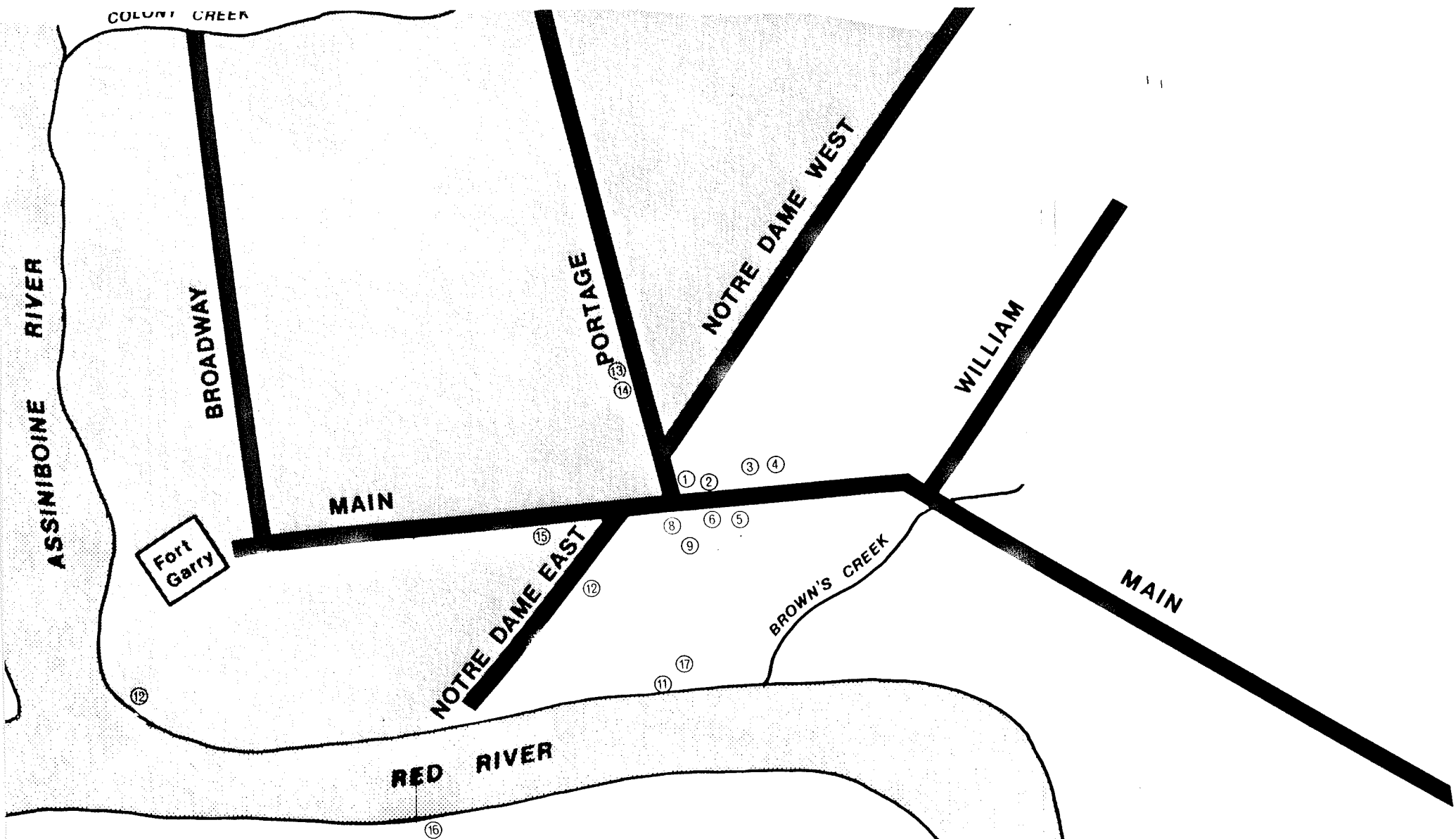
Prior to agricultural settlement, the future site of Winnipeg had been a gathering spot for the members of native groups who inhabited the plains. At least four Indian tribes regarded Red River as a sacred meeting-place. It was in this area that battles and other conflicts erupted among these groups.¹ Indeed, it was near the Forks that these native inhabitants buried their dead, for later excavations exposed numerous instances of human remains.² A more mundane reason for the gathering-place at the Forks was the available supply of firewood on an otherwise treeless prairie.³ The periodic presence of these natives attracted early European entrepreneur fur-traders from the time of LaVerendrye and in the years of fur company competition the area had been the site of Forts Gibraltar and Rouge.⁴ Though other fur posts were established between the Red River and the Rocky Mountains, the Forks site retained its importance.

Into this situation was cast Thomas Douglas, the fifth Earl of Selkirk. Selkirk had sponsored a number of American relocations for displaced Scottish crofters and after initial experiments in eastern British North America, his attention

focussed on Rupert's Land, the domain of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Northwest. In particular, his interest lay in the general area used by the Company and its rival the North West Company for the staging of fur trading journeys.⁵ Though faced with opposition from the Montreal traders, Selkirk succeeded in obtaining a land grant of 116,000 square miles centered at ~~the~~ junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. Here, the crofters would find economic freedom in return for providing the Hudson's Bay Company with employees and agricultural provisions.⁶

After the amalgamation of the rival fur companies in 1821, and the subsequent construction of Upper Fort Garry in the 1830s, the place became the chief trading depot and population point on the plains.⁷ In 1835, fifteen years after Lord Selkirk's death, the Red River colony returned to the control of the Hudson's Bay Company, which exercised civil authority in the area. The law-makers, the Council of Assiniboia, met periodically at the Court-House at Upper Fort Garry, though quarterly session courts were held at locations throughout the Settlement.⁸ Sir George Simpson, the so-called "Little Emperor" of Rupert's Land, alternated his gubernatorial seat between the bastion at the Forks and the complex at Lower Fort Garry.⁹ Thus, the area at the Forks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers undertook added importance with the growth of the agricultural settlement.

Though the Company enjoyed, by its Charter, exclusive trading rights in Rupert's Land, a number of men known as "free traders" were beginning to use their land-holdings as a base of operations against the Company's trade monopoly by the late 1830s. As the grants nearest Fort Garry were located at the intersection of the Garry Road (Main Street) and the Portage la Prairie Trail (Portage Avenue), it was here that men such as Andrew McDermot and James Sinclair founded the first businesses. Henry McKenney, another trader, erected the first building at this junction in 1862,¹⁰ thereby establishing the locality as an alternative trade site to Fort Garry.



MAP II-1 PRINCIPAL BUILDINGS - WINNIPEG - 1870

- | | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| 1 McKenney's Store | 8 Red River Hall | 15 Nor'Wester Office |
| 2 Emmerling's Hotel | 9 Post Office | 16 St. Boniface Church |
| 3 John Higgins' Store | 10 Docks - Pre - 1870 | 17 McDermot's Mill |
| 4 W.H. Lyon | 11 Docks - Post - 1873 | |
| 5 Bannatyne's House | 12 St. Mary's Church | |
| 6 Bannatyne's Store | 13 Holy Trinity Church | |
| 7 Red Saloon | 14 Knox Church | |

 Hudson's Bay Reserve

Fort Garry was on the east-west fur trade route, and after 1859, it also became the northern point for the north-south river trade.¹¹ The advent of steam-boat traffic at Fort Garry was the outcome of economic relations which had started between Red River and St. Paul, Minnesota merchants as early as 1844.¹² This had been largely occasioned by the metis hunt as well as by N. W. Kittson's Pembina trading post. So important was this commercial intercourse that a United States Customs office was established near the Kittson post in 1851.¹³ Within twelve years, the St. Paul route "had become an essential part of the trade and communications of Red River".¹⁴

With the opening of the St. Paul link, including a mail route and regular trade connections,¹⁵ facilities at Fort Garry were expanded to facilitate the unloading of such boats as the Anson Northup (Pioneer) and the International. Steam boat passengers disembarked on the east side of the Red River and were then ferried to the Fort Garry side¹⁶ but freight was unloaded at the Company warehouse on the Assiniboine "beneath the walls of Fort Garry".¹⁷ Later a bonded warehouse was constructed just east of Main Street on the north bank of the Assiniboine. In the pre-1870 era, an important, though often sporadic traffic used these facilities.¹⁸ From the west came the raw materials (furs and buffalo products) and these in turn were distributed from Fort Garry through St. Paul to Montreal.¹⁹ From the south came the influences of nineteenth century society, such as a printing press for the settlement's first journal, the Nor'Wester.²⁰ (Map II-1)

By the early 1870s, a hamlet consisting of "a few straggling houses",²¹ had arisen north of Fort Garry on the Main Road. It was a community almost devoid of buildings devoted to single specific uses. This lack of "use segregation" was apparent in two senses. First, most commercial edifices, such as Bird's Drug Store or the Radiger Block, offered residential accommodation for their proprietors on the premises. There were also a number of buildings which were exclusively residential. These included the homes of A. G. B. Bannatyne near Sinclair (Bannatyne) Street

and of Brian Devlin at Thistle (Portage) Street. As the 'seventies progressed, there was an increasing tendency toward homogeneity of use within this fledgling business district. Though the architecture of these buildings bespoke residential usage, their function had become commercial. Thus, a place like Devlin's had become a hotel by 1875.²²

Though the business district was occupied by many structures of differing functions by 1875, it still consisted of a few buildings separated by stretches of prairie. Photographs of the area show peaked-roof buildings and empty lots along Main Street and reports of political meetings suggest that the area on the Main Street portion of the Hudson's Bay Reserve was still a keen competitor with the rival district to the north. In short, by 1875 the business district had yet not coalesced into one tightly-built area.

In the mid-1870s, Winnipeg's commercial and manufacturing sector remained at the level of cottage industries or small-scale craftsmen.²³ These included such operations as the soda-water factory of Alexander Begg,²⁴ the boot and shoe shop of Thomas Ryan and James Ashdown's hardware store. By 1876 there was a fair representation of many lines of wares in the city, though there was no wholesaling sector. Much of this business district was to be found north of Notre Dame Street, between the Main Road and the Red River, on streets such as Post Office (Lombard) or Notre Dame East or Owen. If any portion of the area could be deemed a 'concentration' of commerce, it would have been the block north of the Portage Road, on the west side of Main.

The arrival of Wolseley's Expedition in August 1870 had brought the two factors necessary for Winnipeg's emergence as a nineteenth century city. Hitherto the populace had consisted of a rustic squirearchy of Selkirk settlers and their descendents, and a few American and Canadian entrepreneurs. With Wolseley came Winnipeg's first large scale floating population, partially composed of young men out to 'make their way' in the world. Though

the permanent residents numbered about 215, the troops brought the total population to about 1650.²⁵ Not only did these newcomers bring appetites to appease and thirsts to slake, but more important, they were eager to participate in real estate speculation.²⁶

By 1870, Canadian land speculation had an interesting background and was being practiced from coast to coast,²⁷ and it is generally considered that the Canadian version of "spec" was a copy of an American phenomenon.²⁸ As Western Canada had been an isolated region before the surrender of 1869-1870, the forces of real estate manipulation had not been felt because of the domination of the Hudson's Bay Company. The surrender changed this and opened the plains to the attentions of the speculator.²⁹

Real estate was an important focus of speculative investment before the establishment of the agricultural economy. Within the town, there were two groups of speculators. The first was a group of "private" land entrepreneurs which included the old settlers and their descendants (such as McDermot, Ross, Bannatyne, Sinclair and Logan) as well as the economically-mobile Canadians (men such as Schultz and certain members of the Wolseley Expedition) who received grants, bought land with their meagre capital or traded in Metis scrip. The holdings of these individuals were largely north of Notre Dame Street. This district, of course, had been part of the river lot system established by the first Colonists, but these old holdings had been sub-divided into smaller parcels, and were, in turn, being platted into more saleable town lots by their new owners. By 1872, this group of speculators and entrepreneurs was known as the Winnipeggers or townspeople.

The second force in land speculation was the Hudson's Bay Company. Under the terms of the surrender of Rupert's Land, the Company had been allowed to retain control of a certain "reserve" around each post. In the case of Upper Fort Garry, this consisted of the area south of Notre Dame Street, east of Colony Creek, and west and north of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. In terms of speculative potential, the Reserve was extremely valuable.

It was here that a rival townsite, known as "Selkirk" was erected in 1871-72 to threaten the Winnipeggers' speculative interests. The first land sales on the Reserve commenced in 1872, the chief buyers being the Winnipeggers.³⁰ As well, in the following year the Company erected cottages on the Reserve and warehouses on the levee "to counteract the strenuous efforts made by the people of Winnipeg to keep the rising town away from Fort Garry and increase the value of the Company's land...".³¹ By 1874, the town had been split into two rival factions, each preoccupied with ensuring that all construction and real estate activity be concentrated in their section of town. The intense speculative rivalry was expressed particularly in struggles over the location of government buildings and in the incorporation of Winnipeg. In each case, great profits would accrue to the victors.

The site of government buildings would determine the heart of the business district, a matter of crucial importance to the real estate interests. All three levels of government, Dominion, provincial and municipal were therefore targets of the eager lobbyists. The federal authorities were faced with buying lots on which to build the Customs House, Lands Office, Post Office and Dominion Savings Bank, and the Barracks. The Provincial Government, which controlled the Court House, Gaol, government offices and Legislature would also be purchasing land and thus influencing business district development. And finally, any future municipal government would be choosing sites for the City Hall, the Market, and the Fire Hall, and thus also had a hand in the affair.

Initially, the Company appears to have had more influence upon the Ottawa government than upon the Winnipeg authorities. This was made manifest in the spring of 1873, when the Federal government accepted the Company's offer of lots for the Customs House and Lands Office.³² The former building was important to the civic trade as it served as the point of entry for all imported merchandise. The latter edifice would be visited by all prospective settlers in their quest for land holdings. Significantly, the Dominion Government's land activities would thus be situated near the Hudson's Bay Company's land office. The influence of the

COLUMBIA CREEK

9

ASSINIBOINE RIVER

BROADWAY

1 2
MAIN

Fort Garry
10

PORTAGE

NOTRE DAME WEST

WILLIAM

5

8

MAIN

NOTRE DAME EAST

3

4

6

BROWN'S CREEK

RED RIVER

MAP II - 1a Governmental Buildings, Winnipeg, 1878

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1 Customs House - 1874 | 6 Legislature (To December 1873) |
| 2 Lands Office - 1874 | 7 City Hall - 1875 |
| 3 Post Office - 1873-1876 | 8 Market & Fire Hall - 1877 |
| 4 Post Office - 1876 | 9 Barracks - 1873 |
| 5 Court House & Jail - 1873 | 10 Government House - 1873 |

Company was also demonstrated by the decision of Adams Archibald in September 1870 to locate Government House, the seat of government, within the walls of Fort Garry, and later to place the Barracks at the south-west corner of the Reserve.³³

But if the Hudson's Bay Company was successful in its wooing of the lands and customs buildings, it failed to win the Post Office. Instead, that most important institution which was always the most widely used of the Federal government edifices was placed near lands and buildings owned by the opposing faction of speculators -- the private entrepreneurs of Winnipeg.³⁴ Being of greater public use than either the Customs House or Lands Office, which might be visited only occasionally by the townspeople, the area around a Post Office was the scene of much activity. It was here that one could expect the business district to be located, and nearby, a residential area. In Winnipeg, the initial location was in an old building at Rorie and Post Office, though in 1876 this was changed in favour of a new structure at Main and Owen (McDermot East) nearer the heart of the fledgling business district. Thus, while some governmental structures were placed on Company land, the true prize was captured by the Winnipeggers. [Map II-1a]

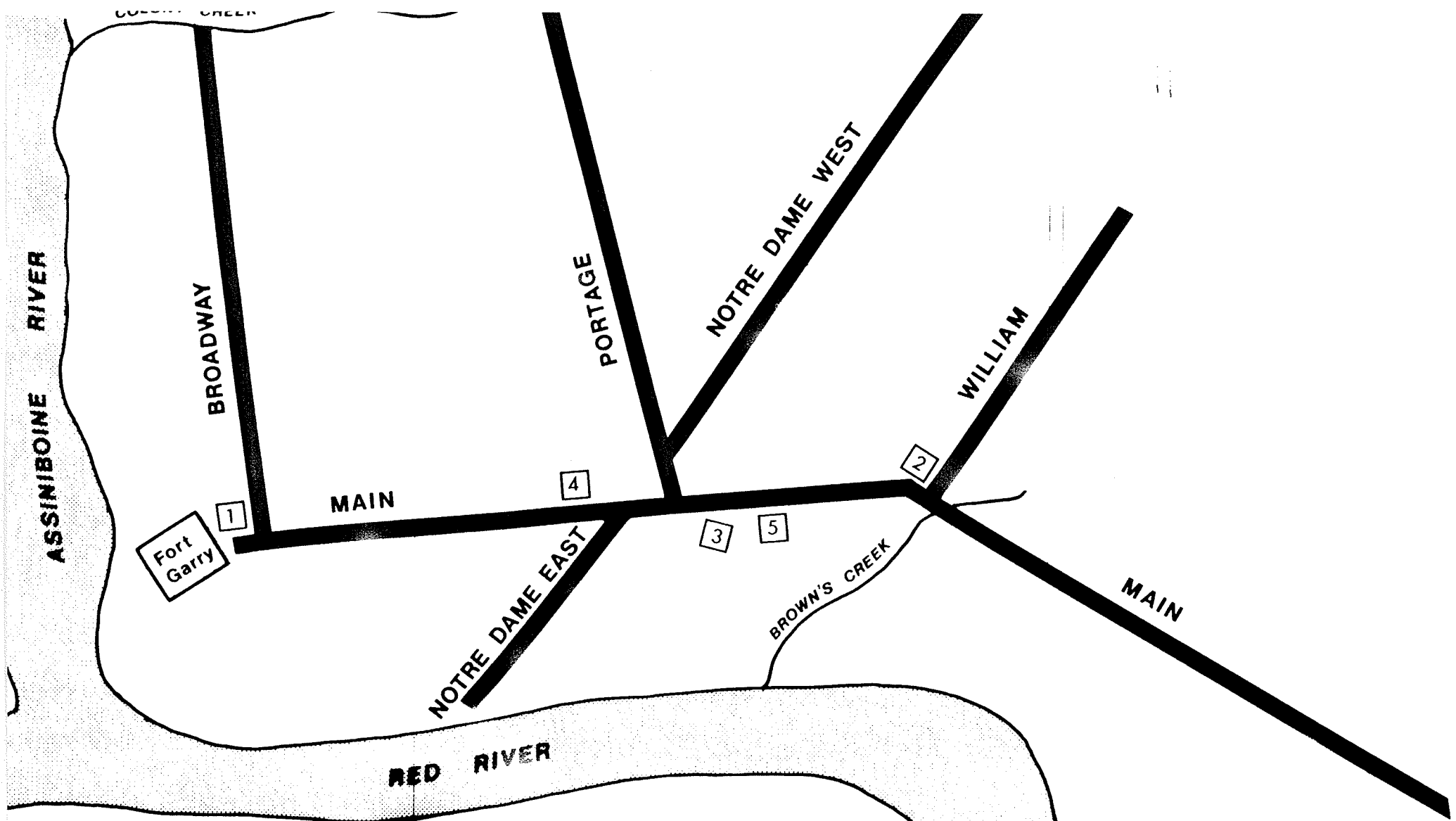
Insofar as the Provincial Government was concerned, the "town end" had always been the recipient of governmental offices. The first jail was housed after 1871 in a former store at the northern part of the Main Road. This facility was supplemented two years later by the addition of a large court house. This, of course, would influence the location of legal offices, as well as operations such as printers and stationers. In addition, for a few months prior to December 1873, the Legislature sat in Bannatyne's house on the east side of Main. After the fiery destruction of this residence, the Provincial Parliament sat in the Court House.³⁵ Those government offices which could not be accommodated in the 1873 building (and they were few because the bureaucracy was still very small) were similarly situated near Bannatyne and Main.

After 1874, the Incorporation of Winnipeg became a crucial factor in the rivalry between the Company and the townspeople. It was here that the final chance was seen to influence growth. This

was not, as has been suggested by Artibise,³⁶ because the Company resisted incorporation. Indeed, it is possible that the Company was quite resigned to the incorporation of the City after the summer of 1873. The Company's reasoning was outlined by Donald Smith, the land officer: Company land offered the prestige value of being more expensive than the town lots, and this would be a significant factor in the choice of residential neighbourhoods by professional classes. Any taxes imposed by a civic corporation would be offset by lot sales to those classes.³⁷ In short, after the summer of 1873, the elevation of "Selkirk" into the dominant community was dropped, and the Company became silent supporters of the incorporation of Winnipeg.³⁸

The real reason for the Company-town rivalry over the direction of future municipal growth was the continuing struggle over the site of public buildings. If the Corporation of Winnipeg had located the civic buildings upon the Reserve, the local business district would have been extended south of Portage Avenue. Lots were offered to the City Corporation by the Company,³⁹ but the offer was withdrawn when the Company found the City's terms too vague.⁴⁰ At about this time, however, a counter move was initiated by the Winnipeggers. W. G. Fonseca and a number of others intervened to stop the southward spread of the business district by purchasing land from the Ross Estate for \$625. and giving it to the Council as the location for the City Hall and Market.⁴¹ In this way, the future course of commercial growth northward from Portage Avenue along Main had been settled.

The siting of three key governmental buildings decided the pattern of Winnipeg's growth. The Federal contribution to the business district was the Post Office and the Associated Savings Bank, which became the center of much public activity. The buildings of the Provincial Government, namely the Court House and Legislature, influenced the location of professional offices. The construction of the City Hall in 1875, which was placed on a site near the Court House, and the erection of the Market and Fire Hall on adjacent lots gave Winnipeg a local governmental area similar to



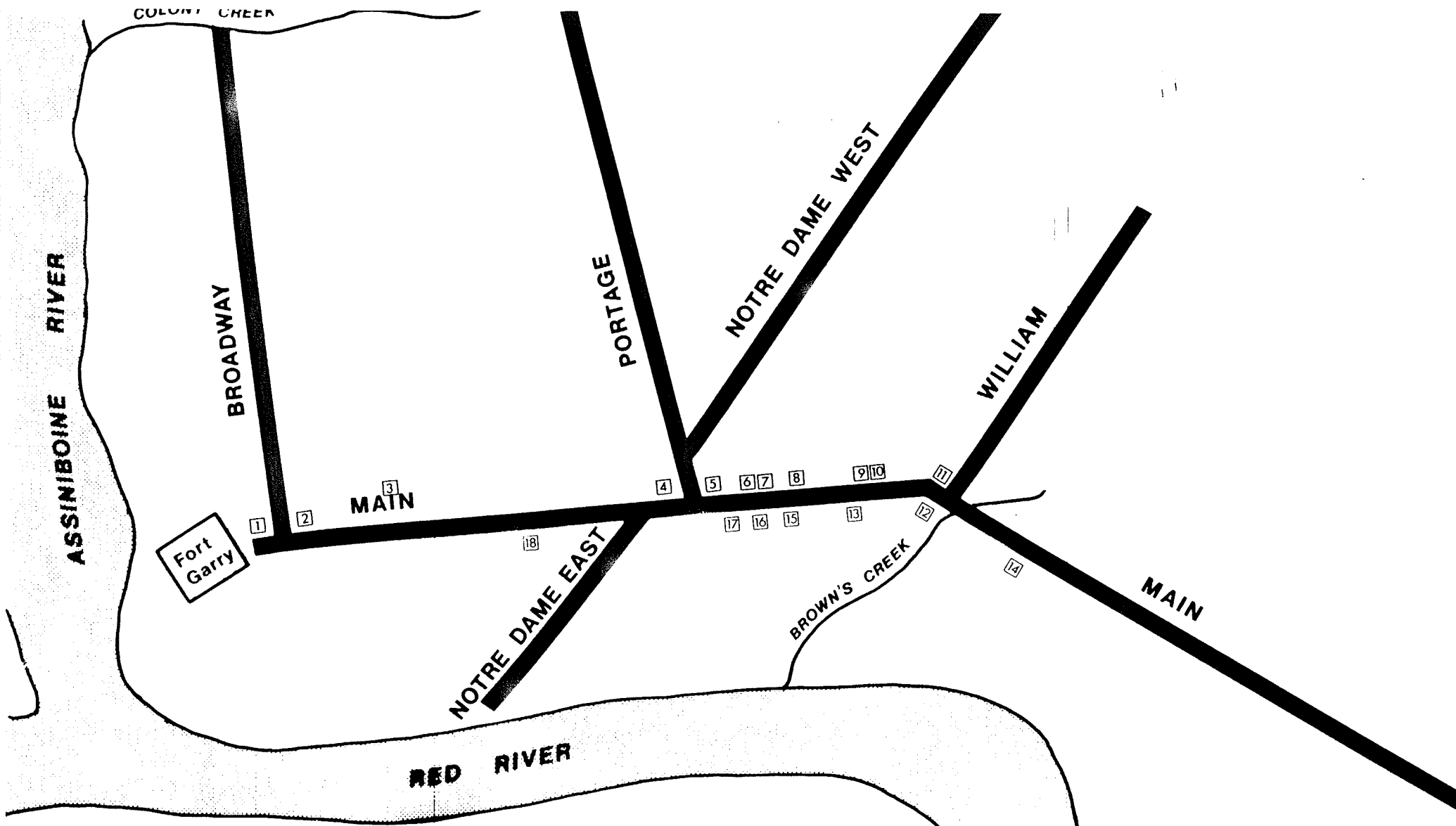
MAP II-2 BANKING LOCATIONS, WINNIPEG, 1878

- 1 Bank of Montreal - 1877
- 2 Merchants' Bank - 1872-75
- 3 Merchants' Bank - 1875
- 4 M^cMicken's (Later Ontario) Bank - 1872
- 5 Dominion Savings Bank - 1876

those found in eastern cities. As in the eastern Canadian example the location of these public structures was a good indication of where the center of the business district would lie. [Map II-1a]

Though the commercial area was beginning to acquire a focus the district had not fully coalesced by 1878. This was amply demonstrated by the bank locations along Main Street. With its members spread haphazardly between the Fort and the City Hall, the banking community showed that this was hardly a compact business area. [Map II-2] The general business area tended to be located between the banks and governmental buildings. Because of a lack of internal transportation, the distance between the extreme end of the district (more than half a mile) ensured that the general business buildings would be grouped around the prime governmental edifices.

The ambience of Winnipeg's commercial district was clearly that of a frontier centre. Consisting of modest structures, separated by yards of prairie, the business area could have been found in a dozen other less established towns throughout western North America. Only a few buildings displayed any architectural specialization in their appearance -- that is, one might expect that edifices with special functions, such as schools and banks, would be readily identifiable by their shape. This was not the case in Winnipeg in 1878 because the city had yet to acquire permanent structures. Such specialization was usually expressed in terms of more substantial and permanent building materials such as brick, stone or cast-iron but though the first brick structure was constructed in Winnipeg during 1873, the passage of five years did not bring with it a business district built up with solid phalanx of brick buildings.⁴² In short, as long as Main Street was adorned by log, frame and false-fronted structures, the citizens remained uncertain of Winnipeg's position in the hierarchy of aspiring Canadian metropoli.



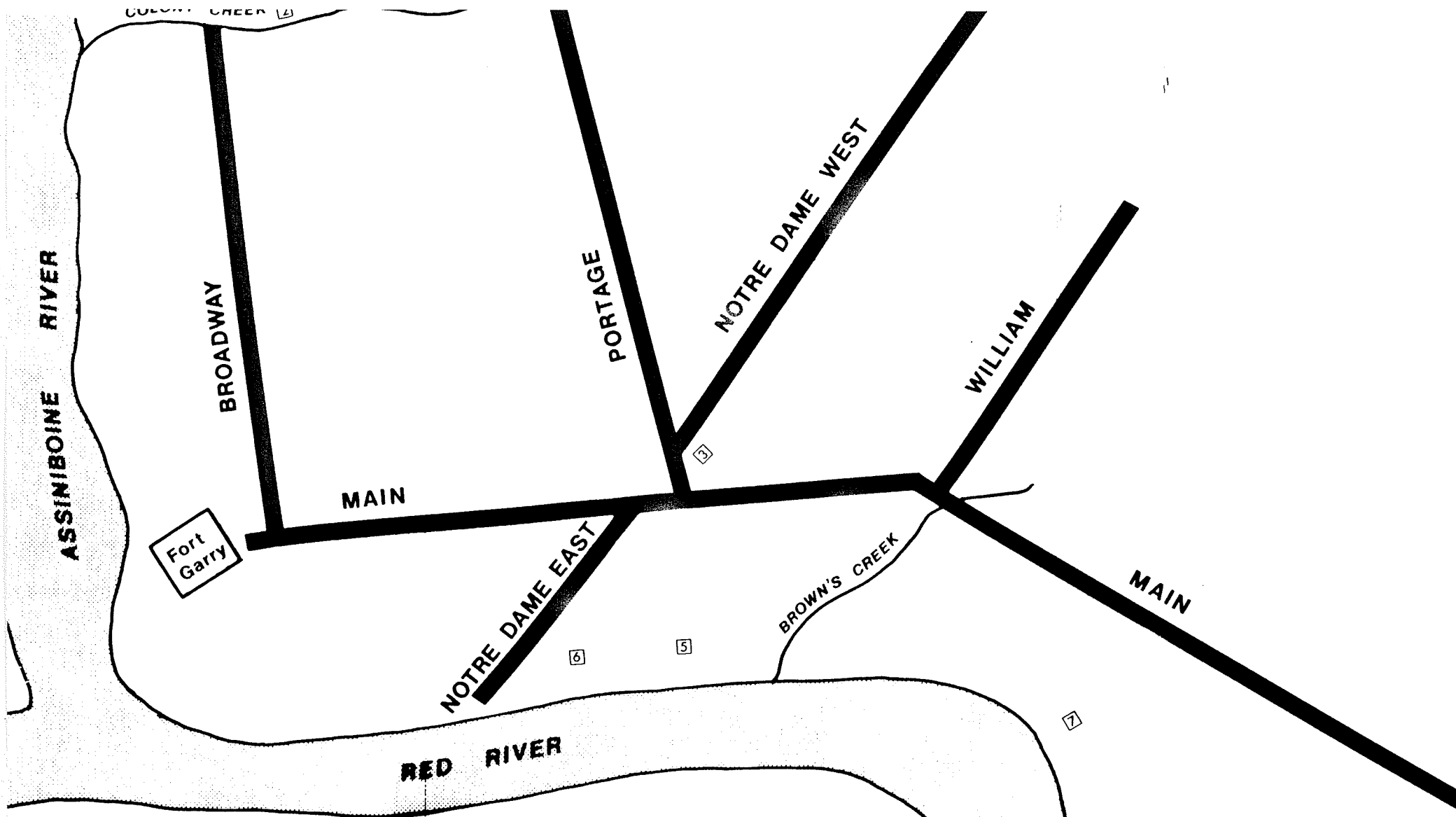
MAP II-3 CHIEF COMMERCIAL BUILDINGS - WINNIPEG, 1878

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 H.B.Co. Office - 1874 | 7 Higgins Block - 1873 | 13 Bird's Drugstore - ? |
| 2 Canada Pacific Hotel - 1873 | 8 Lyon's Block - c.1877 | 14 Harris Block - 1877 |
| 3 Dominion Hotel - 1877 | 9 Ashdown Bldg. - 1875 | 15 Revere House - c.1873 |
| 4 Donaldson Block - c.1872 | 10 Stobart & Eden - 1877 | 16 Richardson's Store - ? |
| 5 M ^c Kenny Block - 1862 | 11 Wright Block - 1873 | 17 Bannatyne Block - 1874 |
| 6 Davis House - 1862 | 12 Radiger Block - 1872 | 18 Schultz Block - 1860's |

By nature, then, Winnipeg was still a small town and this limited perspective was demonstrated by the fact that the north and south ends of Main Street were considered quite remote from one another, though the actual distance separating them was a mere half-mile. The concentration of structures north of Portage Avenue reinforced this impression for much of south Main remained flanked by virgin prairie. Given the obviously limited size of ~~the business~~ area, such differences were quite marked, much as they are today in small prairie towns. [Map II-3]

In the mid-seventies, as the inhabitants began to reach a higher level of affluence, a shift took place from the Main Street store-residences to structures featuring separate dwelling units. These were to be found along the side-streets adjoining Main, for the residents walked to work, and therefore lived near their place of employment. Most of these dwellings were of frame construction, buildings of this nature being easier and cheaper to erect than the more elaborate masonry dwellings. Some brick structures had become landmarks by 1876, but a visitor would have been hard-pressed to find brick houses.

Winnipeg's residential district of the 1870s also appears to have been of a mixed character and not segregated by class or occupation. Painters lived next to politicians and architects dwelt near artisans. One reason for this may have been that a real estate boom had not yet created the differences between "desirable" and "undesirable" residential properties. The Hudson's Bay Reserve lots sold at high prices, but the vacant lots were chiefly west of Garry Street and could be considered outlying by even the most optimistic observer.⁴³ Even Point Douglas, vaunted as the 'rich man's area of the 1870s',⁴⁴ with its relatively low land values, was still semi-rural in the mid-seventies. Few homes existed north of Alexander Avenue, and those in the Point were the domiciles of Selkirk settler descendants or "free-traders" who had purchased land from the earlier owners. These were set upon large tracts of land rather than town lots.⁴⁵



MAP II-4 PRETENTIOUS DWELLINGS - WINNIPEG - 1878

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1 Hugh Sutherland - 1878-79 | 6 A.M ^c Dermot - ? |
| 2 Thomas Scott - 1873 | 7 A. Logan - c. 1825 |
| 3 Dr. J.H. O'Donnell - 1877 | |
| 4 J.H. Ashdown - 1877 | |
| 5 A.G.B. Bannatyne - 1872 | |

20

The presence of vacant lands adjoining Main Street as well as a lack of internal transportation facilities, ensured that the main residential districts of the 1870s evolved within a two or three block radius of the main thoroughfare. It is likely, too, that residences were located in these places because they were close to such facilities as businesses and the Post Office. In the days before mail delivery, of course, house site became important in the winter for those who had to make the daily trip for mail. Thus, during the mid-seventies, the few streets east and west of Main Street were being rapidly built up with one and one-half and two storey dwellings.⁴⁶

As the level of affluence rose, a change came over some of the property holders of the city. This was indicated by the erection of pretentious dwellings. However, there were not enough participants in this endeavour to establish a distinct district of luxury residences. Rather, the builders tended to erect their palatial houses wherever an impressive lot could be obtained and this often resulted in the construction of picturesque semi-rural estates. Such was the case with the residences of Hugh Sutherland,⁴⁷ on what is now Maryland Street, Thomas Scott,⁴⁸ or even James Ashdown, whose \$10,000. house⁴⁹ presented a stark comparison to E. L. Barber's nearby log domicile. Even Bannatyne's 1872 cottage east of Rorie Street retained a sort of rural detachment after it had been surrounded by warehouses.⁵⁰ The scattered locations of these residences shows once more that class-differentiated districts had not yet developed. [Map II-4] On the other hand, the locations of these homes did demonstrate that the owners hoped to attract luxury residential development into their neighbourhoods. Unfortunately for them, their dreams did not ultimately reflect reality. Most of the above named dwellings remained in an isolated state or came to lie in a deteriorating social setting as the city experienced rapid physical changes in the following decade.

If the location of pretentious dwellings reflected the growth pattern of the city which was anticipated by a number of

individuals, the location of various services indicated the limited realities of Winnipeg's built-up environs. Fire protection was of prime importance. Initially, the fire service was located on Post Office Street, but after the destruction of the fire hall in a Christmas Day, 1875 blaze,⁵¹ the station was relocated behind the City Hall on the Market Square.⁵² The relatively compact nature of the built-up city at the time warranted but one fire hall, and so it remained the sole facility until 1882.

Throughout the 1870s the compact city was served by watermen, who obtained their supplies from the Red River and sold the water from door to door. The service began with one man in 1872, and seven years later employed nine separate businessmen.⁵³ The main problem was not a lack of supply, but the source, for the product often came from the river near the sewer outlets at the foot of Winnipeg's sidestreets.⁵⁴ In fact, even when the river was merely muddied by alluvial silts, the water still required boiling to make it potable. As a result, an 1879 visitor from Montreal pronounced Winnipeg's water system to be "very primitive".⁵⁵

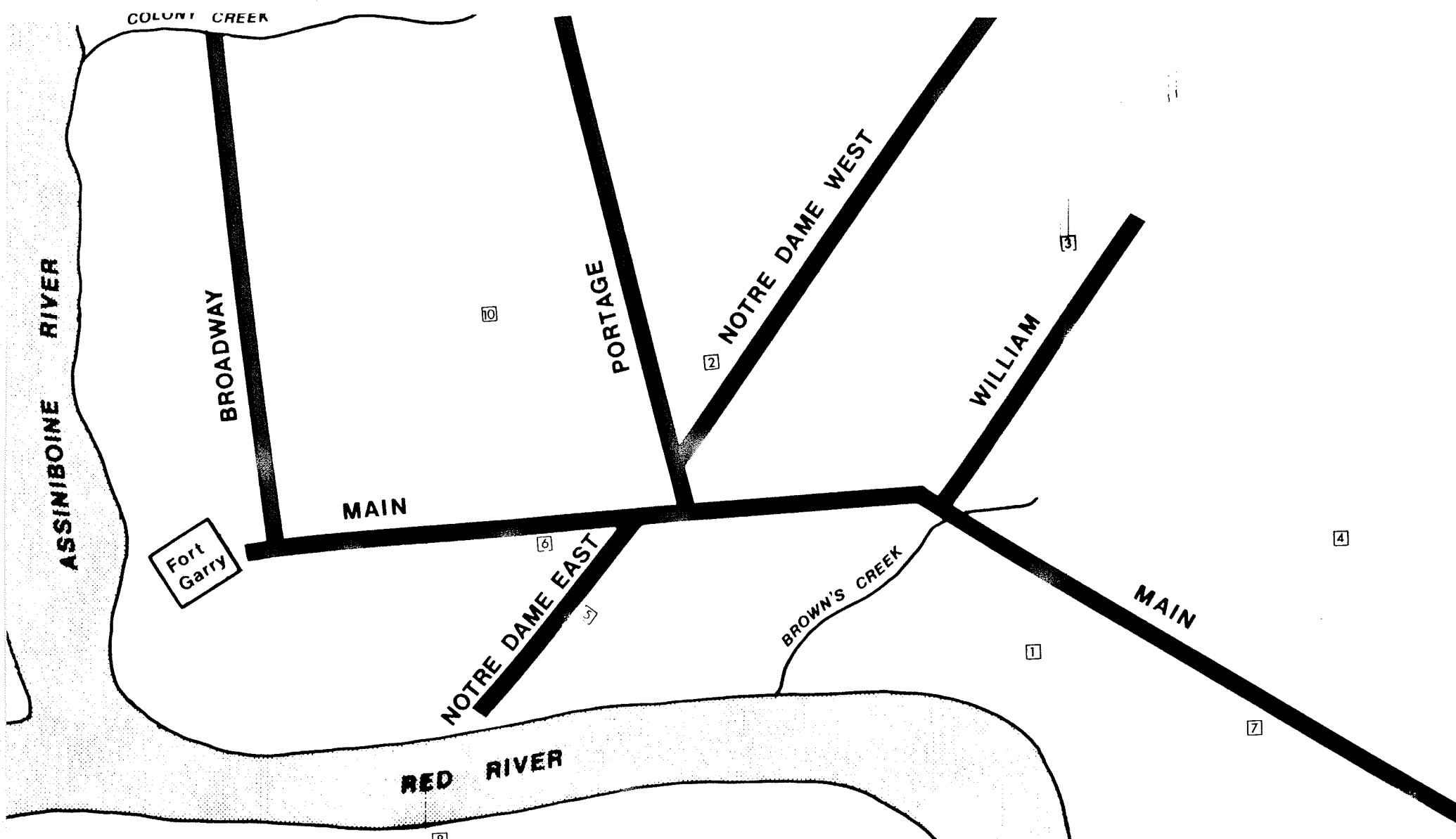
Though the water supply was fouled, Winnipeggers were very proud when their first sewers were constructed in 1876. The wooden lines ran under Main Street with side tributary pipes down adjoining streets. These drains had but a short lifespan; either because of poor planning or the rapid population increase after 1880, the sewers no longer performed properly after six years.⁵⁶ It is noticeable that the business area was the chief beneficiary of the new sewers -- indeed, there was no form of compulsion to connect with the city sewers until 1890 when inside plumbing was required for the first time in Winnipeg buildings.⁵⁷

Main Street was, as demonstrated above, the prime area of the city, and this provided a valid reason for the location of the main sewer. It was considered at the time that "the value of property would be much influenced by the character of the business buildings, and the character of these is apt to be regulated very much by drainage facilities".⁵⁸ Commercial structures could thus have self-contained sanitary facilities. This would allow for a

larger edifice, as the "privy" and its necessary "buffer zone" were eliminated, thereby allowing construction to the limits of the lot. A more substantial structure increased the value of the site, as well as that of surrounding property.

The locations of various services within the city were also determined by the growing population. Winnipeg's General Hospital had been founded late in 1872,⁵⁹ with quarters in a building east of Main Street.⁶⁰ This was too near the center of population, and after a number of moves, a one acre parcel of land was donated by Andrew McDermot and A. G. B. Bannatyne about a mile west of Main Street on the unoccupied prairie. During 1875, a building was erected upon that site,⁶¹ the location being "selected with a view to placing the institution in the portion of the city which would best meet the needs of the future...".⁶² It was apparent, however, that the hospital was physically removed from the main part of the city. In effect, the place was splendidly isolated, in order that there be a barrier against contagion. It is obvious that no one expected Winnipeg to grow that far west in the foreseeable future, and indeed, houses were not built near this site until the later 1890s. Unfortunately, no one seemed to think of the patients' isolation when the nuisance grounds were established within "smelling range" of the hospital a few years later.⁶³

Schools and churches also affected the geographical development of the community. Winnipeg's first school, established in 1871 was located on Maple Street in Point Douglas.⁶⁴ Nearer to the population was the first building to be built as a school, which was erected on Notre Dame near the present King Street in 1872, and was subsequently converted to the South Ward School three years later.⁶⁵ In the autumn of 1876, a decision was made to erect two modern school buildings, one at the present corner of William Avenue and Ellen Street and the other at Maria (King) Street and Fonseca (Higgins) Street. This pair of buildings constituted an attempt to foretell the direction of future development: each was located beyond the contemporary residential areas.⁶⁶ In terms of achieving this end, the Ellen Street building was



MAP II-5 - SCHOOL LOCATIONS - WINNIPEG, 1878

- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| 1 Luxton's School - 1871 | 6 Wesleyan Educational Institute - 1873-77 |
| 2 South Ward School - 1872 | 7 Manitoba College - 1874 |
| 3 Central School - 1877 | 8 St Boniface College - 1818 |
| 4 North Ward School - 1877 | 9 St John's Ladies' School - 1877 |
| 5 St Mary's Academy - 1874 | 10 St Mary's Boys School - 1874 |

successful, the tide of construction having engulfed its lot by 1883. The case of the Maria Street edifice was different, for by 1881 the school closed because it was too close to the railway tracks. The choice of school sites demonstrated that the direction of city growth was not entirely clear to the school trustees. [Map II-5]

Secondary educational facilities were located at a number of sites throughout the city. These schools did not significantly affect the direction of community growth because their patrons did not reflect as large a cross-section of the city as did the public schools. Nonetheless, the colleges required tracts of land for their operations, and therefore, their grounds sometimes became "empty spots" in otherwise built-up areas. The Presbyterians founded Manitoba College at the traditional bastion of the Scotch faith, Kildonan, during 1871.⁶⁷ This location proved inconvenient for the Winnipeg patrons of the college; therefore, in 1874, the faculty moved to the corner of Main and Common (Henry) Streets at the extreme north end of the city.⁶⁸ The Methodists, on the other hand, recognized their urban following from the start,⁶⁹ though the recognition probably came as a result of limited funds and a grant of Reserve land on Main Street. The Methodists, being newcomers to the town, located their 'complex' near the village of Winnipeg.⁷⁰ Thus, in 1873, the Wesleyan Educational Institute was erected next to the first Grace Church at Water Street.⁷¹ Unfortunately, the Institute was never well-endowed financially and was forced to cease operations in 1877.⁷²

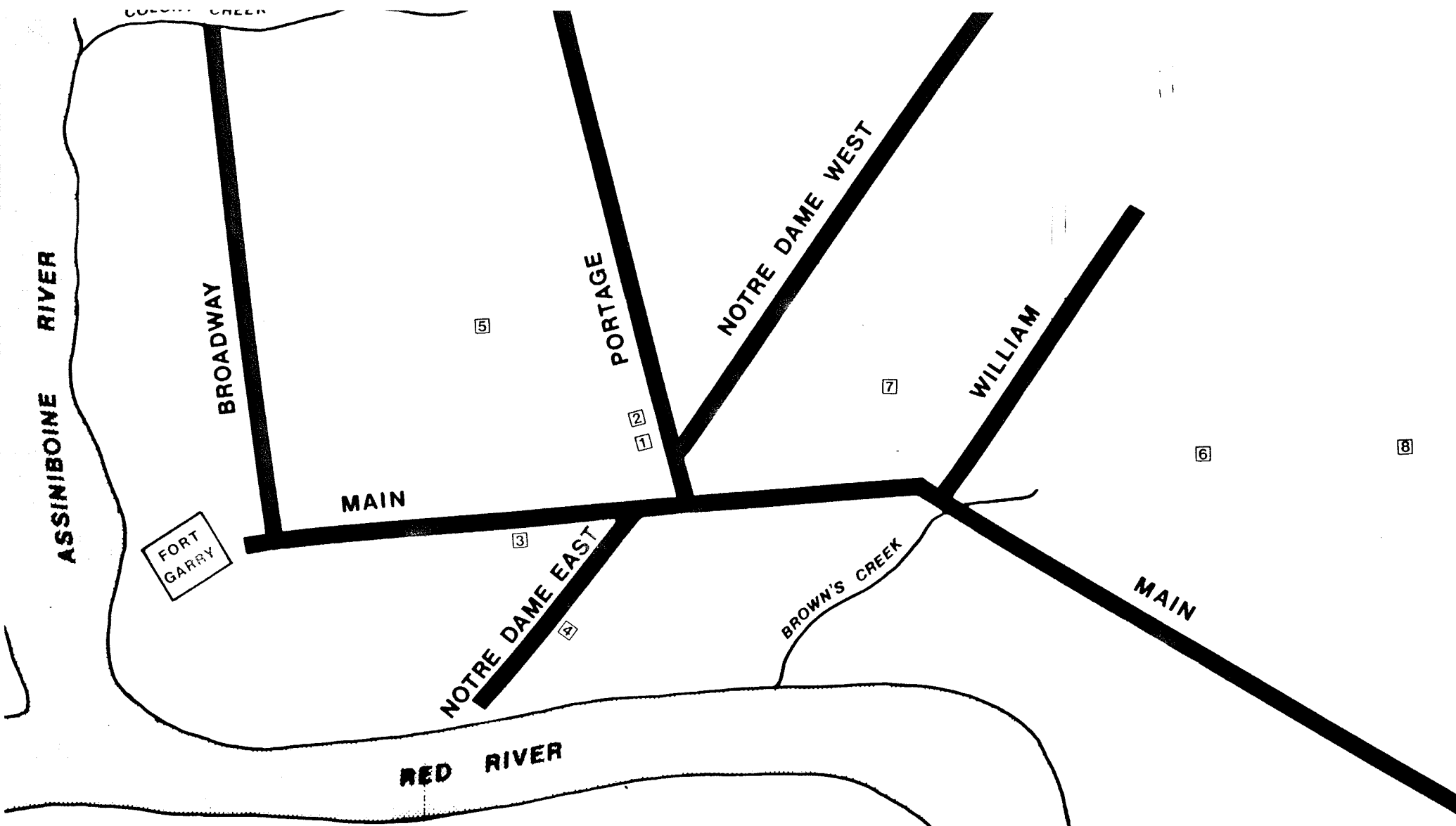
Unchanging in their location were the Anglicans, for the group was largely missionary in outlook and did not require an urban base to survive. Indeed, St. John's College founded in 1866, was the "missionary centre of the Diocese; St. John's was, and continued to be, the missionary centre of Rupertsland [sic]".⁷³ Thus, there was no real need to serve the general populace of Winnipeg at the time by provision of a school. The presence of St. John's Cathedral was considered "as the educational centre of the Diocese".⁷⁴ To some degree, this feeling was changed when a need was sensed to

also educate the young females of the settlement in lady-like deportment. After two experiments in 1873 and 1876, the St. John's College Ladies' School was opened just beyond the northern limit of the city during 1877.⁷⁵

St. Boniface College was similarly situated in the heart of its own sub-community. Though founded in 1818, the College had only been incorporated under Manitoba law during May 1871.⁷⁶ The College functioned at both the elementary and secondary levels for several years afterward.⁷⁷ Its function was largely that of a church college, training candidates for the clergy. In 1877, St. Boniface College became affiliated with the other local colleges in the University of Manitoba. This association did not change the teaching status of St. Boniface, nor that of the Protestant bodies, because the University was only an examining body.⁷⁸ St. Boniface was, on the other hand, the only college to be found on the east side of the Red River, a fact which reflected the Francophone origin of its patrons.

The growth of population in Winnipeg during the first several years of the decade swelled the ranks of the various denominations. The first St. Mary's Church opened during May 1869 at the reasonably central location of Notre Dame and Victoria,⁷⁹ though growth of the congregation made this structure obsolete as a church by 1873. Prior to 1869, English Catholics would worship across the river in St. Boniface. The growth of the English Catholic sector was reflected by the need for a Winnipeg church, and this was further recognized in the gift of land by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1873. In the following year the new church was erected on the edge of the prairie at St. Mary's and Hargrave Streets.⁸⁰ Though isolated at the time, it is evident that the Company hoped to attract land owners to the area around the church. As late as 1879, however, the area had still not become attractive as a residential district.⁸¹

Similarly, the Company had given land to the Winnipeg Anglicans in the late 1860s. The first Holy Trinity was erected by the congregation in 1868 at the corner of Garry Street and the



MAP II-6 CHURCH LOCATIONS - WINNIPEG, 1878

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1 Knox (Presbyterian) - 1868 | 5 St. Mary's (RC) - 1874 |
| 2 Holy Trinity (Anglican) - 1868 | 6 Baptist Chapel - 1875 |
| 3 Grace (Methodist) - 1871 | 7 Methodist Episcopal - 1876 |
| 4 St. Mary's (RC) - 1869-74 | 8 Christ Church (Anglican) - 1875 |

Portage Road.⁸² Though somewhat removed from Main Street, the congregation grew to the point where the edifice was enlarged two years later.⁸³ The same locality was chosen when, in 1875, the new Holy Trinity Church was erected to the east of the 1868 version.⁸⁴ This edifice, too, had become undersized by 1878 so the Church purchased eight lots from the Company at the corner of Donald and Graham Streets.⁸⁵ Though some considered the future site to be too far from the town,⁸⁶ the site was to remain into the 1880s, when it was engulfed by residential development.

The Presbyterians had located their church nearer to Main Street, on the same block as Trinity, but at the Fort Street intersection with Portage. Under circumstances similar to those of the Anglicans, the "Scotch Church" had received a gift of Hudson's Bay Company land.⁸⁷ The initial Presbyterian church was erected in 1869-1870 and enlarged a number of times as the congregation grew during the decade. By 1878, Knox was so successful that a grandiose kirk was erected on the same site.⁸⁸ Of all the religious groups in Winnipeg during the seventies, the Methodists were probably the least subject to the changes which affected their neighbours. Grace Church had been erected in 1871 at the corner of Water and Main Streets.⁸⁹ Its location was quite central and the edifice later became a commercial structure.

Smaller religious groups also established churches in Winnipeg. In 1875, a 48' x 32' Baptist chapel was erected at the corner of Rupert and Maria Streets. This was described as a "convenient" location,⁹⁰ being in the north end of the city, two blocks beyond the City Hall. So small was the congregation that this church did not become self-sustaining until 1879,⁹¹ when a residential district had been established about it. Similarly, a Methodist Episcopal Church was erected in 1876 near the present corner of Arthur and Bannatyne Streets. This was a fairly substantial building that was located in a growing residential district.⁹²

Some church locations reflected a certain measure of anticipation over where their congregations would grow. [Map II-6]

CHAPTER 3 - THE RAILWAY CROSSING -- 1878-1881

If uncertainty as to Winnipeg's future had dogged the entrepreneurs of the 'seventies, the eight years following 1878 brought with them equally changeable fortunes. By 1886, however, the city had become the unchallenged "Queen of the Prairies", and the insecurity of 1878 had disappeared. A nineteenth century city had emerged ~~from~~ those eight long years of growth, with many of the virtues and vices, many of the amenities and short-comings of the types found in cities of moderate size in England and the United States. The city survived both the rampant boom-time optimism of 1881-1882 and the dull times of 1883-1884, and had finally attained an assurance about its role and its future as the metropolis of the western interior of Canada.

Behind the rise of Winnipeg during this period were the twin forces of railway development and land speculation. Gambling upon real estate values was directly related to the choice of rail routes, and thus, the Western Canadian boom bore a distinct American flavouring.¹ It was a foregone conclusion that real estate values would climb with the advent of railways, because of their obvious impact upon the economic fortunes of the hinterland. As J. M. and Edward Trout commented:

As a means of opening up a new country for settlement, railways are incomparably the best and most effective, viewed in the light of results, that human skill has yet devised. Like the arteries and veins in the human body, they are the channels which vitalize the extremities of a country, and bring them into direct and immediate connection with the centres of commerce. They give value to natural products before valueless, because out of the reach of consumers; change sterility into productiveness; convert the wilderness into cultivated farms, as if by magic, and substitute for the profitless hunting of the wild man of the forest, the peaceful and remunerative operations of modern husbandry. 2

Years earlier, Thomas C. Keefer had demonstrated these effects upon

real estate,³ and had shown the steady rise of land values in a number of American cities. In this fashion, land speculation became inexorably linked with railway development. By 1878, it was an accepted fact that Winnipeg would 'boom'⁴ once a railway connection was forged. Indeed, it was considered that 'the Canadians, from the government at Ottawa to the government at Winnipeg, were ready to do anything and make terms with anybody to secure a through line from Manitoba to the outer world'.⁵ For Winnipeg, the controversy took the form of where a Red River crossing was to be made, and latterly, where within the city the railway bridge would lie. The following examination will demonstrate that the bridging of the Red River did not reflect the engineering realities of the time. Instead, the location of the Louise Bridge became the greatest political coup of a group of speculators banded together under the title of the Southwestern Colonization Railway.

Winnipeg's first rail link to the world was completed during the early winter of 1878 by an American-Canadian railway syndicate.⁶ Curiously, this branch line of the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railroad Company was a land-bound version of the steam boat route, complete with a St. Boniface terminal. James J. Hill and his St. Paul colleagues had waged a race with the Northern Pacific Railroad for the first tracks into Canada, but as the Northern Pacific had construction rights on the west side of the Red River below St. Vincent, Hill's group was forced to run their line on the east side.⁷ To a degree, then, the St. Boniface portion of the old St. Paul route was perpetuated, even to the ferry ride needed to transport goods and passengers into Winnipeg from a very muddy St. Boniface. Though the rails were a great step forward for the two cities, the inefficiency of the river crossing was a source of dissatisfaction to the Winnipeggers, who desired a rail terminal on their side of the Red. St. Boniface, of course, was viewed as a rival candidate for railway favours, a situation most unacceptable to those Winnipeg citizens who would have their city as the western rail head. Therefore, the agitation for a river crossing on the transcontinental railway continued

into 1879.

Unfortunately for Winnipeg, initial government surveys placed the transcontinental railway crossing at Selkirk, thirty miles north of the city.⁸ Though commercial logic dictated that the railway run through the most populous centres -- including, of course, Winnipeg -- engineering logic placed the crossing at the most easily bridged point on the river. With higher banks and a more satisfactory flood record than Winnipeg, Selkirk was initially slated to be the site of the bridge by which the transcontinental would cross the Red and proceed Northwest through the lake country on its way to Edmonton.⁹ As a result of this decision by Alexander Mackenzie's Liberal government, Winnipeg was to have been on a mere branch line from Selkirk. This was even more disagreeable to the Winnipeggers than was the St. Boniface ferry.

The Winnipeggers' battle to alter the transcontinental route was eventually fought on two fronts. The first assault had as its objective the diversion of the crossing away from Selkirk to Winnipeg, which became possible after the 1878 federal election. As a result of that election, the Liberals had been replaced by the Conservatives, who had hinted during the campaign that with the proper support, the main line could pass through Winnipeg.¹⁰ Though Selkirk had elected the Conservative, Doctor John Christian Schultz, as their representative in the House of Commons, Selkirk's fate was sealed by Schultz's Winnipeg interests. On the other hand, Winnipeg elected Donald A. Smith, a Liberal, as its member. With Schultz reigning as Winnipeg's arch-Conservative, railway matters began to take on a positive aspect in the late winter of 1878-79.

First, the local Conservative organization sought to establish a newspaper with policies favourable to their objectives. Hitherto, the Reform cause was represented in the West by the Manitoba Free Press, but its editor, W. F. Luxton, had alienated Joseph Whitehead, an important railway entrepreneur, by his severe treatment of Whitehead's affairs in the Free Press news columns.¹¹

In order to combat Luxton, and no doubt to build a link to the new Conservative government, Whitehead, the former Liberal Member of Parliament undertook to support the Conservative cause when he visited Ottawa early in 1879. He must also have agreed to underwrite a Conservative newspaper in Winnipeg and to support its editor, Charles Richard Tuttle,¹² whom he had hired on the advice of Charles H. Macintosh, then Mayor of Ottawa and a man in Whitehead's pay.¹³

From the start, the Whitehead and Conservative organizations influenced the new Winnipeg Daily Times.¹⁴ Though Tuttle swore that the Times was "at the service of the party" and that "no person in anyway interested in politics has aided me a dollar",¹⁵ Tuttle's entire printing plant was owned by Whitehead,¹⁶ and this in turn had been instigated by Dr. Schultz.¹⁷ In fact, when Tuttle proved to be an embarrassment to the local Conservatives, he was branded a "disgraceful blackmailer"¹⁸ and forced out of his 'own' newspaper,¹⁹ supposedly for the good of the party.²⁰

As the organ of the railway interests, the Times naturally espoused the Winnipeg side in the battle with Selkirk for the river crossing. Curiously, though Tuttle only arrived in Winnipeg in March 1879, he immediately found his way into the deliberations of City Council, offering to use his supposed influence among Ottawa politicians for the greater good of Winnipeg. Indeed, the April petition from City Council to Sir Charles Tupper advocating a change in route was drafted by Tuttle and others and published in the Times the day prior to its acceptance by Council.²¹ As well, it was Tuttle who accompanied Mayor Alexander Logan and the petition to Ottawa, presumably because of his political connections.

In the meantime, the people of Selkirk were trying to defend their railway position. Certain parties in Selkirk began promoting the incorporation of the Selkirk and South Saskatchewan Railway during the late winter of 1878-79. That line was to run west from Selkirk to some point on the South Saskatchewan River, taking a route south of Lakes Winnipeg and Manitoba.²² That effort

was thwarted in the large measure by an earlier delegation to Ottawa. Premier John Norquay and Joseph Royal had gone to the capital early in March to plead Manitoba's case for more federal funding.²³ In their dealings with Tupper's Special Railway Committee, the official delegates had made the Manitoba government's position on the granting of railway charters quite clear. In effect, **the Manitobans** acceded to the Dominion position that the chartering of railways within Manitoba would be detrimental to the general railway policy of the Dominion.²⁴ The Manitoba concession became important because one part of the Dominion policy claimed that a line running parallel to the transcontinental railway would deprive the latter line of business. The Selkirk line was soon placed in this "interfering class" when Tupper announced the decision to run the Pacific Railway south of the lakes, instead of between them,²⁵ much to the approval of the Manitoba government delegation.²⁶ The federal government even requested that the promoters withdraw their Bill.²⁷ This marked the beginning of the end of Selkirk's fortunes.

This was not the case with another line, known as the Saskatchewan Colonization Railway (SCR). Because the SCR was proposed to run through the southwest corner of Manitoba at Rock Lake into the Northwest Territories, it was considered a mere feeder line to the CPR. Since it would promote the development of a part of the province hitherto untouched by the proposed CPR, both Norquay and Royal gave the SCR their heartiest endorsements.²⁸ The line had had a checkered background, probably having begun as an amalgamation of two proto-railways, the Manitoba Western Railway²⁹ and the Manitoba Western Colonization Company³⁰ during the early part of 1879. From this emerged the SCR, having a route almost identical to the latter railway.³¹ It was being promoted by such Winnipeg interests as John Schultz, David Young, James H. Ashdown, Alexander Logan, Duncan McArthur, Joseph Whitehead, Samuel C. Biggs, A. H. Bertrand, Walter R. Bown, William H. Lyon, H. Hackett, and Robert McGregor. Other parties involved were W. W. Ogilvie and Frederick Fairman, both of Montreal, William Hendrie of Hamilton, as well as Joseph Leary of Pembina Mountain.³²

Once the competing line from Selkirk had been knocked out of the running, the promotional forces behind this organization were given a clear hand. Coincidentally, this line changed its name to the Manitoba and Southwestern Colonization Railway (MSWR) and became incorporated at the same time as Winnipeg's 'official delegation' was promised a crossing.

Among the powers given to the MSWR were the rights to run a line to Rock Lake, near the then southwestern corner of the province, and to construct bridges over the Red and Assiniboine Rivers.³³ The section of the charter originally meant for the Saskatchewan Colonization Railway which allowed for the construction of a rail line to the Saskatchewan River was conveniently dropped, though the clause about bridges would emerge prominently in the months ahead. What did not come out of the official documents was the fact that a number of the central figures in this railway were deeply involved in politics at the municipal and federal levels, and also that this same group consisted of men who held large amounts of land at Winnipeg's northern end.

During the two weeks of their Ottawa sojourn, the official Winnipeg delegation (Tuttle and Logan, supported by Schultz) met with nothing but pleasant results. Surprisingly, Sir Charles was easily swayed by the arguments of the Winnipeggers, so much so that it was stated that Tupper favoured "the Main Line via Winnipeg" at the time.³⁴ All of this came within a few days of the arrival of the Winnipeg delegation in Ottawa, even though the Selkirk crossing had been an accepted fact since 1877. One may well suggest that Tupper's mind had been influenced by the 1878 election promises, and that he was merely fulfilling a party promise. Though Winnipeg had elected a Reformer as its member, it must be remembered that Smith would have little influence with a Tory government. Dr. Schultz therefore became a key figure in the Selkirk-Winnipeg affair.

While Schultz represented Lisgar in the Commons, his most extensive property holdings lay in Winnipeg,³⁵ and it was there that his chief influence lay. Because of his deep connections with the capital city, via the Southwestern Railway, the Times and the

Liberal-Conservative Association, his determination to adequately represent Selkirk's affairs adequately was, to say the least, uncertain. This is supported by a series of events centering around Selkirk's railway petition of March 1879. That document had been forwarded to the Member for Lisgar, but in the Railway Committee, the missive could not be produced by that gentleman. In fact, the Honourable Member fully denied ever receiving such a document.³⁶ At the same time, Schultz was actively promoting the early stages of the Southwestern Railway scheme. Thus, Schultz could be seen as 'suffering' from an acute conflict of interest.

The death blow to Selkirk, which was without a voice at Ottawa, was dealt after April 1879. On 30 April it was announced that Winnipeg could have the crossing for the cost of a bridge, for Dr. Tupper had given permission to the City of Winnipeg to construct their viaduct.³⁷ Though the bridge was to be built to government specifications, the Ottawa government took no responsibility for having a bridge on a stretch of river that had once been seen as an inappropriate site. Indeed, this may well have been the Macdonald government's master-stroke in the entire crossing business. The Dominion Government did not wish to dispense money for a bridge which engineers said might be swept away by floods. The branch, or as many now considered it, the main line, had already been projected. If the Red River were bridged at Winnipeg there was no need for a Selkirk bridge. Amid this flurry of governmental economizing, the hopes of Selkirk were dashed and Winnipeg won the battle for the main line.³⁸

Winnipeg's railway struggle now moved to its second front, and became a veritable civil war among the communities located at the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. As spring became summer, the sides in the confrontation polarized. At the north end of Winnipeg were the lands of the local entrepreneurs who had earlier wrested the important public buildings in the city away from the Hudson's Bay Company. At the south end lay the Hudson's Bay Reserve, still largely intact from the earlier 'seventies, and quite ripe for development of any type. Coupled to the Company

W. G. Fonseca (C)
 Misses McDonald -
 John Higgins -
 Alex Logan (C)
 Bouvette Estate -
 James McKay Estate (C)?
 Román Catholic Mission -
 Ogilvie Company (C)
 - C. W. Radiger (C)
 Stobart, Eden and Co. (C)
 Boyle Brothers -
 John C. Schultz (C)
 John Sutherland (C)
 E. G. Conklin (L)
 Mark Fortune (L)
 E. L. Barber -
 J. G. McDonald (C)?
 Reverend Pritchard -
 Bonnville Estate -
 John Bruce -

Legend

(C)-Conservative supporter
 (L)-Liberal supporter
 - -Unknown.

Source: Winnipeg Sun, 12 January 1883, p. 2.
 4 April 1883, p. 4.
 6 April 1883, p. 2.

TABLE III-2--Political Allegiance, Directors, Manitoba and Southwestern Colonization Railway, 1879.

Duncan McArthur (P) (C)
 W.W. Ogilvie (P) (C)?
 J.H. Ashdown (-) (C)
 Frederick Fairman (P) (C)?
 W.H. Lyon (-) (C)
 Joseph Whitehead (P) (C)
 S. C. Biggs (P) (L)
 James Cooper (P)
 A.H. Bertrand (P) (C)
 W.R. Bown (P) (C)
 George Leamy (P)
 Henry Hackett (-)
 Robert McGregor (-)
 David Young (-) (C)
 William Murdoch (E) (C)
 J. C. Schultz (E) (C)
 W. N. Kennedy (E) (C)

Legend

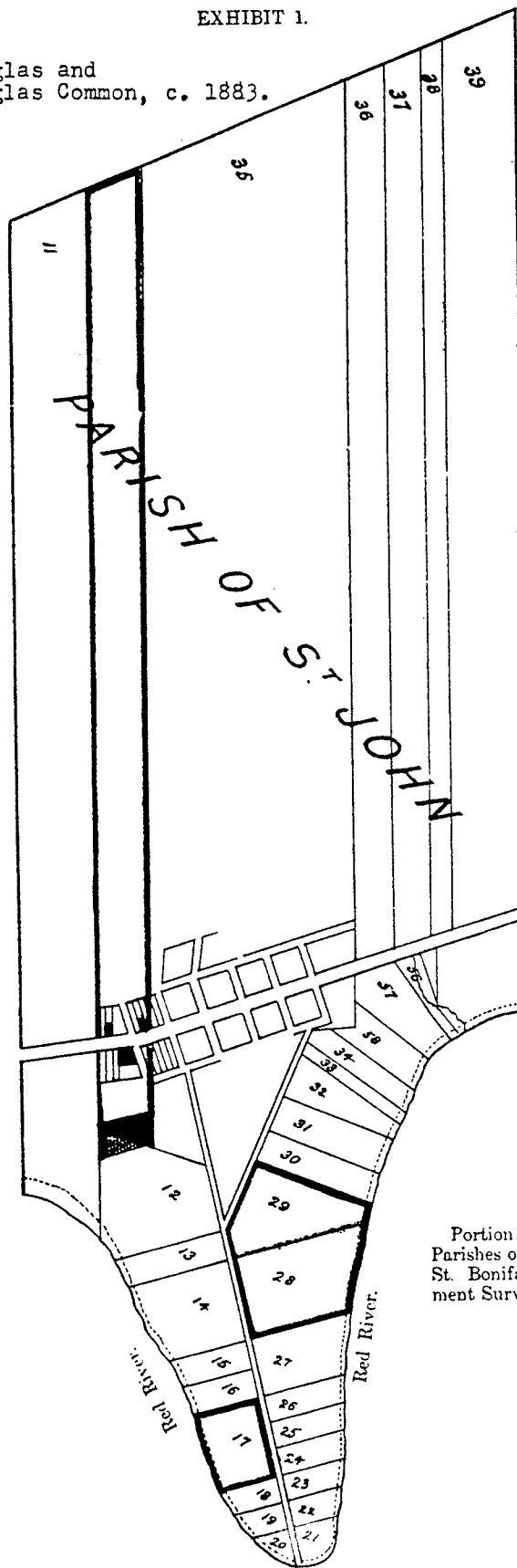
(P)-Provisional Director
 (E)-Elected Director
 (-)-Elected and Provisional, both.
 (C)-Conservative
 (L)-Liberal
 ? -affiliation is probable, though not certain.

Sources: George Bryce, History of Manitoba (1906); J.P. Robertson, Political Manual of Manitoba (1887); sketches of individuals found in newspaper accounts; reports of political gatherings where individuals were present; obituaries.

EXHIBIT 1.

MAP III-1
Point Douglas and
Point Douglas Common, c. 1883.

Note: Lot 35, D.G.S.
formerly known as
Lot 244, Hudson Bay
Company Survey, 1867.



Portion of Plan of River Lots in
Parishes of St. John, St. James and
St. Boniface, Dominion Govern-
ment Survey.

Source: Supreme Court of Canada. Between W. G. Fonseca and
J. C. Schultz and Her Majesty's Attorney-General for
Canada. "The Case", Exhibit 1. (Winnipeg: McIntyre
Brothers, 1886.)

interests were those of the St. Boniface land-holders, chiefly represented by the Roman Catholic Church under Archbishop Taché, as well as by the more affluent Francophones such as Joseph Dubuc. In the summer of 1879, these forces came to the last major real estate confrontation of the decade.

On the one hand, there were the "north-enders", composed chiefly of many of the eminent local Conservatives (See Table III-1). This group was represented by the Manitoba and Southwestern Colonization Railway (Table III-2). One of the interests of the MSWR proponents was the bloc of unoccupied lands in the north end of Winnipeg. Clearly, the values of this undeveloped part of the city would rise dramatically if it was situated along the line of railway.³⁹ The centre of interest lay in a 667 acre tract of undeveloped land known as Point Douglas Common. According to Lord Selkirk's original division of land in his colony, each settler received a narrow, two mile strip of land fronting on the Red River to be used for agriculture. The spit of land known as Point Douglas posed a problem in this regard, as the river lots there tended to be short and to abut one another, thereby making a two mile length impossible. Governor George Simpson remedied this situation by granting the empty tract of land (lot 244) in common to the Point holders (Map III-1) for grazing and haying privileges.⁴⁰ This parcel of land was held under the aegis of the Council of Assiniboia.⁴¹ In the years between 1827 and Confederation in 1870, portions of the Common had been sub-divided among several owners, each of whom claimed a portion of the Common as theirs. As the tract ownership was in dispute, the Dominion Government took charge of the case, eventually settling the matter during 1883.⁴²

Of primary interest, however, was the fact that the Common was intended by the railway promoters to become the 'yards' for the transcontinental railway. The vast open tract was a natural target for those who wished the line to cross the Red River at Point Douglas and then proceed due west through the Point. The people who controlled the Point and the Common became the main actors in the events of 1879. When the Dominion Government

TABLE III-3--Political Allegiances, Winnipeg City Council, 1878-1882.

<u>1878</u>	<u>1879</u>	<u>1880</u>	<u>1881</u>	<u>1882</u>
T. Scott, Mayor(C)	A. Logan, Mayor(C)	A. Logan, Mayor(C)	E.G. Conklin, Mayor(L)	A. Logan, Mayor(C)
W.G. Fonseca(C)	A.F. Eden(C)	W.G. Fonseca(C)	Edwin Doidge -	A. Monkman(C)
A. Logan(C)	J.B. More(C)	J.B. More(C)	J.B. More(C)	J.B. More(C)
J.B. More(C)	Arch. Wright(C)	Arch. Wright(C)	A. Monkman(C)	D. Sutherland(C)
Alex Brown(C)	A. Brown(C)	A. McArthur(C)	W.W. McMillan(L)	W. W. McMillan(L)
H. McDougall -	A. McArthur(C)	W.R. Ross -	W.R. Ross -	J.M. McGregor(L)
R. Strang(L)	R. Strang(L)	R. Strang(L)	R. Strang(L)	A. McNee(L)
E.G. Conklin(L)	W.F. Alloway(L)	W.F. Alloway(L)	A. McMicken(C)	G.M. Wilson(L)
W. Hespeler(C)	E.E. Conklin(L)	E.G. Conklin(L)	C.C. Montgomery(C)	A. Wright(C)
C.C. Montgomery(C)	S. Blanchard -	C.C. Montgomery(C)	G.M. Wilson(L)	A. McMicken(C)
F.E. Corrish -	J.H. Ashdown(C)	M. Fortune(L)	M. Fortune(L)	W. J. Ovens(C)
S.J. Jackson(L)	M. Fortune(L)	S.J. Jackson(L)	J.O. LeCappelaine -	W. Bathgate(C)
W.H. Lyon(C)	D. Young(C)	J.H. Pearson -	A. Strang (L)	J.R. Cameron(C)
Conservative-3	Conservative-8	Conservative-6	Conservative-4	Conservative-9
Liberal-3	Liberal-4	Liberal-5	Liberal-6	Liberal-4
Unknown-2	Unknown-1	Unknown-2	Unknown-3	

Sources: F.H. Schofield, The Story of Manitoba, Vol II, III; George Bryce, History of Manitoba(1906); J.P. Robertson, Political Manual of Manitoba(1887); sketches of candidates found in newspapers at the time of their nominations prior to elections; reports of political party gatherings, 1879-1883, having lists of those attending attached, obituaries.

settled the Common land dispute with a number of individuals, those people received sections of the Common in proportion to the amount of Point acreage they held.⁴³ Paramount among these were W. G. Fonseca, who received 293 lots; Alexander Logan, 128 lots; E. L. Barber, 115 lots; the Neal Macdonald Estate, 115 lots; and the Honourable John Sutherland, 68 lots.⁴⁴ Furthermore, the business of the Common was in the hands of three trustees after 1872 -- Honourable John Sutherland, W. G. Fonseca and Walter R. Bown, a relative and close associate of John Schultz.⁴⁵ Of these, Fonseca, Sutherland, Logan and Bown were prominent Conservative party members, and were influential because of the lands they controlled.

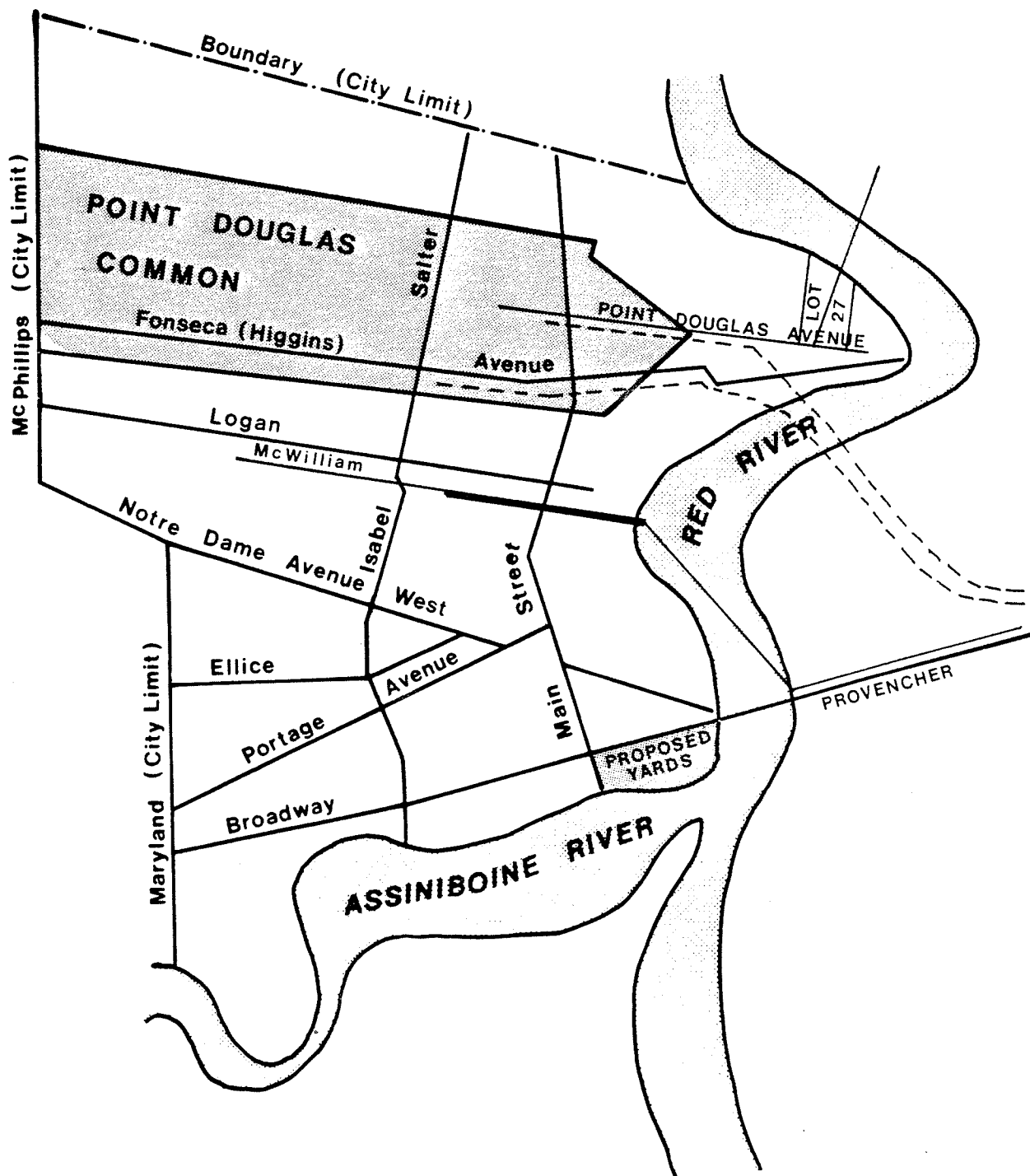
Closely allied to the MSWR and Point Douglas Common crowd were certain members of Winnipeg City Council (Table III-3). While Alexander Logan was the head of Winnipeg's official delegation to Ottawa, he was also that city's popular Mayor for 1879. Similarly, the MSWR directorate was ably represented on Council by James H. Ashdown and David Young. From an examination of City Council Minutes for the year 1879, it may be seen that these three men were among the most influential members of that body. Indeed, the men in question were not stopped in voting on matters affecting business between the City and the MSWR, even though an open conflict of interest was apparent. Of equal interest was the fact that City Council was dominated by members of the Conservative party, a condition which persisted with only one break until at least 1882. Undoubtedly, this relationship was not of a hindrance to the Conservative-inspired Southwestern, though at least one Conservative Councillor, Alexander McArthur, disagreed with the MSWR promoters.⁴⁷

The fact that so many of the principals involved with the various ventures -- that is, the MSWR, Point Douglas Common, City Council and the Dominion Government -- were leading lights in Conservative fortunes seems to be more than a mere coincidence. Under Mackenzie's regime, the MSWR may not have even been chartered for that reason, and similarly, Macdonald ignored the pleas of Selkirk

MAP III-2 PROPOSED RAILWAY CROSSINGS - WINNIPEG, 1879

- Provencher - Broadway to Hudson's Bay Reserve
- ==== Provencher - McWilliam Street
- Lot 27, Point Douglas to the Common
- - - - St Boniface? - Higgins/ Fonseca Streets
- - - - St Boniface? - Point Douglas Avenue

Source: Winnipeg Times. 5 August 1879, p.1.



citizens in 1879. However, with only a branch line to the east bank of the Red River being specified in railway plans, there was a gap within the Winnipeg city limits once a western line had been projected beyond the city.⁴⁸ The MSWR filled this gap inside the city, but the completion of the line through Winnipeg was not the only object of the promoters.

The existence of a main line through Point Douglas would boost area land values.⁴⁹ Furthermore, the location of the MSWR station and grounds on the Common,⁵⁰ and the right of way of the line through the empty tract would keep the Common open only for railway development when the CPR eventually came into being. As well, the Schultz line could also receive certain financial incentives in the form of "bonuses"⁵¹ and a land grant in the southwestern part of the province.⁵² For all intents and purposes, the MSWR was an organization built to anticipate and to capitalize upon the coming transcontinental.⁵³ Whether it was even intended to be an actual operating railway is uncertain. By 1882, when the Schultz interests became embroiled in a stock-fraud case, the MSWR was found to be on the verge of financial collapse.⁵⁴ This occurred despite the fact that the bonds had been fully subscribed in London, and had been so successful that more could have been sold.⁵⁵ Also, though the MSWR had graded a fifty-mile right of way to Rock Lake, the line possessed a mere 1100 feet of track and no rolling stock,⁵⁶ when finally purchased by the CPR in 1884. As early as the spring of 1879, it had been the considered opinion of one unnamed Winnipeg alderman that the "sole object of the... directorate of the SouthWestern was to sell out".⁵⁷ This may well have been the case.

Opposing the north end group were the combined forces of south Winnipeg and St. Boniface. The first was represented chiefly by the Hudson's Bay Company, which was offering twenty acres of its Reserve (Map III-2) as rail yards,⁵⁸ with the intention of vastly increasing the value of its Winnipeg holdings; a crossing at Broadway Avenue would have accomplished this. Tied in closely to the Company were the land interests of St. Boniface



for a Broadway bridge would use Provencher Avenue as an approach. The St. Boniface group was composed of the Roman Catholic Church and such land-owners as were represented by Joseph Dubuc, M.P. It is known that Archbishop Taché sought to intervene personally in the crossing matter with Prime Minister Macdonald,⁵⁹ and that this intervention was sparked by a direct request from C. J. Brydges of the Hudson's Bay Company that Tache use his influence.⁶⁰ It was ~~the~~ opinion of Dubuc that if the bridge were not erected at Provencher Avenue, St. Boniface would suffer a slow economic death, as the people of the villages south and east of St. Boniface would by-pass the town entirely on their way to do business in Winnipeg.⁶¹ This would relate directly back to Dubuc, as he owned certain development property along the proposed right of way.⁶² Thus, the two sides in the railway crossing affair formed during the summer of 1879 when the bone of contention lay in the conflict of "north against south and south against north".⁶³

While the Dominion Government was absolved of any connection with the Red River bridge, it did wish, nonetheless, to have some control over how and to a lesser degree, where the span was to be constructed. This included federal approval of the bridge plans for structure and floor height above ice flows, but also a federal review of the city decision on the crossing site. The task was assigned to William Murdoch, a civil engineer on the government payroll, who had been involved with the Pacific Railway since June 1871.⁶⁴ Of more interest was the fact that Murdoch was an eminent Conservative,⁶⁵ as well as an individual who had been promised an assured future by Prime Minister Macdonald.⁶⁶ Murdoch had come to Winnipeg during May 1879 with the official delegation, after having been interviewed by the two Winnipeggers.⁶⁷ In the ensuing months, Murdoch was subject to considerable pressure as the interested parties attempted to influence his decision on the bridge site.⁶⁸ Indeed, the chances that Murdoch was influenced to some degree were indicated by Joseph Dubuc, who reported that Murdoch

aurait déclaré que quels soient [?] les rapports de ceux qui font les sondages, il avait décidé déjà où serait le pont et c'était en bas de la Pointe Douglas.

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Furthermore, it was known that Mayor Logan and Railways Committee Chairman, Alderman Arthur Eden, had stated that the City of Winnipeg was not about to pay for a bridge which would serve the interests ~~of St. Boniface~~ and the Hudson's Bay Company.⁷⁰

The work of making borings to locate prospective bridge piers began on 30 July 1879.⁷¹ It soon emerged that there were five prospective bridge situations under consideration (Map III-3). That is, aside from the two sites previously noted, there were three other bridge plans. One had a bridge over the Red River from Provencher Avenue to McWilliam (Pacific) Street. This, however, would have made the bridge very long and uneconomical and, in addition, would have placed the bridge on a line almost parallel to the river's flow. Another more practical route was that which used Higgins and Fonseca Streets as the right of way. It is to be assumed that the eastern approach to this bridge would have been on Roman Catholic Church land in St. Boniface. As Archbishop Taché was opposed to a Point Douglas crossing, this line was ruled out. Similarly, the last proposal again used Church lands with a right of way on Point Douglas Avenue. This line was also rejected because of opposition by Taché.⁷²

Given that the bridge location had been pre-determined by the MSWR group and by Murdoch, the borings for the alternate routes, except perhaps in the case of the line crossing from Lieutenant-Governor Cauchon's "magnifique propriete" in St. Boniface⁷³ to Lot 27, Point Douglas, were nothing but a clever diversion. On 16 September 1879, City Council made its decision to locate the Red River bridge on the northern side of Point Douglas on the basis of the report by Murdoch. The engineer considered the Broadway-Provencher crossing inferior because of a high water flow velocity as well as swampy bridge approaches.⁷⁴ This report was made despite the fact that the Broadway and Point

Douglas sites were considered equal in stature by Murdoch's second-in-command, a Mr. Watts.⁷⁵

It is of interest to examine Murdoch's subsequent activities after the bridge siting was completed. Late in November 1879, Murdoch was ordered by Ottawa to discharge his entire staff of assistant engineers who were in charge of locating the first one hundred miles of main line west of Winnipeg.⁷⁶ It is to be supposed that without a staff, Murdoch was soon either dismissed or resigned.⁷⁷ Shortly thereafter, Murdoch's name became associated with the MSWR as that line's chief engineer.⁷⁸ Furthermore, when the elections were held among the sixteen MSWR stock holders⁷⁹ in December, Murdoch emerged as one of its directors.⁸⁰ Murdoch's association with the MSWR lasted almost two years, until he was deposed during a stock manipulation late in 1881.⁸¹ Later, the former resident engineer of the CPR became the writer of entreaties for a government position in light of past acquaintances.⁸²

That Broadway was a viable crossing was proven when the Broadway Bridge was erected during 1881-82.⁸³ Furthermore, though the Point Douglas location boasted high banks and a span 130 feet less in length than Broadway,⁸⁴ it remained a questionable site because Dominion Government specifications forbade bridges at river bends.⁸⁵ The Point Douglas line would cross the Red River just north of one of the sharpest bends in the river, and just south of a yet more sweeping curve. How this specification was circumvented is still a matter of question.

The bridge may have been sited, but Winnipeg City Council began to experience difficulties with the Directorate of the MSWR over control of the span. Winnipeg's by-law to construct a \$200,000. bridge had been passed during August 1879 by an overwhelming majority.⁸⁶ Prior to this, however, Council had entered into an agreement with the MSWR stating that the City would supply the funds for the bridge, turning over said funds to the Dominion Government for the construction, ultimately turning the completed span over to the MSWR for its exclusive use!⁸⁷ After the decision

on the bridge site, the MSWR began to manifest a singular anti-pathy toward constructing the viaduct,⁸⁸ and would not assign the right to build the bridge which had been accorded them in their charter.⁸⁹ After negotiations, however, the City advertised their intention to build a bridge.⁹⁰ Eventually, a qualified bridge engineer, E. W. Jarvis, was appointed to manage the work⁹¹ which began on 4 February 1880.⁹²

The Southwestern Railway in the meantime continued in such a promising fashion that even the skeptical Free Press was given to favourable comment.⁹³ Having subscribed its stock, the MSWR began construction of a chaste-looking set of buildings at the south-east corner of Victoria Park,⁹⁴ that tract having been turned over to the railway in October.⁹⁵ The dispute with the City of Winnipeg did not stop the MSWR from obtaining a right of way on Point Douglas Avenue to what had become known as the Government Reserve (the Common).⁹⁶ Track-laying commenced on the Avenue during the autumn.⁹⁷ Prior to the bridge construction, a temporary crossing was created over the ice at Point Douglas,⁹⁸ the ice being strengthened through the use of one of the civic steam fire engines.⁹⁹ On 29 December 1879, the 'John G. Haggart' crossed the frozen Red River and became the first locomotive to run on Point Douglas Avenue.¹⁰⁰

Throughout 1880, the work on the Louise Bridge proceeded, and culminated in the "glorious, illimitable guzzle" that marked its cornerstone ceremony. That event might have been quite august had the ever-present rowdy elements not taken command of the liquor supply, for fights and debauchery ensued.¹⁰¹ The ceremony was quite symbolic of the dubious nature of the Louise Bridge creation. However, even if Winnipeg's citizens breathed a little easier as a result of having the crossing, the coming of the CPR showed these same citizens the blackmail channels they had opened with the bridge affair in 1879.

The new CPR had come into existence during October 1880,¹⁰² the agreement with the Dominion Government being ratified on

17 February 1881.¹⁰³ Dr. Tupper had been given a memorial by Winnipeg City Council during a visit to the city in November 1880. There, Council offered to exempt the railway's buildings and grounds from taxation for "an extended number of years".¹⁰⁴ This offer was good until the CPR was on the verge of entering Winnipeg. As the line was now a private enterprise, its promoters undertook to secure the best deal possible for their venture. Suddenly, it became time for negotiations between the Railway and the City, which now had few grounds upon which to bargain. The civic investment in the bridge was very great, and the future of Winnipeg depended upon the CPR using that span.

During June 1881, the CPR made its list of demands on the City -- a bonus of \$200,000; free land for a station; and tax exemptions upon railway property in perpetuity.¹⁰⁵ Furthermore, if City Council persisted in bonussing the MSWR, a piece of legislation under consideration at the time, the CPR would locate its shops and yards at Lower Fort Garry.¹⁰⁶ Faced with this ultimatum which might have dashed the future hopes of Winnipeg, the now Liberal-dominated City Council scuttled the Southwestern by-law, for the CPR was considered the most important line, and during August 1881, a new by-law was passed which corresponded to the CPR demands.¹⁰⁷ The Winnipeg entrepreneurs had gone too far and invested too much time and money to have their plans cast to the winds because of loyalty to the MSWR. Thus, the question of Winnipeg's future was settled.¹⁰⁸

Winnipeg owed its position as the paramount metropolis in the western interior not only to commercial supremacy, as has been traditionally believed, but to political patronage and influence. A fear of losing commercial eminence explains why Winnipeg's merchants displayed such a paranoic fear of Selkirk prior to the decisions of April 1879, and it is clear that the Southwestern Railway represented the Winnipeggers' last-ditch attempt to displace a rival. The appearance of this Conservative-run company, dealing with a Conservative-biased Council, and a

Conservative Dominion Government therefore became more than a mere coincidence. The activities of John Schultz, who was supposed to be the Member of Parliament representing the aims of Selkirk can be looked upon as very important, for with his peculiar interests, he became the behind-the-scenes key in the struggle.

Later, the north end entrepreneurs continued to use this same political influence to ensure that the south end would not develop as a business district. The railway line would now act as the magnet which would draw business establishments to the area north of Portage Avenue. The impression gained from documentary evidence is that the location of the bridge was predetermined as early as the time of the visit of the Winnipeg delegation to Charles Tupper. The test borings therefore only added decorum to a scene dominated by conflicts of interest, secret deals and rewards to officials. Furthermore, everyone who owned land in the city benefitted from the siting of the Louise Bridge. The South-western entrepreneurs saw their speculative lands used as a rail yard, while track-laying benefitted the Point Douglas land-owners by an increase in values. The luck of the north end even spilled over upon those who had lost the local civil wars. Joseph Dubuc, the Conservative M.P. who represented St. Boniface interests, became a judge in November 1879.¹⁰⁹ Even the Hudson's Bay Company was soothed in its defeat by being granted a charter to build bridges in Winnipeg over the Red and Assiniboine Rivers.¹¹⁰ In the end, the location of the station at Point Douglas was deemed to have "no bad effect" upon Hudson's Bay Company property,¹¹¹ for while the Reserve may not have been a commercial preserve, by 1881 the district was becoming a high-class residential area.

Winnipeg's railway negotiations in the years 1878-1881 were centered around the commodity which would create the city's first wealth - land. Through political manipulation, "une certaine clique de speculateurs avides et adroits"¹¹² succeeded in securing the city's future and their own advantage. The rail-yards at the northern extremity of the city soon became surrounded

by industrial buildings and poorer housing, and this became a characteristic feature of the city which persisted for a century. Furthermore, the business district was now given a reason to expand into the undeveloped "old" north end which eventually became a part of central Winnipeg once the tracks became a convenient division point between the "new" north end and the south wards. Winnipeg's ~~future~~ future was now assured, and the city entered the 'eighties with a swaggering air of confidence.

CHAPTER 4 - REAL ESTATE: ANATOMY OF A "BOOM" -- 1881-1886.

The end of the railway negotiations opened a real estate boom which left permanent changes upon the face of Winnipeg. The land frenzy was tied to the railway, for the most immediate effects of the boom in the city were felt during the time that the construction was taking place near Winnipeg. But the boom ended as the rails pushed farther west, and eventually Regina boomed, as did Calgary and to an extent, Edmonton. In the meantime, the rails touched off miniature booms at various points. Each town strove to be the next "Chicago of the Northwest" or at least a future CPR divisional point. That many of these places did not succeed became apparent to investors after the boom, for their promoters had met with failure and bankruptcy. On the other hand, Winnipeg was like an island in this sea of ruin, for it was because of the speculative mania of 1881-1882 that the modern city of Winnipeg emerged as a metropolitan centre.

The argument of this chapter is that the boom acted as a catalyst for various changes in the city. Indeed, the following pages will argue that the boom should not be seen as a period of disorganized frenzy which left only destruction in its wake. Instead, they will contend that the boom was not an aberration in Western Canadian history, but merely an intensification of activity that was occurring before 1881 and was to continue after 1883. The role of real estate speculation in the growth of cities during the nineteenth century has been largely ignored in most urban profiles. Yet, land speculation was one of the great themes of city-building in the previous century, for it was carried on as a respectable branch of commerce. In this chapter an analysis of the land market will provide a chronology, of the boom which has been lacking in previous accounts. It is necessary to establish the sequence of events as earlier interpretations have depended too greatly upon interpreting these events out of their proper order. Furthermore, this analysis will explain the contribution of land speculation to the urban development of Winnipeg in the

'eighties.

Real estate was one of the first commodities in Winnipeg that was affected by the siting of the Louise Bridge. Once the location of the bridge had been confirmed, the demand for city lots increased. Most remarkable were the prices of land in the business district, which had sold for very little in the "old days", but ~~which~~ now commanded large sums.¹ It was said that "everyday, too, demonstrates that the implicit confidence we have in our future is extending to new comers, and that the new and the old joining are combining to lay the foundations of a great city -- the Chicago of the North-West".²

The late autumn of 1880 witnessed a slackening in the boom and by November the demand for Reserve lots had ended for the year.³ The advent of cold weather saw the exodus of "nearly all the strangers",⁴ for much of the ready cash came from Montreal and Toronto⁵ and these people desired to go home for the winter. It was estimated by the City Registrar that about \$1,250,000. had been invested in urban real estate during 1880, averaging about \$25,000. a week.⁶ The interest of the "outsiders" was initially in Winnipeg's Main Street business district, though land beyond the established residential districts had begun to sell.

The winter of 1880-1881 was a quiet time which gave the forces of "boosterism" a chance to group for the great land selling campaign ahead. Ever aware that their audience and their market were not merely local ones,⁷ the editors of the two Winnipeg dailies began to pour all their talents into booster propaganda. News of seemingly fantastic real estate profits began to "leak" into eastern Canada. Feeding enthusiastic articles from outside journals back into their newspapers, the editors created a climate of opinion that had very few negative factors. The editor of the Times, for example, indicated the increased demand for building lots in Winnipeg grew "naturally out of the enlarged operations of our businessmen, whose ranks are constantly receiving fresh accessions...".⁸

By early spring 1881, Winnipeg real estate sales and values were advancing rapidly.⁹ Indeed, the city began to attract the would-be agriculturalists who were diverted from their appointed careers. The colonization companies of R. W. Prittie, Thomas Greenway and C. J. Whellems saw their settlers ranks reduced when, having succumbed to the fever in Winnipeg, some erstwhile colonists remained in the city in search of speculative profits.¹⁰ C. J. Brydges, the Hudson's Bay Company Land Commissioner, noted that there was "the maddest kind of speculation rampant". Many land purchases occurred because the gamblers banked upon the prospective expenditures of the CPR.¹¹

In the minds of some land agents, however, there was a feeling that the boom would come to an end in the near future.¹² A part of that apprehension existed because of the creation of hitherto unheard of high prices on city property. A portion of the Mulligan Estate on Boundary (Sherbrook) Street sold for \$650. an acre during April according to the expected potential growth of the city to that point¹³ even though the area was still a rural locality. Indeed, by June, Brydges noted that "the high prices in the city have also driven people to buy at cheaper rates outside the city limits",¹⁴ though there was "a widespread spirit of speculation existing in regard to town lots, but not as regards farming lands".¹⁵

The advancing land prices gave rise to a peripheral business district around Main Street. Though still largely residential in nature, this district became the subject of frenzied buying. During June, J. W. Harris sold his Market Street house,¹⁶ while Dufour, the auctioneer, sold several lots on Owen Street (now McDermot Avenue East) at prices averaging \$130. per front foot. Similarly, a lot on Rorie, the next street east of Main, realized \$50. per foot.¹⁷ Clearly, the rising costs of property on the side-streets dictated that investors would replace the residences with commercial structures.

The greatest concentration of saleable lots was located

on Main Street, between the City Hall and Portage Avenue. As one moved away from the business district, one gradually encountered lower lot prices until land could be had in larger plots measured in acres. The prices of these tracts also advanced in price, though they never had the same significance as the areas within a two or **three** block radius of the principal thoroughfare. It was down **Main** Street that emigrants travelled in their search for food, lodging and supplies, and thus, Main Street north of Portage Avenue was a very busy place in the summer of 1881.¹⁸

High prices had made certain pieces of land suited only to certain uses by this time. As early as May, businesses had been spreading to the adjoining streets.¹⁹ Therefore, one could perceive the end of the boom in city properties. Given the limited means of transportation, the business district could only have expanded two or three blocks west of Main Street or two east of that thoroughfare before the distance for pedestrians made the location inconvenient. Using this line of reasoning one must conclude that despite the spread of high prices in the business district, the commercial area was to be limited in size. In short, there was, even at the peak of the boom frenzy, a limited amount of business property available in the city. More importantly, however, the resulting price of land was forcing the compression of the business district into a smaller area. High land values ensured that the eventual land-holders would have to erect large business houses in order to realize a return upon their investments. Small scale structures on their Main Street sites were therefore doomed because a rise in land values dictated the erection of buildings able to generate revenue to adequately repay the investment.

Evidence indicates that the impetus of the boom had begun to flag by September, 1881. According to Gilbert McMicken, a real estate, insurance and loan agent, there "seemed to be a lull in real estate excitement and it is thought unlikely that it will again rage so violently. The Hudson's Bay Company are to

have an auction today -- these prices are run up to extreme."²⁰ The Company sale, a marked success, "started another boom in real estate in the City."²¹ A few days later, A. G. B. Bannatyne sold a 250 foot square parcel of land at Rorie and Bannatyne to A. W. Ross for \$25,000., while selling the site of his first store at Post Office (Lombard and Main) for \$20,000.²² Between April and October, ~~one~~ real estate dealer had realized profits from land transactions totalling \$91,000.²³

During early October, Brydges concluded that the boom was over for the year, though it was evident that there would be further activity in the Spring.²⁴ James Crombie, a real estate agent, stated that he could not "see any immediate prospect of a further advance in City property here before March or April next. However, City property must always be more or less of a speculative character."²⁵ Furthermore, Crombie also demonstrated that the expansion of the business district had probably ended. A few days later, he wrote that

at this date is impossible to say how prices may rule next summer. The lots [belonging to Riddell and Stevenson] are altogether out of the business thoroughfares and are suitable for private residences only.

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Thus, there was a growing awareness that not all property was suitable for business purposes.

Though the boom had flagged somewhat in October, some quickening in the pace of activity began about the middle of November. A local newspaper commented that "real estate matters seem to be in a tolerably lively condition", and cited as evidence the fact that one firm had made twenty-five sales in one week totalling \$101,675.²⁷ Brydges observed that

the boom has continued much later than last year, and Winnipeg now presents a very animated appearance. Transactions in real estate are large every day and before the winter excitement has died out, there is every appearance of the setting in of a continuing spring boom.

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The boom began to assume a runaway pace at about that time. "Outside" property, notably farm and wild lands were attracting the attention of persons who could no longer afford "inside" or town lots. "Wild lands are now greatly in demand, and intending investors should not delay in picking up good lands".²⁹ Joseph Wolf, the auctioneer, purchased and resold the Matheson farm, one ~~mile~~ north of Winnipeg, within a few days and realized \$9,000. profit.³⁰ It was observed that the real estate "movement" as a whole "beggars description and mostly everybody in the city is becoming a bloated capitalist. So far as is known up to the present writing, Winnipeg takes the cake from any city in Canada in the matter of meteor-like progress."³¹ Like the vaunted meteor, the boom was now entering the most hectic and reckless phase of its existence, and there were those who were beginning to perceive that madness had seized the speculators. Brydges, who had believed that a pause was taking place in the first half of December,³² confessed a few days later to

being unable to understand why such prices should be paid. It is discounting the future at a terrible rate. But great as is the rise in price in town, it is being exceeded by the prices paid for outlying properties from 1 to 5 miles out of town.

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At the CPR progressed westward, town began to spring up and, at times, townsite promotions occurred at places near projected lines. Moberly, Reston, Manitoba City, Pomeroy and Mountain City were sites promoted by the Winnipeg land entrepreneurs. The general term for many of these places was "paper town", and in one case, an outright swindle took place, though this was not discovered until later.³⁴ Newspapers warned "greenies" to beware of real estate "sharks", as more than one man had been victimized. Clearly, as the boom became more active by the end of 1881, the unscrupulous element was emerging in a previously respectable business. The boom was nearing its climax. A local journal commented that "it will take a lot of banks to hold all the money that is going to be

made here this year",³⁵ for it was believed that the new year of 1882 bore much promise for further advancement.

J. G. Crombie had witnessed city properties advance by 300% since April, 1881, while other tracts in the vicinity of Winnipeg had risen between 500% and 1,000%: "...this simple statement will probably give you a better idea of what may be expected in the future...I firmly believe that city property will be higher in the Spring than ever it has been, but there is no doubt that many will be ruined by reckless speculation in City property."³⁶ Signs of a reaction to the experience of the boom began to manifest themselves in the East. The Montreal Witness correspondent, for example, believed that "a dozen sites could be found in Manitoba better suited for trade and manufactures than Winnipeg."³⁷ Such articles as this were regarded as the products of petty jealousies, and the Winnipeg journals continued to repeat enthusiastic reports from other newspapers. J. C. McLagen, after demonstrating instances of wealth and rapid profit, confessed that there was another side to the story, though he was "unable to find any who have lost money" in real estate.³⁸

That the more perceptive spirits among the throngs of enthusiasts were becoming disgruntled with the situation became more apparent as the winter wore on. Colin H. Campbell, a young Ontario lawyer, had journeyed west to find his future, but was not at all satisfied with what he found at Winnipeg.

The only way money can be made in this city and country is in speculation and that is now being carried on as one huge swindle. The day of reckoning is close at hand. Men care not how they get money but money they will have...just imagine about fifty doctors in Winnipeg, none of them making a living out of their profession but out of real estate.

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Even land agent J. G. Crombie was concluding that an end was near, for he did "not recommend city property as an investment. Not that property is above its value but the amount of profit is small, and you cannot be here to manipulate."⁴⁰ This indicates

that the boom was indeed weakening by February 1882, and Crombie's advice shows that some sort of change was expected in the near future, for only persons in the North West could properly manipulate their holdings to the best advantage. City property had advanced to such high prices that further speculation was becoming dangerous.

Some of the last big real estate transactions took place during February. The site of Knox Church, on Portage Avenue, was sold for \$126,000. to the Northwood Brothers of Chatham, Ontario,⁴¹ while Joseph Wolf purchased and later resold a piece of Main Street property opposite Portage Avenue at \$17,000. profit.⁴² According to Colonel Kennedy, registrar of deeds, some Main Street lots were sold half a dozen times in a day, and a great many of those properties were registered twenty times during the course of 1882.⁴³ However, in early March, the boom began to experience a lull brought on by stormy weather and the high price of city property. Even the famous Winnipeg auction sales were now not as successful as they had been earlier.⁴⁴

There can be no doubt that the boom had noticeably weakened by mid-March and much of that may be attributed to the high cost of business property. Writing to the Hamilton Spectator, Joseph Campbell stated that "no outsider can get a business stand in the city. There is not a store to let, nor a house of any account. You cannot buy a business stand."⁴⁵ Furthermore, a Toronto businessman predicted the boom would end when Main Street property rose to \$2,000. per front foot, "as it has got beyond the possibility of any legitimate income or such valuation."⁴⁶ March 1882 became the last month of the wild speculation, and April saw a reduction in the number of reported real estate transactions. One sale attracted much attention, for a man sold a 22 foot parcel of Main Street property for \$55,000., thereby elevating the price of business land beyond \$2,000. per front foot.⁴⁷ Almost in fulfillment of the above prophecy, Winnipeg's fortunes had already begun to sour, and real estate became dormant for the remainder of 1882.

A careful examination of contemporary evidence indicates that land was not dead as a commodity, though the Winnipeg market became stagnant for a year or two after the boom. Indeed, the resiliency of the Winnipeg economy was demonstrated in the years 1883 to 1886 in such fields as wholesaling, retailing, and building. After 1882, real estate did not have the same universal appeal as during the boom, but the market did return to the "normal" slow level of sales which had characterized the pre-boom era.

With the approach of the spring of 1883, matters seemed to brighten somewhat, for houses were beginning to rent freely⁴⁸ and, though business was dull, the supply of money was not quite as tight as it had been on earlier occasions.⁴⁹ The "general impression" was "that next summer the general business of the City will have recovered...".⁵⁰ As well, Colin Campbell found that

living here it is like being in the atmosphere of hope. Nearly every one around you is young and full of vigor and energy and seem to have that inherent feeling of a bright future that it is almost impossible to doubt of the great future in store for us.

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The brightness dimmed into overwhelming disillusionment during June, chiefly because of a large number of business failures⁵² and also because of a huge unsaleable stock of bankrupt merchandise.⁵³ Clearly, this was not an atmosphere conducive to a real estate revival.

The autumn season brought with it an increasing tendency towards financial stability.⁵⁴ With the slight rise in confidence, the real estate market actually improved with "quite a few" sales taking place by December.⁵⁵ Generally, Winnipeg property had levelled out to about one-half of its boom-time value by the autumn of 1883. This aroused a rekindling of interest in land matters in the city and the beginning of 1884 saw the continuation of the rebirth of the real estate market. This had been occasioned

by contemporary financial improvements as well as the pending opening of the Hudson Bay Railway. This price for good property was considered to be about 25% lower than during the Boom. A "well-known real estate dealer" stated that there was "much enquiry by persons wishing to live in Manitoba and build there." Furthermore, "there are not many enquiries by men wishing the land for speculative purposes".⁵⁶ The remaining operators had been sobered by the examples of hopelessly bogged down real estate debtors, such as A. W. Ross, Hugh Sutherland, W. H. Disbrowe and R. T. Haslam.⁵⁷ In effect, what had happened after the boom was a "pruning back" of excess entrepreneurs, which, in turn, began to stabilize the real estate economy of the Northwest.

Evidence that 1883-1884 was a period of stability and retrenchment in the real estate field is quite marked. While the speculative interests had been destroyed, demand for city lots had begun to increase once again, thereby denoting a small increase in the influx of settlers. Despite the tendency of speculators during 1882-1883 to follow the end of steel beyond Winnipeg to the boom in Regina⁵⁸ and then Calgary,⁵⁹ investors and developers returned to the Manitoba capital in the spring of 1884 and "a good many are enquiring for improved farms within a few miles of the city. People have got over the craze of going as far West as they can."⁶⁰ So significant was this movement that the real estate men of Winnipeg undertook to form "some scheme for turning over the real estate which at present is lying idle within a few miles of the city...".⁶¹ Unfortunately, a consensus could not be reached on the system to be used, and the movement lost its momentum for a while,⁶² resurfacing as the Vacant Lands Scheme of 1885. The remainder of the 1884 real estate season was very quiet.

It was believed in some circles that the spring of 1885 would bring a rise in real estate values.⁶³ One entrepreneur, S. A. Rowbotham, felt that "there is never likely to be

a more favourable opportunity than the present for buying Real Estate, low rents and scarcity of money having depressed the prices of land considerably below its intrinsic value."⁶⁴ As evidence, Rowbotham noted that the value of central property had dropped 50% to 75% since the winter of 1881-1882, 70% to 80% on outside residence property, and 80% to 90% in suburban or market-garden properties within two or three miles of the Post Office.⁶⁵

Though the land was available at that time buyers had not appeared and the market was depressed. As an illustration of the situation, some \$5,800. in uncollectable taxes from the Boom were written off by the City during April.⁶⁶ Initially, it had been thought that the Rebellion in Saskatchewan would have a further adverse effect upon real estate. With the approach of summer, however, many believed that the effect was not as crucial as anticipated, though many settlers were expected to be diverted to the United States by the spring events.⁶⁷

In early August, the City held its first tax arrears sale and it is of interest to note that "in a good many cases more than the amount of the taxes was realized, but in a great many cases, principally on what is known as outside lots, less than the taxes due was bid".⁶⁸ If sales of land were uncertain, real estate agents found a more lucrative trade in the rental of accommodation. A check by Rowbotham revealed that the stock of vacant houses had declined from between 600 and 700 in 1884 to 289.⁶⁹ Indeed, with this reduction, rents began to ascend once more.⁷⁰ Though there was a growing demand for housing, only the boom structures "really not fit for habitation in winter" were still vacant.⁷¹ Despite the need to rent, the sales of improved property by the end of 1885 had largely increased over that of the corresponding time in 1884.⁷² The year closed with the "outlook very much more encouraging than it has been at any time during the last three years..."⁷³ and by March 1886 there had been a marked improvement in the land market with numerous sales of lots for households and buildings, and a great demand for tenement

houses. To quote one source: "There is no romance in camping out during the winter any more."⁷⁴ A month later, Rowbotham estimated that just over 120 houses were still vacant in the city, and these were mostly of a poorer class. Rents continued to increase and the spring brought a "good demand" for Main Street stores.⁷⁵

The summer witnessed a renewal of the Vacant Lands Scheme when Duncan Macarthur, who had originated the idea in 1884, shocked some parties with the declaration that 100,000 people could settle upon the unproductive land within a thirty-mile radius of Winnipeg.⁷⁶ The Board of Trade took up the cudgels and much propaganda began to circulate concerning the rich lands about the city. Even Senator John Schultz, that veteran of the Northwest, entered the act with his colonization and improvement company.⁷⁷ But, as late as the end of 1886, progress had been inconclusive as many land-holders clung to allegedly inflated ideas about the value of their lands.⁷⁸

The summer also brought an advance in city property prices⁷⁹ and even enquiries for Hudson's Bay lands.⁸⁰ The year was not very prosperous for the real estate agents, though they were "fairly well satisfied with the season's operations..."⁸¹ Upon the closure of 1886, Brydges declared that property was "falling out of the hands of those who have been holding on in a spirit of desperation and getting into those who are buying at low prices to make it become interest bearing".⁸² In short, real estate was once more established as a viable commodity in the city by the end of 1886.

It becomes necessary to digress at this point to discuss the role of the Hudson's Bay Company in relation to the Winnipeg boom. Earlier interpretations of the boom have stressed the vast amounts of money that were made by the Hudson's Bay Company during 1880-1882. For example, Bellan reported that the Company sold out all its holdings for two million dollars,⁸³ while Artibise later repeated this assertion.⁸⁴ Alan Wilson, on the other hand,

Table IV-1 Hudson's Bay Company Lot Sales, Fort Garry Reserve.

	<u>1880</u>	<u>1881</u>	<u>1882</u>	<u>1883</u>	<u>1884</u>
January	7	17	8	0	0
February	3	25	43	0	0
March	5	113	42	0	0
April	18	109	14	0	0
May	46	23	2	1	0
June	18	22	0	0	0
July	37	34	3	0	0
August	76	120	42	0	n.a.
September	19	54	0	0	n.a.
October	42	25	1	0	n.a.
November	36	13	n.a.	1	n.a.
December.	25	44	0	0	n.a.

(Source: HBCA, Land Commissioner's Outward Correspondence Books)

Table IV-2 Fort Garry Reserve, Average Prices Received, 1880-1882.

<u>1880</u>	<u>1881</u>	<u>1882</u>
June \$295	January \$551	January \$6425.
	March \$636	February \$8576.
Sept \$802	April \$813	March \$4479.
	May \$671	April \$2975.
	July \$1100	May \$2750.
	August \$1502	July \$2750.
	Sept. \$2878	August \$2928.
	October \$1596	
	Nov. \$3338	
	Dec. \$6022	

(Sources: HBCA, Commissioner's Outward Correspondence Letter Book, also H. Bowsfield(ed.) The Letters of Charles John Brydges, 1879-1882. (Winnipeg: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1977.)

perceived the Company's role in more positive terms. In the letters of C. J. Brydges, said Wilson, one "saw...the emergence of a western community with which the Company must not only come to terms but even to assume responsibility and leadership".⁸⁵ Indeed, this was true at least to the extent that the fortunes of the Company and the townspeople at last merged and the city ceased to be divided among warring factions. The following discussion will serve to illustrate that the boom on the Reserve did not differ too greatly from the boom in the town. In short, the Company was forced at last to come to terms with the Winnipeg community.

One result of the boom was that the Hudson's Bay Company sold 1,106 of its Fort Garry Reserve lots (each 50' x 120') between 1880 and the end of 1882.⁸⁶ In the autumn of 1880, C. J. Brydges, the clever Company Land Commissioner, predicted that the coming boom would last only two or three years before a fall as was "usual to all new western cities..."⁸⁷ Brydges therefore decided that to serve the Company's best interests, he should raise the lot prices by twenty-five percent.⁸⁸ By the end of May, 1881, the average price of a lot was approximately \$671.⁸⁹ Many of these sales were made to speculators and thus would not contribute to the development of the Reserve nor the ultimate enhancement of the remaining Company property. As a result, Brydges thought it expedient

to withdraw from the market, leaving matters to get into a more reasonable shape. The result I expect will be such a pressure to purchase that we shall be able to dispose of a large quantity at even higher prices than those that are current now. I do not intend to let this repressive policy last too long because I have no idea that the excitement will last any great length of time, but I believe a little judicious coyness just now in regard to sales will make the attempt to buy from us more violent, and at higher prices.

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However, he showed himself willing to sell "to parties who give

a reasonable guarantee that they desire to purchase for the purpose of putting up buildings".⁹¹

Lot prices continued to advance throughout 1881 and into 1882 (see Table IV-2). By the end of August, the Company was charging prices 50 to 75% higher than in the previous spring.⁹² Town lots were eagerly sought late in 1881, though the Reserve was not **totally** on the market. The average price of lots over the period from 31 May to 30 November, 1881 was \$1,822., or nearly three times the spring figure.⁹³ Despite his growing incredulity at the high price of land, Brydges refused an offer during January of five hundred thousand dollars for an unspecified number of unsold lots on Block 2, Fort Garry Reserve,⁹⁴ probably because some \$900,000. worth of lots had been sold since 1 December 1881.⁹⁵

The climax of the Reserve boom came during February, 1882 when the price of a lot topped \$8,500. (Table IV-2). At that point, the grossly inflated prices began to decline, though this did nothing to increase sales. By June, 1882, there was "no demand for town lots anywhere",⁹⁶ and the situation had been unchanged since the middle of March.⁹⁷ By mid-June, "Boomers" were beginning to see the folly of permitting the sale of lots on margin, for a great many of the 1882 transactions were falling through because of a lack of capitalization. "This includes a great many cases all over town [according to Byrdges], and applies to parties who bought some of our lots at absurdly high prices, second and third hand, and who cannot now pay up."⁹⁸ For the remainder of 1882, with the exception of August (see Table IV-1), there was no demand for land of any sort.⁹⁹ Thus, the aloofness from the rest of the city business leaders of the Hudson's Bay Company -- its property and its policy goals -- ended, and the real estate fortunes of the two groups became one. The Reserve was no longer in the hands of a single owner but rather had become as heterogenous as the rest of Winnipeg.

More and more rapidly, however, real estate was viewed as the illegitimate brother of Commerce, for the boom had fostered a "get rich quick" attitude within the minds of many persons.

The Commercial argued

unfortunately "Booms" do not progress so rapidly as desired by some, and even the business of real estate is now down to a system by which only the industrious businessmen can succeed, and it must be acknowledged that the basence of a Boom has purged that branch of business of many who were thoroughly irresponsible as well as unscrupulous, and left it in the hands of an altogether better class. 100

Also, it was found that "real estate speculation at extravagant prices...has been the one drag on business of every kind".¹⁰¹ At the same time, however, other elaborated upon this philosophy by adding that the boom was "not caused or supported by the people of the country. The money upon which it was based came from the outside, and it has remained here." This money once again would emerge in the form of "legitimate" investments during 1883-1884. It was not, however, available for real estate dealings of any sort for a number of years, whether the land lay on the Reserve or in the other private holdings.

For these reasons, little took place in regard to Reserve land until 1883 when a reaction occurred in terms of "realistic" land values. Reserve lots had tumbled more drastically in the "great equalization" of values, and their 1883 values were only about one-third of that of the previous year.¹⁰³ That Reserve property fell below the value of other lands is unlikely -- rather, the grossly inflated values of 1881-1882 had been much higher than other town lots. When the crucial fall came, the Reserve property would naturally suffer the greatest depreciation. Evidence indicates, however, that by 1884 the Hudson's Bay Company had sorted out the lands mess created by the Boom. In an attempt not to injure its position any further, Brydges recommended that the Company treat their insolvent debtors liberally rather than with

hostility. He believed that the demanding of a "pound of flesh will in the end, prove most injurious to our interests..."¹⁰⁴

This was not to say, however, that all debts were forgotten, for sixty-nine lots were forfeited by holders in hopeless situations.¹⁰⁵ For all intents and purposes, the market for Reserve lots had disappeared, as there is little mention of actual land sales for the 1883-1884 period.

The following years saw the Company take some action in regard to those debtors who were hopelessly bankrupt. More than half the members of the legislature, including the speaker and two of the five Cabinet ministers, were hopelessly indebted to the Hudson's Bay Company for lands,¹⁰⁶ and during 1886 the Company began repossessing properties for payment arrears. Included was the LeMoise Terrace, which had been erected by the late Joseph Cauchon,¹⁰⁷ as well as certain properties of the now "worthless" railroad promoter, A. F. Eden.¹⁰⁸ With this situation, the Lands Department began to regain its sense of business propriety, for it was realized that the boom would not rage again.

One may well ask, why did the boom end so suddenly, only to have the real estate market revive in four years? Previous studies of Winnipeg provide only a minimum of explanation as to why the boom ended, and certainly no recognition of any revival. The end came largely as a result of a combination of factors. Nature played no small part in destroying the Boom, for the winter of 1881-1882 was characterized by severe blizzards and cold weather.¹⁰⁹ The winter's heavy snowfall melted into a springtime flood which wreaked havoc within the city, as it did in other Red River Valley communities. The ice ripped the Broadway Bridge from its moorings and destroyed it and subsequent ice jams flooded the lower portions of the city.¹¹⁰ The effects on real estate were devastating, for the formerly prime, dry properties in the centre became derisively known as "water lots".¹¹¹ The discovery that Winnipeg was prone to flooding served to put a damper upon real estate sales.

Another factor influencing the demise of the boom was the "paper town" scandal. The Hudson's Bay Company sale of their Edmonton Reserve in April, 1882 climaxed this phase of the Northwest land market. Sales were great after a rush started, though a reaction set in once the purchaser thought about their titles.¹¹²

With no railway connection, Edmonton was somewhat isolated ~~to be~~ considered an urban centre. Despite the fraud of the paper towns, "the lots were cheap, a few dollars could buy them, and the public bought notwithstanding that the properties were three or four miles from nowhere".¹¹³ Hitherto "high and dry" paper towns were found to be quite well-watered especially during normal spring flooding. That, of course, caused a severe reaction among duped eastern investors who were seeing their properties for the first time.

Aside from the floods and swindles, fires also played an important role in the decline of the boom. At the beginning of March, 1882, the Knappen House, a new Portage Avenue hotel was destroyed by a fire.¹¹⁴ A number of minor blazes followed and then two major business blocks were destroyed by fire within two days of one another in late April and early May.¹¹⁵ Though the conflagrations were initially attributed to a gang of desperadoes,¹¹⁶ the work was subsequently found to be that of a lone arsonist.¹¹⁷ The burnings came as a climax to the escalation of fire insurance rates in the city. Indeed, the building boom involved chiefly frame structures which were very susceptible to fire. As the insuring parties preferred the fire-resistant qualities offered by brick buildings, the Underwriters' Board raised the rates in the business district in the Autumn of 1881.¹¹⁸

Admittedly, the agencies were attempting to force the City Corporation to make the Fire Limits By-Law effective.¹¹⁹ This legislation would have made mandatory the erection of stone and brick structures in the business district. It had been passed during August, 1880 though the implementation was delayed until October, 1882. During this hiatus, much wood-based construction

occurred. Under pressure from the Underwriters' Board and because of the fires,¹²⁰ the City hastily implemented the by-law and also hired a fire inspector during April, 1882.¹²¹

The point, however, is that fires also led to a lack of confidence in Winnipeg's ability to withstand conflagrations. The fires ~~and~~ the escalation of insurance rates discouraged entrepreneurs from erecting the second-class buildings that were essential to some operations. This was especially true where a large amount of money had been paid to secure a business property, and where the additional funding did not exist to erect a substantial edifice. The insurance rates on these frame "fire-traps", remained high and were even raised when the City Council succumbed to public clamour and reduced the fire limits.¹²² With the decline in the erection of sub-standard edifices in the business district, a slackening in the market for commercial property took place. This led to a "bust" or decline in values of those properties.

W. L. Morton has correctly concluded that "the Manitoba boom was essentially a boom in urban real estate".¹²³ The major thrust of Winnipeg's boom was in business properties, with non-commercial types of lands falling into another type of market. Here, a combination of three factors led to the termination of the boom. First, Winnipeg's business district was restricted in size because of the limited methods of conveyance as well as the tenacious mud which characterized the streets. One would not venture far from the main thoroughfares given such circumstances. Indeed, by 1886, the main business district had spread south to Graham, north to James, west to Princess and east to Victoria and Rorie. In this area, Main Street was densely built up with commercial buildings from the City Hall to Portage, while the concentrations of business blocks became less prominent until one reached Princess, where single edifices stood out in stark contrast to the surrounding residences. This was the case with the

Oddfellows Block at McDermot, the Hodgson-Sumner Block at Bannatyne and the Whitla Block at Albert and McDermot.

The second factor in the downfall of the local land market was that money became scarce in Winnipeg when the business property prices peaked in the spring of 1882. After this, the demand for business property subsided suddenly.¹²⁴ In underdeveloped regions, such as the Northwest in the early 'eighties, "inflation at rates likely to become cumulative [was] a drag on economic expansion".¹²⁵ In short, the Winnipeg boom ended because it was no longer expedient for businessmen to pay the grossly inflated prices. Prices had briefly exceeded those of Chicago, but Winnipeg's relationship to its underdeveloped prairie hinterland did not warrant excessive capital outlays. Business sites would be secured once the land market had become normalized. The boom, then, had simply run its course.

Despite the unusual inflation of land prices, the relative values of land provided a good index to Winnipeg's desirable areas. Charles R. Tuttle, now a land agent as well as a newspaperman, held the view that Main Street property, between the Fort and the Depot averaged only \$650. per front foot, with extremes as high as \$1,750., though most were no higher than \$1,000.¹²⁶ The Fort property had recently been sold at about \$550. per front foot,¹²⁷ and this indicates that land at the Fort end of Main was not as dear as that in the centre of the city. The most expensive properties and therefore the business district were to be found there. Similarly, on Annie Street (now Albert), the second principal street in the city, land was only valued between \$175. to \$350. per front foot. A block to the west of that, lots were being sold at \$100. per front foot. Maria (King) Street was therefore "off the beaten track" as first or even second class business property. Finally, Tuttle claimed that "in no case has the price of property in Winnipeg reached above a legitimate commercial value".¹²⁸ Despite the "legitimate evaluations", the rapid increases had been reduced to a slow advance by the end of March 1882.¹²⁹

However, the third and most significant factor in the "bust" was that the immediate boom-time effects of the CPR had passed by Winnipeg, and would now give life to places such as Brandon, Regina and Calgary. The initial charge of excitement had left the city, and the people who stayed were faced with the necessity to settle down and begin building. The spectacular effects of each land boom thus became local, and affected each community in varying degrees. Therefore, while money was not available for land speculation at Winnipeg, it was quite free in Brandon and Regina. When the boom had left those points, the speculative input was to be found in Calgary.

The real estate industry revived by 1886 because the wild boom-time conditions no longer applied, and had been replaced by a calmness which was indicative of a more stable urban scene. The general business community came of age in the recession which followed the land boom -- in effect, the businessman with all his nineteenth century ways and means replaced the speculator who had given the city its start. A solid foundation replaced the paper one of the boom, and this revived the real estate market after 1884. The times were seen as depression, but only because a great deal had happened in a short time. Rapid growth had become the norm, and anything approximating slow growth would later be hailed as depression. But as the following chapter will show, the business community did not consider the situation depressing, but as a normal reaction to its antecedents.

Thus the boom and bust of the real estate industry had their lasting effects upon the physical city. The hitherto rival interests of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Winnipeggers had at last merged. Land values had created a compact business district with a centre and ancillary streets. It is evident that money was made from the boom, though it is equally evident that those who made their fortunes had arrived early and sold early, remaining content with moderate profits. It was from real estate that Winnipeg's first wealthy class drew its sustenance. Eastern Canadian money had largely funded the Northwestern boom, but by

its end, the dollars had become Manitoban. With the railway, the boom had travelled west, and thus created prairie towns which would eventually compete with Winnipeg for regional hegemony.

CHAPTER 5 - BUSINESS ACTIVITY: DEVELOPMENT AND SPATIAL
PATTERN -- 1878-1886

"It is a fact that many merchants and manufacturers viewed the Northwest in the 1870s as a very distant sparsely populated country and made no attempt to participate in its early development."¹ Despite this fact, there had grown at Winnipeg a vibrant business community by the late seventies. The optimism of this commercial body was largely based upon the belief that "importance is thrust upon her [Winnipeg] by the accident of her geographical position."² When the railway and real estate booms arrived in the early 1880s, the business community was able to capitalize upon the opportunities for diversified economic development. By the end of 1880, the city already contained "over four hundred businesses of all classes, including several wholesale mercantile houses...and numerous industrial institutions which gave employment to our six hundred artisans."³ (Table V-1) And in the next five years this initial advantage was so managed that the city's commercial concerns dominated the eastern prairies.⁴ Thus, as Professor Kerr has concluded, "Winnipeg became first and foremost a city of trade."⁵ It is the purpose of this chapter to examine the effects of the boom-bust cycle upon the various segments of the Winnipeg business community and to define the areas within the city where specialized business operations were conducted.

Manufacturing

Hans Hosse has stated that "at the end of the land boom, in 1883-1884, the industries of Winnipeg had greatly expanded both in range and in number of enterprises."⁶ On the other hand, Donald Kerr maintains that the city's manufacturing sector was crippled by eastern competition.⁷ Several attempts were made by various concerns during the Boom to foster industrial growth, but by the end of 1886, Winnipeg emerged from the boom-bust era with only a meagre increase in her manufacturing sector. The following examination of this sector in the years 1880-1886 will serve to indicate how this happened.

Table V-1 Winnipeg's Business Community--1880-1885.

Profession	1880	1881	1882	July 1882	1883	1884	1885.
Architect	4	7	10	11	20	9	8
auctioneer	3	6	9	7	11	6	4
baker	9	5	7	5	7	3	3
barber	7	5	5	3	16	2	3
barrister	16	15	21	41	55	37	38
blacksmith	14	13	13	4	10	1?	2
boots & shoes	9	11	14	5	20	10	11
butcher	5	9	9	5	23	7	7
confectioner	3	2	1	1	19	1	1
contractor	8	11	11	8	34**	6	5
dress-maker	9	13	12	1	18	2	2
dry goods	12	12*	20*	14*	31*	14*	12*
flour & feed	11	10	10	3	6	2	na
fruit dealer	14	15	13	6	12	10	4
furniture sales	5	5	6	6	9	6	3
grain dealer	6	7	8	3	5	2	2
grocer	28	28	35*	31*	97*	32*	34*
hardware sales	7	7	8	5	9	6	7
hotels	35	34	43	34	64	47	35
jeweller	5	5	7	10	19	8	5
loan-investment	4	4	8	4	10?	5	4
banks	3	6	10	14	15	12	11
lumber sales	5	4	3	2	17	7	7
tailor	13	7	8	7	14	9	9
millinery	7	6	2	3	12	1	1
photographer	2	4	4	na	4	5	4
physician	10	16	24	20	38	23	21
printer	4	4	6#	5	6	3	3
real estate	10	11	34	39	37	17	8
stationer	4	5	6	7	10*	8*	8*
undertaker	4	4	4	4	5	5	5
veterinarian	4	5	3	2	6	1	1

(*-includes wholesale) (**-includes builders) (#-includes newspapers)
Categories suggested by Manitoba Free Press, 20 December 1890, pp. 1-4.

(Source: Winnipeg Directories, 1880-1885.)

Table V-2 Business Transacted, Winnipeg--1881-1886.

	Wholesale	Retail	Manufactures
1881	\$6,236,000	\$5,908,000	\$6,676,000
1882	\$9,350,000*	\$8,862,000*	\$10,014,000*
1883	-----Breakdown not Available-----		
1884	\$14,220,098	\$5,809,600	\$2,550,000
1885	\$13,848,075	\$5,500,000	\$2,200,000
1886	\$15,695,356	\$6,000,000	\$1,262,000

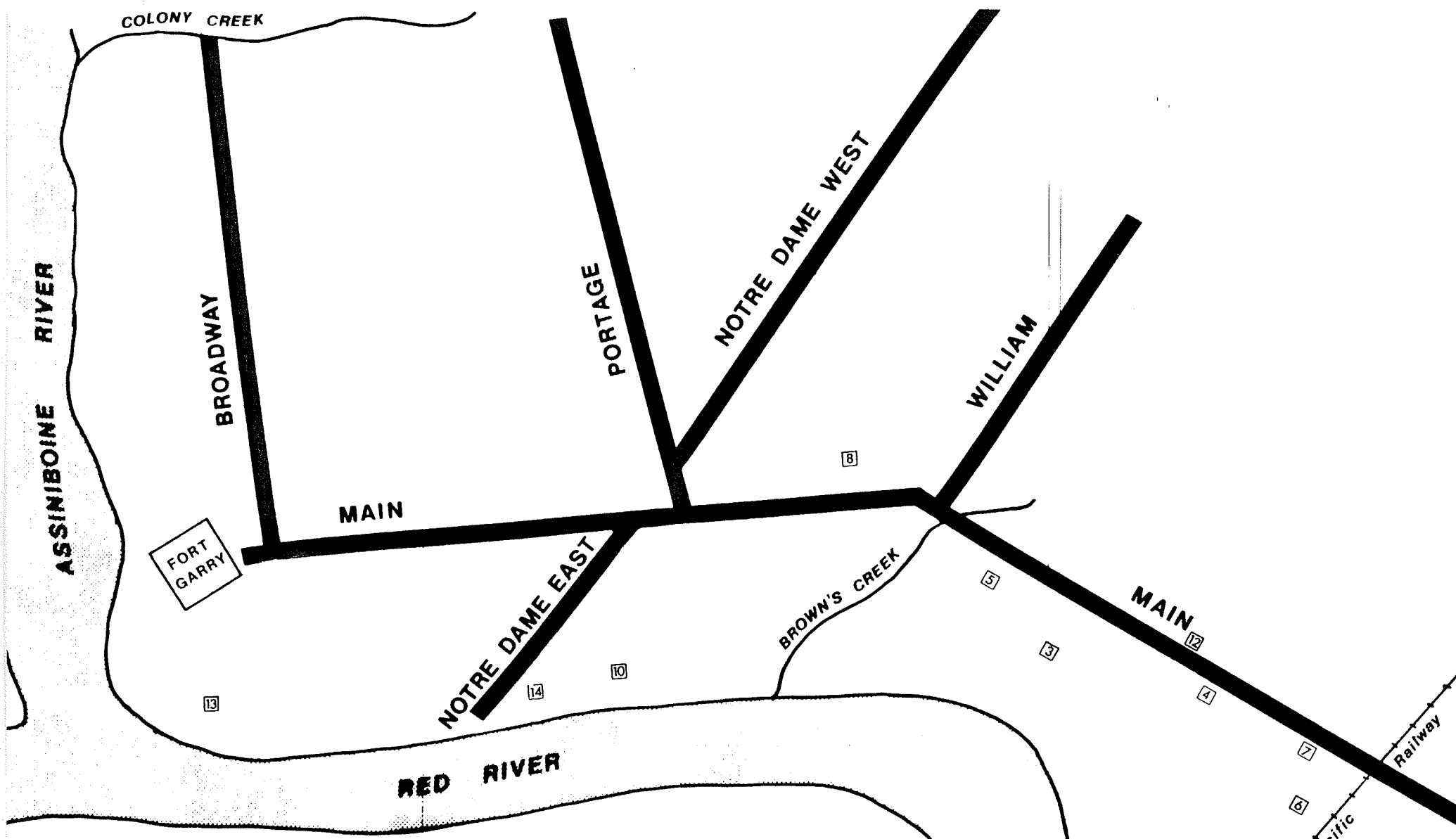
(*-approximation taken from Commercial, 2 January 1883, p. 268. The figure for manufacturing appears out of scale to the other sectors.)

(Sources: Thompson and Boyer, Industries of Winnipeg, 1886; Commercial, 2 February 1886.)

At the beginning of the period, Winnipeg's manufacturing industries consisted largely of building materials firms and a number of distilleries.⁸ As late as the end of 1880, one observer could still state with some embarrassment that "the industries of the city are as yet in their infancy...".⁹ Some of the manufactories, however, were proving their capacity for large scale production. The three brick yards produced some three million bricks that year¹⁰ and one wood processor would handle twelve million feet of lumber during 1881.¹¹ Furthermore, it was claimed "that in no other place of the Dominion is there so large a trade done in farming implements as in Winnipeg",¹² though it is not certain what percentage of this equipment was assembled in the city.

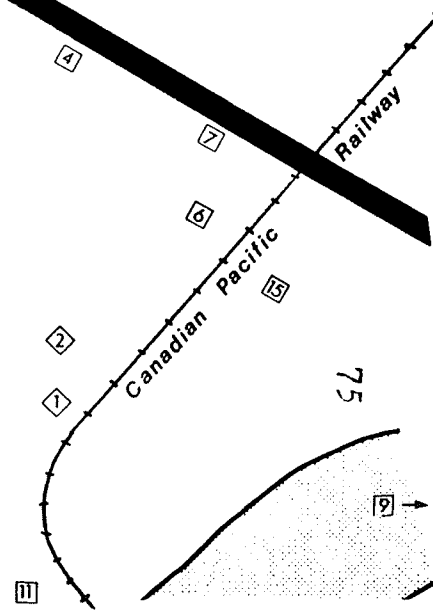
Among the industries which were established in the city during 1881 were F. H. Brydges' Vulcan Iron Works; the Winnipeg Barb Wire Works; and Thompson and Company, fur goods.¹³ The most important accession to Winnipeg's manufactories was the Ogilvie Flour Mill, a branch of an eastern Canadian milling empire. Some observers argued that Ogilvie would make Winnipeg as prominent a milling centre as Minneapolis,¹⁴ and the city Council acted accordingly, granting the mill a twenty-year tax exemption.¹⁵ Established on a Point Douglas Avenue site, the new six storey structure rose at the rate of a storey a week during the autumn of 1881. Symbolic of the changes occurring during Winnipeg's transformation to an industrial centre, the smokestack of the mill rose twenty-five feet higher than the city's other landmark, the steeple of Knox Church.¹⁶ By the end of 1881, there were about thirty-nine manufacturing institutions in Winnipeg employing 2730 persons and having a product value of \$6,676,000.¹⁷

Like the other sectors of Winnipeg's economy, manufacturing underwent a tremendous expansion during 1882 (Table V-2). This growth gave the city a number of "home industries", which showed positive signs of contributing to the city's advancement. Building fronts of cast iron and galvanized metal components were being produced by the Vulcan Iron Works and Linklater and Deslauriers. The craftsmanship of those firms was visible in the



MAP V-1 MANUFACTURING LOCATIONS, WINNIPEG, 1879-1886

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1 Ogilvie's Mill - 1881 | 9 Drewery's Brewery - 1877 |
| 2 Nairn Oatmeal Mill - 1884 | 10 McMilan's Mill - 1876 |
| 3 Hope Tent Works - 1883 | 11 Brown & Rutherford - 1882 |
| 4 Red River Brewery - 1881 | 12 Dingwall's Jewellery - 1885 |
| 5 Boyce Carriage Works - 1882 | 13 McLane's Mill - 1877 |
| 6 Woods and Company - 1882 | 14 Jarvis and Berridge - 1878 |
| 7 Dick and Banning - 1881 | 15 Vulcan Iron Works - 1881 |
| 8 Schmidt Brassworks - 1881 | |



Cauchon Block¹⁸ and in numerous other local structures. Also, the Montreal firm of James Robertson and Company, wholesale metal fabricators, opened a branch on McWilliam (Pacific) East that year. As well, the Waterous Engine Company established a branch factory at Winnipeg, as did the McClary Manufacturing Company, makers of stoves.¹⁹

During 1882, the Ogilvie Mill began operations and by the autumn of that year, was producing seven hundred barrels of flour a day, employing fifty men and buying \$3,000. worth of grain in a day. Much of its flour went to towns and villages throughout the province.²⁰ McMillan's Mill was also modernized in 1882, in order to provide sharper competition for Ogilvie.²¹ Chambers' biscuit factory began operations on Ross during that year, and manufactured goods of a substantial value each month.²² In the building materials line, some eleven million bricks were manufactured at Winnipeg in 1882, compared to the seven million of 1881.²³ It was also estimated that seventy-five million feet of lumber passed through Winnipeg's yards, though there were constant shortages of materials.²⁴ A Portland (artificial) Stone factory started into business at Point Douglas at the year's end.²⁵ Even with the beginnings of such diversification there were those who believed that "Winnipeg can scarcely be said to be a manufacturing city".²⁶

Though Winnipeg may not have been a major manufacturing centre, the new Canadian Pacific Railway shops more than made up for this lack of entrepreneurial expansion. It was chiefly in 1882-1883 that the workshops on Point Douglas Common became operational, and during this time the "shops" became Winnipeg's largest single industry,²⁷ with about five hundred persons employed in connection with the round-house.²⁸ The work there consisted largely of servicing rail equipment and building cars and special apparatus for the construction of the transcontinental main line. In addition to the workshops, one also had the station and General Offices, Freight and Transfer Sheds and Cattle Yards. Despite this, however, Winnipeg was not considered a manufacturing centre.

Table V-3 --Industrial Establishments at Winnipeg, 1881 and 1886.

Type of Industry	No. of Establishments		No. Employed	
	1881	1886	1881	1886
Aerated Water Making	1	2	5	9
Bakeries	3	4	27	19
Blacksmithing	14	6	42	13
Boat Building	1	1	2	2
Book Binding	2	3	10	41
Boots and Shoes	6	9	25	16
Breweries	2	3	20	35
Broom Making	0	1	0	5
Cabinet and Furniture Making	4	3	29	9
Carpenters' Shops	7	6	67	28
Carriage Making	4	5	31	31
Carving and Gilding	0	2	0	7
Chemical Establishments	1	2	5	9
Cooperage	1	1	1	1
Dress-Making and Millinery	15	6	92	19
Flour and Grist Mills	3	4	15	113
Foundaries/Boiler Making	1	3	25	86
Furriers, Hatters	1	2	6	16
Gas Works	0	1	0	9
Gun Smithing	1	1	5	2
Jewellers and Watchmakers	0	3	0	12
Lithographing	0	1	0	4
Photographic Galleries	0	9	0	19
Printing Offices	3	6	85	133
Pump Factories	1	1	2	2
Saddle and Harness Making	6	3	30	30
Sash, Door and Blind Factories	2	2	35	35
Saw Mills	4	1	110	35
Soap and Candle Making	1	0	3	0
Stone and Marble Cutting	2	2	22	29
Tailoring and Clothing	6	8	66	99
Tin and Sheet Iron Working	10	17	59	79
<u>TOTAL</u>	102	118	819	947

(Sources: Adapted from Census of Canada, 1880-1881, Volume III, Tables XXIX to XLVIII, also Census of Manitoba, 1885-1886, Table XVIII. Categories suggested by the 1886 Census.)

Whether this situation changed during 1883-1884 is uncertain. Available evidence indicates that the manufacturing sector may have been affected by the recession as greatly as the retail trade. The 1884 trade of the manufacturers was only about one-quarter that of its 1882 level (Table V-2), but given the deflation of money after the boom would likely have been half of the 1882 value.²⁹ On the other hand, Winnipeg wholesalers were beginning to rely more upon the produce of the local manufacturers, because the eastern manufacturers had dumped their unsaleable stocks in the Northwest, only to find that the items were even less appetizing to the westerners. As a result, the credit of the Winnipeg wholesalers waned in the east and the Manitobans were forced to buy local manufactures.³⁰ At the beginning of 1884, one observer stated that "the manufacturing interests of the city, if not very great, are varied, and range from the factory employing a hundred heads down to the blacksmith's shop with its single assistant".³¹

The 1885 figures for the manufacturing trade, like those of the wholesale and retail sectors, continued downward (Table V-2). The Rebellion brought some difficulties to the industrial concerns,³² though the recovery was again quite marked later in the year. For example, the value of the output of the iron manufacturers increased by about one-third, while the milling capacity rose to nearly 1250 barrels a day.³³ If anything, the value of manufacturing continued to decrease through 1886, and the city did "not make a very favourable showing in proportion to its population and other interests".³⁴ Part of the blame for this situation was placed upon the railway monopoly, whose freight rates discouraged the placement of eastern investment income.³⁵ Thus, little manufacturing progress was made during 1886, and instead, only slight advances had occurred since the outset of the boom in 1881 (Table V-3).

The various industrial establishments were located throughout the built-up environs of the city even as early as 1883. The only criterion for their siting appears to have been the location of the railway and its heavy transportation facilities.

This was clearly the case with such firms as the Vulcan Iron Works; Ogilvie's Mill; Brown and Rutherford, lumber; the Winnipeg Barb Wire Works³⁶; Woods and Company, lumber and railway supplies; the North-Western Planing Mill; and Body and Noakes, linseed oil mill.³⁷ Prior to the construction of spur lines into the warehouse district during the 1890s, locations near the C.P.R. tracks were considered quite fit for Winnipeg's fledgling industries. Indeed, the noise of the yards and tracks near Point Douglas Avenue and Fonseca Streets discouraged the location of other kinds of businesses as well as better residences.³⁸

By 1886, Winnipeg had not emerged as a manufacturing centre, largely because the boom-time impetus to local entrepreneurs had been removed upon the cessation of the land rush. Eastern investment capital, a necessary factor in setting up factories in a country which had probably reached a take-off point economically, was no longer available after 1882.³⁹ As a result, most manufactories in Winnipeg either failed or remained in a primitive state, and this has been noted by T. W. Acheson.⁴⁰ Lacking the large amounts necessary to erect manufacturing concerns, capitalists found their way into wholesaling, which took fewer resources, but which still represented major endeavours.

Wholesaling

"Anything like an established wholesale trade...cannot be said to have existed here previous to the year 1880...[and at the end of that year]...the jobbing institutions of the city numbered about twenty."⁴¹ The increasing tide of settlement in the West created a field for wholesalers, for there were retailers to supply in the settlements. Winnipeg's wholesale community received numerous additions in 1881. Many city firms also expanded their businesses to include wholesaling and some would eventually abandon the retail field altogether. This trend continued to the end of the year, when it was said that "the wholesale trade is now represented by several institutions unequalled in magnitude north or west of St. Paul or Minneapolis...".⁴² In all, the

twenty-six wholesalers did an aggregate business of \$6,236,000. during 1881.⁴³ (See Table V-2).

If 1881 had been considered a good year for the development of Winnipeg's wholesale community, the events of the first nine months of 1882 caused much more surprise. The number of wholesalers more than doubled (see Table V-4) and included "institutions that would do credit to the largest cities of the Dominion".⁴⁴ Among these were several lines not represented at the beginning of 1882, including wholesale jewellery, stationery and others. The more established firms, such as Thibaudeau Brothers or Lyon, Mackenzie and Powis had doubled their trade since 1881,⁴⁵ and in some cases even trebled the figure.⁴⁶ Given the increase in their trade, a local journal declared that "Winnipeg is the distributing point for the whole Northwest".⁴⁷

At the outset of 1883, it was expected that "an even more rapid increase to the volume of trade...[would occur] than... during 1882".⁴⁸ Though figures are not available, it might be assumed from an examination of Table V-4, that the number of wholesalers in Winnipeg did increase despite the recession. It is possible, as will be noted later, that the wholesale community was not as affected by the post-boom conditions as were the retailers or manufacturers. Indeed, the fact that a wholesale operation required a large capital outlay had likely kept these operations clear of most real estate speculation. Also, these concerns represented experienced retailers who had advanced to the next mercantile level. Experience allowed for judicious handling of accounts and a careful watch on credit and buying on margin. Thus, it can be expected that the bulk of the 1883 failures affected retail establishments.

Table V-4 Numbers of Traders, Winnipeg--1881-1886.

	<u>Wholesale</u>	<u>Retail</u>	<u>Manufacturers</u>	<u>Total</u>
1881	26	170	39	380
1882	60	n.a.	n.a.	1027#
1883	-----Breakdown not Available----			926
1884	75	408	n.a.	912
1885	87	388	n.a.	898
1886	88	386*	n.a.	900*

(*-approximation, see Commercial, 8 February 1887.)

(#-number of failures in Winnipeg during 1883= 101 plus 926 of 1883.)

(Sources: Thompson and Boyer, Industries of Winnipeg, 1886.
Commercial, 2 February 1886; 8 February 1887.)

Late in 1883, some complaint was made that eastern manufacturers had dumped stocks of manufactures in the Northwest, thereby adding to the current surplus of goods. As money was in short supply, and the initial overstocks had not been sold, merchants were unable to sell the new items; the inevitable result was increased suffering among eastern wholesalers and a concomitant reduction in the credit made available to Winnipeg wholesalers by the eastern suppliers.⁴⁹ Thus, the wholesalers found January and

February to be dull, while March brought some improvement.⁵⁰ Once again, the city's transition from an importing to an exporting centre was reflected by an increase in wholesalers.⁵¹ The year 1884 was one of recovery and "solid progress", especially during the final six months of the year.⁵²

In early 1885, the Commercial declared that "we have no doubt, some tight squeezes are still before us, but we will find our lot ~~and~~ prospects brighten in proportion to the growth of the feeling of self-reliance...".⁵³ The price of wheat rose in the first months of the new year,⁵⁴ and for the first time the assets of insolvent businesses outweighed their liabilities.⁵⁵ "The outbreak of rebellion in March had a staggering effect upon trade of every kind in this city...",⁵⁶ for two thousand men had left Winnipeg to act as soldiers and teamsters at the front.⁵⁷ It was felt in business circles, however, that the dislocation would be temporary and that prosperity would return suddenly. The effects of the Rebellion were considered to be localized, and absent businessmen could continue the extension of their endeavours which had been interrupted by the hostilities.⁵⁸ This particular view of trade matters manifested itself in a concrete sense during the final week of May. By that time, the Rebellion had largely collapsed, and Northwestern buyers began to stream into the city to purchase supplies.⁵⁹ The low failure rate of the second quarter compared very favourably with those of earlier years (Table V-5). In this fashion, the Rebellion had treated the business community with kindness. In fact, many financial gentlemen in the city accepted "that the rebellion was a god-send in disguise", since a large amount of money had been scattered around the country.⁶⁰ By July, trade was considered to be fairly good, and the prospects for the fall trade were bright.⁶¹

Table V-5 Business Failures, Northwest Canada, 1882-1886.

Year	First Quarter		Second Quarter		Third Quarter		Fourth Quarter		Totals	
	No.	Liabilities	No.	Liabilities	No.	Liabilities	No.	Liabilities	No.	Liabilities
1882	-----BREAKDOWN UNAVAILABLE-----								28	\$290,800
1883	57	\$400,000	45	\$596,000	87	\$1,458,000	58	\$415,000	232	\$2,969,000
1884	32	\$283,360	17	\$174,200	7	\$49,884	24	\$276,435	80	\$783,879
1885	22	\$320,685	16	\$167,999	11	\$127,603	17	\$106,000	66	\$722,287
1886	14	\$116,299	8	\$23,400	10		11		43	

Sources: Thompson and Boyer, Industries of Winnipeg, 1886, p. 65.

The improved situation in regard to business during the fall and winter of 1885 (see Table V-4) seemed to constitute a rapid recovery from the effects of the Rebellion.⁶² Indeed, the Monetary Times was "sure most of the solid businessmen have always had a pretty fair foundation from the start".⁶³ Thus, the early portion of 1886 was characterized by a movement in business, which, during the ensuing months, increased in proportions.⁶⁴ By April, the wholesale men could say nothing negative regarding trade matters.⁶⁵ The optimism was based upon hopes for an excellent harvest, of course, but the expectations were eventually darkened by an early frost.⁶⁶ With the partial failure of the 1886 crop, the wholesalers found their sales volume not equal to former years, though the lack of bad debts rendered it a better paying year. Thus, Dun and Wiman labelled the year as "uneventful in a commercial sense...".⁶⁷ At the 1887 Board of Trade meeting, Secretary James E. Steen pronounced the old year to have been one of "Moderate prosperity and steady improvement in our trade affairs...though our commercial system is still under some pressure."⁶⁸ An increase of three million dollars in the total trade figure over 1885 (Table V-6)

suggests that Steen's assessment was accurate. The city had once more begun to expand commercially.

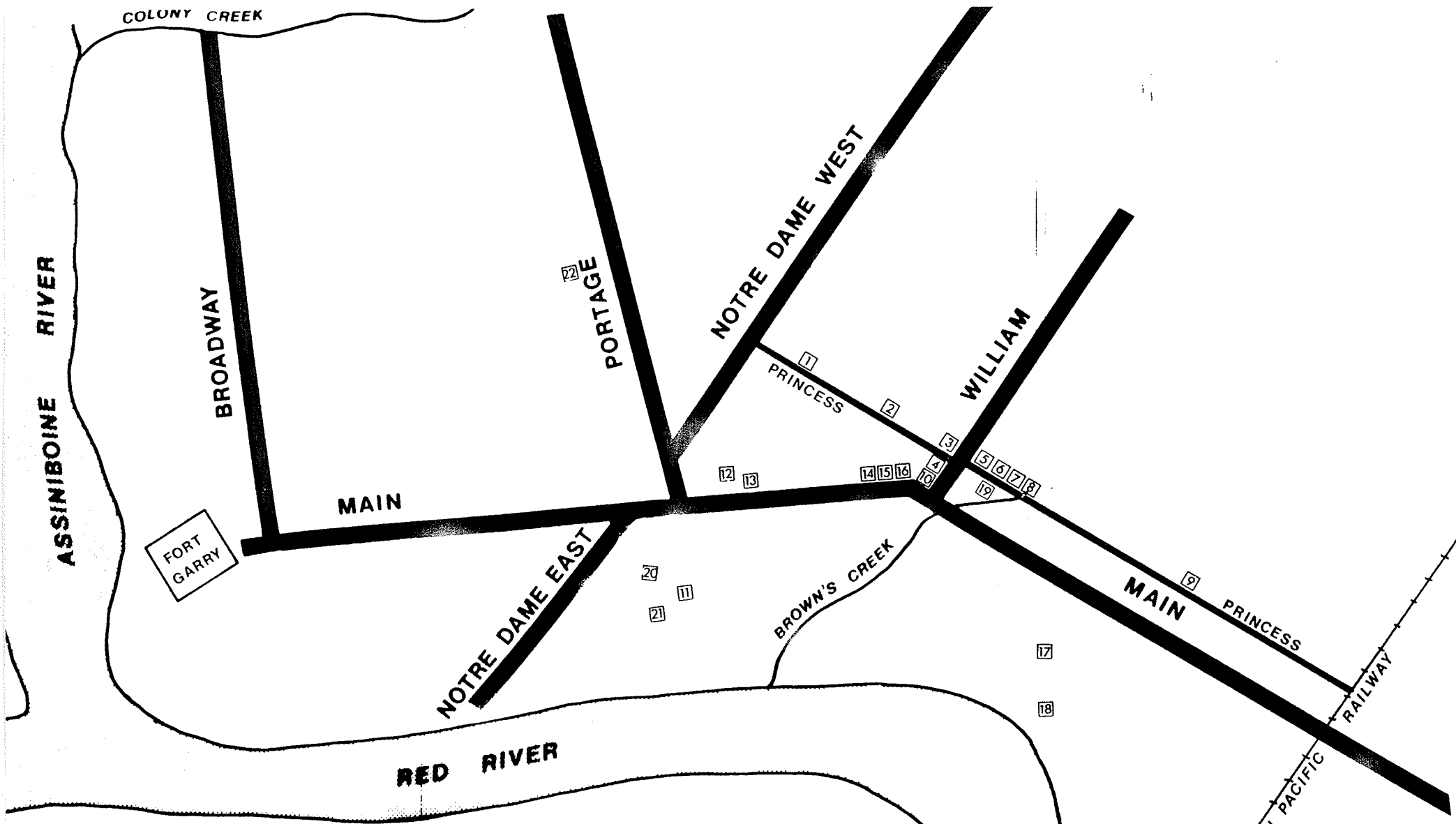
Table V-6 Amount of Trade-Winnipeg-1881-1886.

1881-	\$20,120,000	1.
1882-	\$20,222,928	2.
1883-	unavailable	
1884-	\$23,079,698	3.
1885-	\$23,333,075	4.
1886-	\$26,133,856	5.

(Sources: 1. Thompson and Boyer, Industries of Winnipeg, p. 24.
 2. Ibid. p. 29. Also estimated at \$30,000,000. See Commercial,
 9 January 1883, p. 288.
 3. Ibid. p. 38.
 4. Commercial, 2 February 1886
 5. Commercial, 8 February 1887)

Just outside the primary business area, which extended from Graham Avenue to the CPR rail line, a secondary commercial district, consisting of wholesalers' offices and warehouses, was slowly developing in the early 1880s. These businesses were situated on the somewhat cheaper land surrounding the Main Street property because the nature of the wholesalers' enterprise did not warrant the larger expenditure. Chief among the thoroughfares of this secondary district were Princess Street, Rorie Street, The Market Square and to a lesser extent, McDermot and Bannatyne Avenues. On these streets were located the wholesale houses of Whitlas; Carscaden and Peck; G. F. and J. Galt; Griffin and Douglas, James O'Brien; Turner-McKeand; Watson; and Massey.⁶⁹

By 1886, Princess had come to be the street most favoured by wholesalers. Though not contiguous, these isolated wholesaling establishments served to block out the area which was to become the warehouse district by 1900.⁷⁰ Some buildings such as the Bathgate Block at Princess and Alexander were built with the idea that their locations would soon be overtaken by other ware-



MAP V-2 WHOLESALING LOCATIONS, WINNIPEG, 1879 - 1886

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| 1 Oddfellows Block - 1884 | 9 Bathoate Block - 1883 | 17 Robertson Metals - 1882 |
| 2 Hodgson - Summer Block - 1885 | 10 Watson Implements - 1882 | 18 G.D. Wood, Hardware - 1884 |
| 3 Gerrie Block - 1880 | 11 Mitchell Drugs - 1886 | 19 C.H. Wilson, Furniture - 1883 |
| 4 Massey Block - 1885 | 12 Whitla Block - 1882 | 20 Colquhuon, Liquors - 1881 |
| 5 Henderson's Block - 1881 | 13 Lyon Warehouse - 1883 | 21 Turner; M ^c Keand - 1882 |
| 6 Benson's Block - 1882 | 14 J.H. Ashdown Co. - 1881 | 22 Stobart, Eden - 1881 |
| 7 Bawlf Block - 1882 | 15 Stobart Block - 1877 | |
| 8 Harris Block - 1882 | 16 Ryan Block - 1883 | |

houses. However, the Bathgate Block and others missed the mark by some twenty years,⁷¹ and would stand as stark reminders of the vain expectations of the Boom (Map V-2). The wholesale district was not to be served directly by the railway, as direct spur lines could not be built through the closely divided properties.⁷² Indeed, prior to the construction of the Winnipeg Transfer Railway on the Red River bank in 1889,⁷³ the wholesalers relied upon horse-drawn delivery vehicles to transport their stocks to the warehouses.

By 1886, as Professor Kerr has demonstrated, Winnipeg had emerged as Western Canada's primary wholesale centre.⁷⁴ On a smaller scale, a distinct area had begun to develop within the city that was already distinguishable as the warehouse district. While the numbers of buildings in this section were smaller than some years later, the wholesalers had shown a preference for the cheaper lots away from the main business district. All this had occurred within the short span of six years, but as has been shown in the above discussion, those were six years that had made a world of difference to Winnipeg's economic position. The wholesale sector existed to serve the needs of the local and rural retailers who were now dependent upon the manufacturers and wholesalers for their merchandise.

Retailing

The retail sector of Winnipeg's business community was noticeably affected by the Boom and its aftermath. To meet the requirements of a vastly increased populace, the number of retail establishments in the city increased dramatically. Before the Boom, the activities of the retail sector were virtually indistinguishable from wholesale operations,⁷⁵ as the latter had not yet emerged as a distinct activity of the business community. But by the end of 1881, the retailers, who now numbered 170, figured as a separate entity, doing nearly sixteen million dollars worth of business.⁷⁶ This section will examine the fortunes of the retail sector during the boom and its aftermath and assess the geographical factors which determined choice of location within the city.

During 1882, the rapidly increasing number of retail establishments had moved beyond the diffuse role of general stores and had become instead specialized shops. And with the disappearance of the old-style small general retail stores where small quantities of most goods were stocked, Winnipeg had begun to resemble older urban centres.⁷⁷ But it is interesting to note that some of the general stores re-emerged as the large scale Main Street departmental stores -- the Hudson's Bay Company, Jerry Robinson and Company, and Arnett's Golden Lion. And, finally, with the transition in retail trade, the wholesalers also acquired a firmer foothold in the local economy for they could stock larger quantities of goods with some assurance that they would find retail buyers.

By the end of 1882, there was a growing belief that the city was over-endowed with retailers. Of the twenty-eight failures in the Northwest for the year, eighteen were at Winnipeg.⁷⁸ The Commercial accepted the increasing bankruptcies among retailers as a normal process, arguing that "seventy-five percent of the number should never have been in existence...because they were ignorant of mercantile affairs".⁷⁹ In attempts to serve exuberant boom customers, the retailers had been led to overstock expensive, often unsaleable merchandise. This led to further forced sales below cost which harmed other entrepreneurs.⁸⁰ Incompetence had also brought the granting of too much credit. As well, most of these businesses were attempts by owners to feed their real estate speculations.⁸¹ It was once estimated that three out of five business places exhibited real estate signs in their windows.⁸² Indeed, the numbers of retail transactions rose dramatically because of the business boom of 1882, but competition had been so keen that "precious small margins have been made by dealers".⁸³ Loose credit and bad debts had also cut into the margins, for the advent of tight money and the subsequent fall in land values by late 1882, meant that many debtors could no longer pay their obligations. It was because of small profits, bad debts and loose credit that the retail butchers adopted a strictly cash payments

system after 15 January 1883.⁸⁴

Despite such safeguards, the stringency came too late. As 1883 progressed, the number of business failures increased (Table V-4) to the point where Winnipeg had almost half of the year's insolvencies in the Northwest. Where some businessmen blamed heavy loads of real estate debts for the destruction, others interpreted this as a "house cleaning".⁸⁵ However, these problems were compounded by a cessation of credit by the eastern-based banks,⁸⁶ as well as an early frost which reduced the first surplus wheat crop to be exported from the Northwest.⁸⁷ Furthermore, this last factor was made worse because the CPR was unable to transport the produce.⁸⁸ Inadequate elevator facilities for grain storage⁸⁹ also played a significant part in the autumn crash of prices.⁹⁰ Clearly, Winnipeg and the Northwest had grown more quickly than the services upon which the export economy was based.

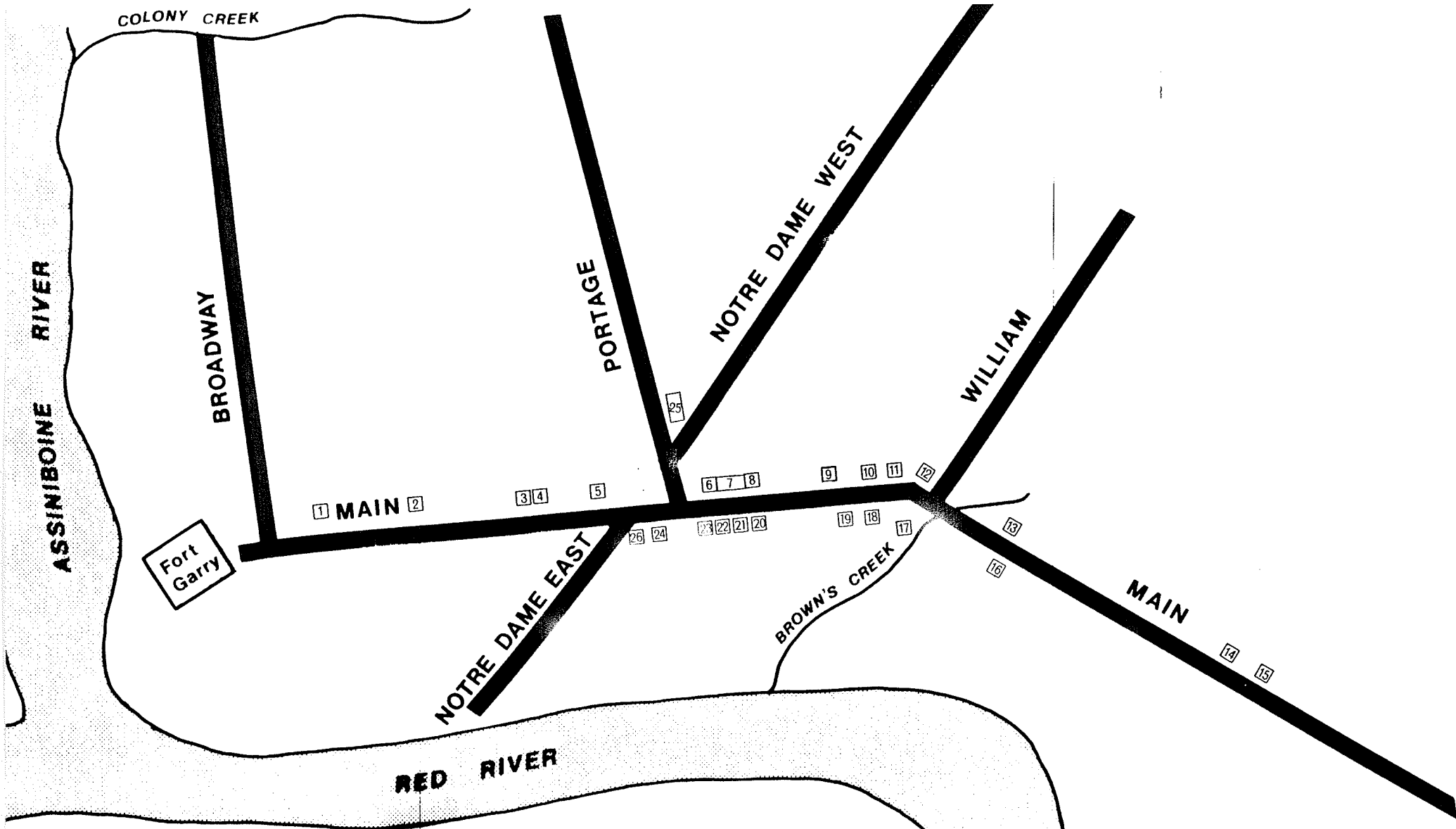
Among the retailers, the winter and spring of 1883-1884 were dull because the remaining customers were practicing frugality. "The spirit of economy has apparently become contagious, for those whose poverty does not pinch, are economizing, presumably to set others a good example."⁹¹ A dropping rate of insolvencies was a material aid in the fortunes of the retail sector during 1884 as was an influx of manufacturing enterprises.⁹² "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..."⁹³ With the success of the 1884 harvest,⁹⁴ which was facilitated by improvements in the elevator and rail systems, the possibilities of 1885 appeared somewhat rosier.

Where the Northwest Rebellion staggered the wholesale trade, it threw the retailers into depression because of the enforced absence of militia-citizens.⁹⁵ However, as was the case with the wholesalers, the effect of the uprising upon retail trade was temporary and the summer led into a fall and winter marked by recovery.⁹⁶ The total number of failures was down considerably

from either 1883 or 1884 (Table V-4). Nevertheless, it was estimated that of some 1500 traders who had started out in the Northwest since 1882, none were still in business.⁹⁷ Considering there were about 3000 still active Northwestern traders at that time, the impact of the boom upon the retail sector had been quite marked.

Many observers expected that 1886 would bring great improvements for the retailers.⁹⁸ According to Dun and Wiman, retail trade was finally approaching proper practices and had abandoned the habits inflicted by the Boom.⁹⁹ The year 1886 became "one of moderate prosperity and steady improvement in our trade affairs, but it has not been sufficiently so to allow of any jubilant feeling, or to wipe away the lingering impression, that our commercial system is still under some pressure".¹⁰⁰ Though retail business had increased by about a half million dollars (Table V-2), one cannot escape the impression that the Boom had left the intangible mark of great expectations upon the business crowd. Only rapid sustained growth had become acceptable to these men who had witnessed better things.

The Boom did ensure that the commercial district was more clearly defined than ever before. After 1883, a visitor would be struck by the number of three and four storey structures along Main Street from Portage Avenue north to the City Hall, and to a lesser extent, in the block of Main south of Portage. Here were to be found such notable buildings as the banks, including the Montreal, Ontario, Merchants, and Imperial,¹⁰¹ and combination office-retail store buildings such as the Dundee, McIntyre, McArthur, Macdonnell, Caldwell, Duffin, Clements and Bird Blocks.¹⁰² These could be classed as the first rank of Winnipeg business properties. South of Graham Avenue, this mercantile area merged into a secondary business district which had formed near the Hudson's Bay Company stores. Focused around the intersection of York and Main, this area contained the Cauchon Block, which had failed as an office-retail structure,¹⁰³ the Hespeler Block and a number of governmental edifices dating from the 1870s. However, the district was considered too distant to be a part of the mainstream of



MAP V-3 MAJOR RETAILING AND OFFICE LOCATIONS, WINNIPEG, 1879-1886

- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1 Hudson Bay Co. - 1880-81 | 10 Ashdown's Block - 1881 | 19 Bird Block - 1882 |
| 2 Fortune Block - 1882 | 11 Freeman Building - 1886 | 20 Richardson Stationary - 1882 |
| 3 Hargrave's Block - 1882 | 12 Clements Block - 1884 | 21 MacDonnell Block - 1880 |
| 4 Porter & Ronald Block - 1884 | 13 Foulds Block - 1886 | 22 Bannatyne Block - 1882 |
| 5 Morris Block - 1880 | 14 Carruthers Block - 1882 | 23 M ^c Arthur Block - 1882 |
| 6 Dundee Block - 1881 | 15 Maycock Block - 1885 | 24 Forrester Block - 1884 |
| 7 M ^c Intyre Block - 1884 | 16 James Block - 1881 | 25 Spencer Building - 1880 |
| 8 Arnett (Higgins) Block - 1874 | 17 Confederation Life - 1879 | 26 Donaldson Block - 1881 |
| 9 Caldwell Block - 1879 | 18 Robertson's Block - 1879 | |

business.¹⁰⁴ Similarly, along Portage Avenue the only two mercantile structures of note were the Manitoba Mortgage and Stobart Blocks.¹⁰⁵ (Map V-3)

Outside of this wholesale area, there lay a tertiary business district, which was largely composed of the various classes of hotels as well as small mercantile outfits such as retail stores. Except in the cases of some of the hotels, the buildings housing these operations could not be considered new or modern even by the standards of the eighties. The tertiary area ran from the borders of the first-class business district, the Market Square, north to the depot, and as far west as Princess Street.¹⁰⁶ Here, the hostelrys ranged from the upper class Brunswick, Leland, Seymour, and Grand Union to the seedy Mansion House and Turf Wine Vaults.¹⁰⁷

By 1886, the Market Square itself could boast a half dozen hotels which ringed the City Hall. Indeed, it was said of one hostelry (and true of the others) that it was "in a most beautiful position facing the City Hall Square, and at the same time possesses the advantage of being almost in the heart of the business portion of the town while it is also in close proximity to the railway stations".¹⁰⁸ The hotels were convenient for the commercial travellers who worked out of the surrounding business district and the travelling public who entered Winnipeg via the trains or from the rural areas. Like a few of the first class and wholesale business blocks, some hotels were sad reminders of Boomtime expectations. These included the McKenzie (later the Clarendon), a five storey hotel at Portage and Donald which did not function until 1889,¹⁰⁹ and the Murray House, erected c.1882 at Martha and Henry and moved to Fonseca (Higgins) and Main in 1885 when its original site proved unprofitable.¹¹⁰

Smaller or less prosperous businesses were to be found on the fringes of the first-class commercial district or scattered among the hotels and saloons. Obviously, such entrepreneurs would not be in a position to afford the rents demanded in the prime area. Thus, Clarence Steele's 1892 photographic panorama of Main

Street depicts the end of that thoroughfare north of Market and sections south of Graham as consisting of small, oft-times ramshackle structures.¹¹¹ Indeed, these buildings housed such firms as the Manitoba Cigar Depot; J. B. Rutter, auctioneer; Carson and Cowles, butchers; the Maple Leaf Store, groceries; and the Globe Clothing House.¹¹² Adjuncts of the business district were the small general stores which existed in various portions of the city's residential quarters. These evidently marked the beginnings of Winnipeg's "corner store" economy which survived into the 1960s. In 1883, there were at least forty grocery stores throughout the city, while four years later there were at least thirty.¹¹³

Conclusions

Winnipeg emerged as a wholesaling centre by the beginning of 1883 and managed to maintain and even to improve this position throughout the difficult times that followed. The conditions were right for this development because the Boom had brought an influx of new settlement to the Northwest. This position would not be seriously challenged until after 1900, when places such as Regina, Saskatoon, Calgary and Edmonton arose as smaller wholesaling centres.¹¹⁴ Though often branches of eastern houses, the Winnipeg wholesalers established a pre-eminence which was evident as late as 1904.¹¹⁵

Its status as a branch-house economy reduced Winnipeg's manufacturing potential. Though some wholesaler dependence upon local manufactures was evident after the Boom, the connections of the wholesalers with their eastern manufacturers appear to have been re-established after 1885. Like the eastern head offices, the local branches of the wholesalers were to be supplied by the most economical method possible, that is, through established channels. This ensured a uniformity of goods across the country, while cutting down substantially upon overhead costs.¹¹⁶ Furthermore, in the mid-eighties, Manitoba suffered from a lack of primary resource development which would have provided the raw materials necessary for local manufacturing.¹¹⁷ Winnipeg could, nonetheless, support some industry. This sector, as in the pre-

Boom years, was led by the lumber and the flour mills, which expanded considerably between 1880 and 1886, but it also included the Vulcan Iron Works and several other enterprises. The total value of manufacturing was still only a small proportion of the economic activity in the city, however, and as late as 1899, a writer could state that "as a manufacturing centre, Winnipeg does not make great pretensions [SIC]".¹¹⁸

Winnipeg had been quite well-established in retailing prior to the Boom, for it had always had a consumer population. To a degree, the Boom had aggravated the retailing situation by introducing inept entrepreneurs to the market whose speculations and subsequent failures have been noted. However, their rise and demise did not affect the one change they had brought, the advent of the specialty shop. This change in the style of retailing to something resembling that of the eastern centres also serves as evidence that the nature of Winnipeg's population had changed by the end of the Boom: the frontier had been replaced by a more genteel urbanism.

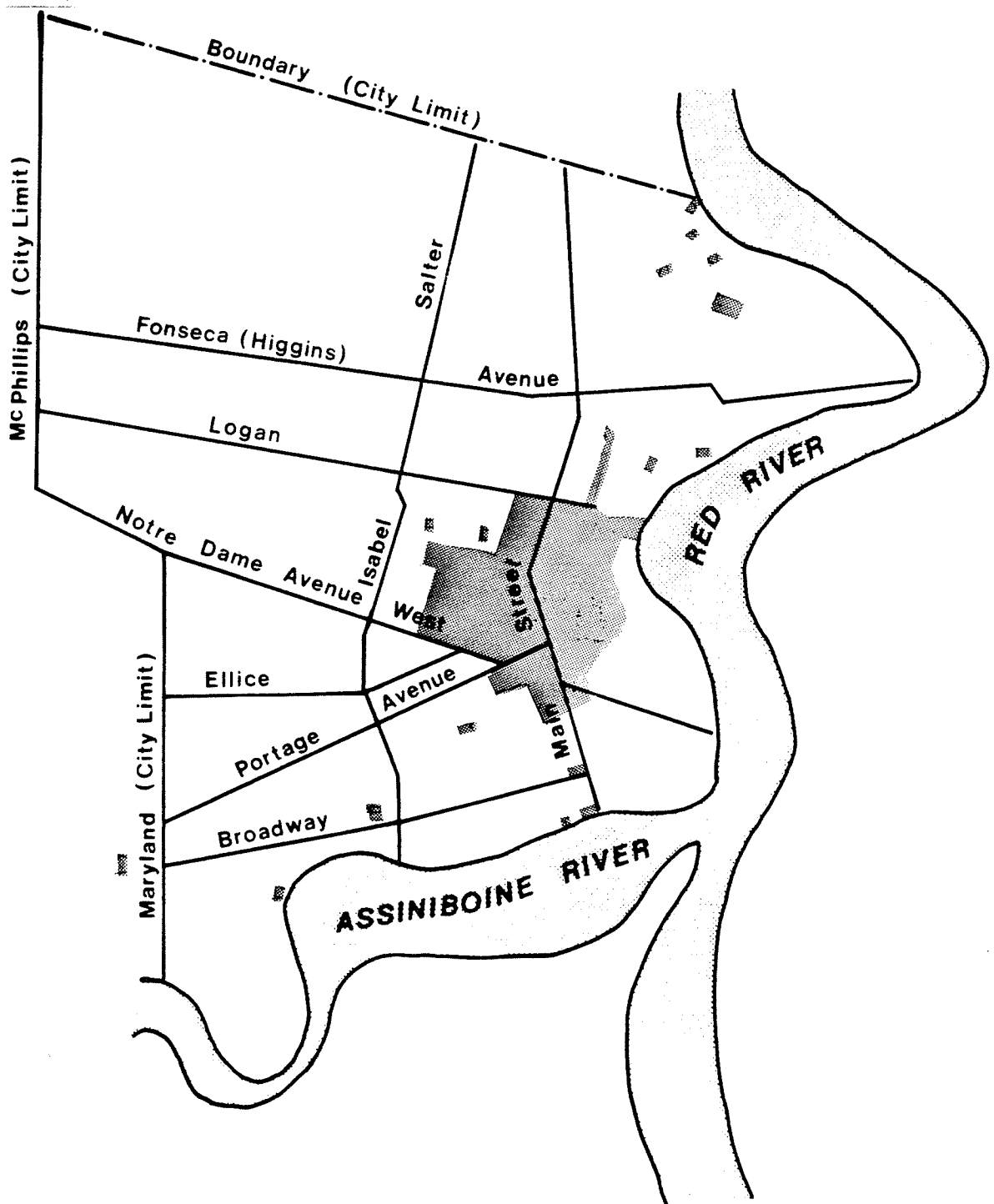
The city had established its localized areas of business by 1886. There was an embryonic though discernible wholesale area with fixed boundaries clustered about a compact first-class business core. Similarly, retail units were to be found in various locations, either in this business core or at sites convenient to consumers. Later trade patterns would build upon this geographical structure until mass transportation shifted the focus of economic development to the suburbs in the twentieth century. By 1886, the place of Winnipeg as an economic centre in the province, the region and the nation had been established, and this fact was not to be significantly altered in the next half-century. Also by 1886, the spatial pattern within Winnipeg's business sector had been similarly established. This, too, would not be greatly changed in the next half-century.

CHAPTER 6 - THE RESIDENTIAL DISTRICTS AND THE BOOM 1878-1886

Accounts of the rise of Winnipeg have usually failed to mention one of the city's chief physical attributes, the residential sections. Artibise extends some superficial coverage to the subject, but he does not examine the late 'seventies and 'eighties in any detail.¹ Rather, he concentrates upon the ethnic basis of spatial segregation of the population after 1890. Ruben Bellan, in Winnipeg - First Century deals chiefly with economic topics, and therefore, does not concern himself with social history. Hans Hosse, like Artibise, takes a superficial look at the residential districts, but his focus is chiefly upon the era after 1900. Thus, given the somewhat primitive examinations of Winnipeg residential districts during the 1880s, the present study has been necessitated. The development of these various districts will be observed as well as the probable reasons for the rise of segregated areas of dwellings.

Aside from the growth of business enterprises, the Boom also fostered the physical improvement of the city. The value of construction starts between 1878 and 1886 was in excess of \$12,500,000. (Table VI-1). Three-quarters of this sum was expended during the years 1881-1883, though one may assume that the building boom began in 1880 and ended by 1885 when construction starts showed a definite drop, even below figures for the year of 1878. The majority of the structures erected were of frame construction, though a high percentage of brick and brick-veneer edifices was a feature of the neighbourhoods near the business district. During 1882 the tremendous impetus created by the real estate fever caused the building boom to take place on a massive scale. So great a phenomenon was this, that "the sound of the hammer and trowel are to be heard from dawn to darkness". In all, over 1200 buildings were constructed during 1882², and the built-up limits of the city stretched as far west as Juno and Kate Streets and as far north as Burrows Avenue.³ (Map VI-1)

MAP VI-1 WINNIPEG RESIDENTIAL LIMITS - 1878



MAP VI-2 WINNIPEG RESIDENTIAL LIMITS 1886

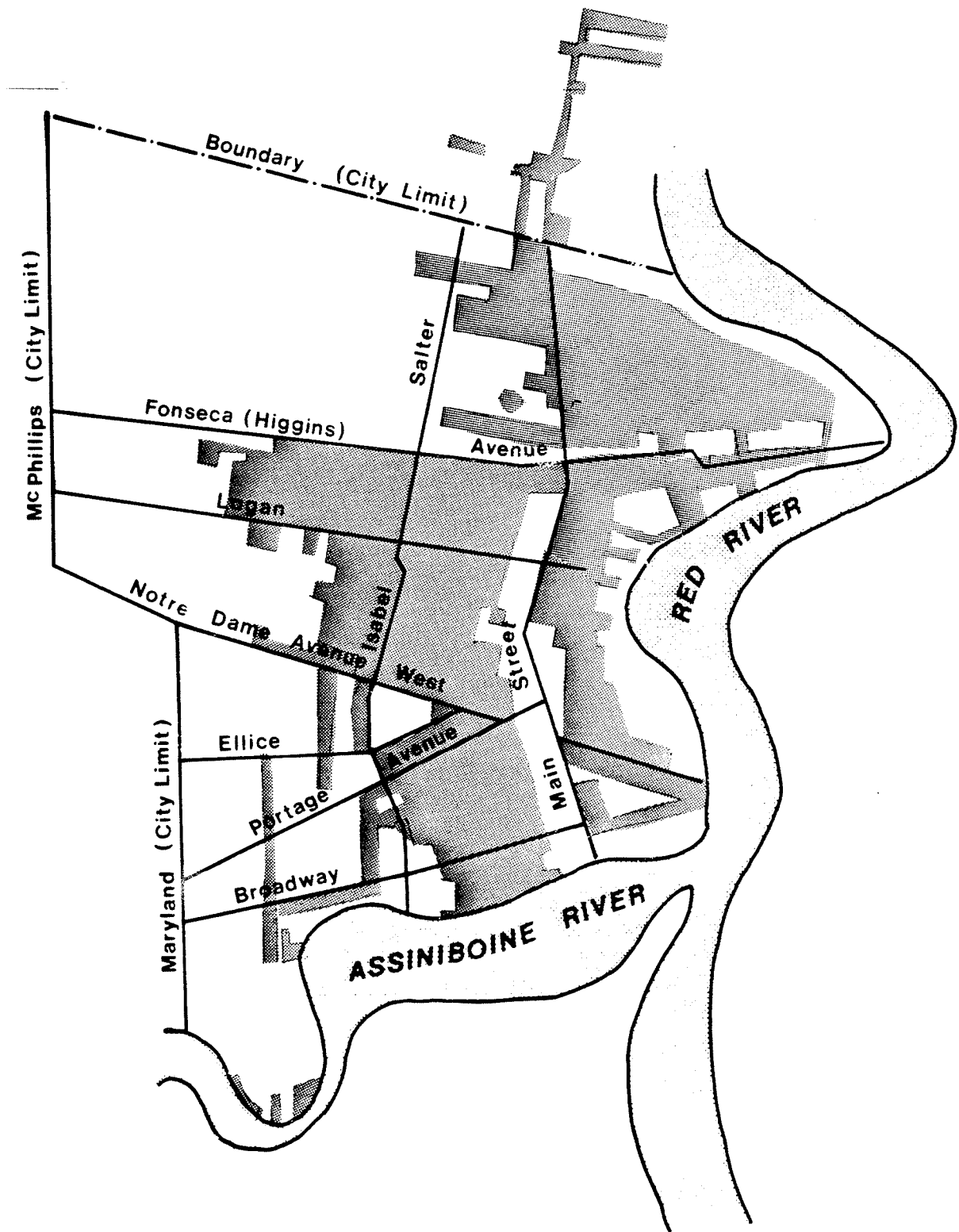


Table VI-1 Construction Values--Winnipeg--1878-1886.

1878-	\$200,000	1.	(Sources: 1. <u>MFP</u> , 14 February 1879
1879-	n. a.		2. <u>Times</u> , 30 October 1880
1880-	\$922,000	2.	3. <u>MWFP</u> , 14 October 1881
1881-	\$2,055,100	3.	4. <u>MWFP</u> , 5 January 1883
1882-	\$5,347,840	4.	5. <u>Sun</u> , 20 October 1883
1883-	\$2,500,000	5.	6. <u>Sun</u> , 13 September 1884
1884-	\$778,400	6.	7. <u>Commercial</u> , 2 February 1886.
1885-	\$190,000	7.	8. <u>Sun</u> , 29 September 1886.)
1886-	\$414,100	8.	
<u>Total \$12,407,440</u>			

The building boom in the period 1883-1884 pushed the western built-up limits as far west as Tecumseh Street, and as far north as Alfred Avenue. (Map VI-2). Though these boundaries do not represent a solid phalanx of edifices, they do indicate the extent of the area in which residences had been erected. The western extremity was influenced by the location of the CPR workshops and yards, for these were the homes of workingmen. The settlement pattern north of Selkirk Avenue was undoubtedly influenced by Drewery's Brewery on Redwood, though the location of many industries in Point Douglas also had an effect on these residences.

The speculative craze accomplished at least one major change in the spatial character of Winnipeg. As noted in an earlier chapter, there had been no specific areas for the various "districts" in the city prior to the boom. This was the result of the old-style growth pattern of the 1870s when Winnipeg had still

been a frontier town. This same lack of segregation has been noted by Michael Katz in relation to Hamilton.⁴ The presence of speculators changed the values of properties, but also disrupted the frontier relationship of land and use. The transformation was worked in the following manner: as has been noted, certain portions of the city became more desirable for first-class business locations than others. When the price of this land rose, commercial enterprises alone could afford the cost; other types of land, whether industrial or residential were thus relegated to less central locations. In the same way, price and location began to affect the nature of residential housing in the city. The 1881-1882 boom brought with it the advent of a class system in the residential areas based upon the relative values of real estate within the city. Furthermore, this process had become quite clear by 1883 when the appearance of a body of urban poor demonstrated that class differentiation had emerged. Inequalities of real estate values had broken the city into "desirable" and "undesirable" residential areas, with the consequent segregation of income groups into their appropriate neighbourhood.

Winnipeg's initial first-class residential district developed on the Hudson's Bay Reserve, west of Fort Street and south of Portage Avenue. It was here that the highest prices were demanded and received for Winnipeg residential property.⁵ This was one factor in the exclusive nature of the area; as well, the preference of the Hudson's Bay Land Department for dealing only in builders as opposed to speculators' lots was another factor in establishing a special district.⁶ Add to this the fact that the land was high, dry and level⁷ when many other areas were flood-soaked. The Reserve offered considerable comfort as well as generous 50' x 120' lot sizes and wide streets.⁸ The Company had even planted trees along the boulevarded Broadway.⁹

The first significant amount of construction on the Reserve (or South Ward), occurred in 1880 when about \$390,000 worth of building took place. This stock consisted of substantial houses and buildings as is revealed by the average value of buildings (see Table VI-2). These structures consisted largely of brick or

brick-veneer edifices, with a sprinkling of elaborate frame residences. It was on the Reserve that the Company erected its prestigious red-brick store that year. As well, St. Mary's Church was begun on its present site. In addition to the residences of such notables as Alderman E. G. Conklin; J. S. Dennis, Jr. and Fred Brydges, there was quite a number of substantial terraces and duplex houses. These buildings were considered stylish having yet to achieve the connotation of low cost housing. As speculative housing, such blocks as O'Brien's Terrace, Hutchinson's Terrace or the Drummond Brothers' duplexes achieved a most efficient land use by placing at least two dwellings upon each lot. Photographs and surviving examples indicate that these were among the most architecturally-notable residences in the city. It was evident that the rising upper middle and professional classes were coming to reside upon the Reserve.¹⁰

Table VI-2 Construction Starts and Values, Winnipeg--1880-1882.

<u>South Ward</u>			<u>West Ward</u>			
Number	Value	Average Value	Number	Value	Average Value	
1880	87	\$390,000	\$4484.	97	\$157,125	\$1997.
1881	n.a.	\$690,150	-----	n.a.	\$499,900	-----
1882	242	\$1,787,600	\$7387.	583	\$1,609,100	\$2761.
<u>East Ward</u>			<u>North Ward</u>			
Number	Value	Average Value	Number	Value	Average Value	
1880	32	\$111,150	\$3786.	45	\$263,950	\$5866.
1881	n.a.	\$180,950	-----	n.a.	\$329,100	-----
1882	57	\$414,300	\$7269.	429	\$1,318,890	\$3074.

(Sources: Times, 30 October 1880; MFP, 14 October 1881; MWFP, 5 January 1883.)

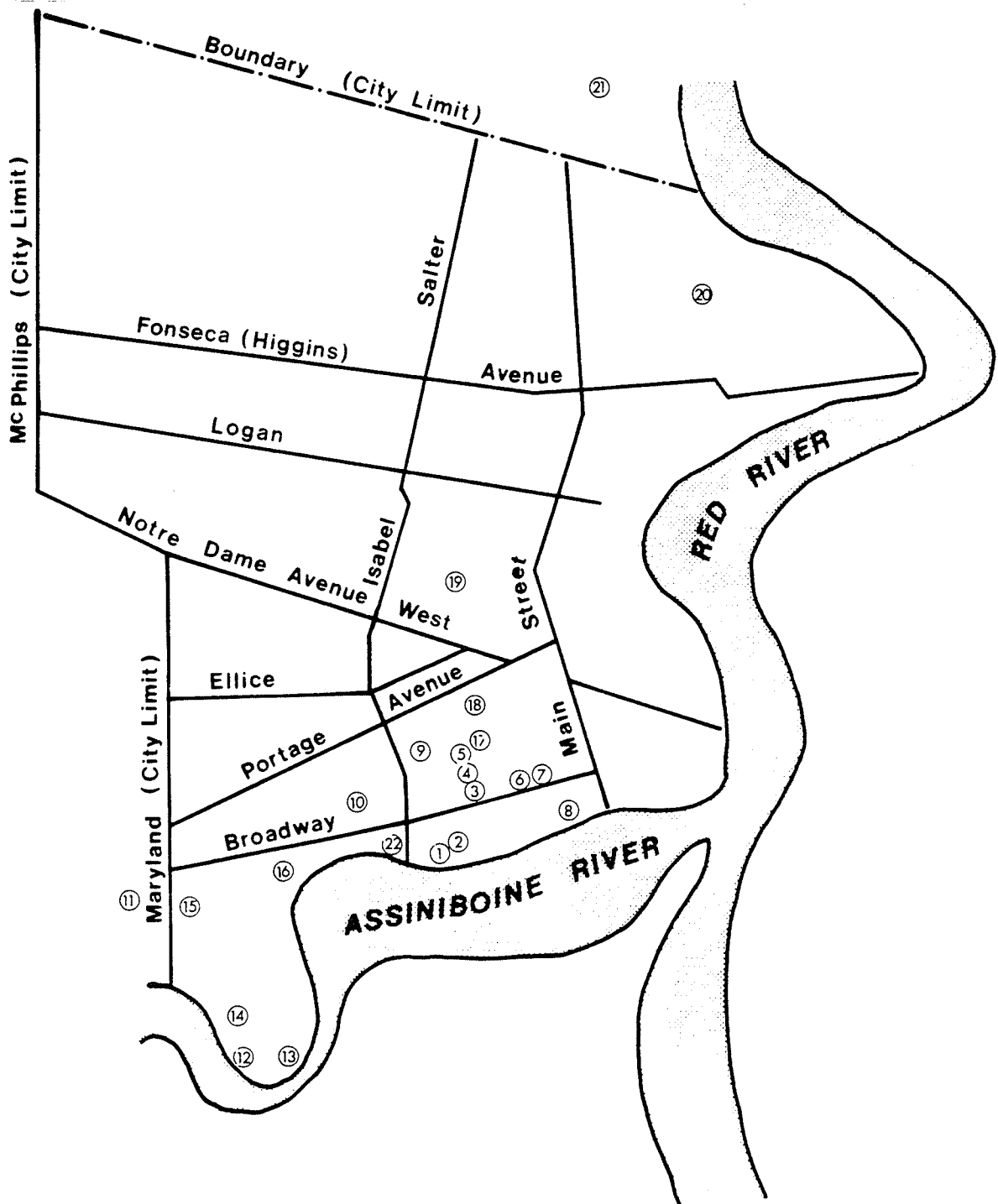
The following year saw continued building on this section, indeed, the South Ward had the largest value of construction starts for the city. A significant number of these consisted of multiple dwelling structures, but many large single dwellings such as those of C. J. Brydges, J. A. Grahame, W. F. Alloway or W. H. Lyon were also built.¹¹ The majority of these "mansions" were located at the southern end of the Reserve, for these were near the Assiniboine River and removed from the noise of the commercial district to the north. In the more northerly sections of the South Ward were found the bulk of the multiple dwellings or frame residences. The Reserve itself, then, was becoming divided by levels of affluence with the better established citizens settling in the southern end.

The events of the 1882 building season reinforced this tendency. Once again, more speculative housing was constructed, the chief frame edifices lying at the northern end. Further south, however, the confidence borne of the Boom found expression in a number of large dwellings of varying eclectic styles of architecture. The turretted Tuttle residence stood at Broadway and Carlton, while nearby was the magnificent dwelling of street railway magnate A. W. Austin. Toward York there was located the home of R. J. Whittle, dry goods merchant.¹² Carlton Street can serve as an example of what was occurring all over the Reserve. That these were considered as substantial residences is doubtless, for each cost nearly \$20,000., was built of "solid" brick and contained fifteen or so rooms. Thus, by the end of 1882 Winnipeg has its first "millionaires" district fixed in the area south of York Street.

The collapse of the real estate boom was reflected in a decreased number of construction starts on the Reserve after 1882. The money available for grandiose residences found its way into only one dwelling worth more than \$10,000. The bulk of the structures erected that year had a worth of four to five thousand dollars each, and were more often of frame construction than of brick.¹³ After this, very little was constructed on the Reserve

MAP VI-3 PRETENTIOUS DWELLINGS - WINNIPEG 1886

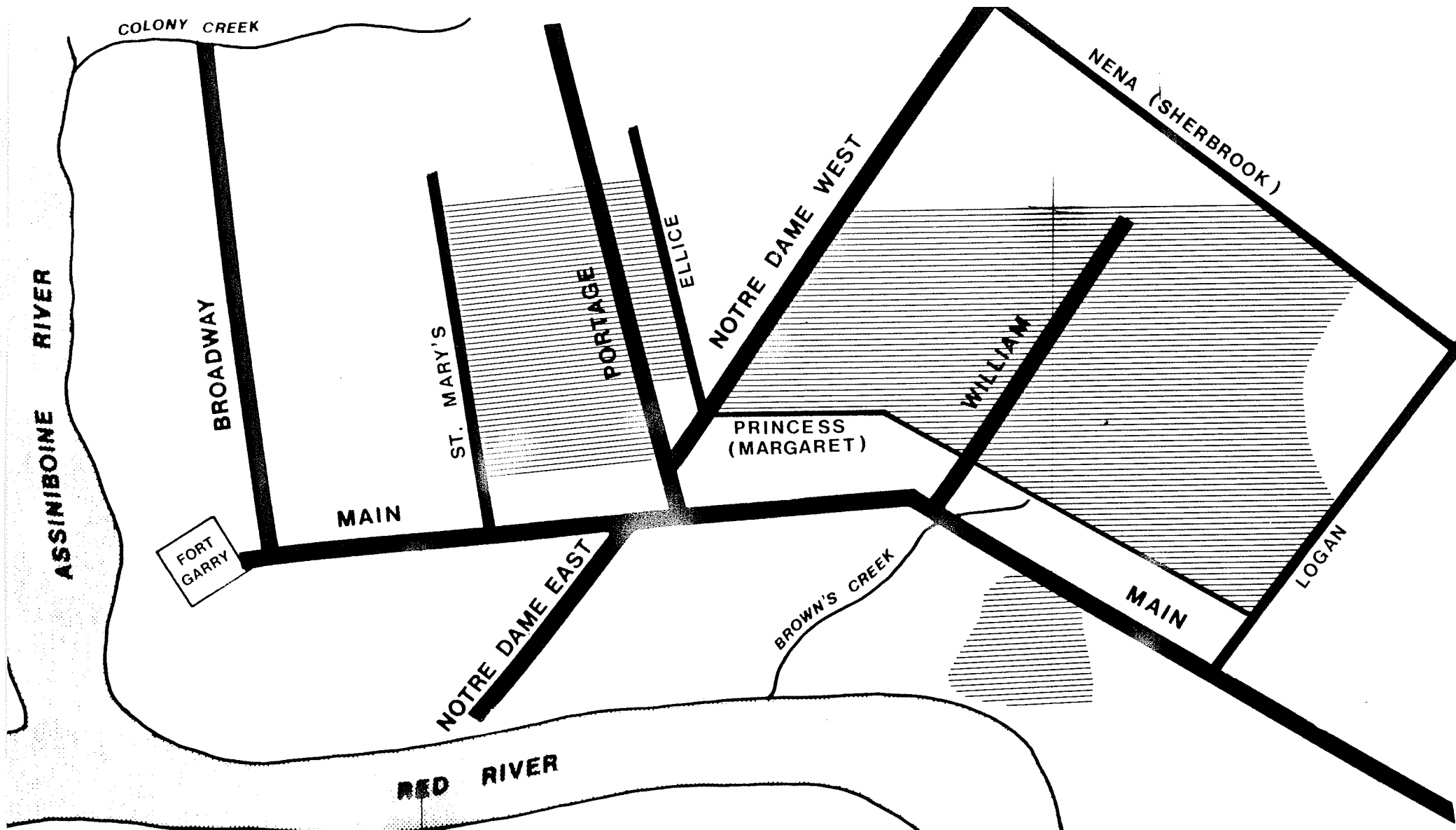
- | | |
|------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| 1 R.D. Richardson - 1 Kennedy 1882 | 12 A.G.B. Bannatyne - West Gate - 1884 |
| 2 W.F. Alloway - 407 Assiniboine - 1881 | 13 A.F. Eden - East Gate - 1880 |
| 3 C.R. Tuttle - 363 Broadway - 1882 | 14 David Young - Middle Gate - 1882 |
| 4 A.W. Austin - 122 Carlton - 1882 | 15 J. Mulligan - Picardy Pl - 1882 |
| 5 R.J. Whittle - 124 Carlton - 1882 | 16 Thomas Spence - Balmoral - 1882 |
| 6 C.J. Brydges - 106 Donald - 1880 | 17 A.D. May - 349 York - 1883 |
| 7 Mark Fortune - Smith & Broadway - 1882 | 18 W.H. Lyon - Graham & Donald - 1881 |
| 8 J.A. Grahame - 71 Smith - 1881 | 19 T.P. Murray - Bannatyne & Dagmar - 1882 |
| 9 G. McPhillips - 169 Kennedy - 1879 | 20 J.H. Ashdown - 109 Euclid - 1877 |
| 10 Thomas Scott - 198 Colony - 1873 | 21 E.L. Drewery - 1181 Main - 1880 |
| 11 H. Sutherland - Maryland - 1879 | 22 F.H. Brydges - Osborne - 1880 |



until after 1886. This does not mean, however, that the area lost any of its status as a residential district. For example, it is evident from an 1884 article that the Reserve was considered "better" than any other. "In this district are located some of the finest residences of the city, the owners of which are plainly determined that the grounds shall be in keeping with the general character of the buildings."¹⁴ On the spacious grounds of the mansions could be found much herbage and greenery which contributed to the aura of the area. Against this, however, stood the virgin, barren empty lots where building had yet to take place. Though these represented the original prairie from whence the residences had sprung, they only served to enhance the spaciousness and size of the properties.¹⁵ The opulence of the larger residences made them quite suitable to the partially built up nature of the post-Boom Reserve (May VI-3). After 1900 when more numerous, less prestigious dwellings began to crowd onto the vacant properties, the area declined and was replaced by newer areas south of the river -- Crescentwood and River Heights.¹⁶

Off the Reserve, the residential pattern reinforced this impression of an emerging class structure in Winnipeg. The middle class were next in this stratified, though loosely defined economic order. Again, the bulk of construction took place during the years 1880-1883, with a heavy emphasis upon the West Ward,¹⁷ and a portion of the East Ward,¹⁸ north of James, yet south of George Street. The houses here were smaller and less substantial than their South Ward counterparts. There was greater reliance upon economical frame construction in this area, though a number of more elaborate dwellings could boast of brick-veneer cladding. The smaller size of the lots (33' x 99'), the narrower streets, and in many cases, a lack of lanes at the rear showed that the sub-dividers had been less generous with their land than was the Hudson's Bay Company.

Directory information indicates a small amount of building had been occurring west of Margaret (Princess) Street during the very late 1870s.¹⁹ The first substantial amounts of construction took place during 1880 (Table VI-2), the bulk of which comprised



MAP VI-4 MIDDLE CLASS AREAS - WINNIPEG - 1886

small or modest dwellings of unpretentious architectural styles mixed in with speculative housing.²⁰ This lack of pretention tended to weaken in the two years which followed, as the relative values of individual structures increased markedly with the advent of more serious land speculation.²¹ What was notable about this construction was the extent to which it was carried on. By the end of 1883, the built-up section of Winnipeg had been carried as far west as Nena (Sherbrook) in the West Ward. Prior to the Boom, only a few houses had lain scattered just past Margaret Street.²² The West Ward may not have had the large dwellings nor the well-known names of the Reserve, but its houses more than made up for this in the sheer bulk of buildings (Table VI-2). Though closely built, the area was "not so favoured (with greenery) and while the grass plots are very small they are also few in number".²³ Thus, aesthetically the area left something to be desired in comparison to the South Ward (Map VI-4).

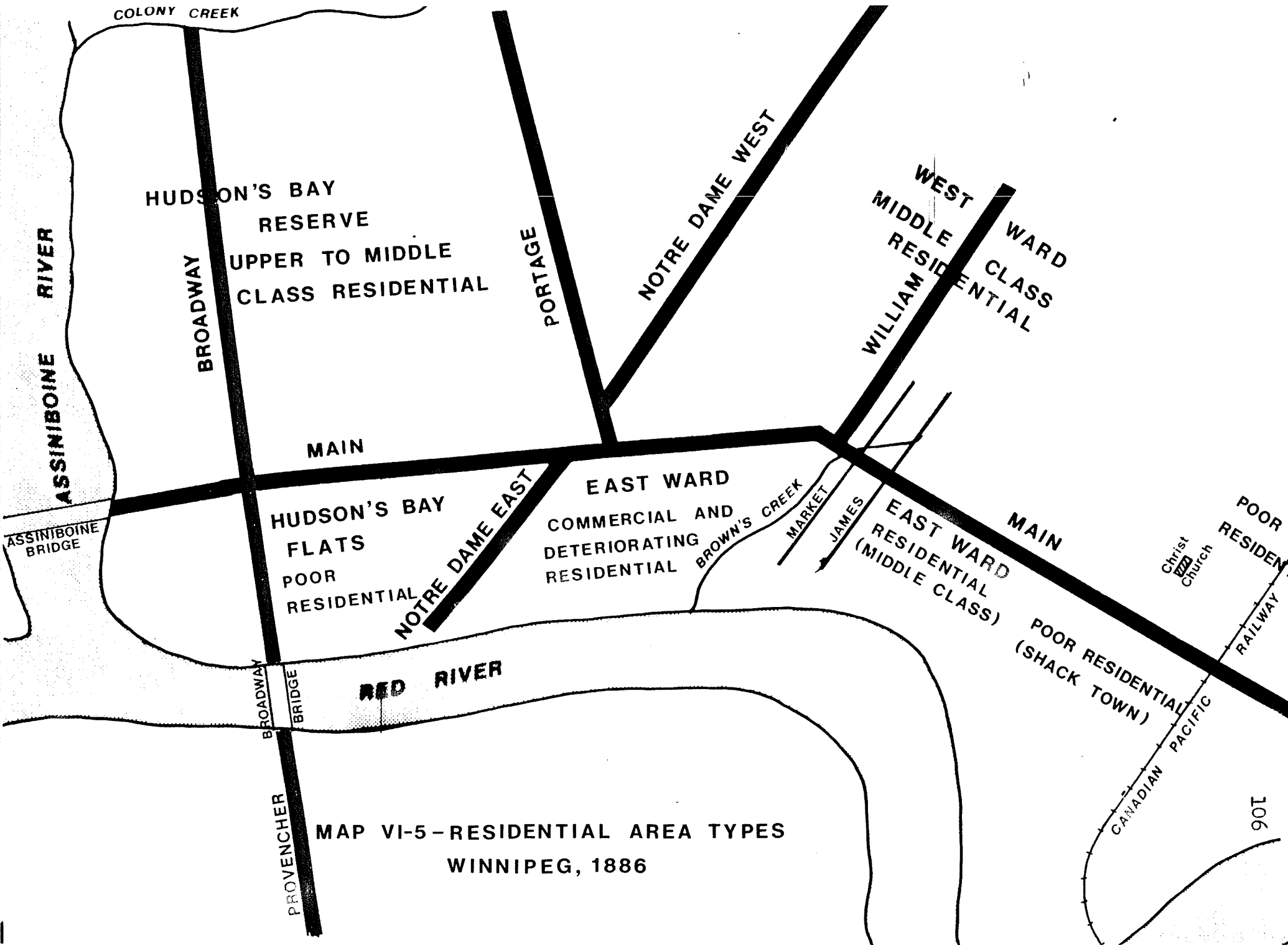
While the West Ward had arisen because of the Boom, the same events had brought about the disintegration of the old East Ward district. The reason for the disappearance of many of the pre-Boom structures was the fact of their replacement by commercial buildings, for the area lay largely within the bounds of the Main Street commercial district. This development, however, had occurred mainly south of Market and James Streets. North of James, on the other hand, one could find the existing residential area being filled in with dwellings similar to those in the West Ward. It is to be noted that mixed in with these dwellings were a number of commercial and industrial establishments,²⁴ which indicated the area would have a limited existence as a residential haven. Indeed, after the 1890s many of the residences were claimed by redevelopment, while the survivors deteriorated in both condition and status.²⁵

The impact of the boom upon Winnipeg's populace was graphically illustrated in the city's north end, that is, the district north of Logan Avenue to the CPR tracks, and even north of the tracks to a degree. There was only one counterpart to this shanty-town and that was in the poor district east of Main on

Block One of the Hudson's Bay Reserve. The undesirability of this latter territory was amply illustrated when the fire department refused to respond to a fire call among the shacks.²⁶ The poor Jews and Icelanders,²⁷ as well as a motley assortment of red light district denizens posed a great contrast to the "respectable" district located across Main Street on Block 2 of the Reserve.

The shanty-town at the north end of the city (Ward 5) had developed for a variety of reasons. First, there was a need for accommodation for the CPR workers. Most found residences within walking distance of the rail yard, and by 1884 the workers' houses stretched as far west as Lulu Street.²⁸ Second, the north end properties were largely undesirable as a residential area because of the proximity of the rail yards. Nonetheless, people did live in the district, though it was clear from their residences that they were less affluent than their fellow citizens in the South Ward. Their north end dwellings tended to be much smaller and there was a tendency towards the informal in architectural taste. In short, the north-enders sought shelter, above all, and thus, the appearance of one's dwelling was secondary to such qualities as keeping out most of the rain and some of the cold.²⁹ Third, the area had become inhabited by people who were seen by the more affluent citizenry as "undesirable" elements.³⁰ This category included squatters who had built shacks and shanties on vacant properties and even upon the streets.³¹

Lastly, and perhaps the most important reason for this shanty-town's existence was the social disparity which had emerged after the Boom. Many emigrants had been drawn to Winnipeg because of the promise of real estate fortunes or because of the well-paying jobs for semi or unskilled labourers. Upon the cessation of the Boom, and the subsequent winter shut-down of construction work, Winnipeg achieved the dubious distinction of a widespread unemployment problem. The non-English speaking emigrants were the first to suffer, as this group, mainly Russian Jews, had been among the first of the unskilled to lose their jobs.³² No sooner did the Y.M.C.A. organize relief measures for the destitute new-



COLONY CREEK

HUDSON'S BAY RESERVE
UPPER TO MIDDLE CLASS RESIDENTIAL

PORTAGE

NOTRE DAME WEST

WEST WARD MIDDLE CLASS RESIDENTIAL

BROADWAY

MAIN

HUDSON'S BAY FLATS
POOR RESIDENTIAL

NOTRE DAME EAST

EAST WARD COMMERCIAL AND DETERIORATING RESIDENTIAL

BROWN'S CREEK MARKET

JAMES

EAST WARD RESIDENTIAL (MIDDLE CLASS)

MAIN

POOR RESIDENTIAL (SHACK TOWN)

POOR RESIDENTIAL

Christ Church

RAILWAY

RED RIVER

BROADWAY BRIDGE

PROVENCHER

MAP VI-5 - RESIDENTIAL AREA TYPES
WINNIPEG, 1886

CANADIAN PACIFIC

106

ASSINIBOINE RIVER

ASSINIBOINE BRIDGE

comers³³ than other groups, mainly unemployed English, Scots, Irish and Italians emerged from their sheds and shanties in Point Douglas and the Hudson's Bay Flats.³⁴

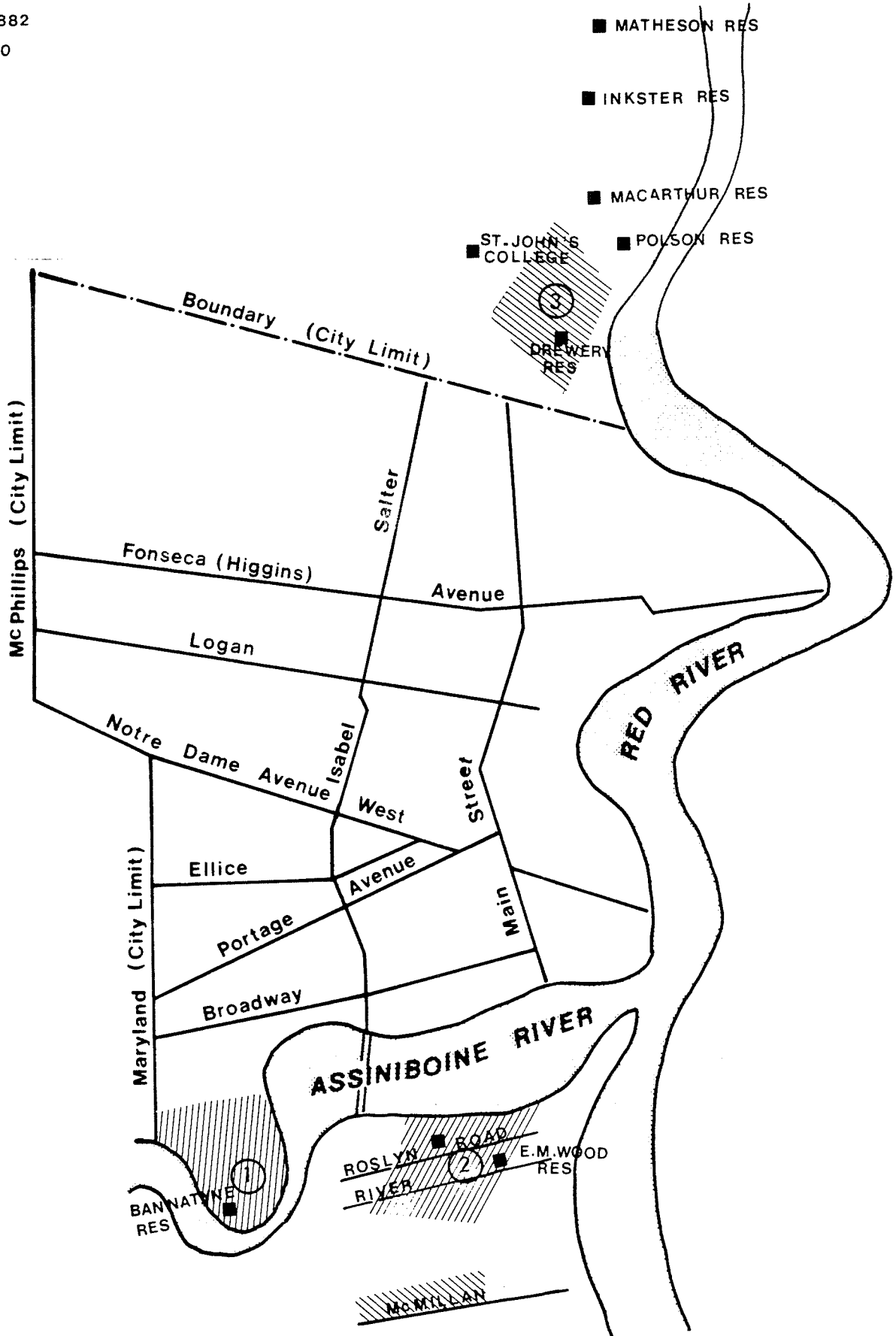
Shanty Town had become the cheapest place in the city in which to live. Composed largely of squatters, the high rents which had driven them out of the city³⁵ were no longer present. There were also no taxes to pay on their dwellings, as they did not own ~~the~~ most properties. It was estimated at one point that two thousand people lived in the substandard residences.³⁶ Reverend Pentreath, the Rector of Christ Church, felt that the burden of the city's unemployed fell largely upon his parish.³⁷ This opinion was largely substantiated by investigations conducted by reporters of the various local newspapers.³⁸ While the Hudson's Bay Flats shanties were removed during 1884, Ward 5 remained to become a working class/poor district which enlarged to include most of Point Douglas and the area north of the CPR line after 1900.³⁹

If Winnipeg had achieved residential segregation because of Boom-time real estate developments, the city also received additions to its spatial territory in the form of suburbs which grew just beyond its former boundaries. The most obvious was Fort Rouge, located on the south side of the Assiniboine River. The first house had been erected there about 1875,⁴⁰ though serious real estate development did not take place until 1882. At that time the area was considered "to be the prettiest portion of the city. It is no wonder that so many private residences are being built and have just been completed, for close to the business portion of the city the locality is quiet, select and rents are much below what is asked for houses of a smaller size and description elsewhere."⁴¹

Dominating the area was A. W. Ross' palatial residence on what later became Roslyn Road. Ross' speculative involvement in Fort Rouge lots was heavy, to the extent that he was responsible for the construction of the first Osborne Bridge, the Assiniboine River crossing upon which Ross based his south end speculations.⁴² A total of fifty-six houses were erected in Fort Rouge during 1882,

IAP VI-6 - SUBURBAN DEVELOPMENT - WINNIPEG 1886

-) Armstrong's Point 1880
-) Fort Rouge 1882
-) St John's 1880



with more than half being sponsored by Ross. These were not much more than scattered dwellings, but some ranged as far south as McMillan Avenue.⁴³ Aside from the speculative dwellings, Fort Rouge was attracting some of the better-known names from Winnipeg including J. S. Dennis, E. M. Wood and Stewart Mulvey (Map VI-6).

The Fort Rouge boom began to diminish during 1883. A number of **the** previous year's structures were completed that year, and newer construction was dominated by smaller speculative housing. The 1883 total for building starts was about one-third that of 1882.⁴⁴ Indeed, after this, building fell off completely until 1887. The desirability of the district declined for a number of reasons centering chiefly upon the distance from the business district. Though the area was annexed to the City of Winnipeg in 1882,⁴⁵ services were not extended to Fort Rouge until 1887, when River Avenue was paved.⁴⁶ Furthermore, there was no street railway service to the "Sylvan Ward", as the nearest cars ran on Kennedy Street.⁴⁷ Even fire protection vehicles were based across the river at Smith and York, and this deficiency was illustrated on a number of occasions.⁴⁸ Lastly, sewers would not be laid in Fort Rouge until 1893.⁴⁹ Thus, the area south of the Assiniboine remained outside of the city, though its residents were considered Winnipeggers from an electoral and taxation point of view. Given the above conditions it is little wonder that many Fort Rouge inhabitants came to prefer the residential areas of Winnipeg proper.

Armstrong's Point was another well-treed ward which witnessed its first substantial building in 1882. Even though this spit of land was located on the north side of the Assiniboine, sheer distance from the centre of the city made it more of a summer residential area than anything else. Here were built a number of large and elegant mansions fitting the role of the area as the country seat of Winnipeg's commercial elite.⁵⁰ The failure of the Boom brought many of the inhabitants back into the city, and several of the houses were closed up,⁵¹ or even largely abandoned as in the case of the A. G. B. Bannatyne residence. Like Fort

Rouge, Armstrong's Point was considered too isolated for the everyday economic intercourse of the city.

Least important among the suburbs was St. John's, about half a mile north of Limit Street. The district was dominated by Drewery's Redwood Brewery and residence and after 1883, St. John's College to the north. However, the district was composed of widely scattered homes, chiefly east of Main Street towards the Red River. Only a few of Winnipeg's business community settled there prior to 1900⁵² and the St. John's area surrounding the Cathedral could best be described as pastoral. Early residents at St. John's included E. L. Drewery, whose dwelling "Redwood" took its name from its owner's brewery, and Duncan Macarthur, who erected his house near the present day McAdam Street during 1880. Also to be found at St. John's were the descendents of some of the Selkirk Settlers, namely Polson, Matheson and Sheriff Inkster at the northern end of this suburb (Map VI-6).

Winnipeg emerged from the boom with a residential pattern which would serve the city for the following half century. The city's development continued to proceed westward as it had done during the boom, while the southward extension of Winnipeg in the form of Fort Rouge found its full flowering during the 1890s. The pre-boom pattern of development had indeed influenced the spontaneous building boom born during the land rush. But the land boom had also contributed new directions of growth, particularly in Fort Rouge and the North End. In short, an immediately recognizable version of the present-day city of Winnipeg had been marked out as early as 1883.

This conclusion is reinforced by the marked differences in house and land values among the various neighbourhoods. Though the elements of a "class" society were still in a rudimentary condition, they were certainly present by 1884-86. By 1886, when Winnipeg's population began to increase once again (see Appendix One), a mature nineteenth century residential system greeted the newcomers. After 1882, new citizens could hardly still be termed

"pioneers" (as in older historical accounts) for there was little pioneer hardship to be found in such a place. The first city, the Winnipeg of the 'seventies, had thus disappeared.

CHAPTER 7 - CONCLUSIONS

Winnipeg had come a long way in the years between 1870 and 1886, and particularly after 1879. At the time of Confederation, the hamlet at the Forks had been an obscure place, known chiefly to fur traders and to Hudson's Bay Company officials. This was the case even as late as 1875, when a well-known encyclopedia felt that Winnipeg deserved no more attention than to be named as the capital of Manitoba.¹ A scant ten years later, the city was acknowledged as the Gateway to the West, and was quite famous. The sixteen years after 1870 became, therefore, crucial ones in Winnipeg's history. Prior to 1870, the place had faced a questionable future with the decline of traditional economic pursuits.² After 1886, its future appeared boundless. The change had come because of sixteen years of city-building.

Winnipeg started on a small scale, and was slowly built up during the 1870s. It was during this time that the important decision were made on the siting of the principal public buildings that determined the location of the business district. It was during the 'seventies that the potential for land speculation in the city first became apparent, as witnessed in the struggle over the location of public buildings. It is also evident that the early civic 'boosters' had their own speculative successes in mind as the basis of their civic pride. The rivalry between the interests of the Hudson's Bay Company and those of the Winnipeegers reflected that tendency. Though the manipulations were many, the business district had not taken on a strong focus by the end of the decade. Similarly, residential groupings remained indistinct, for there was no basis upon which to develop economically-segregated dwellings. Attempts to forecast the direction of residential growth were seen in the locations of churches and schools. The atmosphere of the 'seventies was one of uncertainties.

This situation was changed in the large part, by the siting of the transcontinental railway crossing at Winnipeg. To a degree, the city owed this good fortune to the fact of its geographical location, but political patronage and influence were of greater importance. Without the connections of the Southwestern Railway crowd, Winnipeg's geographic location would have meant ~~nothing~~ and Selkirk would have become the crossing point. Once assured of this crossing, the Winnipeggers waged a war within the city-limits for control of the bridge site. This battle became the last confrontation between the 'north-enders' and the Hudson's Bay Company. The location of the bridge at Point Douglas also helped fix the direction of commercial expansion north of Portage Avenue.

These years of speculative endeavours culminated in the Great Boom of 1881-1882. The Boom did several things for Winnipeg. First, the city became known to what had hitherto been the outside world. The place commanded attention as the 'new Eldorado', where men would make their fortunes. Second, Winnipeg took on the appearance of a more sophisticated nineteenth century city, for it was said that ten years of normal growth had been squeezed into less than two. This maturity was reflected in the spatial patterns of the commercial and residential districts. Third, the Boom led to such improvements in buildings that Winnipeg's appearance after 1882 was quite different to that of the 'seventies. Fourth, the Boom had caused a great increase in population, with the number of people in the city having tripled in two years. This naturally expanded the built-up limits of the city, making a street-railway service a success after 1882. Fifth, Winnipeg became a unified city because of the Boom, for the fortunes of land-holders throughout the city were now combined.

It has also been demonstrated that Winnipeg's boom was not unique, for it was one in a series that swept the Canadian and American West during the late nineteenth century. Land

speculation became the key to growth in those towns; some being more successful than others, but invariably being based upon private interests. While privatism brought with it the failures of poor planning, inadequate services and a mentality of the greatest good for the least number of people, speculation tended to accomplish the one thing the land holder sought for his land, to draw attention to his town and especially to his property. Winnipeg was eminently successful at this, for the city's name was well-known after 1882, and much eastern capital had become lodged in city coffers as a result of land sales. The speculator-booster thus assumed his place in the growth of cities, for speculation became the catalyst of future development.

In Winnipeg's commercial sphere, this catalytic effect was quite pronounced. Though the city's manufacturing potential was not realized between 1880 and 1886, Winnipeg's assumption of the role of the wholesale entrepot for Western Canada emerged during that time. In 1880, Winnipeg had very little in the way of a wholesaling function. Six years later, that sector was still growing and serving an area westward to the Rocky Mountains. Furthermore, with the establishment of a viable wholesale sector, the retail branch of the economy began to assume the characteristics of retailing in older centres. The bust following the Boom had the effect of making Winnipeg's commercial segment more efficient, by the elimination of excess or inexperienced entrepreneurs, as well as by a reduction in surplus stocks and a less liberal attitude toward credit. Spatially, Winnipeg had established business precincts which would change very little for the next half century.

The city's residential districts were similarly well-founded by 1886. At that time, there was in Winnipeg a clearly stratified society based upon differential land values which had fostered hitherto unknown class distinctions in residential neighbourhoods. Rich and poor districts marked the levels of affluence, and city was drawn into the divergent camps of north end

and south end. The construction of residences had given Winnipeg all the stylistic types found in the east, and had also displayed evidence of a sprawl well beyond the limits of the commercial district. Winnipeg also had some suburban development because of the Boom, though these areas would not develop fully until after the 1880s.

Thus, the years 1870-1886 were crucial ones in the establishment of Winnipeg as a modern, nineteenth century centre. The land boom of 1881-1882, when examined properly, had important consequences. The city's youth had passed away forever, and the years 1880-1886 became a time of transition, from whence the modern city sprang. Hitherto, this transitional phase has been placed in the realm of a youthful, frontier society; it has been demonstrated, however, that the phase represented Winnipeg's young adulthood, when the decisions affecting the future life of the organism were made. Winnipeg had thus come of age.

APPENDIX ONE: WINNIPEG'S POPULATION GROWTH, 1880-1886.

Throughout the period covered by this work, population figures are generally in dispute. Unfortunately, because of the confused or optimistic condition of boom time estimates, it has always been difficult to determine the number of people. Artibise has noted ~~that~~ "Winnipeg's population had more than doubled during the boom, rising from slightly over six thousand in 1881 to almost fourteen thousand in 1882".¹ The figures are, however, drawn from City Assessment Office Records which did not begin to count the "floating" or transient population until 1884.² As Michael Katz has shown, the floating populace of a centre was as important as the sedentary sector, for it has been made "clear that the first great theme of a nineteenth century city is transiency".³ The floating populations of a town or city rarely left any tangible proof of their presence, except that this group made a contribution to the centre on a day-to-day basis. In the case of Winnipeg, it is possible to form an opinion as to the size of the city from a variety of sources.

In terms of a "quiet" period of Winnipeg's growth, such as that is the spring of 1885, the floating population was estimated to be 2,500 to 3,000 people.⁴ Therefore, in the relatively quiet time of 1880, just prior to the real estate rush, one could conservatively estimate the floating population at 2,500 souls. Adding this to the Assessment office figure of 6,178 one gets a population for Winnipeg during 1880 of 8,678.

After 1880, the computation becomes somewhat more difficult, though not impossible. The Dominion Government census figure of 1881, showed a population of 7,985, not accounting for transients. By the time of the Census, taken in the summer, the rush into Manitoba had already begun, thereby bringing more transients. Between June and September 1881, the five leading hotels of the city reportedly played host to 8,450 guests. This represented only the number they succeeded in accommodating, as

many had to be turned away.⁵ Boarding houses and dwellings taking borders were common, though the figures for 1881 are not available. As well, many persons resided in makeshift dwellings such as tents or shacks. Thus, one would be inclined to increase the floating figure to 3,500, giving a population at the middle of 1881 of from 10,985 to 11,485 persons.

The numbers had grown considerably by the beginning of 1882, because of the escalation of the Boom. Available figures are from mid-1882, taken at a time of exodus. A "careful estimate" of hotel facilities done in September 1882 showed accommodations for 3,000 persons.⁶ Like 1881, these facilities were taxed to the limit and makeshift arrangements were often made.⁷ Many hotels also resorted to placing several people in a room or in a hallway or even on the stairs.⁸ Boarding houses accounted for several thousand, as many facilities took in boarders in order to offset high rents. In the spring of 1883, a quiet time, A. W. Austin estimated that 2,000 persons were living in boarding houses,⁹ while another estimate found that 7,000 people were living in tents.¹⁰ If this is viewed as an over-enthusiastic estimate, the number may have been closer to 2,000 or 2,500.¹¹ Lastly, one building contractor believed that fully 8,000 working-men had left the city during the winter of 1882-83.¹²

Related to this, to a certain degree, was the official City of Winnipeg figure of 13,856 computed by directory-maker James Henderson. This was less than the City expected, "but it is all there are in the City. You might add about 500, but the actual count won't stand it."¹³ Being a directory estimate, it likely did not account for floating population, which was an immeasurable element for such a listing. Combining the above figures, one gains the sum of 25,856 persons in Winnipeg at the height of the Boom. This compares favourably to a statement by C. J. Brydges, who may be considered as a very observant person because of the nature of his work. During April 1882, he declared that "I believe at the moment there are fully 30,000 people in Winnipeg."¹⁴

No official or Assessment office figures are available for 1883, though once again conclusions can be deduced. One somewhat questionable source is a City of Winnipeg publication of 1884 which placed the previous year's population at 22,500.¹⁵ Another organ estimated the population at 25,000 inhabitants,¹⁶ though this was even more unreliable because it is known that the members had declined from the high of 1882. It is known that in the early months of 1884, the grand total of population in Winnipeg was 22,500.¹⁷ However, it may be stated that this reflected the population situation at the end of 1883. Employment agent W. W. Gibson estimated the City's floating population to be between 6,000 and 8,000 labouring men.¹⁸ Also, one must remember the statement that 8,000 men had left the city during the winter of 1882-1883.

With these figures, it is thus possible to approximate a figure for 1883. Subtracting the 8,000 from the 1882 figure of 25,500 to 26,000, the base population in the early winter of 1882-83 could be said to have been 18,000 souls. Adding the lesser of Gibson's figures, that is, 6,000 one can believe that by the spring of 1883, there were 24,000 people in Winnipeg. Therefore, by the beginning of 1884, the population had declined a further 2,500.

Figures for 1884 begin with Harris' 22,500 and end with D. B. Murray's "round number" of 25,000 in January 1885.¹⁹ Undoubtedly, the populace must have begun to increase once more with the arrival of the spring floating populations. In June 1884 an old real estate operator, Alex McCharles, estimated that one-fifth of Winnipeg lived in shacks and shanties and paid neither rent nor taxes. McCharles believed this number to be 4,000 persons.²⁰ This group fits into a shadowy squattor class which did not appear on the tax rolls and therefore were not included in any population estimate. Adding this number to Harris' base figure of 19,688, one finds that there were at least 23,688 persons in the city by the summer of 1884 and does

not include the inmates of hotels and boarding houses.

To some extent, this reasoning is borne out by Harr's February 1885 figure of 19,574 which, of course, represents Winnipeg's tax-apying population at the end of 1884. It can also be stated that his sum did not "include the floating population, because only the regular boarders in hotels were taken and even then at a time perhaps when they were fewer than they usually are...".²¹ A floating population of 3,000 would place the year-end (1884) population total at 22,574.

In the opinion of S. A. Rowbotham, people continued to leave Winnipeg during 1885 mainly because the city could not support its full complement of mechanics.²² The Rebellion had added to this, and thus, the resident population declined slightly by January 1886. At that time, Commissioner Harris computed that the population stood at 19,406 persons²³ plus the usual 3,000 floating, giving a total of 22,406 souls. In short, throughout 1885 the population had decreased only slightly from the previous year and was the bottoming point in the 1883-85 decline.

Interestingly enough, the city population began to increase after New Year's 1886. Harris noted that since the beginning of the year, nearly 2,000 persons had come to Winnipeg.²⁴ By April, then, there were approximately 24,400 people in Winnipeg. The Dominion Census of 1886 found 20,238 persons in the six wards²⁵ though this did not again include the floating population. Harris' figures for the beginning of 1887 indicate a citizenry of 21,257 souls with a 3,000 member transient force, or 24,257 souls.²⁶ Thus, the year 1886 marked the beginnings of an increase in the population of Winnipeg after the 1883 decline.

The above discussion lends itself to the formulation of the following table for the purposes of this theses.

1880 - 8,678
1881 - 10,985 to 11,485
1882 - 25,856
1883 - 24,000 to 22,250
1884 - 22,250 - 23,688

1885 - 22,574 to 22,406

1886 - 22,456 to 24,257

ABBREVIATIONS

- AASB - Archives de l'Archevêché de Saint-Boniface
PAM - Public Archives of Manitoba (Manitoba Archives)
HBCA - Hudson's Bay Company Archives
PAC - Public Archives of Canada (Ottawa)
MFP - **Manitoba Free Press**
MWFP - **Manitoba Weekly Free Press**
Times - Winnipeg Daily Times
Sun - Winnipeg Sun (pre-1885)
- Manitoba Sun (post-1886)
CC - Council Communications (City of Winnipeg)
OC - Orders in Council (Department of the Interior)
CPR - Canadian Pacific Railway
MSWR - Manitoba Southwestern Colonization Railway

ENDNOTES - CHAPTER 1

- 1 Sam Bass Warner, Jr., The Private City. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1975), p. 3. Hereafter, cited as Warner.
- 2 Warner, op. cit., p. 4.
- 3 Richard C. Wade, The Urban Frontier. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), p. 336. Hereafter, cited as Wade.
- 4 Wade, op. cit., p. 341.
- 5 Wade, op. cit., pp. 1-35.
- 6 Wade, op. cit., p. 307.
- 7 Wade, op. cit., p. 322. See also, Sam Bass Warner, Jr., "If All the World Were Philadelphia: a scaffolding for urban history, 1774-1930". American Historical Review, LXXIV, No. 1, October 1968, p. 26. Hereafter, cited as Philadelphia.
- 8 J. M. S. Careless, "Frontierism, Metropolitanism, and Canadian History". Canadian Historical Review, Vol. XXXV, No. 1, March, 1954. p. 17.
- 9 Donald Kerr, "Wholesale Trade on the Canadian Plains in the Late Nineteenth Century: Winnipeg and Its Competition", in Harold Palmer, (ed.), The Settlement of the West. (Calgary: Comprint Publishing Company, 1977), p. 151.
- 10 John R. Kellett, Railways and Victorian Cities. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), pp. 405-419.
- 11 Pierre Berton, Klondike. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972)-
- 12 For an examination of a similar case in British Columbia, see Robert A. J. Macdonald, "City-Building in the Canadian West: A Case Study of Economic Growth in Early Vancouver, 1886-1893", in B. C. Studies, 43, Autumn 1979, pp. 3-28.
- 13 George H. Ham, Reminiscences of a Raconteur. (Toronto: Musson Book Company, 1921), pp. 30-31.

ENDNOTES - CHAPTER 2

- 1 George Bryce, The Romantic Settlement of Lord Selkirk's Colonists. (Winnipeg: Russell, Long and Co., 1909) p. 20.
- 2 George Bryce, Manitoba: Its Infancy, Growth and Present Condition. (London: Sampson, Low and Company, 1882) pp. 182-183. See also R. R. Rostecki, "Main Street's Spectral Haunt", Manitoba Pageant, XXIII, No. 1, whole No. 67 (Autumn 1977) p. 4.
- 3 Hans August Hosse, "The Areal Growth and Functional Development of Winnipeg from 1870 to 1913". Unpublished Master's Thesis, Department of Geography, University of Manitoba, 1956, p. 31.
- 4 Alexander Begg, History of the North-West. (Toronto: Hunter, Rose and Co., 1894) Vol. 1, p. 210. Hereafter, cited as Begg, North-West.
- 5 E. E. Rich, The Fur Trade and the Northwest to 1857. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976) pp. 206-207.
- 6 Rich, *ibid.*, p. 209.
- 7 Begg, North-West, *ibid.*, p. 213.
- 8 E. H. Oliver, The Canadian North-West - Its Early Development. (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1915) Vol. 1, pp. 270, 304. This was the only court house in Ruperts Land.
- 9 Begg, North-West, *loc. cit.*
- 10 George F. Reynolds, "The Man Who Created the Corner of Portage and Main", Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba Transactions, Series III, No. 26, 1969-70. p. 13.
- 11 Henry Cornelius Klassen, "The Red River Settlement and the St. Paul Route, 1859-1870", Unpublished Master's Thesis, Department of History, University of Manitoba, 1963. p. 44.
- 12 *Ibid.*, p. iv.
- 13 *Ibid.*, pp. 8-12.
- 14 *Ibid.*, p. 63.
- 15 *Ibid.*, p. 131.
- 16 J. J. Hargrave, Red River. (Montreal: John Lovell, 1871). pp. 183-85.

- 17 William F. Butler, The Great Lone Land. (London: Sampson, Low and Company, 1874), p. 120. There was a bonded Company warehouse just south-east of the Fort.
- 18 Klassen, op. cit., p. 41.
- 19 Artibise, op. cit., p.8.
- 20 Bruce Peel, Early Printing in the Red River Settlement. (Winnipeg: Peguis Publishers, 1974), p. 3.
- 21 Butler, op. cit., p. 118.
- 22 "Our Historical Buildings", Sun, 15 June 1889.
- 23 W. E. Ingersoll, "Location and Identity of Buildings in Village of Winnipeg, 1872", in Manitoba Free Press, 9 November 1922, p. 22.
- 24 Alexander Begg and W. R. Nursey, Ten Years in Winnipeg. (Winnipeg: Times Print, 1879), p. 67. Hereafter, cited as Begg and Nursey.
- 25 Begg, North-West, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 20.
- 26 Prior to 1870 there does not appear to have been much in the realm of what could be called real estate speculation. From a reading of Ross' Red River Settlement and Hargrave's Red River, one is left with an impression that the land was held merely for its productive return instead of for monetary value.
- 27 See H. T. Davoud, "Lord Sydenham's Proposal for a Provincial Bank of Issue", in E. P. Neufeld, Money and Banking in Canada. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967), p. 95.
- 28 See J. M. S. Careless, "The Business Community in the Early Development of Victoria, British Columbia", in David S. Macmillan, Canadian Business History. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972), p. 106. See also, George Hague, Banking and Commerce. (New York: Bankers Publishing Company, 1908), p. 383.
- 29 HBCA, D11/5, Smith to Armit, 18 April 1873, p. 311.
- 30 HBCA, D46/1, Land Department Register, 1872-1879.
- 31 HBCA, A11/100, McTavish to Armit, 15 August 1873, pp. 377-378.
- 32 HBCA, D11/5, Smith to Armit, 18 April 1873, p. 311.
- 33 The Barracks were located where the Legislative Building presently stands.

- 34 HBCA, D11/4, Smith to Armit, 14 August 1873, pp. 557-558.
- 35 Begg and Nursey, op. cit., p. 20.
- 36 Allan F. J. Artibise, Winnipeg, A Social History. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's, 1975), p. 20. Hereafter, cited as Artibise.
- 37 HBCA, A12/15, Smith to Armit, 17 October 1874, pp. 240-241.
- 38 Smith alleged that the cry of the Company being anti-incorporation was one "used on more than one occasion for the purpose of inducing the government to locate public buildings elsewhere than on the Company's property...". See HBCA, A12/15, loc. cit. However, the stance toward incorporation taken by the large land-owners such as Logan, Ross and others is, as yet, unknown. The possible opposition of country members of the Legislature toward Winnipeg's rise must not be discounted, for incorporation was stalled at the Legislative level.
- 39 CC, I, 254, Balsillie to Council, 12 April 1875.
- 40 CC, I, 307, Balsillie to Council, 6 June 1875.
- 41 "Reminiscences of Ye Olden Times", Winnipeg Tribune, 5 September 1903, p. 3.
- 42 See the Manitoba Directories, 1876-1879. Residences included the Grace Church parsonage, the home of George Ham as well as a number of houses near Water Street. Many of the extant residences were depicted in Strong's Panorama of Main Street, 1881, available in the Manitoba Archives.
- 43 HBCA, D46/1, Ibid., also City Directories, 1876-1880.
- 44 Allan F. J. Artibise, Winnipeg -- An Illustrated History. (Toronto: Lorimer, 1977). pp. 55, 64, 138.
- 45 Such was the case with the Alexander Logan house. See "The Passing of a Landmark", MFP, 1 December 1900.
- 46 For example, see "The City's Progress", MFP, 18 October 1873 and MFP, 19 December 1877 for an examination of the housing examples.
- 47 Times, 1 May 1879.
- 48 MFP, 18 October 1873.
- 49 MFP, 25 April 1878, p. 1.
- 50 Begg and Nursey, op. cit., p. 34. It was located between Bannatyne and McDermot Avenues.
- 51 MFP, 27 December 1875, p. 2. Also, Begg and Nursey, pp. 132-133.

- 52 Begg and Nursey, op. cit., pp. 176-177. Also MFP, 4 January 1878
- 53 Begg and Nursey, op. cit., pp. 56, 180.
- 54 Artibise, op. cit., pp. 207-208.
- 55 Times, 25 April 1879, p. 4.
- 56 Hence the formation of a Sanitary Association in 1881.
- 57 This was By-law 467, passed 22 May 1890.
- 58 MFP, 14 March 1876.
- 59 Mrs. George Bryce, "Historical Sketch of the Charitable Institutions of Winnipeg", in The Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba Transactions, No. 54. (Winnipeg: Manitoba Free Press Company, 1899), p. 3. Hereafter, cited as Mrs. Bryce.
- 60 Ethel Johns, The Winnipeg General Hospital School of Nursing, 1887-1953. (Winnipeg: n.p., 1957), p. 1
- 61 MFP, 24 November 1875, p. 3.
- 62 Ross B. Mitchell, Medicine in Manitoba. (n.p.: n.d., 1955) pp. 77-78. Hereafter, cited as Mitchell.
- 63 "Sanitary Matters", Times, 9 May 1881, p. 1.
- 64 Begg and Nursey, op. cit., p. 44.
- 65 Sun, 26 September 1882.
- 66 Indeed, the 1876-1877 City Directory lists only two houses in the vicinity, G. F. Newcombe's at Ross and Ellen and James Strange's on Dagmar. As late as the 1880 Directory, the area was sparsely built.
- 67 Begg and Nursey, op. cit., p. 45.
- 68 Ibid., p. 102.
- 69 George Young, Manitoba Memories. (Toronto: William Briggs, 1897), pp. 272-273. Hereafter, cited as Young.
- 70 Ibid., pp. 82-83.
- 71 Begg and Nursey, op. cit., p. 89.
- 72 A. G. Bedford, The University of Winnipeg. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), p. 24.

- 73 Robert Machray, Life of Robert Machray. (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1909), p. 248. Hereafter, cited as Machray.
- 74 Ibid., p. 248.
- 75 MFP, 19 December 1877.
- 76 Paul R. Regnier, "A History of St. Boniface College". (Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1964), p. 35. Hereafter, cited as Regnier.
- 77 Ibid., p. 36.
- 78 Ibid., p. 45.
- 79 "St. Mary's Church", Northwest Review, 21 September 1887, p. 4.
- 80 F. W. Russell, History of St. Mary's Cathedral Parish. (Winnipeg: n.p., 1936), p. 9. Hereafter, cited as Russell.
- 81 Henderson's Directory of the City of Winnipeg for 1880.
- 82 O. Fortin, Sixty Years and After. (Winnipeg: Dawson Richardson, 1928), p. 25. Hereafter, cited as Fortin.
- 83 Ibid., p. 28.
- 84 "Holy Trinity Church", MFP, 12 November 1875, p. 4.
- 85 H. Bowsfield (ed.), The Letters of Charles John Brydges - 1879-1882. (Winnipeg: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1977), p. 13. Hereafter, cited as Bowsfield.
- 86 Fortin, op. cit., p. 39.
- 87 ----- Souvenir of Knox Church - 1872-1897. (Winnipeg: n.p., 1897), p. 3.
- 88 MFP, 4 October 1878.
- 89 Young, op. cit., p. 330. This was the Wesley Hall Block.
- 90 "The Baptist Chapel", MFP, 21 June 1874, p. 3.
- 91 Baptist Convention of Manitoba and the Northwest, Baptist Missions in Manitoba and the Northwest, 1869-1894. (Winnipeg: McIntyre Brothers, 1894), p. 8. Hereafter, cited as Baptist.
- 92 "The New M. E. Church", MFP, 27 November 1876, p. 3.

ENDNOTES - CHAPTER 3

- 1 C. J. Brydges believed Winnipeg's rise to be typical of that which is "usual to all new western cities...". See HBCA, D39/2, Brydges to Armit, 28 October 1880, p. 145. Typical of these booms had been the movements in St. Paul, Minnesota (see Henry S. Fairchild, "Sketches of the Early History of Real Estate in St. Paul", in Collections of Minnesota Historical Society, Vol. X, Part I, St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1905); the Dakota boom of 1879-1886 (see Harold E. Briggs, "The Great Dakota Boom", North Dakota Historical Quarterly, IV, 2, January 1930), or the California Land rush (see Glenn S. Dumke, The Boom of the Eighties in Southern California. San Marino: Huntington Library, 1944).
- 2 J. M. and Edward Trout. The Railways of Canada for 1870-71. (Toronto: The Monetary Times, 1871), p. 32.
- 3 T. C. Keefer, The Philosophy of Railroads and other essays. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), pp. 39-42. Keefer's examples dated from the late 1840s.
- 4 That is, Winnipeg would witness an orgy of speculative frenzy.
- 5 Joseph Gilpin Pyle, The Life of James J. Hill. (Toronto: McClelland Goodchild and Stewart, 1917), Vol. 1, p. 242.
- 6 Lucas, op. cit., p. 225. This was the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railroad.
- 7 Pyle, op. cit., p. 266.
- 8 Sandford Fleming, Report and Documents in Reference to the Canadian Pacific Railway, 1880. (Ottawa: Maclean, Roger and Company, 1880), p. 24.
- 9 R. C. Bellan, "Rails Across the Red -- Selkirk or Winnipeg", in Papers Read Before the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Series III, No. 18, 1961-62. (Winnipeg: n.p., 1964), p. 71. Hereafter, cited as Rails.
- 10 Rails, ibid., p. 72.
- 11 Canada, Parliament of. Royal Commission on the Canadian Pacific Railway. (Ottawa: Maclean, Roger, 1881), Vol. 1, p. 243. Hereafter, cited as CPR-Commission. See also Pierre Berton, The National Dream. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1970), p. 243.
- 12 CPR-Commission, ibid., p. 723.

- 13 CPR-Commission, *ibid.*, pp. 606-607. Under Macintosh, Whitehead maintained a 'fund' for influencing politicians and civil servants. Whitehead also had control over Macintosh's newspaper, the Ottawa Citizen, through a loan granted the Ottawan.
- 14 Tuttle's name was in the forefront in all Manitoba Liberal-Conservative Association functions from 1879 to his departure from Winnipeg in 1884.
- 15 PAC, Sir John A. Macdonald Papers, microfilm on file at Manitoba Archives, C. R. Tuttle to Macdonald, 14 March 1879, pp. 164449-450. Hereafter, cited as Macdonald Papers.
- 16 CPR-Commission, *ibid.*, p. 723.
- 17 Macdonald Papers, Tuttle to Macdonald, 7 March 1881, p. 174045.
- 18 PAM, Alexander Morris Papers, Ketcheson Collection, David Young to Morris, 5 November 1879, #306. See also Macdonald Papers, Joseph Royal to Macdonald, 16 November 1879, pp. 118183-184.
- 19 Macdonald Papers, Tuttle to Macdonald, 15 January 1880, p. 168946.
- 20 *Ibid.*, p. 168948.
- 21 "The Railway Question, I", MFP, 22 May 1879, p. 1. Hereafter, cited as Question-I. This was a letter from Alderman Alexander McArthur regarding the railway matter. The petition was drafted by Tuttle, Alexander Logan, David Young and Robert Strang. All were prominent Conservatives, except Strang, who was a Liberal. The petition was published in Times, 23 April 1879, p. 4.
- 22 "Selkirk News", MFP, 12 March 1879, p. 1.
- 23 "Report of the Delegates of the Executive Council of Manitoba to Ottawa, with Regard to the Claims of the Province of Manitoba upon the Dominion", Journals of the Legislative Assembly, 1879. (Winnipeg: Alexander Begg, 1879), pp. 132-133. Hereafter, cited as Official Delegation.
- 24 Official Delegation, *ibid.*, pp. 138-139. At this juncture, Manitoba did away with its right to charter railways. This would haunt the province years later. See James A. Jackson, "The Disallowance of Manitoba Railway Legislation in the 1880s", unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1945. See also T. D. Regehr, "The National Policy and Manitoba Railway Legislation, 1879-1888", unpublished Master's Thesis, Carleton University, 1963.

- 25 "Telegraphic", MFP, 8 April 1879, p. 4.
- 26 Official Delegation, *ibid.*, p. 139.
- 27 Canada, Parliament of. Journals of the House of Commons. (Ottawa: Maclean, Roger, 1880), 10 April 1879, p. 224.
- 28 Official Delegation, *ibid.*, pp. 158-159.
- 29 "Manitoba Western Railway Company", MFP, 3 December 1878, p. 1. Incorporated during 1875, the provisional board was comprised of A. G. B. Bannatyne, George Brown, Thomas Scott, Sedley Blanchard, Molyneux St. John, G. B. Spencer, C. P. Brown, J. H. Ashdown, W. F. Luxton, J. F. Bain, and Thomas Howard. This railway opened its stock books, but subscribed no stock.
- 30 "Manitoba Western Railway", MFP, 27 December 1878, p. 1. Little is known at present about this organization except that its interests were advertised in the Canada Gazette (1878-1879), p. 637. From its name and stated intentions, it is possible this was a direct fore-runner of the South-western. The two lines joined on 6 January 1879.
- 31 Canada Gazette, 1878-1879, p. 692.
- 32 "The Railway", MFP, 1 May 1879, p. 4.
- 33 Canada, Parliament of, Statutes of Canada, 1879. (Ottawa: Maclean, Roger, 1879), Chapter 66, pp. 44-51.
- 34 "The Times Extra", Times, 1 May 1879, p. 4. "His co-operation was obtained without much difficulty." See Times, 14 May 1879, p. 1.
- 35 Much land lay in Point Douglas which would later prove significant.
- 36 "Manitoba Railways Before the Railway Committee", MFP, 20 March 1879, p. 1. The document was stated to be ten feet in length, see "Selkirk News", MWFP, 15 March 1879, p. 3.
- 37 "Telegraphic", MFP, 30 April 1879, p. 4.
- 38 "Telegraphic", Times, 14 May 1879, p. 1.
- 39 This was ably drawn from ex-Mayor Logan during his 1886 testimony at a legal case. See, In the Supreme Court of Canada. Between William Gomez Fonseca and John Christian Schultz and Her Majesty's Attorney-General for Canada. "The Case". (Winnipeg: McIntyre Brothers, 1888), pp. 99-101. A copy of this unusual case is to be found in the Legislative Library of Manitoba, and is composed of three sections:

- "Respondent's Factum", "Appelants' Factum", and "The Case".
- 40 "Point Douglas Common", Sun, 6 April 1883, p. 2.
- 41 Canada, Parliament of. Orders in Council of the Department of the Interior, 1877, #156, 10 May 1877, pp. 602-604. Hereafter, cited as O.C.
- 42 O.C. 1321, 6 June 1883, pp. 571-584.
- 43 Ibid., p. 573.
- 44 Loc. cit. Names gained from 1874 and 1881 maps of the area.
- 45 "The Case", ibid., p. 229. Bown seems to have been a 'front' for Schultz in politically sensitive matters. All were claimants on The Common.
- 46 For example, see "The Bridge", MFP, 17 September 1879, p. 1. See also a letter signed 'Viator' entitled "The Bridge Question", MFP, 28 November 1879, p. 1, which drew attention to the conflict of interest. Both Ashdown and Young were on City Council for one year, 1879.
- 47 See Question-I, ibid., p. 1.
- 48 "Dominion Railways", Weekly Times, 30 May 1879, p. 2.
- 49 "The Case", ibid., p. 101.
- 50 MFP, 23 October 1879, p. 1. The site was readily granted by the Trustees, who have been mentioned earlier.
- 51 The bonussing by-law was quashed by CPR threats of removal from the city in 1881. See Bellan, Rails, ibid., pp. 75-76.
- 52 Macdonald Papers, Schultz to Macdonald, 15 January 1881, pp. 119952-119955.
- 53 See Michael Butler, "Winnipeg Business and the Railway, 1878-1880", Unpublished ms., University of Manitoba, 1979.
- 54 E. M. Wood, Bill of Complaint and Judgement in Full of Chief Justice Wood. (Winnipeg: Manitoba Free Press Steam Print, 1882), p. 31.
- 55 Macdonald Papers, J. A. Codd to J. C. Schultz, 14 January 1881, p. 119956.
- 56 Canada, Parliament of. Railway Statistics of Canada, 1881-1882. (Ottawa: Maclean, Roger, 1883), pp. 11, 22-23.

- 57 Question-I, loc. cit.
- 58 "The Bridge", Times, 5 August 1879, p. 1. Hereafter, cited as Bridge. See also, Hartwell Bowsfield (ed.), The Letters of Charles John Brydges. (Winnipeg: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1977), p. 18, note 2.
- 59 Macdonald Papers, Taché to Macdonald, 1 July 1879, p. 79754.
- 60 Archives de l'Archevêché de Saint-Boniface (AASB), Collection Taché, Brydges à Taché, 27 juin 1879, pp. T22048-051. Hereafter, cited as Collection Tache.
- 61 Collection Taché, Dubuc à Tache, 18 juillet 1879, pp. T22186-187.
- 62 Le Metis, 7 juin 1879, p. 2. "L'Hon. M. Dubuc fait construire a l'angle des Avenues Provencher et Taché un magasin a deux etages de 20 x 24 pieds..."
- 63 The Case, *ibid.*, p. 101.
- 64 CPR, Commission, *ibid.*, p. 795.
- 65 See "To the Electors", Times, 2 January 1883, p. 8. Murdoch's name also appeared in the lists of participants in local Conservative party activities. See "Banquet to Col. Scott, M.P.", 15 June 1883, p. 8; "Conservative Banquet", Times, 24 October 1879, p. 1.
- 66 Macdonald Papers, Murdoch to Macdonald, 10 May 1883, p. 1515.
- 67 "Ottawa Special", Times, 2 May 1879, p. 1.
- 68 Le Metis, 17 juillet 1879, p. 2.
- 69 Collection Taché, Dubuc à Taché, 30 juillet 1879, p. T22268.
- 70 *Ibid.*, Dubuc à Taché, 9 aout 1879, p. T22343.
- 71 Le Metis, 31 juillet 1879, p. 3.
- 72 "The Bridge", Times, 5 August 1879, p. 1.
- 73 Le Metis, 14 fevrier 1880, p. 3.
- 74 "The Bridge", MFP, 17 September 1879, p. 1.
- 75 "City Council", MFP, 5 September 1879, p. 1. The information is taken from a report by Watts to Murdoch of the previous day.

- 76 MFP, 22 November 1879, p. 1.
- 77 The irregularities surrounding Murdoch's statements and activities during the summer of 1879 were supposedly the subject of J. H. McTavish's attention. It is believed that McTavish may have reported Murdoch to the Dominion Government. See Collection Tache, Dubuc a Tache, 30 juillet 1879, p. T22268.
- 78 Henderson's City Directory for 1880.
- 79 According to MFP, 11 October 1879, p. 1, "We understand that today the whole of the stock provided for by the charter of the SW Railway Company less \$8000. only, was subscribed. Each of the provisional directors [14] subscribed \$4,000., Mr. G. B. Spencer, \$100,000.; and Dr. Schultz, the balance."
- 80 Winnipeg Daily Tribune, 18 December 1879, p. 4. Directors were: Dr. Schultz, David Young, W. Murdoch, W. H. Lyon, James H. Ashdown, R. L. McGregor, Henry Hackett, and W. N. Kennedy.
- 81 Macdonald Papers, Murdoch to Macdonald, 18 November 1881, p. 176677.
- 82 Ibid. Murdoch to Macdonald, 10 May 1883, p. 1515. The last mention of Murdoch's presence in Winnipeg came during April 1884, when he delivered a paper to the Historical Society on the Red River. Unfortunately, he did not reveal very much regarding his connection with the Louise Bridge. See Manitoba Historical and Scientific Society, Transaction 12, "The Red River", (Winnipeg: Manitoba Daily Free Press, 1884).
- 83 Sun, 15 February 1882, p. 6. The original bridge was crushed by an ice-jam in April 1882 and was subsequently rebuilt.
- 84 "City Fathers", MFP, 16 September 1879, p. 1.
- 85 "The Bridge", MFP, 23 February 1880, p. 1. This was the substance of a letter from F. Braun, Railways Committee Secretary to Alexander Logan.
- 86 MFP, 25 August 1879, p. 1. The vote was 130 in favour and 1 against. This vote came from the South Ward.
- 87 "City Council", Weekly Times, 25 July 1879, p. 4. See also, "The Bridge", MFP, 27 October 1879, p. 1.
- 88 "The South-Western Threats", MFP, 20 November 1879, p. 2.
- 89 "The Bridge Question Again -- Is It Settled?", MFP, 23 December 1879, p. 2.

- 90 "Notice", Weekly Times, 12 December 1879, p. 6. See also "City Council", Weekly Times, 26 December 1879, p. 6.
- 91 "City Council", Weekly Times, 26 December 1879, p. 6.
- 92 MFP, 5 February 1880, p. 1.
- 93 "The South-Western Railway Company", MFP, 11 November 1879, p. 2.
- 94 "Manitoba South-Western Colonization Railway", Weekly Times, 21 November 1879, p. 8. Hereafter, cited as Colonization Railway.
- 95 MFP, 23 October 1879, p. 1. This site was cancelled by O.C.#410, 18 October 1881.
- 96 "Settled At Last", Weekly Times, 19 September 1879, p. 3.
- 97 MFP, 1 November 1879, p. 1.
- 98 Colonization Railway, *ibid.*
- 99 "Railway Matters", Weekly Times, 5 December 1879, p. 8.
- 100 "The John G. Haggart", Weekly Times, 9 January 1880, p. 5. This locomotive belonged to Whitehead.
- 101 MFP, 9 August 1880, p. 1.
- 102 W. Kaye Lamb, History of the Canadian Pacific Railway. (New York: Macmillan, 1977), p. 71. Hereafter, cited as Lamb.
- 103 Bellan, op. cit., p. 74.
- 104 MFP, 11 November 1880, p. 1.
- 105 Bellan, *ibid.*, p. 75.
- 106 "The Railway Bonus Question", MFP, 20 July 1881, p. 2.
- 107 By-law 148.
- 108 Bowsfield, op. cit., p. 200.
- 109 MFP, 17 November 1879, p. 2. See also Macdonald Papers, pp. 9448-9451; 9455; 118179-118182; 167553-167554.
- 110 See "An Act to incorporate the Assiniboine Bridge Company", Statutes of Canada, 1880. (Ottawa: Maclean, Roger, 1880), Volume II, Chapter 61, pp. 62-67.

111 HBCA, D39/2- Brydges to Armit, 28 October 1880, p. 144.

112 Le Metis, 17 juillet 1879, p. 3.

ENDNOTES - CHAPTER 4

- 1 See MFP March 1880, Mr. Gingras had realized a profit of nearly \$13,000. on a \$250. lot at Bannatyne and Main. Also PAM, David Macarthur Papers, J. G. Crombie to G. B. Crombie, 8 October 1880, where 4000 pounds was received for a parcel of land which had fetched 100 pounds in 1870.
- 2 "Progress", Times, 26 April 1880, p. 2.
- 3 HBCA, D39/2, Brydges to Armit, 23 October 1880, pp. 170-173. Hudson's Bay Company land records present one comprehensive gauge left of Boom land records.
- 4 Ibid., 29 November 1880, p. 174.
- 5 Ibid., 17 August 1880, p. 56.
- 6 "The Bull's Eye", Times, 30 October 1880, p. 2.
- 7 For example, during one particularly insulting letter regarding John Schultz, a writer made the following reference, "I saw no necessity for waiting till Dr. Schultz got home, and I suppose he read the Times, even if he were at Ottawa". See Times, 4 January 1881, p. 1.
- 8 "A Splendid Record for Winnipeg", Times, 6 April 1881, p. 2.
- 9 MFP, 21 March 1881.
- 10 Ibid. For example, out of 412 settlers from Southern Ontario, on one such caravan, 250 remained in Winnipeg.
- 11 HBCA, D39/2, 28 April 1881, p. 319.
- 12 Macarthur Papers, Macarthur to John Barr, 11 May 1881.
- 13 MFP, 12 April 1881.
- 14 HBCA, D39/2, 8 June 1881, p. 419.
- 15 Ibid., 20 June 1881, p. 419.
- 16 MFP, 22 June 1881. The buyers intended to erect a new business block.
- 17 MFP, 12 July 1881.
- 18 Henderson's City of Winnipeg Directory for 1881.

- 19 PAM, Alexander Morris Papers, Sedley Blanchard to Morris, 28 May 1881.
- 20 Ibid., McMicken to Morris, 3 September 1881.
- 21 HBCA, D39/2, 5 September 1881, p. 511.
- 22 MFP, 8 September 1881.
- 23 MFP, 5 October 1881.
- 24 HBCA, D39/2, 3 October 1881, p. 530.
- 25 Macarthur Papers, Ibid., J. G. Crombie to Riddell and Stevenson, 1 November 1881.
- 26 Ibid., Crombie to Riddell and Stevenson, 7 November 1881.
- 27 MFP, 8 November 1881.
- 28 HBCA, Ibid., 28 November 1881, p. 584.
- 29 Macarthur Papers, Ibid., Crombie to Thomas B. Park, 7 December 1881.
- 30 MFP, 25 November 1881.
- 31 MFP, 29 November 1881.
- 32 HBCA, D39/2, 10 December 1881, p. 597.
- 33 Ibid. 17 December 1881, p. 602.
- 34 See Sun, 16 September 1882. According to The Sun, Moberley had been boomed "in the most approved style".
- 35 MFP, 6 January 1882.
- 36 Macarthur Papers, Crombie to G. Colquhoun Dunlop, 24 January 1882. See also Crombie's letter to Riddell and Stevenson, of the same date.
- 37 "Real Estate Corners", Times, 4 January 1882, p. 2.
- 38 "The Boom", MFP, 26 January 1882, p. 1.
- 39 PAM, Minnie Campbell Collection, Colin H. Campbell to Minnie Buck, 4 February 1882.
- 40 Macarthur Papers, Crombie to J. Cameron, 9 February 1882.

- 41 "A Big Sale", Times, 18 February 1882, p. 1. The purchasers defaulted on the payments and the property was returned to the Church and resold for \$20,000. See "Know Church", Sun, 24 October 1882, p. 3.
- 42 MFP, 15 February 1882.
- 43 "Real Estate", Sun, 29 December 1882, p. 2.
- 44 HBCA, D39/2, 28 March 1882, p. 672.
- 45 "The Winnipeg Boom", Times, 8 February 1882, p. 1.
- 46 "Stand From Under", Times, 23 March 1882, p. 1. Hereafter cited as Stand.
- 47 MFP, 21 April 1882.
- 48 HBCA, D39/3, 2 April 1883, p. 140.
- 49 Ibid., 23 May 1883, p. 140.
- 50 Macarthur Papers, Macarthur & Crombie, 10 March 1883.
- 51 Minnie Campbell Papers, Colin Campbell to Minnie, 10 March 1883.
- 52 HBCA, D39/3, op. cit., 3 July 1883, p. 244.
- 53 "Save Us From Our Friends", Commercial, 26 July 1883, p. 815.
- 54 "Our General Trade", Times, 8 September 1883, p. 1. Hereafter, cited as Trade.
- 55 "The Real Estate Market", Sun, 7 December 1883, p. 8.
- 56 "A Rise In Real Estate", Sun, 28 March 1884, p. 5. Hereafter cited as Rise.
- 57 HBCA, D39/3, 14 March 1884, p. 505.
- 58 "Wonderful Winnipeg", Sun, 24 August 1882, p. 4.
- 59 Max Foran, "Early Calgary, 1875-1895: The Controversies Surrounding the Townsite Location and the Direction of Town Expansion", in A. R. McCormack and Ian Macpherson, Cities in the West. (Ottawa: National Museums, 1975), p. 26-45.
- 60 Rise, loc. cit.

- 61 "A Move in Real Estate", Times, 18 June 1884, p. 8. The idea met with some favour in the commercial realm. See "A Real Estate Exchange", Commercial, 17 June 1884, p. 749. It was felt that a regulatory and promotional body was required.
- 62 "That Land Scheme", Times, 21 June 1884, p. 8.
- 63 PAM, E. L. Barber Collection, No. 3328, J. C. Schultz to Barber, 9 January 1885, p. 1.
- 64 S. A. Rowbotham, The Winnipeg Real Estate Register, No. 1, February 1885. (Winnipeg: McIntyre Bros., 1885), p. 1. Hereafter, cited as Rowbotham (1).
- 65 Loc. cit.
- 66 "To Be Wiped Off", Times, 14 April 1885, p. 4.
- 67 "Real Estate", MFP, 1 June 1885, p. 141.
- 68 HBCA, D39/4, op. cit., 4 August 1885, p. 141.
- 69 Rowbotham (5), November 1885, p. 4.
- 70 HBCA, D39/4, op. cit., 31 October 1885, p. 182.
- 71 Ibid., 14 December 1885, p. 200.
- 72 Rowbotham (5), op. cit., p. 6.
- 73 HBCA, D39/4, op. cit., 31 December 1885, p. 203.
- 74 "Real Estate", MFP, 22 March 1885, p. 4.
- 75 "City's Bright Prospects", Manitoba Sun, 9 April 1886, p. 4.
- 76 "Our Vacant Lands", Sun, 24 July 1885, p. 1.
- 77 W. T. Thompson and W. W. Boyer, The Industries of Winnipeg. (Winnipeg: Commercial, 1886), pp. 68-70. Hereafter, cited as Thompson and Boyer.
- 78 "Winnipeg Board of Trade", Commercial, 8 February 1887, unpag.
- 79 "Real Estate", Sun, 9 July 1886, p. 4.
- 80 HBCA, D39/4, op. cit., 4 June 1886, p. 278.

- 81 "Real Estate", MFP, 9 October 1886, p. 4.
- 82 HBCA, D39/4, op. cit., 22 January 1887, p. 336.
- 83 Bellan, op. cit., p. 23.
- 84 Artibise, op. cit., p. 150.
- 85 Brydges, op. cit., p. XXXIV.
- 86 Based upon Brydges' reports in HBCA, D39/1, 39/2, 39/3. The breakdown is as follows: 1880 - 332 lots; 1881 - 619; 1882 - 155. This compares with the 80 lots sold in 1879 and 2 during 1883. However, not all sales were final, as much land accrued back to the Company as the result of payment defalcations.
- 87 HBCA, D39/2, 28 October 1880, p. 145.
- 88 Ibid., p. 144.
- 89 Ibid., 14 June 1882, p. 727.
- 90 Ibid., 28 April 1881, pp. 320-21.
- 91 Ibid., 6 May 1881, p. 345.
- 92 Ibid., 27 August 1881, p. 499.
- 93 Ibid., 10 December 1881, pp. 594-6.
- 94 Ibid., 9 February 1882, p. 645.
- 95 Ibid., 28 March 1882, p. 669.
- 96 Ibid., 10 June 1882, p. 724.
- 97 Ibid., 29 May 1882, p. 706.
- 98 Ibid., 16 June 1882, pp. 729-30.
- 99 HBCA, D39/2, 13 January 1883, p. 65.
- 100 "A Real Estate Boom", Commercial, 9 January 1883, p. 286.
- 101 "Too Much Credit", Commercial, 20 February 1883, p. 410.
- 102 "Loan Companies", Sun, 20 December 1882. This was the opinion of Alex McArthur of the Manitoba Loan Company.

- 103 "The Real Estate Market", Sun, 7 December 1883, p. 8.
- 104 HBCA, D39/3, op. cit., 4 July 1884, p. 643.
- 105 Ibid., 23 October 1884, pp. 684-94.
- 106 HBCA, D39/4, op. cit., 15 May 1885, p. 111. The names were unspecified, though the speaker was Alex Murray.
- 107 Ibid., 22 February 1886, pp. 242-43.
- 108 Ibid., 12 January 1886, p. 210.
- 109 "The Drawbacks", Sun, 29 December 1882, p. 1.
- 110 "A Sea of Ice", MFP, 20 April 1882. See also, "Our Well-Watered Wards", MFP, 25 April 1882.
- 111 Minnie Campbell Papers, Colin Campbell to Minnie, 29 April 1882.
- 112 "The Winnipeg Boom", Manitoba Sun, 23 April 1887.
- 113 "Real Estate", Sun, 22 August 1882. See also "Gigantic Land Swindle", Sun, 16 September 1882, as well as Times, 1 November 1881, p. 1.
- 114 "Caught Knappen", MFP, 1 March 1882.
- 115 See MFP, Sun and Times for 28 April 1882 and 1 May 1882.
- 116 "Wicked Work in Winnipeg", Sun, 3 May 1882, p. 1.
- 117 "Fire Bugs", MFP, 8 May 1882.
- 118 "Excessive Cost of Fire Insurance", Times, 26 November 1881, p. 2.
- 119 Ibid., 1 December 1881, p. 2.
- 120 cc, I, 02575, 13 March 1882.
- 121 Times, 26 April 1882, p. 2.
- 122 "The Insurance Question", Times, 22 September 1882, p. 7.
- 123 W. L. Morton, Manitoba - A. History. (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1967), p. 202.

- 124 For example, see Macarthur Papers, Macarthur to James Macarthur, 30 June 1882.
- 125 Benjamin Higgins, "Economic Development of Underdeveloped Areas: Past and Present", in Land Economics, XXXI, 3 August 1955, pp. 186-187.
- 126 Stand, loc. cit.
- 127 MFP, 23 February 1882, p. 8.
- 128 Stand, loc. cit.
- 129 Macarthur Papers, Crombie to Riddell and Stevenson, 29 March 1882.

ENDNOTES - CHAPTER 5

- 1 Donald Kerr, "Wholesale Trade on the Canadian Plains in the Late Nineteenth Century: Winnipeg and its Competition", in Harold Palmer (ed.) The Settlement of the Canadian West, (Calgary: Compruit, 1977), p.135. Hereafter, cited as Kerr.
- 2 Begg and Nursey, op. cit., p. 226.
- 3 Thompson and Boyer, op. cit., p. 21.
- 4 Kerr, op. cit., p. 152.
- 5 Ibid., p. 151.
- 6 Hosse, op. cit., p. 125.
- 7 Kerr, op. cit., p. 151.
- 8 Steen and Boyce, op. cit., p. 42 fl.
- 9 "The Bull's Eye", Times, 30 October 1880, p. 2. Hereafter, cited as Bull's Eye.
- 10 Loc. cit.
- 11 Steen and Boyce, op. cit., p. 42.
- 12 Bull's Eye, loc. cit.
- 13 Steen and Boyce, op. cit., pp. 43. 48, 58.
- 14 "The Ogilvy Mill", Times, 22 July 1881, p. 1.
- 15 This was under By-law 157, passed 24 October 1881.
- 16 MFP, 22 October 1881.
- 17 Thompson and Boyer, op. cit., p. 24.
- 18 R. R. Rostecki, "The Early History of the Cauchon Block, later the Empire Hotel", Manitoba Pageant, XXI, 3, Spring 1976, pp. 10-17.
- 19 "Iron and Metal Industries", MFP, 30 December 1882.
- 20 "Winnipeg's Business", Sun, 7 December 1882, p. 8.
- 21 "Flour Milling", MFP, 30 December 1882.
- 22 "Biscuits, Confectionery, Etc.", MFP, Ibid., it was estimated at \$10,000. worth of goods a month.
- 23 "Winnipeg Brick", Sun, 29 December 1882, p. 4.

- 24 "The Lumber Trade", Sun, 14 December 1882, p. 2.
- 25 "Our Manufactories", Sun, 29 December 1882, p. 4.
- 26 "Manufacturers", MFP, 29 December 1882.
- 27 "Age of Wonders", Sun, 15 September 1883, p. 1. Hereafter, cited as Wonders.
- 28 "The Building Boom", Sun, 29 December 1882, p. 2.
- 29 This was duly summed up in "Winnipeggers At Home", Sun, 8 October 1887. At the time of the Boom, however, the sums exacted upon structures, goods and wages were considered to be the true sum expended. The figures, however, will seem to be rather high in light of subsequent years.
- 30 "Winnipeg", Sun, 31 December 1883, p. 9.
- 31 Thompson and Boyer, op. cit., p. 38.
- 32 Ibid., p. 48.
- 33 Ibid., p. 51. The figure was 35%.
- 34 "Statistics of Winnipeg's Trade", Commercial, 8 February 1887.
- 35 Ibid.
- 36 Steen and Boyce, op. cit., pp. 43-48.
- 37 Thompson and Boyer, op. cit., pp. 137-54.
- 38 The case of the residences was cited by Rev. E. S. W. Pentreath, in "Is There Any Destitution", Sun, 26 January 1884, p. 41.
- 39 "The Source of Trouble", Commercial, 1 July 1884, p. 789. See also "Manitoba's Credit", Commercial, 9 September 1884, p. 989.
- 40 Thomas William Acheson, The Social Origins of Canadian Industrialism: A Study of the Structure of Entrepreneurship, 1880-1911. Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1971, p. 263.
- 41 "A Growing Wholesale Centre", Commercial, 2 February 1886.
- 42 Steen and Boyce, op. cit., p. 16.
- 43 Thompson and Boyer, op. cit., pp. 23-24.
- 44 "Winnipeg as a Wholesale Centre", Commercial, 16 January 1883, p. 308. Hereafter, cited as Wholesale, 16/1/83.

- 45 "Wholesale Trade", Sun, 30 December 1882, p. 8.
- 46 "Wholesale Trade", Sun, 5 December 1882, p. 81.
- 47 "Winnipeg Trade", Sun, 29 December 1882, p. 1. This, however, may have been over-stated somewhat.
- 48 Wholesale, 16/1/83, Ibid., p. 309.
- 49 "Winnipeg", 31 December 1883, p. 9. Manitobans were forced to rely increasingly on Winnipeg manufacturers towards the end of the year.
- 50 "The Commercial Pulse", Sun, 24 April 1884, p. 5.
- 51 Thompson and Boyer, op. cit., p. 37.
- 52 Ibid., p. 36.
- 53 "A Happy New Year", Commercial, 30 December 1884, p. 268.
- 54 HBCA, D39/4, op. cit., Brydges to Armit, 3 February 1885, p. 37.
- 55 "Last Quarter's Insolvencies", Commercial, 31 March 1885, p. 528.
- 56 Thompson and Boyer, op. cit., p. 50.
- 57 Ibid., p. 51.
- 58 "Business Staggered", Commercial, 28 April 1885, p. 609.
- 59 "A Brighter Trade Prospect", Commercial, 2 June 1885, p. 708.
- 60 "The Outlook", Sun, 18 June 1885, p. 4.
- 61 "The State of Trade", Times, 25 July 1885, p. 1. Hereafter, cited as State.
- 62 Thompson and Boyer, op. cit., p. 51.
- 63 "Business Outlook", MFP, 29 January 1886, p. 4.
- 64 Thompson and Boyer, op. cit., p. 61.
- 65 "Wholesale Men Talk:", Sun, 9 April 1886, p. 2.
- 66 "Our Crops", Commercial, 7 September 1886, p. 1012.
- 67 "Commercial Interests", MFP, 31 December 1886, p. 1.
- 68 "Statistics of Winnipeg's Trade", Commercial, 8 February 1887, unpagged.

- 69 City Directories, 1881-85.
- 70 This becomes evident by an examination of photographs found in William Martel, Illustrated Souvenir of Winnipeg. (Winnipeg: Martel Co. 1904). Examples include the 1887 buildings of Miller-Morse and G. F. & J. Galt, both on Princess and later the Sanford Block across from Galt's in 1890. The 1890s would witness a growing number of warehouse structures in this area.
- 71 The closest warehouse-neighbour to the Bathgate Block was built in 1903 when the Bathgate Building was twenty years old. This was the Cockshutt Plow Company warehouse.
- 72 The area west of Main Street and north of Notre Dame (chiefly the McDermot and Bannatyne Estates) had been plotted without back-lanes and very narrow streets. This made the laying of spur tracks east of the Princess Street lane impossible.
- 73 See MFP, 20 September 1889, 16 December 1889, and 19 March 1890.
- 74 Kerr, op. cit., p. 152.
- 75 Thompson and Boyer, op. cit., p. 21.
- 76 Ibid., p. 24.
- 77 "Our Business Men", Sun, 29 December 1882, p. 1.
- 78 "Insolvencies of 1882", Commercial, 2 January 1883, p. 268.
- 79 "Retail Store Rooms", Commercial, 10 April 1882, p. 549. Hereafter cited as Retail.
- 80 "Over-Stocking", Commercial, 20 February 1883, p. 408.
- 81 "Too Much Credit", Ibid., p. 410. See also "Real Estate vs Commerce and Manufacturers", Commercial, 7 November 1882, p. 109.
- 82 C. N. Bell, "The Great Boom", Sun, 26 March 1887.
- 83 "The Retail Trade", Sun, 29 December 1882, p. 1.
- 84 "Murder in Self-Defense!", Times, 8 January 1883, p. 6.
- 85 "Retail", loc. cit.
- 86 Thompson and Boyer, op. cit., p. 31.
- 87 "The Crops of 1883", Sun, 31 December 1883, p. 10.

- 88 Loc. cit.
- 89 "No Grain Facilities", Commercial, 9 October 1883, p. 28.
- 90 "Northwestern Grain Prospects", Commercial, 19 February 1884, p. 432.
- 91 "The City's Retail Trade", Sun, 28 April 1884, p. 6.
- 92 Thompson and Boyer, op. cit., p. 39.
- 93 Loc. cit.
- 94 Loc. cit.
- 95 "The City of Winnipeg", Commercial, 2 February 1886, unpaginated.
- 96 Thompson & Boyer op. cit., p. 51.
- 97 "The Business Outlook", MFP, 24 December 1885, p. 2.
- 98 "Statistics of Winnipeg's Trade", Commercial, 8 February 1887, unpaginated.
- 99 Quoted in Thompson and Boyer, p. 65.
- 100 Statistics, op. cit.
- 101 At 346, 308, 375, 441 Main and built 1880, 1881, 1875-81, and 1879 respectively.
- 102 At 398, 416, 387, 391, 448, 472, 494-8 and 439, Main and built 1881, 1884-90, 1882, 1880, 1879, 1881, 1884 and 1882 respectively.
- 103 See Rostecki, Cauchon Block, op. cit., p. 13.
- 104 HBCA, B235/3/4a, Annual Report for 1884, p. 11.
- 105 At Fort and Portage, and Smith and Portage, erected in 1883-4 and 1881 respectively.
- 106 City Directories, 1881-86.
- 107 Based upon descriptions in Steen and Boyce, and Thompson and Boyer.
- 108 Thompson and Boyer, op. cit., p. 116.
- 109 Though built in 1882, it did not become a success until the 1890s. See MFP, 2-3 April 1888.

- 110 Times, 17 April 1885, p. 4. Now known as the Empress Hotel.
- 111 See PAM, Picture Division, Main Street, 1892.
- 112 Thompson and Boyer, op. cit., pp. 145, 166.
- 113 "The Liquor Licences", Sun, 30 August 1887. This was based upon the number of grocery stores licenced to sell liquor. By necessity, if one included those which did not sell liquor, a higher figure would be obtained.
- 114 Kerr, op. cit., pp. 130-132.
- 115 A. F. B. Clark, "Winnipeg in 1904", Canadian Magazine, XXV, 21 June 1905, p. 108.
- 116 This is very similar to an idea expressed by Robert H. Wiebe in The Search For Order, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), pp. 48-49.
- 117 Thompson and Boyer, op. cit., pp. 78-86.
- 118 "Winnipeg, Manitoba", Canadian Trade Review, 17 November 1899, p. 45.

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- 1 Artibise, op. cit., pp. 149-151.
- 2 "The Building Boom", MWFP, 5 January 1882, p. 2.
- 3 City Directory, July 1882.
- 4 Michael B. Katz, The People of Hamilton, Canada West.
(Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), pp. 23-24.
See also Ian Davey and Michael Doucet, "The Social Geography
of a Commercial City, ca 1853", in the same work, particularly
pp. 338-340.
- 5 Bowsfield, op. cit., p. 149.
- 6 Ibid., p. 165.
- 7 Ibid., p. 81.
- 8 Ibid., p. 193.
- 9 HBCA, D39/2, Brydges to Armit, 23 November 1880, pp. 170-173.
- 10 "The Bull's Eye", Times, 30 October 1880.
- 11 "City Progress", Sun, 17 October 1881, p. 1. Also City
Directory for 1882.
- 12 "Building Boom", Sun, 2 September 1882, p. 2.
- 13 "The Building Boom", Sun, 20 October 1883.
- 14 "Beautifying the City", Times, 23 July 1884. Hereafter,
cited as Beautifying.
- 15 Photographs to be found in the Manitoba Archives which were
taken c. 1884-1900 bear out this observation.
- 16 The last dwellings were built on the Reserve c.1905 at which
time some of the earlier residences began to be replaced by
apartment blocks and commercial structures.
- 17 Bounded as follows: West of Main Street, north of Notre Dame,
Logan Street on the North, and Nena at the West.
- 18 Bounded as follows: East of Main, north of Water Street,
west of the Red River and north of Logan.
- 19 City Directories, 1878-79; 1880.

- 20 Based upon Bull's Eye and observation of extant examples.
- 21 "The Boom of 81", MWFP, 14 October 1881.
- 22 Directory information and researched extant examples.
- 23 Beautifying, loc. cit.
- 24 "Building Boom", Sun, 13 September 1882.
- 25 Directory information and observation of surviving examples.
- 26 MFP, 24 July 1882.
- 27 "The Shanty Question", Sun, 29 March 1884. See "A Breathing Spell", Times, 11 October 1884 for the Icelanders. Also A. A. Chiel, The Jews in Manitoba. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), p. 39. Also, "Passover in Pioneer Days in Winnipeg", Jewish Post, 23 April 1929, p. 42.
- 28 City Directories, 1883-1886, also, investigation of 291-93 Lulu Street.
- 29 Descriptions are to be had in "Russian Refugees", Sun, 8 January 1883, p. 2, and also, "The Shanty Nuisance", Times, 25 June 1884.
- 30 "The Shanty Nuisance", Times, 25 June 1884. According to "The Shanties", Times, 1 May 1885, p. 4, the area was "attaining an unenviable noteriety in police circles as the resort of criminals and half-breed prostitutes".
- 31 "The Shanty Question", Sun, 29 March 1884.
- 32 "Russian Refugees", Sun, 8 January 1883, p. 2.
- 33 "The Suffering Jews", Sun, 10 January 1883, p. 2.
- 34 "Among the Shanties", Sun, 31 January 1883, p. 2. Hereafter, cited as Among.
- 35 "The Shanties", Times, 1 May 1885, p. 4. See also, "The Shanty Question", Times, 2 July 1884, Letter from Ratepayer.
- 36 Among, loc cit.
- 37 "Is There Any Destitution?", Sun, 26 January 1884, p. 4.
- 38 See "Shanty Town", Times, 3 December 1883; "Shanties on Fonseca Street", Sun, 8 December 1883; "The City Poor", MFP, 22 January 1884, p. 4.

- 39 Artibise, op. cit., pp. 158-165.
- 40 MFP, 24 December 1886. At this time, the former Gilbert McMicken residence was destroyed by fire. See also Sun, same date.
- 41 "Building Boom", Sun, 6 September 1882.
- 42 "Osborne Street Bridge", Sun, 25 September 1882.
- 43 "The Building Boom", MWFP, 5 January 1883, p. 2.
- 44 "The Building Boom", Sun, 20 October 1883, p. 4.
- 45 Artibise, op. cit., p. 44.
- 46 "Block Paving in Winnipeg", Sun, 30 July 1888.
- 47 Herbert W. Blake, The Era of Street-Cars in Winnipeg. (Winnipeg: H. W. Blake, 1971), unpag.
- 48 See MFP, 24 December 1886.
- 49 City of Winnipeg By-laws, #619, 28 December 1892.
- 50 "Building Boom", Sun, 11 September 1882.
- 51 City Directories, 1883-1886.
- 52 City Directories, 1883-1900.

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- 1 Chambers's Encyclopedia. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1879). Vol. VI, p. 307.
- 2 Arthur J. Ray, Indians in the Fur Trade. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), p. 213.

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- 1 Artibise, op. cit., p. 44, 140.
- 2 See CC, Miscellaneous Box I, J. W. Harris, 10 March 1884, re population, floating population counted for 3,500 souls.
- 3 Michael Katz, "The People of A Canadian City", Canadian Historical Review, Vol. LII, No. 4, December 1972, p. 405.
- 4 CC, I, 5005, 13 May 1885.
- 5 "How Many People Visited Our Hotels", Sun, 2 September 1881.
- 6 "Our Hotels", Sun, 6 September 1882.
- 7 "Hotel Accommodation", Times, 14 April 1882, p. 2.
- 8 MFP, 8 April 1881, p. 1.
- 9 "Not Likely to Fall", Sun, 8 March 1883, p. 2.
- 10 "The Growth of Winnipeg", Times, 30 August 1882, p. 4.
- 11 "Under Canvas", Sun, 16 May 1882, p. 2.
- 12 "Building Outlook", Sun, 22 February 1883, p. 2. There does not seem to be any cause to dispute this figure.
- 13 CC, I, 02724, 3 July 1882.
- 14 HBCA, D39/2, 17 April 1882, p. 685. The day before this letter, 3,000 persons had arrived in the city.
- 15 -----Souvenir of the City of Winnipeg...Advancement of Science (Winnipeg: Bishop Co., 1884), p. 33.
- 16 Sun, 31 December 1883, p. 9.
- 17 "What Our Population Is!", Sun, 3 March 1884, p. 4. Hereafter, cited as Population. This included 19,188 (resident), 500 (for omissions), 2,500 (floating population).
- 18 "Crowded Streets", Sun, 20 April 1883, p. 2.
- 19 "Comparative City Populations", MFP, 7 January 1885, p. 2.
- 20 "The Second Drawback", Times, 14 June 1884, p. 8.

- 21 "Interesting Statistics", Sun, 3 February 1885, p. 4.
- 22 "City Real Estate", MFP, 4 August 1885, p. 4.
- 23 CC, II, 00118, Harris to Council, 12 April 1886.
- 24 Loc. cit.
- 25 Canada, Parliament of. Census of Manitoba of 1886.
(Ottawa: Maclean, Roger, 1887), p. 6. Artibise has stated,
the Federal census would only account for permanent residents
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- 26 CC, II, 99465, Harris to Council, 18 April 1887.

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- (ii) Archives de l'Archevêché de Saint-Boniface
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- (iii) Public Archives of Canada
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 Dominion Census of 1881 (microfilm copy on file,
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- (iv) Hudson's Bay Company Archives
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