

The Life and Career of W. Sanford Evans, 1869-1949

By: Bradley J. Milne

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Abstract

W. Sanford Evans was born on December 18, 1869, at Spencerville, Ontario. A graduate of Columbia University, his early years were marked by success as a philanthropist, journalist, platform performer and lecturer for the Society of Ethical Culture in New York. Beginning in 1892, at the age of 23, he was a leading force behind the creation and growth of the Canadian Club movement. Years later he was one of the first to advocate publicly the need for an independent Canadian navy and a Department of External Affairs. After moving to Winnipeg in 1901, Evans quickly established himself as a member of the city's business and social elite. In addition to success as managing editor/owner of the Winnipeg Telegram, the Canadian Club pioneer branched out in 1905 and started his own brokerage and investment concern. Throughout his business career, Evans served on more than 40 sub-groups and committees of several boosting organizations and he sat on the executive board of numerous prominent corporations including the Bank of Montreal and the Sovereign Life Assurance Company. After a one year term on the Winnipeg Board of Control in 1908, Evans was elected to three consecutive terms as mayor between 1909 and 1911. From the civic field, he turned his attention towards provincial politics, representing Winnipeg as a Conservative in the Manitoba Legislature from 1922 to 1936. As the party's chief financial critic for fourteen years and leader of the opposition between 1933 and 1936, Evans earned a reputation as a Tory heavy-weight. Through his efforts on four royal commissions and the work of his successful and innovative statistical service, established in 1921, Evans became recognized as western Canada's leading statistician and an expert on the grain trade.

Despite an extraordinary career, Sanford Evans remains a forgotten figure in Canadian history. Through extensive use of Evans' personal papers, this thesis provides the first detailed account of his life and career between 1869 and 1949. By shedding light on this remarkable but overlooked individual, it is hoped that a gap in the history of Manitoba will be filled.

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Introduction

W. Sanford Evans (1869-1949) had a long and distinguished career in business and almost every aspect of Canadian affairs. One of his most significant achievements was his close association with the creation and growth of the Canadian Club movement. As a committed Canadian patriot, he also was one of the first to advocate publicly the need for a Department of External Affairs and an independent Canadian navy. In addition to his efforts in promoting Canadian sentiment, Evans' early career in Ontario was marked by success as a journalist, philanthropist, and lecturer for the Society for Ethical Culture in New York. While in his twenties, he also was considered one of Hamilton's finest young platform performers.

Prompted by a belief that western Canada was a land of opportunity, Evans moved to Winnipeg in 1901 where he purchased the Winnipeg Telegram and became managing editor. After resigning from his position with the Tory organ in 1905, Evans established his own brokerage and investment concern, an area in which he would prosper. As a leading member of Winnipeg's business and social elite, he was actively involved in several boosting organizations including the Western Canadian Immigration Association, Winnipeg Board of Trade and Winnipeg Industrial Exhibition. He was the first President of both the Winnipeg Development and Industrial Bureau and the Million for Manitoba League. As a respected businessman, Evans also sat on the board of directors for several prominent companies including the Bank of Montreal and the Sovereign Life Assurance Company.

With an impressive business record, Evans was considered an ideal candidate for

municipal politics. After one year on the Winnipeg Board of Control in 1908, the Canadian Club pioneer served three terms as mayor between 1909 and 1911. From the civic field, Evans turned his attention to provincial politics, representing Winnipeg as a Conservative in the Manitoba Legislature from 1922 until 1936. During this period he was highly regarded as the Tory's chief financial critic. Between 1933 and 1936, he was the leader of the opposition. In the final phase of his remarkable career, Evans also played a significant role on four royal commissions and established an innovative, highly successful statistical service. In this capacity he became known as western Canada's leading statistician and an authority on the Canadian grain trade.

Despite a richly varied career in business and public affairs, Sanford Evans appears to be a forgotten figure in Canadian history. Although he played an important role in the organization of the Winnipeg Stock Exchange, served three years as Winnipeg mayor and fourteen years as a prominent Conservative in the Manitoba Legislature, Evans is mentioned on only one page of W. L. Morton's Manitoba: A History. In Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1914, Alan Artibise wrote a brief biography on the Canadian Club pioneer but his analysis of Evans' career did not go beyond his time as mayor. Wade Henry's 1994 article entitled "W. Sanford Evans and the Canadian Club of Winnipeg, 1904-1919" is the only recent source that deals specifically with Sanford Evans. As the title suggested, however, it only focused on Evans' role in the establishment of Winnipeg's Canadian Club. Although the W. Sanford Evans collection at the Provincial Archives of Manitoba provides a rich source of primary information on this remarkable individual, a detailed account of his life and

career has never been undertaken.

Through extensive use of primary sources, the W. Sanford Evans collection in particular, this thesis attempts to shed light on a distinguished but overlooked career. It provides a detailed and objective examination of the life and career of Sanford Evans from his birth in 1869 to his death in 1949. With the completion of this study, it is hoped that a gap in the history of Manitoba will be filled.

Chapter One: The Boy from Hamilton

William Sanford Evans was born on December 18, 1869, at Spencerville, Ontario. Named after his uncle, prominent clothing manufacturer William Eli Sanford, he was the first son of Mary Jane (nee Vaux) and the Reverend Dr. J. S. Evans.¹ His father was a Methodist minister and the author of such books as Baptising and Teaching and Christian Rewards. He also served as Resident Governor of the Hamilton based Canadian branch of Dr. Stephenson's Children's Home and Training School for Christian Workers.² Described as a "faithful christian" by those who knew him, the Reverend Evans managed the Methodist orphanage until his death in 1887, at which time his wife

¹ Through his work with New York wool dealers and the advent of the sewing machine, W.E. Sanford became a pioneer in Hamilton's textile industry. Sanford, McInnes and Company employed several hundred persons to produce shoes, boots and ready-made clothing. A Senator later in life, he also was known for the troika outfit he brought from St. Petersburg, Russia. Drawn by three bright bay horses, the centre horse beneath a belled arch, it passed musically through the city's snowy streets. John C. Weaver, Hamilton: An Illustrated History (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1982), p. 55.; Lois C. Evans, Hamilton: The Story of a City (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1970), p. 147.; Marjorie Freeman Campbell, A Mountain and a City: The Story of Hamilton (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1966), p. 183.

² The Reverend Dr. Thomas Bowman Stephenson opened his first children's home in 1869 in Lambeth, England. Known as a practical man who was as much at home with a saw and hammer as he was with the inside of a harmonium, Stephenson wanted to provide homeless children with the benefit of a loving family life. The highly successful Hamilton branch was established in 1873 and served as both a clearing house for immigrant children and a headquarters for administration. The children were sent from England to Canada where they were accepted into homes or, in the case of most boys, became working apprentices. See Cyril Davey, A Man for all Children: The Story of Thomas Bowman Stephenson (London: Epworth Press, 1968).

was placed in charge.³ Young Sanford, along with his two sisters, Lillian and Charlotte, and one brother, Harry, was raised in a loving, close-knit family environment with a strong Methodist background. Describing his childhood to an acquaintance in 1893, Sanford stated that he was "trained carefully and strictly" by a mother and father who were "devoted, beautiful characters."⁴

After completing public school at the collegiate institute in Hamilton, Evans pursued a Bachelor of Arts degree at Victoria College, a Wesleyan Methodist institution located in Cobourg, Ontario. In the lecture halls of the college, young men discovered that educational attainment was rather low in the hierarchy of faith and learning. Clergymen-professors reminded their students that "reverence was the proper attitude in investigating religious questions. Humility and willingness to engage in an inductive quest for religious certainty were more important than a display of intellect or critical skill."⁵ The Reverend Samuel Nelles, President of Victoria College between 1854 and 1887, stressed that a college education involved not the mere cultivation of intellect, but the formation of character, encompassing man's inward state, and moral development.⁶

³ Provincial Archives of Manitoba [hereafter PAM], MG14 B28, W. Sanford Evans Papers, Box 1, File 2, S.S. Nelles to W.S. Evans, 8 August 1887. Samuel Nelles, President and Chancellor of Victoria College, was a principal architect of the Methodist balance of faith and learning. See Michael Gauvreau, The Evangelical Century: College and Creed in English Canada from the Great Revival to the Great Depression (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991).

⁴ Evans Papers, Box 1, Folder 8, W.S. Evans to [Dr. Felix Adler], Undated 1893 (Copy).

⁵ In the decades after Darwin, maintaining the balance between faith and learning, natural science in particular, was a crucial issue confronting Methodist educators. See Gauvreau, The Evangelical Century, pp. 174-175.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

While attending the college, the ambitious student was considered a "great favorite among the ladies of Cobourg."⁷ This is supported by the voluminous correspondence he received from young women during his late teens and early twenties, some of whom described Evans as a "great flirt."⁸ However, Sandy, as he was known by his close friends, relatives and the young ladies with whom he corresponded, claimed that women could not "fool" him as he had the ability to "see through them."⁹

Nevertheless, during the late 1880s Evans' thirst for knowledge was much greater than his desire to romance the women of Cobourg. This innate "deep need . . . for intellectual satisfaction" was so strong that it actually prevented him from achieving his first ambition which was to enter the Methodist ministry like his father.¹⁰ Instead, he aspired to become a professor of philosophy. One can only speculate on the long term influences of his studies in this field. As a young student interested in literature and philosophy, Evans bore little resemblance to the mature man who pursued a distinguished career in business and public affairs; a career which included success as a brokerage and investment dealer, three terms as Mayor of Winnipeg and fourteen years as a Conservative in the Manitoba Legislature. While in Cobourg, he was in a "world of

⁷ Evans Papers, Box 1, File 2, Olive to W.S. Evans, 19 August 1887.

⁸ Evans Papers, Box 1, File 2, Olive to W.S. Evans, 9 September 1887; Evans Papers, Box 1, File 4, Goldie to W.S. Evans, 8 June 1889. Evans corresponded with many young ladies in his early years. The W. Sanford Evans collection also includes a wealth of written communication between Evans and his future wife, Irene Gurney. It provides a rich example of courting practices during the Victorian era.

⁹ Evans Papers, Box 1, File 2, Olive to W.S. Evans, 19 August 1887.

¹⁰ Evans Papers, Box 1, File 8, W.S. Evans to [Dr. Felix Adler], Undated 1893 (Copy).

intellectual ideas that never would have made any man mayor of a city unless it had been Athens in the days of Pericles."¹¹

While attempting to satisfy his craving for knowledge, Evans came to admire the works of two individuals in particular, Samuel T. Coleridge and Mary Ann Evans (no relation), the prominent English novelist who wrote under the pen name of George Eliot. Years later, in an address before the Hamilton Association in October of 1892, Evans stated that Eliot developed her characters and plot with "earnestness, sympathy and skill."¹² In his opinion, the novelist had "rare mental endowments" and that she "never allowed a striving after effect to interfere with her expressions of her conceptions of the true workings of the principles of life. . ."¹³ In January of 1886, while studying at Victoria College, Evans wrote a short essay on the life of Samuel Coleridge in which he concluded that there was "much to be admired and copied" but also "much to be avoided and shunned."¹⁴ Evans was undoubtedly referring to Coleridge's addiction to opium and his tendency to wander from place to place. Such a lifestyle would not have been compatible with the seventeen year old student's high moral and religious standards. To avoid a similar fate, young Sanford suggested that society use "the light-house of history [to] steer clear of the rocks on which [Coleridge] was almost wrecked."¹⁵ Regardless

¹¹ Evans Papers, Box 18, "In the Public View," Canadian Courier, 19 December 1908.

¹² Evans Papers, Box 9, File 5, "The Possibilities of Fiction," by W. Sanford Evans, p. 2.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

¹⁴ Evans Papers, Box 9, File 1, "Essay on Coleridge," by W. Sanford Evans, January 1886.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

of what Evans may have thought of Coleridge's personal life, he remained a great admirer of the poet and philosopher-critic. In later life, he was known to quote frequently from Coleridge's work. In his youthful essay, Evans stated that

Coleridge's genius is subtle, comprehensive and immensely original. As a critic he showed keen insight and exquisite taste. As a philosophic writer though he embodied no definite scheme and founded no special school and is at times misty and desultory, he is entitled to be considered one of our chief original thinkers.¹⁶

Another interesting aspect of Evans' college days was his work for the school newspaper. During this time he wrote an amusing article entitled "A Bovine Philosopher" in which he pondered the existence of a "stoical philosopher" underneath the exterior of a "meek, dreamy-eyed cow."¹⁷ Not surprisingly, Evans thought there was "something wonderful" about such a possibility.¹⁸ Although it was unclear whether or not the bovine philosophy was one that Evans believed society could adhere to, it demonstrated the young student journalist's creativity and imagination.

. . . Learn of me; use what you have; seek not from mine till that is gone. I quietly chew the cud of today; my dreams are uninterrupted by thoughts of tomorrow's meal. Sufficient for today are my duties of today. Let tomorrow take care of itself. . . . I take everything as it comes. If the grass be long, I take my ease and eat my fill; if it be short, I have to walk farther and work . . . the labor but gives greater zest and relish. . . . [E]nter not the labyrinth of mental probabilities and improbabilities. Deal with the practical. Eat, drink and be sober, for tomorrow we die . . .¹⁹

Although Evans obtained a Bachelor of Arts degree from Victoria College, his

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Evans Papers, Box 9, File 4, "A Bovine Philosopher," by W. Sanford Evans.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

ambitions of becoming a philosophy professor were dashed by the death of his mother in 1889. Mary Jane Evans had been predeceased by her husband, the Reverend Dr. J. S. Evans, in the summer of 1887. With both parents gone, the twenty-year old felt obligated to return to Hamilton to support his two sisters and carry on the work of Dr. Stephenson's Children's Home and Training School for Christian Workers.²⁰ Shortly after his arrival, Evans was appointed Resident Governor of the Hamilton Orphanage by Reverend Dr. T. B. Stephenson, founder and principal of the institution's main branch in London, England. His salary was a meagre one hundred and twenty pounds per year.²¹

Operating under the institution's mission statement "to seek and to save that which is lost," the young administrator quickly discovered that philanthropic work placed heavy demands on his time and energy. More importantly, the position did not fulfil Evans' strong desire for intellectual stimulation.²² Although he did not openly reveal his feelings of dissatisfaction until the spring of 1894, at which time he notified the Reverend Stephenson of his intention to resign, his actions demonstrate that by 1892 Evans' interests were shifting away from philanthropic work and towards scholarly writing and

²⁰ Evans Papers, Box 1, File 8, W.S. Evans to [Dr. Felix Adler], Undated 1893 (Copy). Evans received assistance from his uncle W.E. Sanford. With the death of Mary Evans, the prominent clothing manufacturer took it upon himself to act as the childrens' guardian. See Evans Papers, Box 1, File 8, W.S. Evans to Dr. Felix Adler, Undated 1893 (Copy).

²¹ Evans Papers, Box 1, File 9, Frank Hills to W.S. Evans, 14 March 1894. Hills replaced Evans as Resident Governor of the children's home. His salary was only 100 pounds per year but he accepted the transfer because he wanted to move to Canada.

²² Evans Papers, Box 1, File 8, W.S. Evans to [Dr. Felix Adler], Undated 1893 (Copy).

public speaking. In January of 1892, for example, Evans began to seek out possible avenues through which he could publish and sell manuscripts to supplement his modest Resident Governor salary.²³ He also expressed interest in joining a lecture circuit. Realizing, however, that he was unknown as a platform performer, Evans began to advertise himself as a lecturer in a monthly publication called Talent. With a circulation of 3,000 by 1893, the magazine boasted that it was "endorsed and patronized by every leading committee, association and talent in the United States."²⁴ Talent editor S.M. Spedon also advised the aspiring lecturer to create circulars of his own and to "solicit patronage" from local organizations such as the Y.M.C.A. and church societies.²⁵

By autumn of 1892 Sanford was writing manuscripts and lecturing in the little spare time he had. In doing so, he received much support from his friends and family. Long time friend Nora Clench, a concert violinist who performed throughout North America and Europe, informed Sanford that she had often worried that he was giving up his "precious time to a work . . . so much out of [his] line and under [him]."²⁶ Finally, he was beginning his "true work."²⁷

Unfortunately, records relating to Sanford Evans' earliest platform work are virtually non-existent. Based on correspondence he received in 1892 and 1893, his first

²³ Evans Papers, Box 1, File 7, Writer's Literary Bureau to W.S. Evans, 29 January 1892.

²⁴ Evans Papers, Box 1, File 8, S.M. Spedon to W.S. Evans, 18 May 1893.

²⁵ Evans Papers, Box 1, File 7, S.M. Spedon to W.S. Evans, 24 August 1892.

²⁶ Evans Papers, Box 1, File 7, Nora Clench to W.S. Evans, 22 December 1892.

²⁷ Ibid.

lectures appear to have been related to novelist George Eliot. The young orator received favourable reviews from those who heard his presentation of Eliot's poem "The Spanish Gypsy," a tale of love and race.²⁸ One of the few early Evans addresses which can be read in its entirety is "The Possibilities of Fiction," presented before the Hamilton Association on October 27, 1892. This lecture revealed Evans' tremendous admiration for George Eliot. Its central theme, however, was based on his belief that the world lacked a universally accepted standard by which it could judge the greatness of authors or individual works.²⁹ In his opinion, these standards had to be based on the "possibilities of fiction," or an author's ability to write fiction with the "strictest truth to human nature."³⁰ Evans had no use for novels about "hair breadth escapes, or about lords and ladies with incompatible virtues and vices, and impossible fortunes."³¹ Instead, the greatest novel was one "which, with whatever phase or circumstances it deals, is true to human nature, and gives us not only the external but also the inner life of thought and feelings, and the formative influences and the tendencies at work."³² In conclusion, Evans left the Hamilton Association audience with the following thoughts.

. . . [T]ruth will live only until the world shall have advanced beyond us

²⁸ Evans Papers, Box 1, File 7, Mary Bristol to W.S. Evans, 7 December 1892; Evans Papers, Box 1, File 8, Mary Bristol to W.S. Evans, 29 March 1893.

²⁹ Evans Papers, Box 9, File 5, "The Possibilities of Fiction," by W. Sanford Evans, p. 1.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 12. During the mid to late nineteenth century, many people believed that Victorian art and literature had to remain faithful to familiar human experience. See Richard D. Altick, Victorian People and Ideas (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1973), pp. 274-275.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 14.

into deeper and fuller truth. A great mind's truth about human life may live from generation to generation, and from race to race, entertaining, instructing, confronting, and blessing, and helping to mould the life of all the world. Great are the possibilities of fiction.³³

During the early 1890s Sanford Evans was making a name for himself, not only as a capable public speaker but also as a young Hamiltonian with a promising future in whatever career he chose to pursue. Perhaps the most significant reason for Evans' rise to prominence was his role as a co-founder of the Canadian Club, the largest national club movement in Canada at the turn of the century. His partner in this remarkable endeavour was Charles R. McCullough, Principal of the Hamilton Business College and Short Hand Institute. Years later, Sanford's close friend gained recognition as the Managing Director of the Hamilton Conservatory of Music and as a founder and Governor of the Hamilton Art Gallery.

Although Evans played a significant role in the creation and growth of the Canadian Club movement, it was Charles McCullough who first proposed the idea on a leisurely Saturday afternoon stroll in September of 1892. McCullough, Evans and a few friends stopped for a rest during their walk up the Hamilton mountain. When the conversation turned to Canada's lack of national spirit, the twenty-six year old McCullough observed that there were clubs such as the St. George's Society and St. Jean Baptiste Society for those who wanted to maintain their ties to the old world. In addition, there were guilds and unions for tradesmen and professionals. However, there

³³ Ibid., p. 22.

were no organizations or clubs in which people could gather simply as Canadians.³⁴ Evans shared this sentiment and was disturbed by the fact that Canadians were "wofully [sic] and culpably ignorant of the activities and possibilities of their country."³⁵

Evans and McCullough were both members of the first generation born in Canada since Confederation; a time in which Canadian patriotism was almost non-existent and the country's growth was overshadowed by that of the United States. From 1867 to the mid 1890s, for example, the population of the Dominion increased from 3.5 million to 5 million while the population of the United States swelled dramatically from 40 million to 70 million.³⁶ With the economy in a recession and the death of John A. Macdonald a few months after his re-election in 1891, Canada struggled under the leadership of four different Prime Ministers in five years. According to Wade Henry, a historian who researched Sanford Evans' role in the Canadian Club of Winnipeg, the primary concern of late nineteenth century federal political leaders was the integration and survival of the polity created by Confederation. The result was a party system that defined few national

³⁴ Nina L. Edwards, The Story of the First Canadian Club Told on the Occasion of its Diamond Jubilee, 1893-1953 (Hamilton: The Canadian Club of Hamilton, 1953), p. 9.; Russel R. Merifield, Speaking of Canada: The Centennial History of the Canadian Clubs (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Inc., 1993), p. 1.

³⁵ W. Sanford Evans, "The Canadian Club Movement," The Canada Magazine, Volume II, Number 1 (1893), p. 23.; Evans Papers, Box 4, File 24a, W.S. Evans to Sir Charles Tupper, 31 August 1893.

³⁶ Edwards, The Story of the First Canadian Club, p. 8.; Merifield, Speaking of Canada, p. 1.

goals because parties were more concerned with local issues.³⁷ Meanwhile, the country's future leaders no longer viewed Canada as a place of opportunity. In 1895 and 1896, approximately fifty to sixty percent of Queen's University and University of Toronto graduates sought employment south of the border.³⁸ Clearly, there was little agreement regarding the country's future. Leading spokesmen of imperial unity such as George R. Parkin and George T. Denison were convinced that Canada could only develop by maintaining its connection to Great Britain. Others such as Goldwin Smith, a well known Oxford professor who played a significant role in the Canada First movement, now believed the Dominion's future lay in annexation to the United States.³⁹ Although Evans lamented the departure of the country's youth, he was a committed Canadian patriot with much faith in the Dominion's future. In addition, he believed that the annexationist views expressed by men such as Smith were both irrational and unsupported by the Canadian public.

Prof. Smith is . . . not a Canadian by birth or in sentiment. His literary ability has earned for him a recognized position, but he has never been popular. He was not popular in England before he came to this country; he made himself unpopular in the United States, and his standing in Canada will be clear when it is said that he was threatened with a certain

³⁷ Wade Henry, "W. Sanford Evans and the Canadian Club of Winnipeg, 1904-1919," Manitoba History, Number 27 (Spring, 1994), p.2.

³⁸ Edwards, The Story of the First Canadian Club, p. 8.; Merifield, Speaking of Canada, p. 1.

³⁹ Carl Berger, "Imperialism and Nationalism, 1884-1914," in R. Douglas Francis and Donald B. Smith (eds.), Readings in Canadian History: Post Confederation (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, Limited, 1982), p. 95.; The ideas of Canadian imperialists are examined in Carl Berger's The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970).

degree of social ostracism on account of his attitude on the annexation question. He started in Canada with a continental union club he could not establish, and which was never strong enough to be more than laughed at. He has created a breach between himself and the Canadian people which is widening every day. He is not a leader. Among other things he has shown no ability or consistency of purpose. Some years ago he was a prominent member of what was called the Canada First party, whose cry was, Canada for the Canadians; now his cry is, Canada for the Americans. His writings furnish many of the strongest arguments that can be urged against the policy he is at present advocating.⁴⁰

Despite the country's seemingly bleak future, Evans was convinced that a "strong and constantly growing spirit of Canadianism" was being fostered unconsciously in the Dominion.⁴¹ All this spirit needed was organization.

To be effective, every belief must have some form of organization. Every spirit should have its body; incarnation is the law of earth. In the same way it is necessary that our national spirit and our belief in our country should be organized; if that spirit and that faith are to accomplish their noblest purposes. The form of organization in which we should find these embodied should ultimately be our system of government, and take shape in all our national institutions; but in the meantime, some preparatory organization is required.⁴²

On December 6, 1892, a preliminary meeting was held at Charles McCullough's Hamilton Business College office on James Street south in downtown Hamilton. Besides McCullough, the meeting was attended by Sanford Evans, George Fearman, Alderman James Ferres, and Henry Carpenter. The five young Hamiltonians discussed the objectives of the proposed club and suggested names of others who might be interested

⁴⁰ Evans Papers, Box 10, File 58, W. Sanford Evans, "Canada and 'Political Reunion' - From a Canadian's Standpoint," The American Journal of Politics (1894), pp. 202-203.

⁴¹ Evans, "The Canadian Club Movement," p. 22.

⁴² Ibid., p. 22.

in becoming members. The following circular was drawn up and issued to some of Hamilton's most prominent young men on January 28, 1893.

Dear Sir, - It is proposed to form a society to be called the Canadian Club, having for its objects the encouragement of the study of history, literature, and resources of Canada, and the fostering of a patriotic Canadian sentiment. The means proposed for the furtherance of these objectives are: The reading of essays and delivery of addresses on subjects within the scope of the Club, and the non-partisan discussion of matters affecting the welfare and progress of our country. Social features in connection with the Club will be a matter for future consideration. You are invited to attend a meeting for the purpose of organization, to be held in the Museum of the Hamilton Association, Public Library Building, on Wednesday evening, Feb. 1, at the hour of eight.⁴³

Forty-eight men attended the meeting at the Public Library and the need for a Canadian Club became the subject of lively debate.⁴⁴ George Lynch-Staunton, Alderman Morris, Stuart Livingston and J.E.P. Aldous expressed support for the club. Aldous, for example, was convinced that such an organization could do much in the way of encouraging Canadian musical talent.⁴⁵ On the other hand, H. N. Kittson, President of the St. George's Society, sympathized with the spirit of the resolution, deeming "that a Canadian would be a better citizen of the Empire by being patriotically inclined to the land of his birth or adoption" but he trusted that "the day might be far off when any but

⁴³ Evans Papers, Box 28, File "Estimates Public Accounts". Newspaper Clippings. Hamilton Spectator, Unknown Date 1895.

⁴⁴ Edwards, The Story of the First Canadian Club, p. 9.; Merifield, Speaking of Canada, p.3.; Evans Papers, Box 25, Newspaper Clippings, Hamilton Spectator, 2 February 1895. Edwards and Merifield agree that 48 men attended the meeting but the Spectator reported that as many as fifty to sixty young men participated.

⁴⁵ Evans Papers, Box 25, Newspaper Clippings, Hamilton Spectator, 2 February 1895.

the old three-crossed flag would wave over Canada."⁴⁶ John H. Land, Secretary of the Wentworth Historical Society, believed that the objects of the proposed club were much similar to those of the organization he represented. Consequently, Land recommended that those present join the historical society. In reply, Sanford Evans pointed out that while the aims of the two organizations were similar, the scope of the Canadian Club was to be much wider. Evans envisioned the Hamilton club as the first of many to be established across the country, forming "one great brotherhood of patriotic Canadians, in close touch with one another."⁴⁷ Finally, near the end of the meeting, the following resolution, moved by McCullough and seconded by Evans, was passed and the Canadian Club of Hamilton was born.

. . . [I]t is in the opinion of this meeting a fit and proper time to take definite steps, however humble, to deepen and widen the regard of Canadians for the land of their birth or adoption, and to increase their interest in matters affecting the welfare of their country. Be it therefore resolved that this meeting proceed to the organization of a society to be known as the Canadian Club, having for its objects the encouragement of the study of history, literature and resources in Canada, the recognitions of native worth and talent, and the fostering of a patriotic Canadian sentiment . . .⁴⁸

The Canadian Club of Hamilton held its second meeting on February 15, 1893, at which time the Constitution and By-Laws were passed and the club's first executive was elected. Sanford Evans became the club's first President while Charles McCullough accepted the position of Secretary. From the beginning, Evans made it clear that he and

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

McCullough had no intention of establishing an independent political party.⁴⁹ In fact, he was adamant that the club be non-partisan, non-political and non-sectarian. In his inaugural address on February 25, the President lamented "we are in Canada partisans before we are Canadians; even our school boys are ardent party politicians before they know anything about the lines of division between parties."⁵⁰ Evans deplored the fact that a man had to commit himself to a political party before he could belong to an organization which met to discuss the affairs of the country. In his opinion, such an environment was unproductive because a man could only meet those who professed the same beliefs as himself.⁵¹ On the other hand, a club with no party distinctions could "do much to develop habits of independent thinking - to reason from the facts rather than from the party leader down."⁵²

In its infancy, the Canadian Club was a literary, debating, and informal social society. A typical program consisted of a lecture or debate on a topic of local or national concern, followed by a discussion. To Evans, however, it was the social aspect of the club that would be essential to its success. He envisioned attractively decorated club rooms with card and billiard tables where young men could gather in a relaxed atmosphere during their leisure hours. In such an environment, men could not only

⁴⁹ Evans Papers, Box 4, File 24, W.S. Evans to Sir Charles Tupper, 31 August 1893.

⁵⁰ Evans Papers, Box 25, Newspaper Clippings, The Evening Chronicle (Strathcona, Alberta), 16 May 1907; Henry, "W. Sanford Evans and the Canadian Club," p. 3.

⁵¹ Evans, "The Canadian Club Movement," p. 25.

⁵² Evans Papers, Box 25, Newspaper Clippings, The Evening Chronicle (Strathcona, Alberta), 16 May 1907.

express opinions but form opinions as well.⁵³ In March of 1894, one month after Evans was re-elected President for a second term, club rooms were established in the Federal Life building on the corner of James and Vine streets. Hours of operation were 3 p.m. to 6 p.m. and 7 p.m. to 11 p.m. Monday to Saturday and 9 a.m. to 7 p.m. on Sundays. In keeping with Evans' strong moral and religious background, gambling and alcoholic beverages were strictly prohibited.⁵⁴ Unfortunately, the club rooms did not serve their intended purpose. By 1895, for example, several members were in the habit of playing pool instead of attending club meetings. Eventually the rooms became a financial strain on the club and were closed in May of 1899.⁵⁵

Much controversy arose about Hamilton's claim to be the first Canadian Club. As early as 1885, for example, a Canadian Club of New York was established to "cultivate social intercourse" among Canadians and British residents in the United States.⁵⁶ Similarly, the Canadian Club of Harvard University, established in 1890, provided a "means of re-union" for Canadian students attending the university.⁵⁷ It also disseminated information to students living north of the border who expressed interest

⁵³ Evans, "The Canadian Club Movement," p. 23.

⁵⁴ Constitution and By-Laws of the Canadian Club of Hamilton (January, 1896), pp. 11-12.

⁵⁵ Merifield, Speaking of Canada, p. 8.

⁵⁶ Constitution and By-Laws of The Canadian Club with a List of its Officers and Members (1887), p. 5. See also Hugh A. Anderson, The Kinship of Two Countries: A History of the Canadian Club of New York (New York: Canadian Club of New York Inc., 1964).; G. M. Fairchild Jr., "The Canadian Club," Canadian Leaves: A Series of Papers Read Before the Canadian Club of New York (Undated), pp. 283-289.

⁵⁷ Canadian Club of Harvard University (1890), p. 5.

in attending Harvard in the future. These two clubs, which provided a means of communication among Canadians living in the United States, were similar to Evans' and McCullough's club in name only.

However, during the late 1890s and early 1900s their claim was more seriously challenged by E.J. O'Brien, first President of the Canadian Club of Guelph founded in 1888 by Mr. M. MacCormick. Convinced that MacCormick was the true father of the Canadian Club movement, he first wrote to Evans in 1898, providing him with a brief history of the Guelph club and a list of its first executive.⁵⁸ In 1907 O'Brien took a much harder stance and accused Evans and McCullough of procuring the By-Laws of the Guelph club for use in the Canadian Club of Hamilton.⁵⁹ Remarkably, however, Evans and McCullough had never heard of the Guelph club. Moreover, in 1899, when McCullough proposed to Mr. Galbraith of the Guelph Mercury that he establish a club in the city, the newspaper editor failed to mention that there already was an organization in town known as the Canadian Club.⁶⁰

Without question, there were Canadian Clubs in existence before the establishment

⁵⁸ Evans Papers, Box 2, Unmarked File, E.J. O'Brien to W.S. Evans, 28 April 1898.

⁵⁹ Evans Papers, Box 4, File 29, Newspaper Clipping, Stratford Beacon, 23 October 1907. O'Brien wrote the Beacon to correct the newspaper's assertion that Evans and McCullough founded the first Canadian Club in Hamilton in 1893. He thought the Beacon should "give honour to whom honour is due."

⁶⁰ Evans Papers, Box 4, File 29, Charles R. McCullough to W.S. Evans, 8 November 1907; Merifield, Speaking of Canada, p.10. In this written communication, McCullough told Evans he had never heard of a Canadian Club of Guelph, let alone perused its By-Laws. Moreover, he found O'Brien's accusations deeply disturbing. So much so that McCullough told Evans "I should not like to have stolen from me the credit for the one big thought of my life - the conception of the idea of the Canadian Club - not a Canadian Club."

of the Hamilton club in 1893. However, none survived long enough to generate any significant achievements. More importantly, it was McCullough and Evans who carried out the "missionary work" that resulted in the establishment of Canadian Clubs throughout the Dominion and eventually the world.⁶¹ As will be shown, Evans became a pioneering spirit in the Canadian Club movement, helping to establish clubs in both Toronto and Winnipeg. Although these founding efforts did not bear any political results or lead to significant employment opportunities, in the years to come it would earn him nation-wide recognition as a leading Canadian patriot.

At the club meeting on April 12, 1894, Sanford Evans tendered his resignation as President of the Canadian Club in order to pursue his Masters degree in Political Science at New York's Columbia University. In addition to his plans to attend Columbia University, he eventually accepted a lecturing position with the Society for Ethical Culture, an organization that recruited and trained young men to "serve the professional needs of ethical culture."⁶² Prior to his departure, Evans lectured the Canadian Club on the "Ideals of Nationality" and was the guest of honour at a banquet where he was presented with a gold badge bearing the club's crest. He also had to resign from his position as Resident Governor of Dr. Stephenson's Children's Home.

As an extraordinary young man with a strong desire for knowledge, few were surprised by his plans. Louise Markscheffel, editor of Toledo, Ohio's Sunday Journal,

⁶¹ Merifield, Speaking of Canada, p. 10.

⁶² Robert S. Guttchen, Felix Adler (New York: Twayne Publishers Inc., 1974) p. 29.

told Evans that she knew long ago the "trend of [his] mind was toward ethics."⁶³ John Pendlebury, Secretary at Dr. Stephenson's main office in London, stated that he was not surprised their Canadian branch Resident Governor "should desire, as a young man given to literary and scholarly reading and thought, a wider sphere for mental activity."⁶⁴ Although caught off guard by the timing of his departure, the Reverend Dr. T. Bowman Stephenson accepted Evans' resignation and wished him well.

I quite understand, and have all along understood your feeling respecting our work and your own career in life. . . . [Y]our letter only surprised me because we were not anticipating anything of the sort at this moment. But I understand the importance to you of seizing the opportunity which occurs now, and might not occur again for some years. . . . We appreciate highly the care and conscientious devotion to the interests of the home which you have exhibited since you took charge and we shall lose you with regret and good wishes.⁶⁵

While pursuing his Masters degree between 1894 and 1897, Evans took a wide variety of courses which included Sociology, Economic Theory, The History of Political Theory, Pauperism, The Family, Penology and Comparative Constitutional Law.⁶⁶ His graduation thesis was entitled "Conscience."⁶⁷ He also helped to establish a Canadian Society of New York, a social club for Canadians living in the United States. Much more interesting, however, was his association with the New York Society for Ethical

⁶³ Evans Papers, Box 1, File 9, Louise Markscheffel to W.S. Evans, 30 June 1894.

⁶⁴ Evans Papers, Box 1, File 9, John Pendlebury to W.S. Evans, 21 March 1894.

⁶⁵ Evans Papers, Box 1, File 9, Rev. Dr. T. Bowman Stephenson to W.S. Evans, 7 March 1894.

⁶⁶ Evans Papers, Box 12, Unmarked File, Columbia College, University Faculty of Political Science Registration Book of William Sanford Evans.

⁶⁷ Evans Papers, Box 12, Unmarked File, H.H. Beck to W.S. Evans, 2 January 1895. Unfortunately, the W. Sanford Evans collection does not contain a copy of the thesis.

Culture. The Society for Ethical Culture was originally intended to be a movement in which its founder, Dr. Felix Adler, would deliver a series of Sunday morning lectures. Beginning with his first address on October 15, 1876, Adler's lectures drew capacity crowds and fulfilled the social, intellectual and spiritual needs of large numbers of New York Jews discontented with the current state of Judaism and religion.⁶⁸ With strong support from New York's Jewish community, the lecture movement quickly developed into the Society for Ethical Culture. Incorporated in February of 1877, its mandate was threefold: "the reform of faith through active participation in the complex of modern communities; the reconstruction of society through the spirit of ethical religion; and the moral growth of the person by reciprocal interaction with other persons in the process of 'ethicizing' society."⁶⁹

Membership in the New York society, which never exceeded 700 between the 1880s and 1920s, comprised people from all walks of life including labourers, tradesmen, professionals, teachers, and businessmen.⁷⁰ Unlike the early years of the Canadian Club, the society also accepted women. With the help of this competent and effective membership, Dr. Adler's society was able to introduce a series of innovative actions between 1876 and 1886. They included the organization of the eastern United States' first tuition-free kindergarten in 1877, the development of a district nursing program, the formation of a tenement house building company and the establishment of an eight grade

⁶⁸ Benny Kraut, From Reform Judaism to Ethical Culture: The Religious Evolution of Felix Adler (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1979), p. 125.

⁶⁹ Guttchen, Felix Adler, pp. 31-32.

⁷⁰ Kraut, From Reform Judaism to Ethical Culture, pp. 178-79.

tuition-free elementary school by 1880. Known as the Workingman's School, its aim was to provide an education to all children in the developing industrial society, regardless of class, religion and race.⁷¹

Considering Sanford Evans' strong Methodist background that stressed both personal and social morality, as well as his philanthropic experience with the children's home, it was not surprising that he became attracted to the work of the Society for Ethical Culture. Although he first heard of the society through his cousin, Fred Evans, it was only after reading one of Felix Adler's articles that he began to think he "might find a little congenial work in connection [with the] society."⁷² In an undated letter of 1893, presumably his initial correspondence with Dr. Adler, Evans admitted that he had always longed for "some form of 'preaching' or teaching."⁷³ He was so enthusiastic about joining the ethical culture movement that he even offered to give a trial lecture before the society.⁷⁴ Tentatively entitled "The Relation of Reason to Moral Standards and the Conscience," it is not known whether or not Evans ever gave the address. Nevertheless, he was offered a two year lecturing position with an annual salary of \$750.⁷⁵ Although Evans was initially concerned that his ethical culture duties might

⁷¹ Horace L. Friess, Felix Adler and Ethical Culture: Memories and Studies (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), p. 95.

⁷² Evans Papers, Box 1, File 8, W.S. Evans to [Dr. Felix Adler], Undated 1893 (Copy).

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Evans Papers, Box 1, File 8, W.S. Evans to Dr. Stanton Coit, Undated 1893 (Copy). Dr. Coit was one of Felix Adler's earliest associates in the Society for Ethical Culture. Because Evans did not think he could support himself on \$750 per year, he also made arrangements for the society

interfere with his studies, he was convinced that he could not let the opportunity pass. Thus, he accepted the offer and made arrangements for his sisters to settle in Toronto with his brother Harry. With assistance from Dr. Adler, the twenty-five year old lecturer and student began looking for living quarters in New York. Clearly, Sanford Evans was a man with simple tastes.

I would like some place that would be as convenient as possible to the school [the S.E.C.'s Workingman's School] and to Columbia College and would like it to be in as good a neighborhood as possible so that I could give a respectable address to my friends. Beyond this I want nothing but what is quite plain. If my room is well ventilated and reasonably convenient to a bath room I will ask little more of it. I do not wish for anything but plain food but it must be good. . . . If I have a reasonable amount of comfort I do not think any one will find me hard to get along with.⁷⁶

While working for the Society for Ethical Culture, Evans took on many responsibilities. In addition to his lectures before the society's general membership, its Young People's Union and the Alumni Association of the Workingman's School, he taught and was Superintendent of the society's non-denominational Sunday School. He also served on the Advisory Board of the Women's Wage-Earners' Section, whose object was the "consideration of intellectual, moral, and industrial questions, and the living together of working women of the society."⁷⁷ On top of all this, Evans periodically

to loan him \$1,000 per year for 1895-96 and 1896-97.

⁷⁶ Evans Papers, Box 1, File 8, W.S. Evans to Dr. Felix Adler, Undated 1893 (Copy). This undated correspondence is not the same one in which he told Adler of his childhood and career ambitions.

⁷⁷ Evans Papers, Box 12, Unmarked File, Society for Ethical Culture booklet, p. 24.

lectured before the society's associated branches in Chicago, St. Louis and Philadelphia.⁷⁸ Indeed, this seems remarkable when one considers the fact that he was also taking a full course load at Columbia University. Felix Adler, meanwhile, was a man who kept a watchful eye over the people he wanted as teachers and leaders. Moreover, he only recruited individuals with high standards in their own fields who would bring their interest and enthusiasm to bear on the development of the children.⁷⁹ With this in mind and considering the amount of responsibility placed on Evans, Dr. Adler must have held him in particularly high regard.

Like his duties in the name of ethical culture, the topics of Sanford Evans' lectures before the society and its sub-groups were diverse. In the "Ideal of Nationality," presented before the general membership at Carnegie Hall on April 12, 1896, Evans stressed the importance of nations and the necessity of developing a national vision. He stated that "if what is before us be petty our accomplishment will be trivial and mean; if it be noble our accomplishment may mark an epoch."⁸⁰

In another 1896 address at Carnegie Hall, Evans spoke on "The Moral and Spiritual Education of Children," an issue he described as the "most urgent problem"

⁷⁸ Together, the ethical societies of New York, St. Louis, Chicago and Philadelphia constituted the Ethical Union.

⁷⁹ Friess, Felix Adler and Ethical Culture, p. 124.

⁸⁰ Evans Papers, Box 9, File 16, "The Ideal of Nationality," by W. Sanford Evans. Evans first gave this address before the Canadian Club of Hamilton in the spring of 1894.

confronting educators of the day.⁸¹ As the title suggested, the central theme of this lecture was his belief that the moral and spiritual nature of children had to be developed "no less than the intellectual and industrial" if boys and girls were to be fully prepared for life.⁸² In a lecture of 1895 in the rooms of the Franklin Literary Society, Evans focused on "Man's Pride in Humanity." His conclusion was as follows.

. . . [P]ride in humanity is justified. . . this pride, this trust and faith, will have the effect of giving us that confidence in ourselves which will make great things possible to us; it will have the effect of giving us that power which will make bright the world around us and make us worthy of their best gifts.⁸³

Evans' strong Methodist background did not lead to any conflict with Dr. Adler's ethical religion.⁸⁴ As Superintendent of the Ethical Sunday School, his stated objective was to "make an appeal, by means of the deep and the stirring in human experience, and the beautiful, the wonderful and the sublime in nature, to those spiritual faculties" that had to be developed if children were to be fully prepared for life. In the classroom, Evans taught lessons on a variety of topics including virtue, the principles of life, the importance of cleanliness and understanding one's obligations to his or her parents. In

⁸¹ Evans Papers, Box 9, File 18, "Moral and Spiritual Education of Children," by W. Sanford Evans in Ethical Addresses, Series IV, Number 5 (May, 1897), p. 79.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁸³ Evans Papers, Box 9, File 10, Newspaper Clipping, The Standard Union (Brooklyn, New York), 6 November 1895; Evans Papers, Box 9, File 10, Newspaper Clipping, Brooklyn Daily Eagle, 7 November 1895.

⁸⁴ As noted by James Klaber. Committee Chairman of the Ethical Sunday School, the society espoused the moral instruction and edification of all members and their children. Evans Papers, Box 9, File 12, Ethical Sunday School notice, [1895].

his lesson on cleanliness, for example, Evans stressed the importance of washing the whole body rather than just the face and hands. The children learned that "our bodies are the tenements of our souls. People will judge of our souls by our bodies and it is not right to ourselves that they should judge us ill, merely because our bodies are not scrupulously clean."⁸⁵ In his lesson on temperance, Evans simply recommended taking "less of a thing we desire by cultivating an interest in other and higher things . . . the pleasure of sight and hearing rather than taste."⁸⁶ Another interesting aspect of Evans' Sunday school lessons was his use of nature to draw out the imaginations of the children. In one lesson, for example, he used mountains ("evidence of past force") and water ("shows us present force") to demonstrate the difference between life and death.⁸⁷

Although he was scheduled to complete his Master of Arts degree in May of 1897, the Columbia student and ethical culture lecturer began to consider career possibilities at a much earlier date. As early as 1895, Evans identified a need in Canada for a quality weekly review.⁸⁸ He envisioned a paper with associate editors in each province and one which would provide authoritative articles on subjects such as finance, sports, history, education, music and art. Tentatively entitled The Week, it also was to include editorials on the principles of national life and a literary section of original poetry

⁸⁵ Evans Papers, Box 23, W.S. Evans Sunday School log, 25 November 1894.

⁸⁶ Evans Papers, Box 23, W.S. Evans Sunday School log, 2 December 1894.

⁸⁷ Evans Papers, Box 9, File 13, W.S. Evans Sunday School log, 19 October 1896.

⁸⁸ Evans Papers, Box 1, File 13, W.S. Evans to Irene Gurney, 22 February 1895.

and short stories.⁸⁹

On a personal level, Evans believed that because he had already established "the ideas on the work such a paper should do," he would not have to serve "a long and wearisome apprenticeship."⁹⁰ In addition, he thought that a weekly journal would enable him to come into "the closest touch with public men all over Canada and would prepare the way for anything else" he might want to pursue in the future.⁹¹ Lacking the capital necessary to start a weekly journal on his own, between 1895 and 1897 Evans frequently corresponded with Wilson Southam, soon to be owner of the Ottawa Citizen, and John A. Cooper, editor of The Canadian Magazine, about the possibility of collaborating on such a venture. In the proposal to Southam, whose father owned the Hamilton Spectator, Evans envisioned a situation in which he, himself, would be editor and Southam would be manager.⁹² Unfortunately, neither Southam nor Cooper were willing to commit to the idea. Thomas Mulvey, a lawyer associated with The Canadian Magazine, believed Evans had over-estimated the success a weekly journal could attain, largely because the Canadian public did not appreciate native work or ideas.⁹³

Despite Sanford Evans' failure to establish a weekly journal in Canada, the young

⁸⁹ Evans Papers, Box 11, File 73, "Ideas on a Weekly Paper such as The Week," by W. Sanford Evans, [1895].

⁹⁰ Evans Papers, Box 2, File 18, W.S. Evans to Irene Gurney, 19 January 1897.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Evans Papers, Box 2, Folder 18b, Thomas Mulvey to W.S. Evans, 10 April 1897.

Columbia student had other options. With his term as a lecturer for the Society for Ethical Culture ending in the spring of 1897, Dr. Adler offered Evans a similar position for 1898 with a salary of \$2,500 and a raise the following year.⁹⁴ Although he must have found the offer attractive, Evans confided in his girlfriend, Irene Gurney of Toronto, that he did not consider the society to be his lifework.⁹⁵ Consequently, in February of 1897 he informed Dr. Adler of his decision to leave the society once his contract expired in the spring. During this time, Wilson Southam offered Evans a \$1,200 per year editorship with the Ottawa Citizen but he was still in negotiations to buy the daily newspaper at the time.⁹⁶ Believing that journalism was his only alternative to remaining with the Society for Ethical Culture, in April Evans accepted an editorial position with the Toronto Mail and Empire. Scheduled to begin work in June, his salary was \$2,000 per year.⁹⁷

Why did the Columbia graduate accept an editorship in Toronto that paid \$500 per year less than if he would have remained in New York? As mentioned previously, Evans did not view the Society for Ethical Culture as his lifework. In addition, money was not of paramount importance to him.⁹⁸ He also may have wanted to be closer to Irene, who lived in Toronto with her parents. Perhaps most important, however, was

⁹⁴ Evans Papers, Box 2, File 18, W.S. Evans to Irene Gurney, 19 January 1897.

⁹⁵ Evans Papers, Box 2, File 18a, W.S. Evans to Irene Gurney, 15 February 1897; Evans Papers, Box 8, Unmarked File, Irene Gurney to W.S. Evans, Undated 1897.

⁹⁶ Evans Papers, Box 2, File 18, W.S. Evans to Irene Gurney, 19 January 1897.

⁹⁷ Evans Papers, Box 2, File 18c, W.S. Evans to Edward Gurney, 26 April 1897.

⁹⁸ Evans Papers, Box 2, File 18, W.S. Evans to Irene Gurney, 19 January 1897.

Evans' desire to satisfy the expectations of his future wife's father, Edward Gurney, a successful iron founder and former Mayor of Toronto.⁹⁹ Between 1892 and 1897, Sanford and Irene's relationship blossomed from one of friendship to one of romance. Analysis of Evans' personal papers relating to this time period revealed that Irene was a loving and supportive companion with whom Sanford felt comfortable discussing all aspects of his life. Moreover, he considered her outlook on life to be a "source of strength."¹⁰⁰ By 1897, however, Edward Gurney began to express concern about Evans' intentions and his ability to provide for Irene in the future. Consequently, he forbade Sanford and Irene from corresponding without his knowledge of the contents of their letters. For a short period of time, written communication between the two was forbidden completely. Sanford was humiliated by the whole situation.

If your father will put himself in my place he will readily see that I cannot but regard this trust with a string to it as humiliating. Whenever he is satisfied that conditions are such that his regard for your welfare will permit him to give me the only confidence a man can accept and retain his self respect I shall be glad to receive it and try to prove myself worthy of it . . . I am seriously anxious to do what is honorable and right toward you, and toward your father and mother and I will welcome any direction from your father which will help make clear what is best. I only ask to be judged fairly and to be given a fair chance.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ In partnership with his brother Charles, Edward Gurney was an iron founder who manufactured ploughs, cultivators and parlour, box and cooking stoves of "every new size and fashionable pattern." In the 1860s the E. & C. Gurney Company expanded into a four-storey Hamilton building which would stand nearly a century. Edward Gurney later established branches in Toronto, Boston, Montreal, Winnipeg and Vancouver. See Freeman Campbell, A Mountain and a City, pp. 140-141.

¹⁰⁰ Evans Papers, Box 1, File 17b, W.S. Evans to Irene Gurney, 9 November 1896.

¹⁰¹ Evans Papers, Box 2, File 18c, W.S. Evans to Irene Gurney, 11 May 1897.

Sanford Evans worked on the editorial staff of the Mail and Empire from June of 1897 to December of 1899. During this time he wrote columns on a variety of issues including education, religion, Canadian patriotism, the British Empire and international affairs such as American-Japanese relations. A sports enthusiast himself, Evans also covered events such as baseball games, lacrosse and rowing. Today, his editorials provide a window through which one can gain insight into his character during the late nineteenth century. For example, his June 5, 1897, editorial entitled "Religious Teaching in the Schools" showed that the former ethical culture lecturer continued to advocate the moral and spiritual education of children. In his opinion, if schools were going to teach boys and girls how to "earn their bread," they also had to "prepare them to preserve the worthiness of their personalities."¹⁰² He also supported the work of organizations such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union, a group he described as "evidence of the new moral force that has entered into public life with the development of the modern woman."¹⁰³ Closely associated with the creation and growth of the Canadian Club movement, Evans' editorials frequently expressed great passion for the Dominion and its future. On Dominion Day in 1898, for example, he wrote that Canada's "fathers builded well" and that the country was an example for all British colonies to follow.¹⁰⁴ In a June 12, 1898, column entitled "How Much Shall We Spend," Evans showed his practical nature.

¹⁰² Evans Papers, Box 22, Toronto Mail and Empire Editorials, 5 June 1897.

¹⁰³ Evans Papers, Box 22, Toronto Mail and Empire Editorials, 22 October 1897.

¹⁰⁴ Evans Papers, Box 22, Toronto Mail and Empire Editorials, 1 July 1898.

The Dutchess of Devonshire is to give a fancy dress ball. It will be the chief society event of the London season. . . . Such a ball will cost a very great deal of money, not only to the hostess, but also to the guests, who have to provide costumes for themselves. It is said that one dress to be worn has cost \$10,000. . . . Luxury is waste. There is waste whenever the product of human labour has been used up without having accomplished any real good. The alternative may be between leaving the money in a company that is building a railroad and spending it on a ball. In the one case the money is circulated, labourers are clothed and fed, and at the end the railroad is there to continue to serve the public; in the other, also, the money is circulated, and the labourers are employed, but what is left? Is there any permanent good effect? The flowers have withered, the expensive costumes will never be worn again . . . the super-abundant supplies of various kinds are of no further use. Has the personal gratification and growth in culture of those who attended been sufficient to justify the employment of labor in that way rather than in a railroad?¹⁰⁵

In keeping with his patriotic spirit and vision of establishing a network of Canadian Clubs throughout the country, Evans laid the foundations for a Toronto club shortly after he began working for the Mail and Empire in June of 1897. Although there was little interest at first, the young editor persisted and by autumn the Canadian Club of Toronto was born. Like the Hamilton club, its object was "to foster patriotism by encouraging the study of institutions, history, arts, literature and resources of Canada."¹⁰⁶ The club's first President was John Cooper, editor of The Canadian Magazine. Evans could have taken the presidency for himself but chose the position of First Vice-President because he was "almost a stranger" in the city.¹⁰⁷ Although

¹⁰⁵ Evans Papers, Box 22, Toronto Mail and Empire Editorials, 12 June 1897.

¹⁰⁶ Evans Papers, Box 28, File "Estimates Public Accounts", Newspapers Clippings, Toronto Saturday Night, 4 April 1903.

¹⁰⁷ Evans Papers, Box 27, File "Evans", Newspaper Clippings, Unknown Toronto paper, 21 November 1903.

known for its large membership, which reached 800 by 1903 with another 100 on a waiting list to join, the Canadian Club of Toronto became famous for inventing the luncheon speaker concept.¹⁰⁸ First suggested by Cooper as a way to increase attendance at club executive meetings, the luncheon format quickly became the forum in which members heard invited guests address the club on issues of local or national concern. Soon after, it became a common feature in Canadian Clubs throughout the country. Today, Cooper's novel luncheon speaker format is an essential element of North American club life.¹⁰⁹

During the 1898-1899 club season, Sanford Evans served his only term as President of the Canadian Club of Toronto. Under his leadership, the membership grew rapidly but was eventually limited to only 100 men. In these formative years, Evans and his executive felt that the club should grow slowly so that members could get acquainted with one another. In addition, it was "enthusiasm and earnestness that were desired, not numbers."¹¹⁰ During his time as President, Evans also made a concerted effort to attract quality speakers. In February of 1899, for example, he tried unsuccessfully to persuade Rudyard Kipling to give an address before the club.¹¹¹ Nevertheless, the Canadian Club of Toronto would never forget its founding father. Shortly after he

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Merifield, Speaking of Canada, p. 14.

¹¹⁰ Evans Papers, Box 27, File "Evans", Newspapers Clippings, Unknown Toronto paper, 21 November 1903.

¹¹¹ Evans Papers, Box 2, File 20a, W.S. Evans to Rudyard Kipling, 16 February 1899.

moved to Winnipeg in 1901, club President W. E. Rundle informed Evans that he had been elected a life-time honorary member in recognition of his pioneering efforts in the movement.

. . . I only wish that you had been a witness of the enthusiastic manner in which the recommendation was received. It was unanimously adopted. That many kind things were said was to have been expected.

Personally, I wish to take this opportunity of saying to you that the broad lines upon which you founded the Club are a testimony to your foresight and wisdom. I see plainly now, what perhaps I did not fully realise at the beginning of the Canadian Club,- that carefully guided, it should remain a strong influence in the formation of the mind and effort of the young men who come within its reach.¹¹²

While working on the editorial staff of the Toronto Mail and Empire, Evans also gained his first experience in politics when he was unanimously nominated as the Conservative candidate for South Wentworth in the provincial election to be held on March 1, 1898. The nomination was made by Frank Hills, who had moved from England to Hamilton in 1894 to replace Evans as Resident Governor of Dr. Stephenson's Children's Home. Although Hills thought the election would be a "battle without gloves," he was convinced that Evans could win.¹¹³ Murray Pettit, who claimed to have followed Evans' career since he was elected President of the Canadian Club of Hamilton in 1893, seconded the nomination.¹¹⁴

In his acceptance speech before the nomination meeting of the South Wentworth Conservative Association, held on December 14, 1897, Evans told those in attendance

¹¹² Evans Papers, Box 3, File 22, W.E. Rundle to W.S. Evans, 1 February 1901.

¹¹³ Hamilton Spectator, 18 December 1897.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

that he allowed his name to stand "because he was a Canadian and wanted to do what he could to develop Canada's resources and make it a great country."¹¹⁵ In addition, he felt it was "wrong for a party to be in power a long time when it entrenched itself and held office by machine methods."¹¹⁶ The nomination was ratified on the afternoon of January 6, 1898, before 200 enthusiastic supporters attending the Conservative convention at the Mountainview Hotel in Hamilton.¹¹⁷ Evans also received support from the Hamilton Spectator, a Conservative party organ.

Mr. Evans is a clever young man and a capital speaker, and is of the material from which statesmen are made. He will be able to show the South Wentworth Conservatives that they have nominated a first-class man, and one who will take a leading place among the legislators of the province. He will make it a point to know the people he is asked to represent, and his popularity will grow as he becomes acquainted.¹¹⁸

Upon accepting the nomination, Evans must have known that winning the election would be a difficult, if not impossible task. South Wentworth, a farming constituency which included the townships of Barton, Ancaster, Saltfleet, Binbrook and Gianford, was a Grit stronghold in which the Conservatives had never claimed victory. The young candidate's chances were further weakened by his lack of political experience and the fact that he worked outside the riding. The Hamilton Herald, for example, described Evans as a man who knew "more about political principles than political methods."¹¹⁹ His

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Hamilton Spectator, 7 January 1898.

¹¹⁸ Hamilton Spectator, 15 December 1897.

¹¹⁹ Evans Papers, Box 27, Newspaper Clippings, Hamilton Herald, 15 December 1897.

opponent, Grit John Dickenson, was characterized by the same paper as a candidate who knew South Wentworth "as a farmer knows his farm" which made him "better qualified to judge of its needs than any outsider could be."¹²⁰ The Hamilton Telegram, meanwhile, predicted that Evans would soon discover "what it feels like to be run over by a load of hay when he goes down under the weight of Grit Farmer Dickenson's majority."¹²¹ Naturally, the Spectator disagreed.

Mr. Evans is no stranger in South Wentworth, having resided in the riding for sixteen years, and so far as the 'farming' goes there is not much difference between the two candidates. It is true that Mr. Dickenson is largely interested in farming lands in the riding - interested by reason of certain mortgages he holds as security for money lent at a good rate, the money being the product - not of farming - but of certain lucrative contracts with the Ontario government for the construction of asylum buildings in Hamilton and the reformatory at Mimico. Besides, Mr. Dickenson is the boss of a paving company which has done a lot of very good work in Hamilton. As a farmer, Mr. Dickenson is not strikingly more horny-handed than Mr. Evans, and in every other respect Mr. Evans is vastly the superior.¹²²

By making inquiries throughout the riding in early January of 1898, Senator W. E. Sanford, Evans' uncle and primary campaign funder, discovered that his nephew's chances of winning the election were virtually nil.¹²³ After learning of his uncle's findings, Evans thought of withdrawing from the election but decided it was too late. Nevertheless, many of his supporters believed he could defeat Dickenson, provided he

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Evans Papers, Box 27, Newspaper Clippings, Hamilton Telegram, 16 December 1897.

¹²² Hamilton Spectator, 15 December 1897.

¹²³ Evans Papers, Box 8, Unmarked File, Irene Gurney to Lillian Evans, Undated January 1898.

made himself known to South Wentworth constituents.¹²⁴ As a result, from mid-January to the end of February, the young candidate canvassed heavily and gave speeches in every township in the riding. Drawing from the platform established by Ontario Liberal-Conservative leaders, Evans criticized the Grits on a variety of issues including nepotism, extravagant expenditures, mismanagement of the education system and misguided natural resource policies. He estimated, for example, that between 1887 and 1897, the people of Ontario were overcharged one million dollars for poorly written textbooks.¹²⁵ In a debate against Dickenson at Stony Creek, Evans criticized the Ontario government for allowing American timber barons the right to export Canadian logs to the United States for manufacture and its sale of Niagara Falls power to an American concern. An advocate of Canada developing its own natural resources, Evans told the capacity crowd at Squire's Hall that "in no case should outsiders be placed in a better position than the people of our own land."¹²⁶ If elected, he also promised to open world markets to Canadian farmers.¹²⁷

Although he was able to present his platform in every section of the riding, Evans lost the election by a substantial margin. John Dickenson received 347 votes while the

¹²⁴ Evans Papers, Box 2, Unmarked File, Sam Sarber to W.S. Evans, 8 January 1898; Evans Papers, Box 2, Unmarked File, E.D. Smith to W.S. Evans, 26 January 1898. Realizing that many constituents viewed Evans as an outsider, both men encouraged him to leave his Mail and Empire office and make himself known in the riding.

¹²⁵ Hamilton Spectator, 7 January 1898.

¹²⁶ Hamilton Spectator, 23 February 1898.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

inexperienced Conservative candidate received only 195.¹²⁸ His defeat can be accounted for by a number of reasons. Shortly after the election, Evans was informed that false rumours had been spread throughout Ancaster, the township in which he suffered his widest margin of defeat, that he had been "tippling" and getting "boozy" at the local hotel on the night he was to address the constituents.¹²⁹ The informant also told Evans that the rumour influenced a number of people to vote against him.¹³⁰ E. D. Smith, President of the South Wentworth Conservative Association, accused the Grits of paying \$10.00 per vote.¹³¹ The primary reason for his defeat, however, was more likely the fact that South Wentworth was a Grit stronghold. Two weeks prior to the election, on February 22, Evans admitted to his long-time girlfriend, Irene Gurney, that he had "everything necessary to win except numbers."¹³² Shortly after the election, Smith told Evans that never before had he felt so sure of winning but now he was convinced that the people of South Wentworth would "vote for any sort of thing labeled

¹²⁸ Hamilton Spectator, 2 March 1898.

¹²⁹ Evans Papers, Box 2, Unmarked File, A.J. Hewson to W.S. Evans, 29 March 1898.

¹³⁰ Ibid. These allegations were later denied by Frank Reinke, the man accused of spreading the rumours. See Evans Papers, Box 2, Unmarked File, Frank Reinke to W.S. Evans, 28 May 1898.

¹³¹ Evans Papers, Box 2, Unmarked File, E.D. Smith to W.S. Evans, 2 March 1898. During the campaign Smith, himself, proposed a scheme in which the Liberal-Conservatives would encourage Toronto and Hamilton manufacturers to hire Grit labourers living in South Wentworth. Smith believed that such a plan would attract many Grit supporters to leave the riding, thereby forfeiting their right to vote in the election. See Evans Papers, Box 2, Unmarked Folder, E.D. Smith to Evans, 17 January 1898.

¹³² Evans Papers, Box 2, Unmarked File, W.S. Evans to Irene Gurney, 23 February 1898.

Grit if they belong to that party."¹³³

After two and a half years on the editorial staff of the Mail and Empire, Evans resigned in December of 1899 to join his cousin in the management of the National Cycle and Automobile Company. Unfortunately, his career as Treasurer of the company was shortlived. In September of 1900, a rival company negotiated a settlement with National Cycle's majority shareholders in the United States that resulted in Sanford and his cousin, Fred Evans, being squeezed out of the business.¹³⁴ Although he would eventually purchase the Winnipeg Telegram and move west in January of 1901, for the time being he remained active in Toronto by serving as Director of the Publishers Syndicate. In addition, from July of 1899 to February of 1901, Evans wrote the "Current Events Abroad" column for The Canadian Magazine.

Through his work with the Mail and Empire and his more recent experience in the business world, Evans earned the approval of his girl friend's father, Edward Gurney. Shortly thereafter Sanford and Irene were married. During his career change, he also undertook the challenging task of writing his first and only book, The Canadian Contingents and Canadian Imperialism: A Story and a Study. According to the agreement Evans negotiated with British publisher T. Fisher Unwin, a complete manuscript had to be delivered no later than July 1, 1900, with a length no less than 70,000 words but no more than 80,000. The author also was to receive a 10 percent royalty on all copies sold at the published price and 10 percent of total net sales on

¹³³ Evans Papers, Box 2, Unmarked File, E.D. Smith to Evans, 2 March 1898.

¹³⁴ Evans Papers, Box 3, File 21, W.S. Evans to T. Fisher Unwin, 13 December 1900 (Copy).

copies sold at or below half the regular price.¹³⁵

The task of researching Canada's role in the Boer War was much more formidable than Evans had anticipated. Drawing heavily from newspaper reports for information, he admitted that it was difficult to "piece together the operations in the field, so as to represent them with substantial accuracy."¹³⁶ Finally published in May of 1901, almost one year late, The Canadian Contingents was "neither a war history nor a minute study of politics or social conditions."¹³⁷ Instead, Evans perceived his work to be a "contribution toward an understanding of the Canadian people as they revealed themselves at home and in the field."¹³⁸ Not surprisingly, he viewed Canadian participation in the Boer War as a positive action because it inspired national sentiment. Moreover, it was a "natural result" since the Dominion was "thoroughly British in

¹³⁵ Evans Papers, Box 3, Unmarked File, Memorandum of Agreement between W. Sanford Evans and Thomas Fisher Unwin, 25 June 1900 (Copy). In the agreement, Evans wrote the words "if possible" beside the July 1, 1900, completion date. This disturbed Unwin because he believed that publishing the book at a later date would result in weak sales. The British publisher predicted that the Boer War would quickly become old news and the literary market would be flooded with other books from both Canada and England. See Evans Papers, Box 3, Unmarked File, T. Fisher Unwin to W.S. Evans, 28 June 1900.

¹³⁶ Evans Papers, Box 3, File Unmarked, W.S. Evans to T. Fisher Unwin, 14 September 1900 (Copy). Evans hoped that Sir Wilfrid Laurier would have time to read over the finished manuscript but the federal election campaign prevented the Prime Minister from doing so. Evans Papers, Box 3, File 21d, W.S. Evans to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, 12 October 1900 (Copy); Evans Papers, Box 3, File 21d, Sir Wilfrid Laurier to W.S. Evans, 18 October 1900.

¹³⁷ W. Sanford Evans, The Canadian Contingents and Canadian Imperialism: A Story and a Study (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1901), p. VIII.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. VIII.

inclination."¹³⁹ As noted by Wade Henry, Evans saw no contradiction between promoting Canadianism and celebrating British heritage because he believed that being British was an important component of the Canadian character.¹⁴⁰

Evans was not very critical of Canadian imperialism but he was not an imperialist. He merely regarded it as a form of nationalism.¹⁴¹ In the final chapter of The Canadian Contingents, the young author showed that he was opposed to any imperial policies which infringed on Canada's independence, in particular the possible formation of a representative Imperial Council. He felt that colonial representatives on such a panel might always be in the minority but would have to act with the majority.¹⁴² Dissatisfied with the British government's failure to consult with its colonies in the early stages of the South African war, Evans further argued that Canada was not constitutionally obligated to participate in Imperial defence. Issues such as participation in the Boer War had to be considered by the Dominion government, "not by delegating this working out to a few nominal representatives who meet with others like themselves in London. Imperialism must come before the people of Canada just as it does now before the people of the United Kingdom."¹⁴³ Recognizing that Canada lacked "the most economical and safest machinery" for managing its own foreign affairs, Evans

¹³⁹ Ibid., pp. 7-8.

¹⁴⁰ Henry, "W. Sanford Evans and the Canadian Club of Winnipeg," p. 4.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., p. 4.

¹⁴² Evans, The Canadian Contingents, p. 347.

¹⁴³ Ibid., p. 339.; Henry, "W. Sanford Evans and the Canadian Club of Winnipeg," p. 4.

recommended that the federal government establish a ministry solely responsible for the external activities of the country.¹⁴⁴ As one of the first advocates for a Canadian Department of External Affairs, he proposed the following responsibilities for its Minister:

One most important point is that a minister upon whom responsibility has been fixed must have a policy, must find something to stand upon. He cannot avoid laying down a policy, as the Canadian Government did over the South African contingents, because he would have no one else upon whom to lay the responsibility. He would have to defend his course in Parliament, and the subject would thus be brought to the only place where it could really be argued. . . . This minister would keep thoroughly posted on Imperial and foreign affairs and would be ready for issues before they rose. To have . . . one man whose business it was to keep thus posted would alone commend acceptance. And he would be obliged for his own sake to see that the people were put in possession of all the facts that could be disclosed, and were prepared for whatever policy he might think it wise to adopt.¹⁴⁵

The Canadian Contingents received favourable reviews in both England and Canada. The Winnipeg Tribune declared that "it should be read by everyone who is interested in the national affairs of Canada . . . as an intelligent, sincere and thoughtful contribution to questions of the present and future."¹⁴⁶ The Dundee Advertiser

¹⁴⁴ Evans, The Canadian Contingents, p. 333.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 341-342. Incidentally, Evans would repeat his call for a Canadian Department of External Affairs on several occasions in the years to come. See W. Sanford Evans to the Editor of The Times, 11 November 1904; The Times, 29 November 1904; and W. Sanford Evans, "Imperial Organization - A Canadian View," The British Empire Review, Volume VI (March 1905), pp. 184-185. Cited in John Edward Kendle, The Colonial and Imperial Conferences 1887-1911: A Study in Imperial Organization (London: Longmans, Green and Co Ltd, 1967), p. 61. In 1903, Evans proposed the establishment of a Canadian navy independent of British influence. See Winnipeg Telegram, 30 January 1903.

¹⁴⁶ Evans Papers, Box 12, File "Canadian Contingents Book Reviews", Newspaper Clippings, Winnipeg Tribune, 25 September 1901.

described Evans' work as "one of the best Imperialistic and the most satisfying in all the literature of the war."¹⁴⁷ The Manchester Guardian, meanwhile, credited the author with providing a well-balanced account of the imperialist movement in Canada. In their opinion, it was a study "that all interested in the relations of England to the colonies should read."¹⁴⁸ Despite such glowing reviews, sales of The Canadian Contingents were relatively poor. In England, for example, only 238 copies had been sold by November of 1902. T. Fisher Unwin attributed the failure of the English edition to Evans' "delaying the manuscript until all interest in the war was over."¹⁴⁹

Although Sanford Evans never fulfilled his earliest aspirations of becoming a Methodist minister, his christian upbringing remained a strong presence in his life for years to come. Many of his initial acquaintances in Winnipeg were with fellow Methodists such as J. A. M. Aikins and Henry Ashdown. He also became actively involved in the work of Methodist institutions such as Wesley College. Evans' formative years also show that he was a practical young man with simple tastes. His confident and enthusiastic approach to new challenges would be a characteristic of his future endeavours.

Evans' early personal life and career can best be described as richly varied. With both parents deceased by 1889, the twenty year old student unselfishly cast aside his

¹⁴⁷ Evans Papers, Box 21, File "Canadian Contingents Book Reviews", Newspaper Clippings, Dundee Advertiser. Undated 1901.

¹⁴⁸ Evans Papers, Box 12, File "Canadian Contingents Book Reviews", Newspaper Clippings, Manchester Guardian, Undated 1901.

¹⁴⁹ Evans Papers, Box 3, File 23a, T. Fisher Unwin to W.S. Evans, 12 November 1902.

aspirations of becoming a philosophy professor in order to support his younger sisters and carry on the family's philanthropic work at Dr. Stephenson's Children's Home. Although this did not satisfy his strong desire for intellectual stimulation and friends thought it was beneath him, Evans committed himself whole-heartedly to the orphanage. Possessing a strong work ethic, the Resident Governor used his spare time to establish himself as one of Hamilton's finest young public speakers. This spirited approach to life also enabled him to complete his Masters degree while serving Dr. Felix Adler's Society for Ethical Culture in so many different capacities between 1894 and 1897. The capstone of Evans' early career was his association with the creation and growth of the Canadian Club movement. Although clubs with the same name were in existence prior to Evans' and McCullough's pioneering efforts in 1892 and 1893, it was these two young men who carried out the missionary work that resulted in the formation of Canadian Clubs throughout the Dominion and eventually the world. Evans accomplished more in his first thirty years than most people do in a lifetime. Remarkably, this was only the first stage in an extraordinary career.

Chapter Two: Business, Boosting and Civic Politics

Sanford Evans' personal life and career changed dramatically between 1901 and 1911. Prompted by a belief that western Canada was a land of opportunity, he and Irene moved from Toronto to Winnipeg at the turn of the century. Almost immediately after his arrival, the new owner of the Telegram became a leading member of the city's business and social elite. His high standing in the community was confirmed by membership in exclusive clubs and active involvement in several boosting organizations including the Western Canadian Immigration Association, Winnipeg Development and Industrial Bureau and the Board of Trade. After leaving the newspaper business in late 1905, Evans established a successful brokerage, real estate and investment concern. During this period he would also shatter any misconceptions that he was a political impossibility by winning four consecutive civic election campaigns including three mayoralty contests. As will be shown, Evans bore little resemblance to the young student who once aspired to become a Methodist minister or philosophy professor. During a tour of western Canada in 1905, Sir Frederick Pollock of England visited Winnipeg. After a meeting with Evans, Pollock came away with the impression that the Canadian Club pioneer was "the most important person" in the Dominion that he had talked to aside from Prime Minister Laurier.¹

¹ Evans Papers, Box 12, Unmarked File, Extract from report of Sir Frederick Pollock. (Undated) (Copy). Sir Frederick Pollock was Professor of Jurisprudence at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and editor of the Law Quarterly Review and of the Law Reports. He also was Chairman of the Pollock Committee (1903-1907), a group of men interested in finding the best practical means of conducting imperial business. Unlike the Round Table Movement, which favoured imperial federation, the Pollock Committee supported the Colonial Conference as the one remaining institution in Europe which might bring about closer and more practical relations between the self-governing colonies. Incidentally, the 1905 trip to Canada confirmed the Committee's suspicions that self-governing colonies would never consent to the creation of an imperial council. See Kendle, The Colonial and Imperial Conferences, pp. 55-82.

While researching and writing The Canadian Contingents between 1900 and 1901, Evans began to search for work in order to support himself and wife Irene, who was expecting the couple's first child early in the new year. Although he considered the possibility of establishing two weekly papers in Canada, one political and literary and the other a children's weekly, he soon realized that his most encouraging prospect for employment lay with the Winnipeg Telegram. Evans learned by accident that the newspaper was for sale during the fall of 1900 when he had a chance encounter with a group of Winnipeg businessmen and Manitoba Conservative party members visiting Toronto.² Although he knew that the newspaper had fallen on hard times, the ambitious former Mail and Empire Editor was convinced that an injection of capital would revitalize the Winnipeg Tory organ. To obtain more information on the situation Evans contacted, in confidence, fellow Hamiltonian and long-time acquaintance R. T. Riley of the W. E. Sanford Manufacturing Company in Winnipeg.³ Riley, however, had only limited knowledge of the newspaper business and subsequently sought advice from W. B. Somerset, a former Business Manager of the Manitoba Free Press who was residing in Peachland, British Columbia.⁴ In the meantime, on December 14, 1900, Evans and

² Evans Papers, Box 3, File 21a, W.S. Evans to Wilson M. Southam, 8 January 1901 (Copy).

³ Evans Papers, Box 3, File 21d, W.S. Evans to Robert T. Riley, 21 November 1900 (Copy). Robert Thomas Riley moved from Wentworth, Ontario, to Winnipeg in 1881, where he became the Manager of the Manitoba Drainage Company. In partnership with Evans' uncle, Senator W.E. Sanford, Riley eventually bought out the company. A strong supporter of the Conservative party, Riley also was Managing Director of the Canadian Fire Insurance Company. See George Bryce, A History of Manitoba: Its Resources and People (Toronto and Montreal: The Canada History Company, 1906), pp. 400-401.

⁴ Evans Papers, Box 3, File 21d, Robert T. Riley to W.B. Somerset, 19 December 1900 (Copy).

an unidentified potential investor, a Hamilton printer, left for Winnipeg to investigate the possibility of making the paper a money-making concern. While staying at the Leland Hotel, Evans and his companion spent much time analyzing the Telegram's financial records. In doing so, they discovered that the newspaper had suffered from annual losses of almost \$20,000; but that each month's deficit had been covered through subscriptions and campaign funds of the Conservative party.⁵ Shortly thereafter, W. B. Somerset returned his assessment of the situation and it too was discouraging.

. . . There should be a constituency for a moderate Conservative paper in Winnipeg now that the 'Free Press' is so ultra Liberal, but so long as it is merely or principally political, it would have an uphill fight commercially. To the person taking it over the first work would be to make it commercially viable as an advertiser. This would require time and money in working up a circulation. No one need try it, unless they command capital enough to invest unremuneratively for a time. The plant, itself, is not of much account outside the Lincoln typesetters. Its news franchise is of doubtful value, which in a morning paper, is important. . . . In view of the past history of the 'Telegram' and its uncertain tenure of life for a long period, there would be a prejudice to overcome, and a new paper in some ways would be better than starting from its conditions. If the present proprietary would hand the whole thing over, free of debt, charging a low valuation for its plant, there might be a chance. . . . From my present point of view, I would not touch it myself if I were looking for a start in the newspaper field. . .⁶

With Irene expected to give birth at any moment, Sanford left Winnipeg on a half hour's notice a few days before Christmas. Unfortunately, he was on the train to Toronto when he received the telegram announcing the arrival of the couple's first child, a healthy baby girl named Katherine Jean. Despite Somerset's advice and the poor

⁵ Evans Papers, Box 3, File 21d, W.S. Evans to Irene Evans, 19 December 1900; Evans Papers, Box 3, File 21d, Robert T. Riley to W.B. Somerset, 19 December 1900 (Copy).

⁶ Evans Papers, Box 3, File 21d, W.B. Somerset to Robert T. Riley, 22 December 1900 (Copy).

financial state of the Tory organ, by early January the first-time father had "little doubt" that he and three or four other unidentified investors would take over the Winnipeg Telegram.⁷ Evans felt it was struggling because it had been managed by a committee of the Conservative party rather than a private ownership group applying business principles. In addition, he was confident that the newspaper had a "better chance than ever" to succeed because the Conservatives had recently been elected to power in Manitoba.⁸

Another factor that undoubtedly influenced his decision to purchase the Telegram was the party's guarantee to support his nomination in the next federal election. The latter was of great importance to Evans. Convinced that western Canada was a land of opportunity, Evans once said "a man from Manitoba stands a better chance of obtaining positions of importance than a man from Ontario . . . as Canada's [future] is going to be largely determined [sic] by the attitude of Manitoba and the North West."⁹ With these factors in mind, Sanford Evans purchased the Winnipeg Telegram in January of 1901.¹⁰ Although exact terms of the agreement are unknown, the newspaper appears

⁷ Evans Papers, Box 3, File 22, W.S. Evans to Charles R. McCullough, 7 January 1901 (Copy).

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Evans lacked the financial resources necessary to purchase the Telegram on his own. Apparently, he bought the Winnipeg Tory organ in partnership with three or four other men. Their identities are not known. Evans, himself, appears to have borrowed money, most likely from his father-in-law, Edward Gurney, to finance his share of the transaction. See Evans Papers, Box 3, File 21a. W.S. Evans to Dr. Reynar, 9 January 1901 (Copy).

to have been sold debt free, for the value of its plant at a moderate valuation.¹¹ As President of the newly established Telegram Printing Company, Evans took over the Managing Editorship of the newspaper while his brother, Harry, became the Business Manager. Although Sanford was enthusiastic about the possibilities afforded by moving west, he would be missed in Toronto.

An event which caused more than usual interest in newspaper circles in Toronto was the departure, a few days ago, of W. Sanford Evans, to assume the management of the Winnipeg Telegram. Mr. Sanford Evans is of the highest type of Journalist; his ideals of duty to the public being high and conscientiously adhered to. He is, besides, a man of more than ordinary patriotism and public spirit, his sense of public weal leading him to organize the Canadian Club in Hamilton and afterwards in Toronto, and his editorial work being invariably tinged with robust Canadianism. He is looked upon as an expert educationalist; he is a writer who combines vigorous expression with a finished style, is naturally fair to opponents and usually moderate in tone. He ought to be a distinct acquisition to the newspaper world of the west.¹²

Upon his arrival in Winnipeg at the end of January, Sanford Evans wasted little time in making himself known among the city's elite. From the beginning, his evenings were spent dining or visiting with men of prominence including old friend Robert T. Riley and new acquaintances such as lawyer J. A. M. Aikins and hardware dealer James H. Ashdown.¹³ Known as Winnipeg's "Merchant Prince," Ashdown was a Liberal in politics and a Methodist in religion who, by 1910, was a millionaire and one of Western

¹¹ Evans Papers, Box 3, File 22, W.S. Evans to Robert T. Riley, 7 January 1901 (Copy). Incidentally, these were the terms under which Somerset advised purchasing the newspaper. See Evans Papers, Box 3, File 21d, W.B. Somerset to Robert T. Riley, 22 December 1900 (Copy).

¹² Evans Papers, Box 3, File 22b, Magazine Clipping, Unknown Magazine, 2 February 1901.

¹³ Evans Papers, Box 3, File 22a, W.S. Evans to Irene Evans, 8 February 1901.

Canada's most important businessmen.¹⁴ He also professed to be on "first rate terms" with Conservative politicians such as Attorney General Colin H. Campbell and the Honourable Robert Rogers, Minister of Public Works.¹⁵ Indeed, Evans' position with the Telegram and his active involvement in Tory functions earned him immediate acceptance among the Conservative business and professional community. In addition, his well established connection with the non-partisan and non-political Canadian Club movement brought him further into contact with the social establishment of Winnipeg.¹⁶ Already a member of the powerful Board of Trade, Evans' acceptance by the elite was confirmed by his membership in such organizations as the Zetland Lodge, Masonic Order, the Commercial and Adanac Clubs, and the exclusive Manitoba and Carleton Clubs. His passion for golf and fellowship eventually led to his membership in the Winnipeg Hunt and St. Charles Country Clubs. Such non-business activities were essential if one was to be counted among the city's elite.¹⁷

Having gained instant acceptance among the business and social elite, Evans immediately began to play a key role in Winnipeg's development through the process of boosterism. Like most other prairie cities, Winnipeg was controlled, in virtually all

¹⁴ Alan F.J. Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1914 (Montreal and London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), p. 29. Evans eventually joined both Aikins and Ashdown on the Board of Governors of Wesley College, a Methodist institution.

¹⁵ Evans Papers, Box 3, File 22a, W.S. Evans to Irene Evans, 2 February 1901; Evans Papers, Box 3, File 22a, W.S. Evans to Irene Evans, 8 February 1901.

¹⁶ Henry, "W. Sanford Evans and the Canadian Club," p. 9.

¹⁷ Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, p. 35. Evans' membership in the Carleton Club, a Liberal bastion, shows that his acceptance among the elite included but was not limited to Tory members and supporters.

aspects, by a small and close-knit group of elites. From formulation to implementation, they dominated the city's decision-making process. Although several different organizations became involved along the way, there was sufficient overlap to ensure continuity from start to finish. "Thus, even though a desire for a particular policy may have originated during lunch at an exclusive club or during a game of golf, it quickly moved up the hierarchy to discussion in the press, at the Board of Trade, and finally, to implementation by city council."¹⁸ Virtually the same individuals were involved at all stages, forming an interlocking directorate. Between 1901 and 1914 Sanford Evans was actively involved in the work of more than 40 sub-groups and executive committees of several booster-related organizations and institutions including the Winnipeg Board of Trade, Winnipeg Development and Industrial Bureau, Industrial Exhibition, Board of Control, Town Planning Commission, Western Canadian Immigration Association, and Winnipeg Stock Exchange. In many respects, the ambitious Telegram owner fit the booster mold cast by historian Alan Artibise.

The vast majority of the elite were Anglo Saxon Protestants of relatively humble origin who had come west from the small towns and cities of the Maritimes and Ontario. Before migrating, many had gained considerable experience in promoting growth in eastern urban centres. But the possibilities in the east were too limited for some elements. . . . Within their chosen communities, the commercial elites were the men who possessed the proverbial stake in the community. Most were successful entrepreneurs who built up personal fortunes in real estate or commerce or were in the process of doing so. Most also belonged to an astonishing

¹⁸ Alan F.J. Artibise, "Continuity and Change: Elites and Prairie Urban Development, 1914-1950," in Alan F.J. Artibise and Gilbert A. Stelter (eds.), The Usable Urban Past: Planning and Politics in the Modern Canadian City (Toronto: MacMillan Company of Canada Limited, 1979), pp. 130-131. Artibise, J. M. S. Careless and Paul Voisey have written several excellent articles relating to boosterism and urban development on the Prairies. See Bibliography.

array of business and social organizations.¹⁹

By March of 1901, the Telegram was losing money "as heavily as ever" but had made significant headway in terms of "respect and goodwill"; two elements that the new Managing Editor and owner thought could be converted into cash later on.²⁰ Evans understood that the newspaper could not be transformed into a profitable enterprise overnight. Instead, it would require effective leadership, increased news coverage and a new printing press capable of producing several thousand newspapers within a short period of time. The latter was necessary to provide large numbers of subscribers with their papers as early in the morning as possible. Thus, during the Telegram Printing Company's first ten months in operation, several innovations were implemented to increase circulation. The number of columns devoted to sports was increased and an editor was hired to manage the department. As a direct result of this innovation, the Telegram was able to identify itself as western Canada's "supreme authority on all matters relating to sport."²¹

The most significant improvements made were to the financial/commercial and general news columns through the addition of Associated Press dispatches and an enlarged reporting staff. Besides the introduction of an eight page Saturday supplement devoted to local affairs, the Tory organ also pledged to include all news items, edited for size if necessary, rather than print fewer stories in their entirety. Another important

¹⁹ Ibid., 130-131

²⁰ Evans Papers, Box 3, File 22b, W.S. Evans to Irene Evans, 2 March 1901.

²¹ Winnipeg Telegram, 16 November 1901.

innovation was the purchase of a state-of-the-art high speed Hoe printing press. Used in North America's largest and most modern newspaper offices, the Hoe press was capable of producing larger editions at a rate of 20,000 completed and folded copies per hour.²² One of its first tasks was to print the newly created evening Telegram. These changes, implemented under Evans' management, appear to have had a very positive impact.

Among the outward signs which all may read and which point to the rapidly increasing prosperity of the paper may be the enlargement of the premises. In the fore part of the year the whole work of the office was conducted in the room which now houses the Bijou bowling alley and one room above. Now two flats of the Stovel block provide somewhat cramped quarters, and extra accommodation has had to be secured in the Bulman block.

It may also be mentioned that the advertising receipts for the first ten months of the current year show an increase over those of last year of just over 35 percent, ranging month by month from 25 to 60 percent. At the same time the increase in certain classes of advertisements has been exceptionally large. To newspaper men the most important item is always the columns devoted to prepared ads. During the present year the Telegram has almost tripled the space devoted to them. No more significant sign of the growth of the paper could be wanted than this.²³

Sanford Evans was Managing Editor of the Winnipeg Telegram from February of 1901 to November of 1905. During this five year period he earned a reputation throughout the Dominion for being a well-informed newspaper man, in tune with the feelings and opinions of western Canadians. Federal Conservative leader Robert L. Borden came to rely on him for the production of party literature and as an informal policy advisor. On more than one occasion, Evans was asked to submit his ideas so that

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

Borden could place them before the Conservative party's "leading friends in the House."²⁴

Meanwhile, the Telegram's editorial page devoted space to a broad spectrum of local, national and international issues ranging from the city's inadequate water supply to the British Empire and Russian famine. Moreover, as the organ of Manitoba's Conservative party, the Telegram frequently used its editorials to criticize and discredit both provincial and federal Liberal politicians and policies. One of the newspaper's favourite targets was the Minister of the Interior Clifford Sifton. Reflecting the attitude of the Conservative party, the Telegram described Sifton's immigration policy as one that encouraged quantity at the expense of quality.²⁵ Both Galicians and Doukhobors were denounced as immigrants of an "inferior race" and "not desirable people to be imported into Canada in large numbers."²⁶ Instead of working hard to promote Canada in the British Isles and Scandinavian and Germanic countries, the Tory organ also alleged that Sifton had used immigration services in those regions as a "means of rewarding political workers who regard their positions very much in the light of sinecures."²⁷ Harsh words were also used when describing the Telegram's competition, the Winnipeg Tribune and ultra Liberal Manitoba Free Press. Other editorials reflected Evans' personal beliefs

²⁴ Evans Papers, Box 4, Unmarked File, Robert L. Borden to W.S. Evans, 19 May 1903; See also Evans Papers, Box 4, Unmarked File, Robert L. Borden to W.S. Evans, 27 June 1904; Evans Papers, Box 4, Unmarked File, Robert L. Borden to W.S. Evans, 3 June 1904.

²⁵ Winnipeg Telegram, 15 April 1901.

²⁶ Winnipeg Telegram, 7 January 1902.

²⁷ Ibid.

such as the need for a Canadian navy.

. . . . We cannot, as a self-respecting community, neglect naval defence. Canada's policy must be to provide a defence adequate to Canadian interests and this policy involves naval defence. During the past two or three years there has come to be pretty general agreement that the first thing to be done is the creation of Canadian naval militia. . . . It would not only be a beginning looking toward naval defence, but it would help to foster and develop the sea-spirit of our people. . . . We believe we should establish a naval militia, not only on our sea coasts but also on our great lakes. Coastal defences, of course, should be provided by Canada. After that, or, rather, along with it, will come the question of ships of war. Between the alternatives of contributing money towards the maintenance or construction of British ships and building ships of our own, we believe Canada will choose the latter and will look forward to the time when they can be built in Canada. . . . Our present duty, however, is to do something to relieve ourselves of the consciousness that we are doing nothing toward our own defence in the vitally important respect of naval operations.²⁸

In addition to his work with the Winnipeg Telegram, Sanford Evans played an active role in the development of the city's arts and culture. In 1903 the Canadian Club pioneer helped to establish the Winnipeg College of Music, its object being "to give instruction in all branches of the art and science of music, the fine arts, elecution, historic art and all other subjects, arts or sciences which may be deemed advisable."²⁹ The College also gave examinations, awarded diplomas, sold sheet music, textbooks and instruments, and acted as a concert, lecture and entertainment bureau. Established as a non-profit entity, only the janitor and book-keeper received compensation for their

²⁸ Winnipeg Telegram, 30 January 1903. Opposed to imperialist policies which infringed on Canada's independence, Evans continued to advocate the formation of a Dominion navy for years to come. See Evans Papers, Box 5, File 32, [Fred Evans] to W.S. Evans, 18 February 1910.

²⁹ Evans Papers, Box 4, File 26-1, Winnipeg College of Music Charter of Incorporation, 2 July 1903.

services. Even Frank Hotchkiss Osborn, a musician and head of the College, provided his services without remuneration.³⁰

Incorporated on July 2, 1903, the Winnipeg College of Music consisted of \$5,000 in capital stock, divided into fifty shares at \$100 each. Evans, along with F. H. Osborn, James Tees, John Galt, George Bowles and Isaac Pitblado, purchased one share in the corporation to become a member of its first Board of Directors.³¹ By 1905, College President James Tees was able to boast that many aspiring Manitoba musicians were coming to Winnipeg for their training rather than going east to Toronto, as had been the case.³² In addition, by December 31 of the same year, all stock in the College had been purchased. The shareholder's list read like a Who's Who of Winnipeg. It consisted of several members of the city's business and social elite including bankers Augustus M. Nanton and W. F. Alloway, Attorney General Colin Campbell, brewer E. L. Drewery and barristers J. A. M. Aikins, J. S. Tupper and John S. Ewart.³³ Sanford's brother, Harry, also had a share in the College and assisted in its organization. Irene Evans, a well trained pianist in her own right, was most likely involved in some capacity as well.

During his early years in Winnipeg, Sanford Evans also was an active member of the Western Canadian Immigration Association, an organization established in late

³⁰ Evans Papers, Box 4, File 26-1, John Tees to C.C. Chipman, 25 March 1905 (Copy).

³¹ Evans Papers, Box 4, File 26-1, Winnipeg College of Music Charter of Incorporation, 2 July 1903. Each individual purchased one \$100 share in the College except Osborn, who invested \$1,700.

³² Evans Papers, Box 4, File 26-1, John Tees to C.C. Chipman, 25 March 1905 (Copy).

³³ Evans Papers, Box 4, File 26-1, Winnipeg College of Music List of Shareholders, 1904-1907.

January of 1904 by delegates attending an emigration convention in St. Paul, Minnesota. The conference was initiated by H. A. Haslam, a prominent St. Paul land promoter with extensive holdings in western Canada. Like other American land dealers, Haslam was convinced that more needed to be done to keep the attractions of the northwest before the American people and to counter the efforts of organizations such as the National Irrigation Association and the American Immigration Association of the Northwest, whose object was to "keep moving Americans away from Canada."³⁴ The conference was held at the Merchant's Hotel from January 25 to the 27 and was attended by nearly 80 participants from both the Dominion and the United States. Canada was well represented by delegations from Winnipeg City Council, the Winnipeg Board of Trade, Grain Exchange, Real Estate Exchange, Canadian Pacific and Canadian Northern Railway Companies, and the town of Morden.³⁵ Evans attended the meetings with D. W. Bole and D. E. Sprague as a representative of the Board of Trade Council and its Immigration and Lands Committee. During the course of the three day conference, Sanford was appointed to the W. C. I. A.'s Press and Publicity Committee while Bole was elected Chairman of the Executive Committee.

The objective of the Western Canadian Immigration Association was to unite all

³⁴ Alan F.J. Artibise (ed.), Gateway City: Documents of the City of Winnipeg, 1873-1913 Volume V (Winnipeg: The Manitoba Record Society, 1979), p. 133. For more information on the formation and work of the W. C. I. A. see Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, pp. 102-125.; Alan F.J. Artibise, "Advertising Winnipeg: The Campaign for Immigrants and Industry, 1874-1914," Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba Transactions, Series III. No. 27 (1970-1971), pp. 75-106.; H. Troper, "Public Versus Private Land Promotion: The Western Canadian Immigration Association," in Howard Palmer (ed.), The Settlement of the West (Calgary: Comprint Publishing Company, 1977), pp. 86-101.

³⁵ PAM, MG10 A2, Box 1, Twenty-Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Trade, 1904, p. 55.

concerned commercial interests into a "harmonious, systematic and effective effort to attract desirable population and investment capital."³⁶ In addition, the new body differed from the old organization of the same name in that it only focused on American immigrants. Unlike those from overseas, Americans emigrated without aid and typically were experienced farmers who brought with them capital and equipment. Consequently, they became immediate producers of wealth.³⁷ This is one reason why Evans, a former resident of the United States, supported wholeheartedly the formation of the W. C. I. A.. The Telegram had always been a harsh critic of Sifton's immigration policy and the encouragement of "undesirables" such as the Galicians and Doukhobors. During the St. Paul conference, Evans spoke on "Our Cousins" at the January 26 banquet and expressed hope that many Americans would emigrate to Canada. "We and Canada," said Evans, "desire you for our friends; we know you and admire you, and realize that with the United States and the British Empire hand in hand, we can face and control the world."³⁸ As President of the Telegram Printing Company, Evans clearly had a vested interest in the prosperity and growth of Winnipeg and the Northwest. A growing population meant increased profits not only for real estate agents but for businessmen in general.³⁹ Upon their return to Winnipeg, Evans, Bole and Sprague expressed this viewpoint in their report.

³⁶ Troper, "Public Versus Private Land Promotion," pp. 91-92.

³⁷ Artibise, "Advertising Winnipeg." p. 105.

³⁸ Artibise (ed.), Gateway City, p. 139.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 131.

The commercial interests of Winnipeg and the West depend largely upon the continued growth of population - the more people the more trade. A well defined policy of emigration, under the auspices of the association just formed, must therefore commend itself to the businessmen of Western Canada and is entitled to their support.⁴⁰

Despite their lofty expectations for the Western Canadian Immigration Association, Sanford Evans and other Winnipeg delegates of the 1904 conference quickly discovered that the city's business elite were unwilling to commit their own finances to the organization. It was only after the federal (\$10,000) and provincial (\$1,000) governments, City Council (\$1,000), and the railway companies came forward that Winnipeg's business community pledged \$6,000. Nevertheless, during its four year existence, the association's activities were largely directed from Winnipeg. Annual meetings for the W. C. I. A. were held in Manitoba's capital in 1905, 1906, 1907, and 1908. Civic leaders and city boosters such as Evans were at the forefront of the work, serving in all capacities within the organization.⁴¹

Between 1904 and 1908 the association utilized a variety of methods to promote western Canada. Its most effective tool was the organization of free prairie tours for editors and correspondents of American farm magazines and newspapers. In 1906 the W. C. I. A. established a magazine of its own entitled The Canadian West. By the following year it boasted more than 1,400 American farmers and investors as

⁴⁰ Twenty-Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Trade, 1904, pp. 56-57.

⁴¹ Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, pp. 92-93.; Artibise, "Advertising Winnipeg," p. 116.

subscribers.⁴² The association also made an effort to suppress "all fake news items of a sensational character" and to "hunt down" the correspondents responsible for them.⁴³ Although it is difficult to measure the success of the W. C. I. A. in relation to the efforts of the Canadian government and the C. P. R., recent studies have shown that it was a source of great irritation to employees of the Federal Immigration Branch. William J. Whyte, Canada's Inspector of Agencies in the United States, viewed the W. C. I. A. as a clear threat to the government's homestead and immigration encouragement program because it promoted settlement for quick profit rather than long range development.⁴⁴ In any case, the influx of American settlers to western Canada would have taken place with or without the reformation of the association. Today, its work stands as testimony to the lengths that Winnipeg businessmen such as Sanford Evans went to sustain the growth and prosperity of their community.⁴⁵

While the groundwork was being laid for the foundation of the W. C. I. A. in St. Paul in early 1904, a similar effort was being put forth in Winnipeg to establish a local chapter of the Canadian Club. Unlike the Canadian Club of Toronto, formed almost immediately after Evans began working for the Mail and Empire in 1897, no such organization was created in Winnipeg upon his arrival in January, 1901. Evans most likely had his hands full as the managing editor of a struggling newspaper and the father

⁴² Ibid., p. 93.; Ibid., p. 116.

⁴³ Twenty-Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Trade, 1904, p. 57.

⁴⁴ Troper, "Public Versus Private Land Promotion," pp. 92-93.

⁴⁵ Artibise (ed.), Gateway City, p. 132.

of a young family. Consequently, he joined existing social groups such as the Manitoba and Carleton Clubs. Nevertheless, by February of 1904, a movement was under way to establish a Canadian Club of Winnipeg. It was led by A. H. Young, a former member of the Ottawa club established in 1903, with assistance from H. W. Whitla. Beyond encouraging his friends to organize the club, Sanford Evans did not play a leading role in its formation.⁴⁶ He felt that heightened political awareness in connection with his recent nomination as the Conservative candidate for Winnipeg in the upcoming federal election would jeopardise the club's integrity as a non-political and non-partisan entity. Toronto club Secretary E. J. Hathaway acknowledged Evans' unselfish stance in a letter, telling him "I appreciate the fact your political prominence is against you taking an active part in its formation, for the identification of such a club with any party would be fatal."⁴⁷

The first formal meeting in connection with the organization of the club was held on March 31, 1904, at 8:30 p.m. in the Y.M.C.A. rooms. After a few opening remarks by the meeting's Chairman, J. A. M. Aikins, short speeches in favour of the movement were made by Thomas Gilroy, H. W. Whitla, Professor W. F. Osborne, J. B. Mitchell, the Reverend Charles W. Gordon and Sanford Evans. Osborne spoke of the club as a

⁴⁶ Evans' personal papers do not reveal whether or not Young and Whitla even asked for his assistance. Considering his high standing in the Canadian Club movement, it seems probable that they would have.

⁴⁷ Evans Papers, Box 4, File 25, E.J. Hathaway to W.S. Evans, 5 February 1904.; Henry. "W. Sanford Evans and the Canadian Club," p. 5.

"rallying ground" for men of different professions, religions and political affiliations.⁴⁸ The Reverend Gordon, who was novelist Ralph Connor, told those in attendance that he had visited the Toronto club when Evans was President and thought "there was no place where such a club was needed more or would have a larger future than Winnipeg."⁴⁹ Evans gave an account of his association with Charles McCullough and discussed the history of the Canadian Club movement. Before the meeting adjourned at 11 p.m., Whitla moved, seconded by Young, that an organization be formed to be known as the Canadian Club of Winnipeg. The resolution passed unanimously and the club was born. Final details of its organization were completed on April 14, 1904. Its objectives were almost identical to those of the Hamilton club.

It is the purpose of the Club to foster patriotism by encouraging the study of the institutions, history, arts, literature and resources of Canada, and by endeavouring to unite Canadians in such work for the welfare and progress of the Dominion as may be desirable and expedient.⁵⁰

Although Evans' candidacy in the federal election prevented him from playing a lead role in the formation of the Canadian Club of Winnipeg, he was among the organization's charter members. Other prominent Winnipeggers who signed the roll on the evening of March 31 were J. A. M. Aikins, the Reverend Charles Gordon, E. E. Sharpe, and R. A. C. Manning. The club's first President was constitutional lawyer John S. Ewart, a man whose ideals reflected Sanford Evans' and the spirit of the

⁴⁸ Manitoba Free Press, 31 April 1904.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ PAM, P2739, Canadian Club of Winnipeg Papers [hereafter CCWP Papers], [First] Report of the Canadian Club of Winnipeg Together with the Inaugural Address of the First President Mr. J.S. Ewart, K.C., 1904-1906, p. 5.

Canadian Club movement. Ewart did not advocate separation from the British Empire, nor was he an "Imperial Federationist."⁵¹ Like Evans, he believed that Canadian national sentiment was a prerequisite to Imperialism. Quoting from Evans' The Canadian Contingents in his inaugural address before the club, Ewart agreed that "from a common Canadianism the forward movement must begin. This principle must be accepted and acted upon as though the patience of some of the new Imperialists be tried."⁵² He concluded his speech with another excerpt from the Canadian Club pioneer's work.

No time in the history of this country, not even the period when Confederation was the grand problem, had greater need of enlightenment and temperate statesmanship. That is the great need of the Empire to-day. The proselytizing zeal of those who see but one possible outcome, and admit but one interpretation of what has occurred, is not the desideratum; nor is the subtle and insistent diplomacy of more masterful men. Frankness, directness, mutual consideration, and moderation, will take Canada safely through the period of discussion which will dissipate the mists and the false sanctities and let in the daylight in which men see where they walk and walk because they see.⁵³

From its inception, the structure and format of the Winnipeg club attracted a large membership. In fact, by 1907 it boasted a membership of 1,020 which made it the largest Canadian Club in the Dominion.⁵⁴ During the same year a Women's Canadian

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 19.

⁵² Evans, The Canadian Contingents, p. 324., cited in CCWP Papers, P2739, [First] Report of the Canadian Club of Winnipeg, 1904-1906, p. 17.; Henry, "W. Sanford Evans and the Canadian Club," p. 5.

⁵³ Evans, The Canadian Contingents, p. 331., cited in CCWP Papers, P2739, [First] Report of the Canadian Club of Winnipeg, 1904-1906, p. 32.

⁵⁴ CCWP Papers, P2739, Third Annual Report of the Canadian Club of Winnipeg, 1907-1908, p. 7.

Club of Winnipeg was formed with Irene Evans as its first President. Despite her husband's prominence in political affairs, there were no complaints of partisanship. By the 1918-1919 season, membership in the men's club reached more than 1,800, forcing the executive to consider a limitation on newcomers.⁵⁵ From the beginning, members were "thoroughly representative of the best type of Winnipeg's business and professional classes."⁵⁶ Indeed, their occupation almost always fell into one of the following categories: barrister, broker, dentist, doctor, insurance and real estate agent, journalist and manager.⁵⁷

In its effort to promote Canadian national sentiment throughout the city, the Canadian Club of Winnipeg utilized a variety of methods and established several different programs. During the 1909-1910 season, for example, the club began awarding \$20 and \$30 scholarships to students who earned high grades on university and teacher examinations in Canadian history. On Dominion Day in 1909, members addressed public school students and distributed 12,000 miniature silk flags among the children. Each flag was accompanied by a patriotic greeting card from the club. A few years later, they began awarding prizes to immigrants who attended evening English classes conducted by the School Board.⁵⁸

Although Sanford Evans was President of the Canadian Club of Winnipeg during

⁵⁵ CCWP Papers, P2739, Fifteenth Annual Report of the Canadian Club of Winnipeg, 1918-1919, p. 11.

⁵⁶ CCWP Papers, P2739, [First] Report of the Canadian Club of Winnipeg, 1904-1906, p. 9.

⁵⁷ Henry, "W. Sanford Evans and the Canadian Club," p. 6.

⁵⁸ CCWP Papers, P2739, Annual Reports of the Canadian Club of Winnipeg, 1904-1914.

the 1911-1912 season, one his most important contributions to the local chapter came in April of 1904 when he suggested that the club hold fortnightly luncheon meetings.⁵⁹ As a past President of the Toronto club, the chapter which invented the luncheon speaker concept, he was aware of its appeal and by 1905 it had become the forum in which the Winnipeg club's regular meetings were held. Between 1905 and 1917 an average of 16 luncheons were held per year with an average attendance of 246.⁶⁰ Although attendance at club luncheons was never actually low during those years, seldom falling below 230, certain speakers attracted abnormally large crowds. On October 2, 1907, for example, Rudyard Kipling spoke on the "The Spirit of Manhood as Developed in Canada" before a capacity crowd of 760 members. Average attendance for that season was only 234. Other prominent guest speakers who attracted large audiences were Lord Strathcona (890 on August 25, 1909), Sir Arthur Conan Doyle (803 on June 8, 1914), and Sir Robert Laird Borden (784 on December 29, 1914).⁶¹

In addition to his recommendation that the club adopt the highly successful luncheon speaker format, Evans acted on the local chapter's executive in several different capacities over the years. As will be shown, he would go on to serve terms as Second Vice-President in 1905-06, Literary Correspondent in 1907-08, President of the Association of Canadian Clubs in 1910-11, and President of the Winnipeg club in 1911-12.

⁵⁹ CCWP Papers, P2740, Minutes of the Canadian Club of Winnipeg, 14 April 1904.

⁶⁰ CCWP Papers, P2739, Annual Reports of the Canadian Club of Winnipeg, 1905-1917.

⁶¹ Ibid.

During the same year in which he and his friends established the Canadian Club of Winnipeg, Sanford Evans gained his first and only experience as a candidate for Parliament when he was nominated the Conservative standard bearer for Winnipeg in the federal election of November 3, 1904. Nominated by former Mayor John Arbuthnot and seconded by William Georgeson, Evans' name was the only one placed before those attending the nomination meeting at Selkirk Hall on the evening of January 14.⁶² Held two weeks prior to his departure for the St. Paul emigration convention, the Tory gathering was said to have been the largest nomination meeting ever held in Winnipeg.⁶³ In his acceptance speech, Evans admitted that it had always been his ambition to serve Canada in Parliament. Thus, he considered the nomination to be one of the "proudest moments he had ever known."⁶⁴

Evans was confident that he could win the election even before the contest actually began. He thought he understood the needs of Winnipeggers as well as the obligations of a western representative in Parliament. Based on information he received in early June, Conservative leader Robert Borden told Evans that "he could not be beaten."⁶⁵ As to the campaign, itself, Winnipeg's Tory candidate was expecting not only a "short and hard fight" but also one in which the issues would be presented fairly

⁶² Manitoba Free Press, 15 January 1904. The election was originally scheduled for spring but was postponed until autumn.

⁶³ Winnipeg Telegram, 7 October 1904.

⁶⁴ Manitoba Free Press, 15 January 1904.

⁶⁵ Evans Papers, Box 4, Unmarked File, Robert L. Borden to W.S. Evans, 16 June 1904.

before the constituents.⁶⁶ Both of Evans' opponents, Arthur Puttee and D. W. Bole, were men whom he respected. Labour candidate Puttee was a Printer and founding father of The Voice, who saw himself "more like a British Labourite than a Marxist; he wanted to change the system from within, not destroy it."⁶⁷ On the other hand, Liberal D. W. Bole was a leading businessman with experience on Winnipeg City Council, the Board of Trade and the School Board.

Unlike Bole and Puttee, Evans did not want to portray himself as a representative of any one class. In a campaign speech at the Young Conservative Club on October 3, 1904, the experienced orator told those in attendance that Winnipeg had not yet reached a stage in its development where the fundamental interests of its citizens were different.

We have more in common that we can have to differ about, and at this which is in many respects a critical stage of Winnipeg we want to sink all idea of class and unite as one people in respect of our common interests. . . . I do not wish to have any suspicion attached to me as being a demagogue, but I aspire to be not the representative of any class but the representative of the citizens of Winnipeg as a whole (loud cheers), and if the citizens elect me, I aspire to so act for every class and for the different sections of the community. . . .⁶⁸

Drawing heavily from the platform established by federal Conservative leaders, Evans campaigned throughout the city from late September to the first week of November. He advocated autonomy for the Northwest, greater administrative efficiency in government, British reciprocity and the end of the Liberal machine through "cleaner

⁶⁶ Winnipeg Telegram, 7 October 1904.

⁶⁷ Gregg Shilliday (ed.), Manitoba 125: A History. Volume Two: Gateway to the West (Winnipeg: Great Plains Publications, 1994), p. 89.

⁶⁸ Winnipeg Telegram, 3 October 1904.

politics."⁶⁹ Without question, however, the most significant issue in the campaign was the construction of another transcontinental railway through Winnipeg and the Northwest. D. W. Bole and the Liberals favoured immediate construction via the privately owned Grand Trunk Pacific. A staunch supporter of Borden's transportation policy, Evans was completely opposed to such a plan.

. . . . We should have a transcontinental system owned and controlled by the people of Canada. . . . Let me make this so clear that you will never be at a loss when meeting those who will try to deceive you. The Conservative policy is to have a Government-owned road from one end to the other of the country, thus securing such control over the whole transportation system that people of Canada will always be able to regulate the transportation and rates.

I say I believe in that policy. I believe if we let the matter pass this year and allow that other [G. T. P.] contract to go into force, we will be hampered forever and in such a condition that corporations will always have too much influence over our people and over the transportation of our goods.⁷⁰

Just as Sanford Evans had predicted, the 1904 federal election campaign was a short but hotly contested battle. Much of it was carried out through the city's daily newspapers. Evans' Winnipeg Telegram, for example, repeatedly published headlines in bold-face type such as "Vote for Public Ownership and Prompt Construction" and "Grand Trunk Pacific means Non-Canadian Ownership, Alien Management, Alien Engineers, Alien Contractors, and Alien Labour at Starvation Wages."⁷¹ The Manitoba Free Press countered with slogans of its own such as "A Conservative Vote on November

⁶⁹ Winnipeg Telegram, 30 September 1904.

⁷⁰ Winnipeg Telegram, 3 October 1904.

⁷¹ Winnipeg Telegram, 7 October 1904.; Winnipeg Telegram, 29 October 1904.

3 is a Vote in Favor of the Business Stagnation of Ten Years Ago."⁷²

Despite presenting the Conservative platform in every district of the city, Evans was unsuccessful in his bid to represent Winnipeg in Parliament. However, unlike the South Wentworth election of 1898, he lost the 1904 contest by a very narrow margin. Under the front page headline "Chained For A Hundred Years to Corporation Ownership," the Telegram declared Liberal D. W. Bole the winner with 4,252 votes while Evans was close behind with 4,006. Labour candidate Arthur Puttee was a distant third with only 1,277 votes.⁷³ Upon hearing the results, Evans' supporters at the Young Conservative Club assured him that he had lost the election "by methods that were abhorrent to every elector who wished to see an honest election."⁷⁴ The Tory candidate's friends in Hamilton were also disappointed in the results. Charles McCullough had spent the entire evening outside the offices of the Spectator waiting to hear the news.⁷⁵ After predicting that Evans would win by a considerable majority, defeated Conservative leader R. L. Borden was stunned by the loss.⁷⁶ Evans described his defeat in the following way.

My defeat in Winnipeg was entirely due to the fact that contractors, wholesale supply houses and speculators in real estate believed their private interests would be advanced by the immediate construction of a

⁷² Manitoba Free Press, 7 October 1904.

⁷³ Winnipeg Telegram, 4 November 1904.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* Indeed, during the early 1900s such comments were common among those dissatisfied with election results.

⁷⁵ Evans Papers, Box 4, File 25c, Charles R. McCullough to W.S. Evans, 10 November 1904.

⁷⁶ Evans Papers, Box 4, Unmarked Filed, Robert L. Borden to W.S. Evans, 22 November 1904.

better railway, no matter what the terms were, and could not be persuaded in the short period of the campaign that Mr. Borden's policy would not involve at least a year or two of delay. If it had not been for the strenuous work done by the above parties I think I could not have been beaten even with all the money used against me. We have entered a protest and I think we shall be able to show that the use of money had a determining influence on the result⁷⁷

Evans' protest proved fruitless and with his second election loss in as many attempts, he quickly gained a reputation for being a "political impossibility."⁷⁸ In hindsight, however, this label appears to have been a little strong. As the boom of the early 1900s accelerated to unprecedented proportions, Canadians "rallied so strongly to Laurier that it was simply a question of how big the government's majority would be."⁷⁹ Nevertheless, Evans began to re-consider his future with the Winnipeg Telegram. His father-in-law, Edward Gurney, was convinced that the defeat would encourage leading members of the Manitoba Conservative Party to drive him out of the newspaper business.⁸⁰ Taking into consideration Evans' high personal standing in the community and his lack of capital, as well as his brother Harry's knowledge of business, Gurney

⁷⁷ Evans Papers, Box 4, File 25c, W.S. Evans to Herman W. Marcus, 15 December 1904. Marcus was Editor of the British Empire Review.

⁷⁸ Evans Papers, Box 18. "Winnipeg's New Mayor," by Frank R. Munro in The Busy Man's Magazine (February 1909), p. 113.

⁷⁹ J. Murray Beck, Pendulum of Power: Canada's Federal Elections (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada, Ltd., 1968), p. 97.

⁸⁰ Evans Papers, Box 4, File 25c, Edward Gurney to W.S. Evans, 4 November 1904. This letter indicates that Evans' had already developed turbulent relations with certain unknown Manitoba Conservatives.

suggested that the Evans brothers join forces to establish their own insurance or real estate agency in Winnipeg. In his opinion, they would make "a great team."⁸¹ Although there is little evidence to suggest that Edward Gurney influenced his son-in-law's decision, in November of 1905 Evans announced his resignation as managing editor of the Telegram. To the surprise of many, Sanford had decided to join his brother in the firm of March Brothers and Wells, a Michigan based company that speculated in western Canadian land and grain.

Although Evans remained a major shareholder in the Telegram up to 1911, his departure from the position of managing editor was disappointing. The publisher of the Minnedosa Tribune, D. Cannon, told Sanford that the Tory organ had been "elevated" and made prosperous under his management and that his absence from the Press Association would be a "distinct loss."⁸² At the farewell gathering for Evans in the offices of the Telegram, H. Ferguson paid tribute to his friend and former employer on behalf of the staff. He described him as a man, "who by reason of probity, uprightness of conduct and straightforward dealing with friend and opponent alike, has served as a beneficial example."⁸³ Contradicting Edward Gurney's earlier concerns about his son-in-law's status with the newspaper, federal Conservative leader Borden also was saddened

⁸¹ Ibid. As a concerned father-in-law, Gurney also felt that the real estate and insurance business would provide the Evans family with much more financial security than that offered by the Telegram.

⁸² Evans Papers, Box 4, File 27c, D. Cannon to W.S. Evans, 25 November 1905.

⁸³ Evans Papers, Box 27, File "Evans", Newspaper Clippings, Winnipeg Telegram, 24 November 1905.

by the news of Evans' departure.

It is with great regret that I learn of your intention to sever your connection with the Telegram. Under your able editorship it has been a great force in the cause of good government not only in the west but in other parts of the country. Especially on the question of transportation your work has been of a very high order; and you have at least the satisfaction of realizing and remembering that you have impressed upon the public mind many a valuable lesson in connection with this great and indeed all important subject.

It is needless to say that if I can in connection with your new interest or in any other way be of the slightest service to you it will be a very great pleasure to me indeed. Perhaps you would make me acquainted with any propositions in real estate which are being handled by your company at the present time. Possibly I might be able to interest some eastern friends in one of these⁸⁴

Shortly after joining the firm of March Brothers and Wells in late November of 1905, Sanford Evans began to diversify his business interests. In January of 1906 the Evans brothers, along with F. M. and G. K. March and others, invested \$1,000 each in the newly established and incorporated Winnipeg Trust and Mortgage Corporation.⁸⁵ During the summer of 1906, Sanford also purchased a small interest in the Watson Confectionery Company. Incorporated on August 23, its object was to carry on a general confectionery, restaurant and refreshment room business and "to buy, purchase, acquire, hold and range such lands as may be necessary or convenient for the purposes

⁸⁴ Evans Papers, Box 4, Unmarked File, Robert L. Borden to W.S. Evans, 23 November 1905.

⁸⁵ Evans Papers, Box 13, Unmarked File, The Guarantee Savings and Trust Company Minutes of Meeting of Directors, 15 January 1906. The company's first elected Board of Directors consisted of President F.M. Marsh, Vice-President W. Sanford Evans, Secretary-Treasurer H.M.E. Evans, G.K. Marsh, G.A. Metcalfe, T.L. Metcalfe, and E.E. Sharpe.

of the Company. . . ."⁸⁶ In addition to Evans, the ownership group included Joseph Watson, William Roberts, James Boyd and Isaac Pitblado. Near the end of 1906, the newspaper editor turned entrepreneur decided to leave March Brothers and establish his own real estate and insurance concern under the name of W. Sanford Evans and Company.

In addition to the long hours he spent managing his many business interests, Evans continued to devote some of his spare time to boosting Winnipeg. Besides his work with the Western Canadian Immigration Association, he remained active on the Board of Trade Council and was a member of that body's Immigration and Lands Committee and Legislation Committee. As a real estate and financial agent, it was in Evans' best interest to do all he could to encourage growth and prosperity in the city of Winnipeg. In February of 1906, the Board of Trade appointed a committee, chaired by Evans, to interview Winnipeg City Council and its Trade and Commerce Committee to "urge the necessity existing of having some proper descriptive literature issued for the purpose of affording information regarding the opportunities presented in Winnipeg to industrial enterprises."⁸⁷ After several meetings between Evans' City Advertising Committee and City Council's Trade and Commerce Committee, it was discovered that the latter favoured the establishment of a businessmen's association, whose sole purpose

⁸⁶ Evans Papers, Box 13, Unmarked File, Letters Patent of Incorporation of the Watson Confectionary Company Limited., 23 August 1906.

⁸⁷ Twenty-Eighth Annual Report of the Board of Trade, 1906-1907, p. 49.

would be to promote Winnipeg as an important manufacturing centre.⁸⁸ To hear other ideas, Evans then called together a meeting of the city's major business organizations. Held on May 22 and attended by representatives of the Bankers' Association, Manufacturers' Association, Real Estate Exchange, Grain Exchange, City Council and the Trades and Labour Council, it was decided to organize an association under the name of the Winnipeg Development and Industrial Bureau. The meeting defined its objects in the following motion:

Resolved: That the meeting announces the object of this association to be the attraction of industries to Winnipeg and the development of the commercial interests of the city; and recommends the appointment of an Industrial Commissioner to take executive charge of the work under an Advisory Board.⁸⁹

After his leading role in the formation of the Winnipeg Development and Industrial Bureau, Sanford Evans continued to serve the interests of the association, as well as his own, in an administrative and advisory capacity. Upon completion of his one year term as the first President of the Winnipeg Development and Industrial Bureau in 1906-1907, Evans, along with E. L. Drewery, continued to represent the Board Trade on the association's executive. Between 1907 and 1914, he was also a member of several W. D. I. B. committees including Advertising and Publicity, Public Arbitration, City Planning, and Entertainment and Conventions.

The daily activities of the W. D. I. B. were carried out by a paid commissioner, Charles F. Roland. Reporting on the bureau's work for the period 1907 to 1910, Roland

⁸⁸ PAM, MG10 A2, Box 9, Minute Book 1895-1907, Minutes of the Board of Trade, 17 May 1906.

⁸⁹ PAM, MG10 A2, Minutes of the Winnipeg Development and Industrial Bureau, 29 May 1906.; Twenty-Eighth Annual Report of the Board of Trade, 1906-1907, p. 49.

claimed to have handled 58,000 inquiries for information, distributed more than 2,000,000 pamphlets and booklets, and supplied 1,000,000 lines of newsmatter and 2,000 photographs of the city to magazines and newspapers throughout the United States, Eastern Canada and the British Isles. The Commissioner also boasted that, as a result of the bureau's efforts, more than 267 manufacturing plants were attracted to Winnipeg.⁹⁰ Although this was clearly an exaggeration, City Council must have been satisfied with the association's work because it increased its annual grant from \$1,500 in 1906 to \$25,000 by 1910.⁹¹

Although most newspapers, magazines and journals of the time applauded the efforts of the Winnipeg Development and Industrial Bureau, contemporary historians such as Alan Artibise consider the advertising campaign to be a symbol of the business elite's failure to develop a mature social conscience. For example, the bureau's founders guaranteed that any grant from City Council would be matched by funds from the business community. By 1914, however, Winnipeg City Council had given \$112,000 to the bureau while subscriptions from the business community totalled only \$65,000.⁹² In hind-sight, public funds used by the W. D. I. B. to encourage population growth and the development of a larger manufacturing base could have been better spent on

⁹⁰ Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, p. 123. See also Artibise, Gateway City, pp. 141-158.

⁹¹ Staff Writer, "Building a Great City," The Dominion, Volume I, Number 1 (October 1910), p. 15. This is not surprising when one considers that the first President of the W. D. I. B., Sanford Evans, also served three terms as Mayor of Winnipeg from 1909 to 1911.

⁹² Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, p. 123-124.

improvements to the city's poor social conditions. In a clever analogy, the efforts of men such as Evans have been compared to repairing, maintaining and fuelling a car while pressing the accelerator to the floor boards.⁹³ Unlike the Winnipeg Telegram and the Manitoba Free Press, which constantly praised the bureau's efforts, the more avant-garde Tribune recognized this dilemma back in 1906.

There is just one legitimate way in which the growth of Winnipeg can be hastened - that is not by coaxing or paying people to come here but by creating advantageous conditions that their business sense will not permit them to ignore.

Continue to make the city healthy, beautiful, pleasant, establish a first class water supply or sewage system; make cheap light and power realities by establishing municipal gas and electric power plants with all possible haste - and Winnipeg will have all the FREE publicity that most patriotic citizens could desire⁹⁴

In the year following the establishment of the Winnipeg Development and Industrial Bureau, its first President enjoyed continued success as both a businessman and a booster. On July 1, 1907, Evans agreed to an alliance with Spencer Trask and Company, a New York City based investment securities concern. Under terms of the one year agreement, W. Sanford Evans and Company was appointed Spencer Trask's exclusive correspondent for Winnipeg.⁹⁵

On July 25, Sanford Evans attended his first meeting in connection with the establishment of the Winnipeg Stock Exchange. Although incorporated in 1903 by

⁹³ Ibid., p. 125.

⁹⁴ Winnipeg Tribune, 25 April 1906.

⁹⁵ Evans Papers, Box 13, Unmarked File, Memorandum of Agreement Between Spencer Trask and Company and W. Sanford Evans, 1 July 1907.

Augustus M. Nanton, J. T. Gordon, R. H. Agur, G. Bedding Crowe and Herbert H. Beck, the exchange still was not operational by the summer of 1907. At the July meeting, Evans was brought on board along with H. T. Champion, R. T. Riley, W. R. Allan and A. Wickson. With the newcomers involved, it was agreed to adopt the by-laws of the Toronto Stock Exchange and elect a Committee of Management.⁹⁶ The first executive of the Winnipeg exchange consisted of Chairman A. M. Nanton, Vice-Chairman H. T. Champion and Secretary-Treasurer W. Sanford Evans. One of Evans' first duties as Secretary-Treasurer was to locate a home for the exchange. In doing so, he arranged for an office in the new Grain Exchange building.⁹⁷ In the years to come, he also would serve two additional years as Secretary-Treasurer (1907-1909) and terms as Manager (1914-1915), Vice-Chairman (1909-1910) and Chairman (1912-1914) of the Winnipeg Stock Exchange.

Always a stalwart champion of education, Evans sat on the Board of Governors of Wesley College, a Methodist institution, and in September of 1907 he was appointed Secretary of a royal commission empowered to investigate the future organization of the University of Manitoba.⁹⁸ By that time, Sanford Evans also was on the Board of

⁹⁶ PAM, P4491, Minutes of the Winnipeg Stock Exchange, 25 July 1907.

⁹⁷ Minutes of the Winnipeg Stock Exchange, 12 August 1908.

⁹⁸ PAM, MG10 A8, Establishment of Royal Commission to Investigate Government and Management of the University of Manitoba, 1907. The commission was to investigate five issues in connection with the university: system of government and management, financial status, relations with other educational institutions, teaching methods, and suitability of present building and site. See also W.L. Morton, One University: A History of the University of Manitoba, 1877-1952 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1957), p. 75.

Directors of several profit and non-profit enterprises including the Winnipeg College of Music, Watson Confectionery Company, Winnipeg Trust and Mortgage Company, Estevan Coal and Brick Company and, of course, W. Sanford Evans and Company.

With an impressive business record of his own, Sanford Evans was considered by many to be an ideal candidate for election to the 1908 Board of Control.⁹⁹ By autumn of 1907, as Mayor Ashdown approached the end of his first term in office, the city was faced with nearly \$7,000,000 in cash liabilities including \$4,000,000 in short term loans and a \$1,000,000 overdraft with the Bank of Commerce.¹⁰⁰ On December 31, the bank relieved itself of a tremendous burden by closing the city's account. To make matters worse, under the careless regime of previous civic governments, the sinking fund had almost been wiped out.¹⁰¹ Struggling under the effects of a global recession, the city was forced to postpone all developmental activity because of high

⁹⁹ By 1906, Winnipeg's population, expenditures, business activities and social problems had all increased dramatically but its civic government structure remained unchanged. Concerned about Winnipeg's reputation as a progressive city, many of its leading citizens became interested in reforming civic government to make it more efficient and businesslike. Consequently, the Board of Control was established by City Council in June of 1906. It consisted of four controllers and the mayor who acted as chairman. Among other things, the Board prepared and submitted yearly estimates to Council, prepared specifications and awarded all contracts, inspected all city works and nominated to Council all heads of departments and sub-departments. By a majority vote, Council could refer back to the Board any matter for consideration. The Board generally met every day and emergency meetings were often called. After 12 years in operation, the Board of Control was discontinued in 1918. See University of Manitoba Archives [hereafter UMA], MSS72, Ed Rea: Research Papers in Manitoba History, Box 2, File 4, Henry Huber, "The Winnipeg Board of Control, 1907 to 1918: Good Business or Progressive Municipal Reform?," Unpublished student paper (Undated).

¹⁰⁰ Evans Papers, Box 18, Frank R. Munro, "Winnipeg's New Mayor," The Busy Man's Magazine (February 1909), pp. 113-114.

¹⁰¹ By the end of 1907 the sinking fund consisted of \$14,000. See Manitoba Free Press, 13 November 1908.

interest rates and poor sales of civic debentures. Mayor Ashdown's strict policy of fiscal restraint caused a certain amount of controversy, particularly when he vetoed a Board of Control decision to allow the Anglo-Canadian engineering firm to construct a large hydro-electric plant at Pointe du Bois.¹⁰²

In addition to the poor financial state of the city, a host of social problems persisted including a high mortality rate, shortage of housing and an inadequate water supply and sewage disposal system. As a result, a large and influential delegation of citizens requested that businessman Sanford Evans let his name stand for Controller. He accepted the challenge publicly at the Walker Theatre on the evening of November 15, 1907.¹⁰³

The two main features of his platform were industrial development and municipal power. Acting in support of Mayor Ashdown's controversial veto and strict policy of fiscal restraint, the former newspaper editor made it clear that no new public construction could take place until the floating debt had been drastically reduced. In a speech before ratepayers at Fairbairn Hall, Evans also promised to adopt a more aggressive policy in selling the city's bonds. Rather than putting debentures into the hands of only one or

¹⁰² A by-law approved by ratepayers in June of 1906 authorized the City Council to construct a 100,000 horsepower hydro-electric plant at Pointe de Bois on the Winnipeg River. The tight credit conditions which developed shortly thereafter made it impossible to sell the necessary bonds except at very unfavourable prices. Considerable debated raged in Winnipeg over the advisability of proceeding with the proposed plant at the higher interest rate. When Anglo-Canadian offered to build the plant for five million dollars worth of four percent bonds at a value of ninety-one and a quarter, the Board of Control voted to accept the offer. However, Mayor Ashdown vetoed this decision and the project was not started until 1909, after the period of credit stringency had ended. See R.C. Bellan, Winnipeg First Century: An Economic History (Winnipeg: Queenston House Publishing, 1978), p. 90-91.

¹⁰³ Manitoba Free Press, 26 November 1907.

two institutions, he advocated the cultivation of markets wherever there was money.¹⁰⁴ Another important issue Evans hoped to address was Winnipeg's poor health standards. In his opinion, "a citizen saved to the city by reduction of the death rate is worth more to the city than a citizen imported from outside."¹⁰⁵

The campaign for Board of Control consisted of seven men vying for four positions. Controllers Garson, Cockburn, Baker and Harvey were seeking re-election while Evans, James Burridge, and former Alderman J. G. Latimer had no previous experience on the Board. Throughout the campaign, the Manitoba Free Press advocated the election of Baker, Evans, Harvey and Latimer. In its opinion, they were the only four men qualified to give the city of Winnipeg "honest and efficient administration."¹⁰⁶ Incidentally, each also was a strong supporter of Mayor Ashdown's financial policy. Controllers Garson and Cockburn were characterized as "spenders" who were willing to award Anglo-Canadian the contract for construction of the power plant despite being \$346,000 higher than the tender recommended by consulting engineers.¹⁰⁷ As Evans indicated in his speech before a large crowd at the Y. M. C. A. Auditorium, he and his old enemy, the Free Press, were finally able to agree on something.

To properly finance a corporation like Winnipeg demands the adoption of a wise and aggressive policy. To judge by some parties during the present contest, there are some people who can only be called financial rain-

¹⁰⁴ Winnipeg Telegram, 5 December 1907.

¹⁰⁵ Winnipeg Telegram, 29 November 1907.; Manitoba Free Press, 30 November 1907.

¹⁰⁶ Manitoba Free Press, 10 December 1907.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

makers. They [Garson and Cockburn] think that by going out and making a big noise somewhere they can call down streams of gold from the apparently cloudless skies. But rain-making by noise is fake. We must observe the rules and laws of the financial world. . . .¹⁰⁸

On the eve of the election, December 9, talk on the street had Sanford Evans at the top of the list in the controllership race.¹⁰⁹ This was confirmed the following day when it was announced that he had been elected to the Board of Control by a substantial majority, effectively shattering his reputation as a political failure. Evans received 3,950 votes, followed by Baker (3,402), Harvey (3,306), and Latimer (2,904).¹¹⁰ Mayor Ashdown was returned as Mayor by acclamation. The Free Press considered the results to be a vindication of the merchant prince's policy of fiscal restraint. Similarly, the Telegram described the outcome as a "sweeping condemnation of the pre-election actions of Controllers Garson and Cockburn, and the aldermen who voted for them on the notorious Anglo-Canadian deal."¹¹¹

Through the efforts of Sanford Evans and his partners on the Board of Control, Winnipeg's financial condition had improved dramatically by November of 1908. After securing the services of the Bank of Montreal, the sinking fund was restored and all short term loans were settled. In addition, approximately \$8,000,000 worth of securities had been sold without injuring the city's credit.¹¹² Controller Evans, himself, came up with

¹⁰⁸ Manitoba Free Press, 30 November 1907.

¹⁰⁹ Manitoba Free Press, 10 December 1907.

¹¹⁰ Manitoba Free Press, 12 December 1907.

¹¹¹ Winnipeg Telegram, 11 December 1907.

¹¹² Manitoba Free Press, 13 November 1908.

a plan which reduced the city's overdraft at the Bank of Montreal to \$460,000, the lowest it had been in years. His financial scheme, approved by City Council on November 10, worked in the following way.

The city's overdraft at the Bank on Saturday was in round figures \$750,000. Yesterday the city withdrew slightly over \$489,000 from the Bank to put the sinking fund in shape to date. If nothing else had been done that would have left the overdraft at over \$1,200,000. The sinking fund trustees, however, as soon as they received the \$489,000 to restore the fund to its proper condition, invested nearly \$473,000 in power debentures and paid in that amount to the city. The overdraft after that transaction amounted to \$766,000, but in addition the Bank of Montreal pays over to the city about \$300,000 which has been held for sinking funds in London. Thus the overdraft at the Bank is reduced to approximately \$460,000. . . .¹¹³

Sanford Evans found his first year in municipal government to be a fulfilling experience. Consequently, he declined the opportunity to be nominated as Winnipeg's Conservative candidate in the federal election set for October 26, 1908. With aspirations of becoming Mayor, he considered the offer to be an "obstacle" in his "municipal path."¹¹⁴ Having played a significant role in restoring the city's finances, Controller Evans announced himself a candidate for Mayor in late October. Not surprisingly, his appeal for support was based almost exclusively upon his financial expertise and experience on the Board of Control. Although he was satisfied with the Board's accomplishments in 1908, Evans felt that much work remained. In his opinion, it was "as important to keep straight as it is to get straight."¹¹⁵

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Evans Papers, Box 5, File 30, W.S. Evans to Irene Evans, Unknown Date 1908.

¹¹⁵ Winnipeg Tribune, 30 October 1908.

As was the case in the civic election of December, 1907, the main issue in the 1908 campaign was municipal power. Controller Evans made it clear that he was in favour of the power scheme.¹¹⁶ In a speech at Selkirk Hall before members of the Winnipeg Municipal Power League, the mayoralty candidate pledged to secure \$2,500,000 for civic purposes. One million dollars would be allocated to construction of the power plant while the balance would go towards local improvements.¹¹⁷ Evans also recommended that the project be completed over a three year period to ensure both economical and proper development of the Pointe du Bois site. To guarantee a large market for the plant's electrical energy, he further proposed that City Council and the Winnipeg Development Industrial Bureau work closely together to attract new manufacturers to the city. After all, "power without a market . . . would be a white elephant in the city's hands."¹¹⁸ Evans also promised to spend \$200,000 on sewer and water main construction in an effort to create winter employment.¹¹⁹

Alderman R. A. C. Manning proved to be the Controller's strongest opponent.

¹¹⁶ Alan Artibise argues that the business community decided to support the public scheme only after they were certain that private enterprise could not supply the cheap power the city needed. At the same time, the governing commercial elite resented the power and profits of the Winnipeg Electric Railway Company. Their primary objective remained the search for personal wealth and public good was merely a dividend. Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, p. 100-101. See also J. E. Rea, "How Winnipeg had Nearly Won," in A. R. McCormack and Ian MacPherson (eds.), Cities in the West: Papers of the Western Canada Urban History Conference - University of Winnipeg, October 1974. National Museum of Man Mercury Series, History Division Paper No. 10. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975, pp. 74-87.

¹¹⁷ Manitoba Free Press, 21 November 1908.

¹¹⁸ Winnipeg Tribune, 14 November 1908.

¹¹⁹ Winnipeg Telegram, 19 November 1908.

Like Evans, Manning felt that his year in municipal government gave him an edge with the voters. Consequently, much of his campaign was spent touting personal achievements such as getting increases in water rates and business taxes reduced, as well as his role in changing the manner in which voters' lists were compiled. In an address at the German Club on Henton Street, Sanford Evans claimed that Manning's accomplishment's had not been achieved single handedly but through the efforts of City Council as a whole. Moreover, the Controller stated that credit for the franchise extension belonged to J. F. Mitchell.¹²⁰ In regards to municipal power, meanwhile, Manning advocated immediate construction. According to Evans, such a plan was unwise because it contradicted the advice of consulting engineers. A third candidate, North end resident William Eades, entered the mayoralty race only one week before election day. Eades was opposed to the power scheme all together, predicting that in 40 years it would cost the city more than \$20,000,000.¹²¹

With only two polls to hear from on the evening of December 8, 1908, Sanford Evans was declared the Mayor of Winnipeg by a considerable majority. The Edmonton Street resident (Ward two) received 5,544 votes compared to Manning's 4,224 and Eades' 119. Evans secured wide margins of victory in Wards one to four while Manning carried the city's North end.¹²² Clearly, the difference in the election results was

¹²⁰ Winnipeg Telegram, 26 November 1908.

¹²¹ Manitoba Free Press, 5 December 1908.

¹²² Winnipeg Telegram, 9 December 1908. Another candidate, C.H. Forrester, dropped out of the contest on 24 November when it was discovered that he was no longer a British subject. See Manitoba Free Press, 25 November 1908.

Evans' ability to secure the business and South end vote. Before a large crowd gathered at his campaign headquarters on Fort Street, the newly elected Mayor expressed his gratitude to the business community.

Gentlemen, this is the proudest moment of my life. I want to say that I may forget that I have been elected Mayor of Winnipeg, but I will never forget the generous, cordial, enthusiastic support of the gentlemen here tonight. I can only say what I have said during the campaign, that if you honored me with your confidence in this election I would do everything in my power to meet the conditions of the new position, and try to advance the interests of this great city of ours. . . .¹²³

As Mayor of Winnipeg, Sanford Evans received an indemnity of \$4,000 and was automatically appointed to the Board of Police Commissioners and Chairman of the Board of Control.¹²⁴ During his first term in office, City Council proceeded with several projects which had been postponed because of the financial stringencies of 1907. A high pressure water system was completed to provide adequate fire protection for the tall buildings in Winnipeg's downtown district. As Mayor Evans promised during the campaign, the proceeds of a substantial bond issue were used to finance local improvements and construction of the power plant at Pointe du Bois. Completed on October 16, 1911, the plant introduced the lowest domestic lighting rates in North America, causing a significant increase in domestic and industrial consumption of electric power.¹²⁵

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Winnipeg City Council Minutes, 5 July 1909, p. 391.

¹²⁵ Bellan, Winnipeg First Century, p. 106.

Although the period of fiscal restraint had ended, very few improvements, if any, were made to Winnipeg's poor housing conditions, water supply and sewage disposal system. To make matters worse, by the spring of 1909 both the police force and citizens were complaining about the increase of prostitution in the city.¹²⁶ Despite rigid law enforcement during the administrations of Mayor Sharpe and Mayor Ashdown, more than 71 bawdy houses continued to thrive within the city limits.¹²⁷ Following a discussion of the prostitution question at a Board of Police Commissioner's meeting in April, 1909, Police Magistrate T. Mayne Daly moved for the following resolution to be passed: ". . . that all matters relating to the question of houses of ill-fame and dealing with immoral women be left to the Chief of Police, he to act in accordance with discretion and best judgement."¹²⁸ Mayors Evans attended the meeting and supported the resolution.¹²⁹ Before a royal commission on social vice two years later, Police

¹²⁶ Besides James Gray, Joy Cooper was a pioneer in contemporary research relating to the history of prostitution in Winnipeg. See UMA, Rea Collection, Box 3, File 21, Joy Cooper, "The Red Light District of Winnipeg: An Issue in Civic Politics, 1903 to 1910," Unpublished student paper (February 1970).; Joy Cooper, "Red Lights of Winnipeg," Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba Transactions, Series III, Number 27 (1970-1971), pp. 61-74.; James H. Gray, Red Lights on the Prairies (Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1971).; Artibise, A Social History of Urban Growth, pp. 246-264.

¹²⁷ This figure was estimated by police officers. See H. A. Robson, Report of the Royal Commission on Charges Re: Vice and Graft Against the Police (Winnipeg: King's Printer, 1911), p. 13. Papers relating to the Royal Commission on Charges Re: Vice and Graft Against the Police can be viewed in the Manitoba Legislative Library. Accompanying the commission's final report are ten volumes of evidence.

¹²⁸ Robson, Report of the Royal Commission on Vice, p. 8.; Royal Commission Hearings: Evidence, Volume 1.; Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, p. 254.

¹²⁹ Royal Commission Hearings: Evidence, Volume 2, pp. 105-107. His reasons for supporting this resolution are discussed in more detail further on.

Chief McRae admitted that it was clearly understood by both the commissioners and himself that he was to set up a segregated prostitution district.¹³⁰ After consulting with Winnipeg's "Queen of the Harlots," Minnie Woods, McRae took her advice and established the city's red light district on Rachel and McFarlane streets in Point Douglas.

The decision of the prostitutes to locate in this area was undoubtedly influenced by several factors, including the relative inexpensiveness of the houses, the easy accessibility of renting or buying as most of them were owner-occupied, and, above all, by the fact that it was in close proximity to the C. P. R. stations and the downtown district. The Police Chief probably approved of the location because it was in relative isolation from the homes of the more well-to-do and established Winnipeggers, and, secondly, because since 1900 newcomers (designated in the Henderson Directory not by name but as 'foreigners') had begun to move into the area. In fact, Chief McRae admitted at the Royal Commission hearings, that the Rachel-McFarlane area was only one of several locations suggested by Minnie Woods, and presumably due to the above reasons, he had approved of it as the best.¹³¹

When complaints from Point Douglas residents began to roll in, City Council established a committee composed of Aldermen and Controller Cockburn to address the problem of social vice. After consultation with the Board of Police Commissioners and a brief investigation of their own, the Committee re Social Evil gave the following report on September 29, 1909:

Your commission found that the work of ridding the City of prostitutes had been effectively carried on throughout the various parts of the City, there still remaining but one district where prostitutes are congregating,

¹³⁰ Royal Commission Hearings: Evidence, Volume 1.: Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Growth, p. 254.

¹³¹ Cooper, "Red Lights of Winnipeg," pp. 65-66.

viz: on Rachel and McFarlane Streets, and as the next step your committee would recommend that the Police Commissioners forthwith instruct the Chief of Police, and the Crown Prosecutor to take such action as will abolish all houses of prostitution in the streets above mentioned, or in any other part of the city.¹³²

With the exception of Mayor Evans and the two aldermen on the Police Commission, City Council appears to have been completely unaware that it was the Police Commissioners, themselves, who had chosen to introduce the policy of segregation.¹³³ At the Council meeting on November 22, 1909, an additional \$8,000 in funding was granted to the Board of Police Commissioners for additional staff in the Morality Department.¹³⁴ Motions such as this, however, were meaningless. As part of the understanding between Chief McRae and the prostitutes, the Point Douglas brothels were allowed to conduct business as usual as long as certain conditions were met. Loud music and distinctive markings on the houses such as bright lights or large address numbers were prohibited. Although the women were allowed to go uptown, they had to "dress quietly," report their visits to the madam, and return by eight o'clock. Rather than enforcing the law, Morality Officers were to ensure adherence to these regulations.¹³⁵ Thus, as long as the brothels and their employees remained as

¹³² Winnipeg City Council Minutes, 30 September 1909, pp. 602-603.

¹³³ Cooper, "Red Lights of Winnipeg," p. 67. Council members not involved in the work of the Police Commission may have known about the segregation decision but this cannot be proven as their discussions were never published verbatim.

¹³⁴ Winnipeg City Council Minutes, 22 November 1909, p. 694.

¹³⁵ Robson, Report of the Royal Commission on Vice, pp. 9-10.; Cooper, "Red Lights of Winnipeg," p. 66.; Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, pp. 255-256.

inconspicuous as possible, strict law enforcement would never occur. As will be shown, with more than 50 bawdy houses in the district by 1910 and increased agitation by the Moral and Social Reform League, Mayor Evans would soon come to regret the Police Commission's decision to establish a red light district.¹³⁶

Nevertheless, one of the highlights of Mayor Evans' first year in office was the annual meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, hosted by the city of Winnipeg from August 25 to September 1, 1909. Attended by prominent scientists from both North America and Europe, it was only the fourth time in the association's long history that it had met outside the British Isles. One local newspaper claimed that it was "the largest and most distinguished body of learned men" ever assembled in the city.¹³⁷ Incidentally, Evans had been present at the organization's second conference outside Great Britain, held in Toronto in 1897 when he was an editorial writer for the Mail and Empire. Even then he recognized the significance of such a gathering.

There is something almost unbecoming in an attempt to weigh the advantages Toronto and Canada may derive from the meeting of the British association in our midst. . . . [T]here is about science something peculiarly impressive. Years and centuries of the most careful and scrupulous investigation . . . are represented in every new advance. The scientist does not begin anew with fresh materials as the builder of the house does; he uses the carefully sifted material of all scientists who have gone before him. . . . One of the highest uses of science is to discipline the man who devotes himself to it. . . . He must train his body so that the impressions he receives may be as accurate as possible; he must rid himself of all wish to find things as he would prefer to find them, lest it bias his judgement; he must give himself up body, mind, and soul to the

¹³⁶ Robson, Report of the Royal Commission on Vice, p. 10.

¹³⁷ Evans Papers, Box 22, Newspaper Clippings, Unknown Newspaper, [26] August 1909.

pursuit of things as they are. . . .¹³⁸

Although he was working on the executives of both the Board of Trade and Winnipeg Development and Industrial Bureau, as well as serving one year terms as Vice-President of the Union of Canadian Municipalities and Vice-Chairman of the Winnipeg Stock Exchange, Mayor Evans still found time to act as a Local Secretary of the Winnipeg meeting. Working alongside C. N. Bell and Professors M. A. Parker and Swale Vincent, the four men coordinated the activities of a large and influential volunteer corps to complete arrangements for the science conference. During the week long event, members of the British Association for the Advancement of Science held sectional meetings, presented papers and toured Winnipeg neighbourhoods, mills and factories while citizens were treated to free public lectures. The entire conference was a great success, providing the city with a "new and lasting dignity."¹³⁹ Not to be outdone by some of the world's finest scientists, Evans' opening address also left a lasting impression on the community.

In reviewing this meeting it is impossible to pass over without comment, the splendid speech of welcome made by Mayor Evans. It was just such a speech as would best suit the people addressed on the occasion. Entirely without ostentation, yet rich with the proper realization of the worth of the west, courteous in consideration of the city's esteemed guests. . . . Mr. Evans not only made a fine speech but he made a fine figure as he stood there, tall and straight with his silver crown of hair shining above his youthful, clean-cut face. Winnipeg has indeed reason to be proud of

¹³⁸ Evans Papers, Box 22, Toronto Mail and Empire Editorials, 21 August 1897.

¹³⁹ Evans Papers, Box 12, Unmarked File, British Association for the Advancement of Science Booklet, p. 2.

Evans.¹⁴⁰

With the city in good financial condition and construction of the power plant well under way, the citizens of Winnipeg took very little interest in the election campaign of December, 1909. According to the Free Press, constituents were satisfied with Mayor Evans' work, as well as the efforts of the Controllers and Aldermen.¹⁴¹ In Wards one, two and four, the Aldermen were returned by acclamation while in Wards three and six contests arose simply because of the retirements of Riley and Cox. Indeed, the election results of December 14 stood as overwhelming evidence of Mayor Evans' popularity. With slightly more than 5,000 citizens going to the polls, Mayor Evans was re-elected with 4,578 votes while his opponents, E. Bettsworth and C. H. Wilkes, received only 538 and 220 respectively. There were fourteen polls in which Bettsworth, Evans' strongest opponent, did not get a single vote.¹⁴² Controllers Cockburn, Waugh, Harvey, and McCarthur were also re-elected.

During Mayor Evans' second year in office he was elected President of the Union of Canadian Municipalities. In addition, construction of the power plant continued and several local improvement projects were carried out. It was also during the Evans administration that the first steps were taken to combat the city's high infant mortality rate. This was done through the distribution of instructional booklets on infant feeding

¹⁴⁰ Evans Papers, Box 12, Unmarked File, Newspaper Clippings, Unknown Newspaper, [26] August 1909.

¹⁴¹ Manitoba Free Press, 9 December 1909.

¹⁴² Winnipeg Tribune, 15 December 1909.; Manitoba Free Press, 15 December 1909.

and the establishment of the Winnipeg Free Dispensary, a depot for the production of "modified milk." Despite these measures, however, the infant mortality rate continued to rise from 131.6 in 1909 to 199.5 in 1912.¹⁴³

In addition to the poor social conditions plaguing the city, by the summer of 1910 Winnipeg's red light district had degenerated into a "massive orgiastic obscenity."¹⁴⁴ Although isolated from the main part of the city, Rachel and McFarlane streets were only five minutes by street car and ten minutes on foot from the C. P. R. station. Consequently, it was not uncommon for patrons of Main Street saloons to arrive in the district in a drunken state and unclear of the precise locations of the brothels. Several incidents were reported where Point Douglas residents, not to mention citizens living just outside the district, had their meals or sleep interrupted by ruffians bursting in looking for prostitutes. Men exposing themselves to women and children was a common occurrence as was the sexual harassment of females mistaken for prostitutes. Popular historian James Gray described the area in the following manner:

The district that summer was living proof that there was nothing glamorous or exciting about commercial sex. The area was drenched continually with dense smoke and acrid fumes from the gas plant which, in combination with the dust from the streets and cinders from the trains, coated everything in grime. The houses were mainly the product of spare-time workmanship of rough carpenters who built their own houses and expanded them as their families grew. Inside, the brothels were furnished mainly with whisky-stained chairs and tables, beds sometimes two to a room, and footworn linoleum. They were decorated with brewery calendars and, not infrequently, framed religious mottoes. As for the women, the reformers who tried to rescue them from their lives of shame

¹⁴³ Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, pp. 236-237.

¹⁴⁴ Gray, Red Lights on the Prairies, p. 57.

wrote most of them off as hardened beyond redemption.¹⁴⁵

Even before the summer of 1910, the Moral and Social Reform League had mounted pressure to have the segregation policy abandoned. In response, Winnipeg City Council called for the establishment of a joint committee comprising eight Council members and eight "lay" members of the League to "discuss the social evil in this city."¹⁴⁶ After the joint committee's first and only meeting, Council's representatives recommended that the Police Commissioners "enforce the law at once and suppress all houses of prostitution on Rachel and McFarlane Streets" and called for the arrest of "all persons, male or female, found in such resorts in breach of the law."¹⁴⁷ Like resolutions in the past, however, the latter was not carried through by the police force.¹⁴⁸ Moreover, the joint committee appears to have been doomed from the beginning. Qualifications of the Moral and Social Reform League representatives, set by City Council under the direction of Sanford Evans, stipulated that they had to be "lay" persons. This resulted in the automatic exclusion of the group's most vocal members,

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 57-58.

¹⁴⁶ Winnipeg City Council Minutes, 28 February 1910, p. 105.

¹⁴⁷ Winnipeg City Council Minutes, 28 March 1910, p. 168.

¹⁴⁸ In May and June of 1910, only nineteen and eighteen women respectively were charged with prostitution. The Provincial Police Magistrate explained that Winnipeg's police force did not have the time or man power necessary to control the social evil. Consequently, charges were only laid when officers were available for that line of duty. See Robson, Report of the Royal Commission on Vice, p. 19.

the clergy.¹⁴⁹

The Police Commission, of which Mayor Evans was a member, persisted in its policy of segregated prostitution. With the exception of the short lived joint committee, Evans and City Council refused to be put on the defensive and simply ignored the pleas of the Moral and Social Reform League and its supporters. Although most citizens living outside the red light district did not want to get involved, the concerns raised by Point Douglas residents were not even considered as most were not eligible to vote.¹⁵⁰ Nevertheless, the situation changed dramatically in November, 1910, with the visit of the Reverend Dr. J. G. Shearer to Winnipeg. Best known for his role in persuading Parliament to pass the Lord's Day Act in 1907, the Presbyterian Minister and Secretary of the national Moral and Social Reform League was on a one month tour of western Canada and the United States under the auspices of the International Purity Federation. Shortly after his return to Toronto, Shearer denounced Winnipeg in the Toronto dailies as having "the rottenest conditions of things . . . to be found in any city in Canada."¹⁵¹ With his interview published under the scandalous headline "Wicked Winnipeg Wallows in Vice" (Toronto Star) and "Social Evil Runs Riot in Winnipeg" (Toronto Globe), he accused the Evans administration of allowing wide open operation of bawdy houses under police protection.

¹⁴⁹ Cooper, "Red Lights of Winnipeg," p. 68. This is not to presume that lay members were uninterested.

¹⁵⁰ Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, p. 258.

¹⁵¹ Winnipeg Tribune, 17 November 1910.

Two years ago they had no vice district in Winnipeg. One year ago they had twenty-nine houses in a restricted area. Now they have fifty-three houses with probably two hundred and fifty inmates. Every one of them is criminal under the terms of the code of Canada, yet they are permitted to exist, and instead of the Criminal Code certain rules and regulations are established for them. . . . They must not play the piano too loudly. They must not make noise enough to attract attention to the street. . . . Everyone of these criminal dens is also an illicit liquor dive. Remarkable to say, the inmates receive summonses regularly each quarter from the provincial license authorities. They come before the provincial magistrate and pay over \$100 and costs. Then they are not disturbed for another three months. These dives sell liquor twenty-four hours a day seven days a week, and as the price of being permitted so to do each house pays this \$400 a year. . . . Some half a dozen of white slave victims have been marketed within the past year in the vice district of Winnipeg.¹⁵²

In the week following the Toronto reports, social reformers and City Council aligned themselves behind or against Shearer's allegations. It quickly became the major issue of the upcoming municipal election. As reported by the Free Press, City Council felt that the accusations were "simply a portion of a campaign organized with the intention of boosting the chances of the anti-segregation candidate [E. D. Martin] for the mayoralty chair."¹⁵³ Controller Waugh, a mayoralty candidate himself, went so far as to suggest that Shearer be prosecuted for "vilifying the name of the city."¹⁵⁴ The Winnipeg Telegram denounced the Presbyterian Minister as a "monomaniac," a "dangerous publicity hunter," and a "liar and slanderer."¹⁵⁵ With no intentions of returning for a third term in office, Mayor Evans refrained from comment.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Manitoba Free Press, 17 November 1910.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Winnipeg Telegram, 17 and 18 November 1910.

Probably no man in the council feels more strongly than Mayor Evans about the defamatory statements circulated by Dr. Shearer. His attitude of quiet in the face of the allegations is due to one fact. He realizes that the insinuations are part of an election campaign, and as he is not in that campaign and will not be in Council long enough to fight traducers to their lair, he has not 'called' the insinuations. A few words are anticipated before election, or at any rate, before he leaves the Council.¹⁵⁶

On the other hand, anti-segregationists were quick to defend Shearer. The Presbyterian Synod of Manitoba condemned the Telegram for its "cowardly and slanderous attack" on a man it held in "undiminished high regard."¹⁵⁷ Moreover, it placed blame for the situation on the shoulders of Evans and the other four members of the Police Commission. Presenting the report of the Synod's Committee on Moral and Social Reform, Dr. Patrick urged electors to "cure the evil" by voting for E. D. Martin on election day.¹⁵⁸ Support for Shearer's statements also came from Adjutant McElheny, a man who had spent much time investigating social vice in Point Douglas on behalf of the Salvation Army. From his work in the area, McElheny was able to report the existence of 216 prostitutes in 51 houses. He confirmed the accusations further by stating that, on one particular evening, he counted 292 men entering 14 houses within a span of two and half hours.¹⁵⁹

At the first Council meeting following the publication of Shearer's statements, the angry and embarrassed Aldermen sought to improve their chances for re-election by

¹⁵⁶ Manitoba Free Press, 17 November 1910.

¹⁵⁷ Winnipeg Tribune, 19 November 1910.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, p. 239.

requesting that the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council appoint a committee to investigate the prostitution issue.¹⁶⁰ The Royal Commission on Social-Vice, presided over by Justice Hugh A. Robson, began its inquiry on November 23 without delay. Mayor Evans contended that speed was essential to produce the facts of the case before the December 13 civic election. But because it was unlikely that such an investigation could be completed in two or three weeks, it must be assumed that Evans and his associates on Council thought it was to their personal and political advantage to appear to be eager to proceed with the hearings.¹⁶¹ The Tribune, meanwhile, was the only newspaper which began to question the over-zealous actions of Council and the speedy formation of the Robson commission. In an article published under the headline "Do They Want To Know The Truth," the independent daily reported that a meeting with the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council was never held. Instead, it believed that the commission had been set up by Attorney General Colin Campbell, in conference with Evans.¹⁶² This claim was never really challenged, although the Conservative Telegram insisted that the commission was essential in order to clear the city's good name.¹⁶³

Much of the evidence given at the commission hearings corroborated the charges made by Shearer and the social reformers - that a segregated district had been set up on

¹⁶⁰ Winnipeg City Council Minutes, 21 November 1910, p. 721.

¹⁶¹ Cooper, "Red Lights of Winnipeg," p. 71.; Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, p. 260.

¹⁶² Winnipeg Tribune, 23 November 1910.

¹⁶³ Winnipeg Telegram, 30 November 1910, cited by Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, p. 357.

Rachel and McFarlane streets in clear violation of the law. Upon taking the witness stand, Mayor Evans admitted only indirectly to making the decision to segregate prostitutes. In defense of his actions, he stated that a deputation of citizens had confronted him in April, 1909, complaining about the brothels in their area. Some were "hotheads, who even voiced . . . threats of summary action if relief could not be afforded."¹⁶⁴ With the citizens threatening to burn down certain houses on Ross and Pacific Avenues and police reports of increases in sexually transmitted diseases and illegitimacy, Evans said he was prepared to consent to any "change which might seem to promise better results."¹⁶⁵ Beyond passing the April, 1909 resolution for change, however, the Mayor refused to accept any responsibility for the creation of the segregated district. He stated that the Police Commission had left the method of improving the situation to Police Chief McRae. In addition, Evans testified that the idea of establishing a red light district on Rachel and McFarlane streets had never been discussed in his presence. Apparently, he was unaware that houses had been purchased in the Point Douglas area until after he and the other Police Commissioners had returned from a trip out west on behalf of the Industrial Exhibition.¹⁶⁶ Although the latter was true, the testimony of Police Chief McRae contradicted Evans' statements regarding his knowledge of how the problem was being addressed. He recalled that, in 1909, the Mayor had asked him if it was "possible that [the problem of prostitution] could be

¹⁶⁴ Royal Commission Hearings: Evidence, Volume 2, p. 105.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 107.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 108.

brought into one locality.¹⁶⁷ Thus, although Chief McRae was most likely carrying out the wishes of the Police Commission, the city's elected officials made him the scapegoat for the entire situation. Nevertheless, the central focus of the investigation never seemed to stray from the fact that local social reformers had done the city a great disservice by impugning its character.

As expected, the final report of the commission did not reach Council until January 7, 1911. In the meantime, "one of the most severely contested campaigns ever fought in Winnipeg's municipal history" continued to increase in intensity.¹⁶⁸ At a meeting held in North Winnipeg, reform mayoralty candidate E. D. Martin called for the abolition of the segregation district and the extradition of the prostitutes to the United States, from whence many of them came. Martin's opponents, Controllers Harvey and Waugh, were both against such a plan. Waugh argued that it was "useless to go to the women and say, 'go elsewhere, go to Portage la Prairie, or go to h--- if you like, so long as you clear out of Winnipeg.'"¹⁶⁹ Harvey, meanwhile, recommended the establishment of a small commission to investigate the methods used by other cities to deal with prostitution.¹⁷⁰

The election campaign changed dramatically on December 1, when Mayor Evans

¹⁶⁷ Royal Commission Hearings: Evidence, Volume 1, p. 17.

¹⁶⁸ Manitoba Free Press, 21 November 1910.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ Winnipeg Tribune, 29 November 1910.

announced his decision to run for a third term. Controllers Waugh and Harvey, both of whom entered the contest after being assured by Evans that he would not, dropped out of the race immediately. Although he had originally planned to leave office and concentrate on his business interests, Evans realized that a victory in the civic election would do much to repair his damaged reputation.¹⁷¹ This was essential if he were ever going to let his name stand as a Conservative candidate for provincial office in the future. Although he may have entered the race for personal reasons, Evans presented himself before the public as the candidate most willing to defend Winnipeg's honour.

The citizens demand a chance to give a clear cut answer to the campaign of reeking publicity and cruel defamation which has been so deliberately planned and conducted against the good name of the city and certain citizens [Evans included]. . . . Mr. Martin is a worthy businessman, but he is a candidate of a convention conducted by importing sensationalists with no knowledge of local conditions. Among his chief active supporters are the men who have been so grossly transgressing decency and fair play and it has been in the interests of his campaign that the good name of Winnipeg has been so unjustly besmirched. . . . I therefore ask the mass of the citizens of Winnipeg to give to the world their answer to this campaign. . . . I ask them to say that all elements in this city should, and will cooperate to make this the cleanest and best city in the world.¹⁷²

Evans' mayoralty campaign can best be described as "highly polished, well-organized and ruthlessly efficient."¹⁷³ Although the real issue raised by the social reformers in 1910 was the non-enforcement of the law regarding prostitution, Sanford Evans managed to change the focus of the campaign to one of protecting the city's

¹⁷¹ Evans Papers, Box 5, Folder 34c, Edward Gurney to W.S. Evans, 9 December 1910.

¹⁷² Winnipeg Telegram, 2 December 1910.

¹⁷³ Cooper, "Red Lights of Winnipeg," p. 72.

reputation. Before a capacity crowd of 3,000 at the Walker Theatre, Evans attacked the reformers as "yellow pulpiteers" who had "brought defilement in its visionary stage to hundreds of virgins and young men whose minds were previously pure."¹⁷⁴ Citizens who read the Telegram learned that a vote for Martin meant "approval of every slander that has been uttered against the good name of Winnipeg."¹⁷⁵ Evans' tactics not only prevented Martin from bringing the issue of non-enforcement to the forefront, but it also put the city's entire social reform movement on the defensive. Throughout the campaign, Evans demonstrated his unlimited capacity for speech making. It was not uncommon for the Mayor to address three or four separate audiences in one evening.¹⁷⁶ As this letter from Irene to her parents indicates, Evans could not be matched on the platform.

I have sent you verbatim reports but the delivery of that address baffles all description. It was the most masterly and powerful thing I ever heard. I sat alone in the wings and so silent were the audience one could have heard a breath - then once in a while a perfect outburst - and at the close everyone on his feet. It was the impression of a man in deadly earnest but in perfect self control. The form was so good the slow perfection of enunciation and certain sonorous ring that I never heard him use before. But so much of force in it that at first I feared he couldn't sustain the intensity - and it grew - no one was more amazed than I but the audience was of A-1 quality and today on every side [people] like the Drewerys phone to tell me it was the greatest thing they ever heard a man do. All this may sound tame, but with the great passion of partisanship at fever

¹⁷⁴ Winnipeg Telegram, 10 December 1910.

¹⁷⁵ Winnipeg Telegram, 9 December 1910.

¹⁷⁶ On December 6, 1910, Evans addressed six separate audiences. See Winnipeg Telegram, 6 December 1910.

heat - the moment was a great one psychologically and he used it.¹⁷⁷

Although E. D. Martin had the support of many church groups and ministers, not to mention three ex-Mayors, James Ashdown, Thomas Sharpe, and Thomas Ryan, Evans maintained the upper hand throughout the campaign. His campaign was "reminiscent of the vast political machines of American city bosses."¹⁷⁸ He had an extensive ward organization with at least fifteen committee rooms scattered in strategic locations throughout the city. Unlike Martin, Evans also used clever advertisements which demonstrated a psychological technique comparable to modern day high-pressure ads which played upon the voter's ego.¹⁷⁹

Another interesting aspect of the campaign was the interruption of E. D. Martin's large meeting in North Winnipeg by a group of forty to fifty drunken hooligans, apparently led by a well-dressed but unidentified man.¹⁸⁰ Although Joy Cooper and Alan Artibise do not accuse Mayor Evans' of being the mystery man, to a certain extent their studies imply that he may have organized the incident in the background.¹⁸¹ However, there is no direct evidence to suggest that he was involved in any way. Participating in his fourth municipal election and third mayoralty contest, Sanford Evans

¹⁷⁷ Evans Papers, Box 5, File 34c, Irene Evans to Edward Gurney, 10 December 1910. Irene was referring to Sanford's Walker Theatre address of 9 December.

¹⁷⁸ Cooper, "Red Lights of Winnipeg," p. 73.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

¹⁸⁰ Manitoba Free Press, 9 December 1910.

¹⁸¹ Cooper, "Red Lights of Winnipeg," p. 73.; Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, p. 263.

had developed into a skilled speaker and competent strategist with much more political savvy than his opponent, E. D. Martin. There simply was no need for him to resort to a campaign of intimidation. Although Evans may have been unwilling to concede responsibility for the establishment of the segregation district, he remained a family man with strong Methodist values. An act of aggression such as the one that took place on the evening of December 9, 1910, would have been well beyond Sanford Evans' character.

With almost 13,000 Winnipeggers going to the polls, Sanford Evans was re-elected to a third term by a majority of 1,717 votes. In total, he received 7,592 ballots to Martin's 5,875. The most interesting result was that Evans actually received a majority of 475 in Ward 5, which encompassed the segregated district.¹⁸² This, however, can be accounted for by the plural vote and the large degree to which Ward 5 was tenant-occupied. It had the effect of making the ward an "expression of voters' preferences from other areas of the city."¹⁸³ In his victory speech, Evans stated that the citizens of Winnipeg had "given to the world an answer to the men who have so fowly [sic] besmirched the name and honour of the city."¹⁸⁴ On the other hand, Reverend Dr. Shearer considered the results to be "a worse black eye than ever he had given [the] city."¹⁸⁵

¹⁸² Manitoba Free Press, 16 December 1910.

¹⁸³ Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, p. 263.

¹⁸⁴ Manitoba Free Press, 15 December 1910.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

The findings of the commission were finally made public on January 7, 1911, three weeks after the election. Justice Robson concluded that "illicit liquor dealing has been general and continuous in the houses, and that . . . the law regarding the same has not been properly enforced."¹⁸⁶ Although elected officials were condemned for making no attempt to restrict the increase of bawdy houses in Point Douglas, all charges of graft and corruption were dismissed. Despite the strong language of the report, "its fate was to gather dust on the shelves of the Legislative Library."¹⁸⁷

Shortly after Sanford Evans began his third and final term as Mayor, he became actively involved on a civic commission established to investigate the "efficiency, promptitude, and discipline" of the Fire Department.¹⁸⁸ In addition, after more than two years of construction the municipal power plant at Pointe du Bois was opened on October 16, 1911. The public utility introduced a rate of three and a half cents per kilowatt hour, the lowest in North America, thereby forcing the privately owned Winnipeg Electrical Company to reduce its own rate by six cents to match. In its first year of operation, 41 new manufacturers established plants in Winnipeg and citizens saved more than \$6,000,000 on power and light.¹⁸⁹

With the emergence of the city planning movement in January of 1911, City Council called upon Mayor Evans to form a Town Planning Commission for Winnipeg.

¹⁸⁶ Robson, Report of the Royal Commission on Vice, p. 21.

¹⁸⁷ Cooper, "Red Lights of Winnipeg," p. 74.

¹⁸⁸ Winnipeg City Council Minutes, 18 January 1911, pp. 53-54.

¹⁸⁹ Manitoba Free Press, 10 May 1913.; Morton, Manitoba: A History, pp. 307-308.

He did so with assistance from Alderman Douglas, the Solicitor, and Controller Harvey. Established on June 5, 1911, the commission's mandate was to "consider and report upon a city planning scheme, the distribution of population, and other problems relating to city organization and government, and to provide for defraying the cost thereof."¹⁹⁰ This was to be achieved by six committees appointed to study and report on the following issues: social conditions, housing, traffic and transportation, aesthetic development and physical plan. The last named was to incorporate the recommendations of the first five committees. The formal membership of the commission consisted of Mayor Evans as Chairman, six Aldermen, the Municipal Commissioner of the Province of Manitoba, and one representative each from the Architect's Association, Builders' Association, Real Estate Exchange, Industrial Bureau, Trades and Labour Council, Board of Trade, University of Manitoba, Provincial Board of Health, Winnipeg Parks Board, and the Winnipeg Electric Railway Company. It was from this group that chairmen for the six committees were selected.

In developing a city planning scheme, the commission focused on improvements to Winnipeg's beauty, convenience and health. Unfortunately, the organization was doomed from the beginning by a division within the membership. Unlike the Trades and Labor Council and men such as William Pearson and Professor E. Brydone-Jack, who were sincere in their support for city planning, Evans and his associates on Council

¹⁹⁰ Artibise (ed.), Gateway City, p. 226.; See also Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, pp. 267-280. The latter provides a more in-depth analysis of the work of the Town Planning Commission.

viewed the commission's work as a business proposition or "just another means to boost Winnipeg's image outside the city borders."¹⁹¹ Although he was Chairman of both the Town Planning Commission and the Board of Control, Sanford Evans refused to use his influence to secure adequate funding for city planning.

. . . [O]f the eighteen official members of the planning commission seven were members of the civic government. Three of these representatives - Mayor Evans and Controllers Harvey and Waugh, had the power as members of the Board of Control to recommend expenditures to Council; but despite their position of power they refused to grant the \$15,000. Moreover, the four Aldermen on the commission were all committee Chairmen who probably wielded a good deal of influence on Council, but they, too, did not choose to take up the commission's case. What these actions indicate is that despite their public position of support for the concept of city planning, the city's representatives were in fact not sincerely committed to the very commission they had appointed and on which they served.¹⁹²

In 1911, Sanford Evans continued to play an active role in the development of Winnipeg as a booster. Already serving a one year term as President of the Industrial Exhibition, the Mayor also became heavily involved in the work of the Imperial Home Re-Union Association. As a guarantor of the association, Evans was one of seventy-seven Winnipeg businessmen who contributed money to a \$20,000 fund established to provide financial assistance to working men who could not afford to transport their families from the British Isles to Winnipeg. After only one year of operation, the association had helped to re-unite numerous families by covering the transportation costs for 176 wives and mothers and 501 children, including 349 of whom were under the age

¹⁹¹ Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, p. 274.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 273-274.

of 12.¹⁹³

During his last year in office, Mayor Evans continued to promote Canadian national sentiment as President of the Association of Canadian Clubs. Established in Montreal in 1909 with W. H. D. Miller as its first President, the association held its third annual conference in Winnipeg on July 18 and 19, 1911. Evans also served a one year term as President of the Canadian Club of Winnipeg during the 1911-1912 season. During his tenure, the Winnipeg club assisted in the preservation of Lower Fort Garry, addressed complaints of foreign flags being displayed too frequently at moving picture theatres, and continued to encourage the study of Canadian history in colleges and schools by awarding scholarships. By the 1911-1912 season, membership in the club had reached 1,244.¹⁹⁴ Fifteen luncheons were held during the year with addresses such as "Diversified Farming" by J. H. Worst, "Intellectual Life in Canada" by the Reverend Dr. William T. Herridge, and "The Necessity of a Understanding Between Eastern and Western Canada" by J. S. Willison of Toronto.¹⁹⁵

Mayor Evans also enjoyed continued success as one of the city's leading businessmen. In 1911 he became District Manager of the Canadian Agency Limited's Winnipeg branch. Its main office was located in London, England. Under terms of a partnership agreement signed by both parties, Evans was to devote all of his time and

¹⁹³ Evans Papers, Box 36, First Annual Report of the Imperial Home-Reunion Association, October 1911, p. 5.

¹⁹⁴ CCWP Papers, P2739, Eighth Annual Report of the Canadian Club of Winnipeg, 1911-1912, pp. 7-8.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

attention to the business of the agency. The staff of W. Sanford Evans and Company also were transferred over to the Canadian Agency. As remuneration, Evans was to receive 1,000 pounds per annum as well as 30 percent of all half-year profits. W. Sanford Evans and Company continued to exist but its profits were deemed to be profits of the agency. Losses were the sole responsibility of Evans, himself.¹⁹⁶ As testimony to its owner's success, by 1911 the brokerage, insurance and real estate concern boasted ownership of \$57,100 in stocks and bonds. This included \$10,000 preferred stock and \$27,500 common stock in the Estevan Coal and Brick Company, as well as \$9,000 in Battleford Bonds.¹⁹⁷ Further evidence of Evans' high standing in the business community was indicated by the fact that he was Chairman or President of each of the following institutions: The Canadian Agency Limited, Gurney Northwest Foundry Company, Winnipeg Stock Exchange, Canadian Industrial Securities Company, and the Estevan Coal and Brick Company. In addition, he was a Director of the Sovereign Life Assurance Company, Vice-President of the Canadian Bond and Mortgage Corporation, and Secretary-Treasurer of the Public Market Limited.

In many respects, W. Sanford Evans' first ten years in Winnipeg can be seen as

¹⁹⁶ Evans Papers, Box 12, Unmarked File, Memorandum of Agreement between W. Sanford Evans and the Canadian Agency Limited, 1 January 1911. Although it appears that Evans was to continue on as a stock broker, real estate agent and insurance dealer, the agreement does not specify the duties he was to perform nor the activities of the agency. The contract could be terminated by either party on three months notice.

¹⁹⁷ Evans Papers, Box 13, Unmarked File, Memorandum of Stocks and Bonds Owned by W. Sanford Evans and Company, 6 March 1911. Evans' residence at 167 Edmonton Street carried a value of \$12,250. The mortgage was paid. See Evans Papers, Box 13, Unmarked File, Imperial Bank of Canada Statement of Account for W. Sanford Evans and Company, 10 May 1911.

a period of significant achievement. He evolved from a newlywed to a father of three; from a struggling newspaper editor to a financial expert and leading businessman; from a political failure to a shrewd municipal administrator; from an eastern immigrant to a prominent Manitoban. Although Sanford Evans can be criticized for being one of many boosters who encouraged rapid urban and industrial growth at the expense of improvements to social conditions, his municipal government's efforts to reduce the infant mortality rate and his work with the Imperial Home Re-Union association demonstrate that he was not without a social conscience. Picking up where he left off in Toronto, Evans also continued to play an active role in fostering Canadian national sentiment throughout the country. Whether it be as a Governor of Wesley College or Director of the non-profit Winnipeg College of Music, Evans was always involved in the cultivation of the city's educational system, arts and culture. He may not have achieved financial success on a level comparable to acquaintances A. M. Nanton and James Ashdown, but earning a personal fortune was never Evans' intention. Although the Edmonton Street resident sought financial security, his emigration to Manitoba was prompted by a desire to make a name for himself. By 1911 Sanford Evans had achieved this goal.

Chapter 3: Public Figure

On December 18, 1911, William Sanford Evans attended his last council meeting as Mayor of Winnipeg. In keeping with the custom of honouring the city's outgoing chief municipal administrator, his worship was presented with the chair he so ably filled during his three terms in office.¹ In the subsequent final stage of Evans' career between 1912 and 1936, he remained in the public eye in several different capacities. In addition to his work on four royal commissions, Evans established a thriving statistical service in 1921 and quickly earned a reputation as western Canada's foremost statistician. During this period he also became recognized as a leading expert on the grain trade with a strong commitment to the open market system. A Conservative in the Manitoba Legislature between 1922 and 1936, Evans served as the party's chief financial critic. His long and often unique speeches before the House and his tenacious attacks on the Bracken government, particularly at budget time, would become his trade mark. These actions earned the Canadian Club pioneer much admiration from his Conservatives colleagues in the House and in 1932 he was rewarded with the leadership of the provincial party. Indeed, Evans was a Tory heavy weight along the lines of Colonel F. G. Taylor and John T. Haig.

The year preceding Evans' departure from civic politics was "the climax of the

¹ Winnipeg City Council Minutes, 18 December 1911, pp. 848-849. Unfortunately, Evans' personal papers contain very little information relating to his personal life and career between 1912 and 1949. There is much evidence to suggest that he continued to play an active role among the boosting elite up to 1914. In addition to his role as President of the Canadian Club of Winnipeg during the 1911-1912 season, Evans served two years as Chairman of the Winnipeg Stock Exchange between 1912 and 1914 and was a member of several Board of Trade and W. D. I. B. standing committees during the same period.

great boom in Manitoba."² In addition to falling land and farm prices and rising freight rates, municipal councils and Boards of Trade throughout the province were growing concerned over the large number of settlers passing through Manitoba to take up land and homes in Saskatchewan and Alberta.³ While these same rural municipalities were drawing up resolutions outlining the immigration problem, Winnipeggers such as Sanford Evans, Mayor Waugh and E. S. Short had already established an informal committee to consider the possibility of forming a province-wide movement to attract settlers to Manitoba. Through his experience with the old Western Canadian Immigration Association and as Chairman of the Winnipeg Stock Exchange, Evans firmly believed that substantial population growth would lead to a continuation of the boom period under which Manitoba had prospered for so many years before.

On Friday evening, January 12, 1912, a banquet was held at the Royal Alexandra Hotel to announce the organization of the Million for Manitoba League, its main objective being to secure one million citizens for the province before the next census. Described in The Dominion as "one of the most momentous events in the history of Manitoba," the inaugural meeting was attended by more than two hundred Manitobans including mayors and reeves representing all municipalities in the province.⁴ Sanford

² Morton, Manitoba: A History, p. 327.

³ The Rural Municipality of Louise was one of the first to recognize this trend. See Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, p. 120.

⁴ Staff Writer, "A Million for Manitoba," The Dominion, Volume Three, Number One (January, 1912), p. 1.

Evans sat at the table of honour with, among others, Lieutenant Governor Cameron, Premier Roblin, Sir William Whyte and Winnipeg Mayor R. D. Waugh.⁵ Following Waugh's departure for another engagement, Evans took over as chairman of the banquet. He spoke inspiringly of the Leagues' objectives and laid out the following course of action.

. . . It is proposed to divide the province into five districts, of which Winnipeg would be one. In each division a separate organization will take charge of the work. One means of raising funds will be by the sale of attractive buttons. A nominal fee for league membership will be fixed, and a definite campaign will be undertaken to secure larger contributions from businessmen, hotel men and the public-spirited residents of the province generally. Boards of trade, real estate exchanges, the lodges of various orders and even the school children will be drawn into the work.⁶

Although Sir William Whyte was elected honorary President of the League during the course of the initial meeting, Evans became the organization's first acting President. Within three months of its inception, more than 3,000 pieces of literature had been sent to Americans interested in Manitoba homestead land. In addition to provincial

⁵ Sir William Whyte was a member of the Hudson's Bay Company's Canadian Committee. His attendance at the inaugural banquet of the Million for Manitoba League contradicted his earlier actions relating to non-government immigration schemes. When the Western Canadian Immigration Association was formed at St. Paul in 1904, Whyte attended the meeting as Inspector of Agencies in the United States for the Canadian government's Immigration Branch. His pivotal position in the government's American agency activities made him a leading spokesman for anti-W.C.I.A. sentiment. Convinced that association members were more interested in promoting settlement for quick profit rather than long term development, Whyte denounced it as a threat to the government's homestead and immigration encouragement program. See H. Troper, "Public Versus Private Land Promotion," p. 93-94.

⁶ Manitoba Free Press, 13 January 1912.; Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, p. 120. Alan Artibise's study of Winnipeg provides a brief but informative history of the League.

representation at nearly every state fair in the United States during the summer of 1912, lectures on "practical agriculture" were given to Winnipeg residents with the object of enticing those "capable of good farming" to move out into the country.⁷ With the help of the provincial government, arrangements were made to advertise in 7,000 newspapers throughout North America and Great Britain.⁸

Unfortunately, the organization never met its goal of one million new citizens for the province, nor did it meet Evans' lofty expectations. In addition to a substantial increase in population, the League's President envisioned the development of a highly productive and self sufficient province. Evans lamented the fact that Manitoba had to import thousands of pounds of dairy products from the United States when the province had its own "beautiful dairy."⁹ He also imagined a system whereby farmers could secure advances from banks on their livestock and crops before they were brought to market. None of these ideas ever came to pass. Although the Million for Manitoba League managed to raise \$3,900 through the sale of membership buttons and was the recipient of a \$5,000 provincial government grant, there was never enough money in the treasury to advertise and promote Manitoba's interests in a manner that would achieve the results Evans had forecast. He made several strong appeals for funds but few towns

⁷ Staff Writer, "The Million for Manitoba League Convention," The Dominion, Volume Three, Number Seven (July, 1912), pp. 233.

⁸ Ibid., p. 234.

⁹ Ibid., p. 234.

or municipalities ever came through with expected grants.¹⁰ As a result, the League disbanded by the end of 1913.

Despite a solid effort from so many prominent Manitobans, the demise of the Million for Manitoba League was inevitable. By 1913 the province was entering a depression and "no amount of booming could bring a return of the good times."¹¹ As the real estate market collapsed and the economy faltered, Evans was forced to discontinue his brokerage house, the Canadian Agency Limited. Reflecting on this period in a letter to his Aunt in 1921, Evans told her "when the war came on the business I was in completely stopped and with it my income."¹² Not anticipating the closure, a few months before he had accepted a non-compensatory position to chair the Georgian Bay Canal Commission in Ottawa. Without a primary source of income shortly thereafter, Evans travelled to Ottawa where he gave the federal government three options: accept his resignation, postpone the work of the commission, or arrange for some kind of compensation. After five anxious weeks in Ottawa during the spring of 1914, Evans expressed himself "pretty strongly" and left for home without receiving a decision.¹³ Finally, while on the train back to Winnipeg, he received a wire telling him to go on with the work under a salary of \$6,000.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 234.; Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, p. 120.

¹¹ Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, p. 119.

¹² Evans Papers, Box 6, File 42, W.S. Evans to Unidentified Aunt, 16 May 1921 (Copy). This correspondence is one of the few in the collection in which Evans discusses his personal life and career between 1914 and 1921.

¹³ Ibid.

The three member Georgian Bay Canal Commission was established by an Order in Council on March 18, 1914, and consisted of Chairman Sanford Evans, Frank S. Meighen and Edhouard Gohier.¹⁴ Their mandate was to report on the commercial feasibility of constructing a \$125,000,000 deep inland waterway providing for the accommodation of large lake carriers from Georgian Bay to the port of Montreal. As Chairman of the Royal Commission, Evans left his wife and three children in Winnipeg and spent the next three years in Ottawa gathering evidence and compiling statistics on everything from transatlantic passenger traffic to interprovincial trade and monthly receipts of wheat at elevator terminals in Fort William and Port Arthur. In the first interim report he noted that "many of the conditions which constitute the economic factors of a problem such as this have not previously been statistically studied in Canada, and are not adequately set forth in any existing compilations. . . ."¹⁵ With three interim reports tabled in the House of Commons between 1916 and 1918, the Borden government decided to stop the work of the Royal Commission in the summer of 1917. Speaking before the House of Commons' Select Standing Committee on Agriculture and Colonization in 1922, Evans stated that the commission was terminated "on the ground

¹⁴ In the first report of the Georgian Bay Canal Commission, Meighen is described only as a gentleman while Gohier is identified as a merchant. Both men were from Montreal. See W. Sanford Evans, Statistical Examination of Certain General Conditions of Transportation Bearing on the Economic Problem of the Proposed Georgian Bay Canal. Interim Report No. 1, Sessional Paper No. 19b (Ottawa: J. de L. Taché, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1916), p. 6.

¹⁵ W. Sanford Evans, Statistical Examination of Certain General Conditions, p. 9.

that the question had for a term of years ceased to be a practical question."¹⁶ Its total cost to taxpayers was \$56,285.¹⁷

During his work on the Georgian Bay Canal Commission, Evans compiled a significant amount of statistics on the subject of wheat transportation and marketing. As a result, he quickly became recognized as a leading authority on the grain trade. This fact was not lost on Prime Minister Borden and in September of 1915 he was appointed Secretary of the short lived Atlantic Grain Transport Committee.¹⁸ Chaired by the Honourable Robert Rogers, Minister of Public Works, the cabinet committee also included Sir George Foster, Martin Burrell, Dr. John D. Reid and Arthur Meighen as members. Throughout this period of time, Evans' wife became very concerned that her husband was too absorbed in his work. Rarely was he able to get back to Winnipeg.

I do not see why you should not come to Winnipeg at least for ten days and my contention that you really should is not altogether based upon my own desire to see you.

Unless there are complications of which I know nothing regarding the business with which you do not wish to deal with at present I feel your ability to come so far as financial arrangements go is supplemented by the reasonableness of your going to your own home at least once in six months. And I am convinced that you should put in an appearance before the summer breaks the population by dispersing them. Psychologically it would mean much for you to appear in your own city to meet your friends - let those interested have a 'look-in' as to your investigations and

¹⁶ The Wheat Board Question. Minutes of Evidence of Mr. W. Sanford Evans before the Select Standing Committee on Agriculture and Colonization at Ottawa, Monday, May 1, 1922, p. 3.

¹⁷ George Fletcher Henderson, Federal Royal Commissions in Canada, 1867-1966: A Checklist (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), pp. 76-77.

¹⁸ National Archives of Canada [hereafter NAC], Foster Papers. Cited in Charles F. Wilson, A Century of Canadian Grain: Government Policy to 1951 (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1978), pp. 62-63.

generally take your own place. There is an insidious change which absence at such time works and you have built too firmly here to let it go for long. . . .¹⁹

Evans' failure to take his wife's advice stands as testimony to his strong work ethic and passion for compiling statistics, particularly those relating to the grain trade. It was not untypical of Evans to spend long periods of time away from his family but he was not an uncaring husband or a poor father figure. The commissioner may not have returned to Winnipeg as much as he would have liked but Irene and the children visited him periodically in Ottawa, usually in the summer months.

As the work of the Georgian Bay Canal Commission drew to a close, Evans accepted from the Honourable John D. Hazen, Minister of Naval Service, the opportunity to chair the Commission to Investigate Fishing and Canning Regulations in District Number 2, British Columbia. The other two members appointed to the inquiry were Henry B. Thompson and Frederick T. James, wholesale merchants from Victoria and Toronto respectively.²⁰ Even before the Royal Commission was formally established, there was a misunderstanding as to its scope. The canners had expected it would review the salmon fishery of British Columbia as a whole and were disappointed when they learned that the investigation would be restricted to District 2, the northern region of the

¹⁹ Evans Papers, Box 5, File 37a, Irene Evans to W.S. Evans, 13 April 1915.

²⁰ Considered one of Toronto's most successful businessmen, James was a fresh fish distributor who also owned a large cold storage company. He had ten years experience in handling British Columbia fish and began exporting large quantities to Great Britain in 1914. Thompson was Director of Turner, Beaton and Company in Victoria. He was one of the British Columbia's best story tellers and knew the province and its problems "like a book." See Evans Papers, Box 12, Unmarked File, Newspaper Clippings, Unknown British Columbia Newspaper, Undated July 1917.

province. More specifically, the commissioners were to address seven specific issues.

1. Whether the number of salmon canneries allowed to be operated in district No. 2, British Columbia, should be restricted to the number of licenses for such establishments as are now effective, and if so, for what length of time.
2. Whether motor boats should be allowed to be used in salmon fishing operations in the said district.
3. Whether the number of fishing boats now allowed to be used in any areas should be enlarged or reduced (a) if motor boats are allowed, and (b) if rowboats only are permitted, and if so, by how many in either case and in either direction.
4. Whether any of the boats authorized to be used in any area should be licensed to fish in connection with specified canneries only, and if so, what proportion of such boats.
5. Whether the export in a fresh condition of other varieties of salmon than sockeye should be prohibited, and if so, to what extent."
6. The actual amount of money in cash originally and at present invested in each cannery and equipment; the annual business done and the expenses connected therewith, and the gross and net annual profits and losses sustained by each cannery in the said district since the boating rating became effective, such information to be obtained by the examination by witnesses under oath, or by an audit of the books or both, as may be found most desirable by the Commissioners
7. Such points directly connected with the salmon fishing and canning industries in this district as in the opinion of the Commissioners will better enable them to reach proper conclusions on the aforesaid subjects.²¹

Shortly after Evans' arrival in Vancouver on July 9, the Royal Commission held three days of hearings in the city before travelling north on July 13. During the course of their two month investigation, the commissioners visited several canneries and every fishing area in District 2 with the exception of the Queen Charlotte Islands. Despite a busy schedule, Chairman Evans still found time to address Vancouver's Canadian Club

²¹ W. Sanford Evans, Report of Special Fishery Commission, 1917 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1918), np.; Cicely Lyons, Salmon: Our Heritage (Vancouver: Mitchell Press Limited, 1969), pp. 323.

on the role of the Dominion in World War One. He left such a lasting impression that one audience member felt compelled to write his local newspaper.

His Canadian Club address was in perfect style, clothed in choice language and delivered with grace and force, clearly marking the student of national affairs and the man of action. It is prophesied that the outstanding abilities of Mr. Evans have been noted by Sir Robt. Borden and that they will be availed of to a still greater extent.

In the meantime he is Canada's Industrial Royal Commissioner par excellence. His personal charm of manner, the ease with which he handles difficult men and situations, his pronounced determination to get at the facts in his own way, the broad basis he has laid for his present inquiry, and the democratic method he employs while meeting all sorts of conditions of men . . . set him in a class by himself. When he has finished he will have learned all about the fisheries and will bring a matured mind to play in judgement. Besides that he will carry back to the east a message from the west, that the west has desired to have expressed, but so long has found no spokesman. . . . Visits from men such as Mr. Evans . . . do untold good to the national spirit of Canada.²²

On September 9 Evans and his fellow commissioners returned to Ottawa to review more than 1,635 pages of evidence.²³ Although their final report was presented to the Minister of Naval Service at the end of October, it was not made public until 1918. First and foremost, the commissioners recommended that in order to conserve northern British Columbia's salmon reserves, the number of cannery licenses not be increased for a period of at least five years. The report also called for a 5-year prohibition on motor

²² Evans Papers, Box 12, Unmarked File, Newspaper Clippings, Unknown British Columbia Newspaper, [2] August 1917.

²³ Evans, Report of Special Fishery Commission, 1917, np.; Dianne Newell, Tangled Webs of History: Indians and the Law in Canada's Pacific Coast Fisheries (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), p. 86. According to Newell, evidence given before the commission revealed a trend whereby cannery operators began to value Indian plant workers, mostly women, more than Indian fishers who could easily be replaced by Japanese or whites.

boats in gill-net areas and no increase in the number of fishing boats in any area of District 2. In addition, Evans identified significant government administrative inefficiencies in managing the problems of the Pacific coast fisheries. The system was characterized by "extreme centralization" at Ottawa despite the fact that no one official was exclusively assigned to fishery problems.²⁴ Moreover, coordination between provincial and federal agencies was found to be non-existent.

Most of the Royal Commission's recommendations were carried out. During the war, for example, the federal government tried to abandon its restrictive policy for the northern salmon fishery. Based on the Evans' findings, however, this proposal was stopped in its tracks for another five years.²⁵ Evans also suggested that one-third of the express charges on less than carload lot shipments of Pacific coast fish to points in the prairie provinces be discontinued and replaced by one where the government would accept responsibility for two-thirds of the transportation charges. This recommendation was approved by the Minister of the Naval Service and carried out by an Order in Council of March 9, 1918.²⁶ The total cost of the Royal Commission was \$15,054.²⁷

While living in the nation's capital, Evans held memberships in the Rideau Club and the Royal Ottawa Golf Club. Both must have been "perks" of working for the federal government because his family struggled financially throughout the period 1914

²⁴ Evans, Report of Special Fishery Commission, 1917, np.

²⁵ Newell, Tangled Webs of History, p. 75.

²⁶ Evans, Report of Special Fishery Commission, np.

²⁷ Henderson, Federal Royal Commissions in Canada, p. 89.

to 1921. Besides his work on the Georgian Bay Canal and Salmon Cannery Commissions, the former Winnipeg mayor had virtually no income and very few prospects for employment. By 1919 Evans was still in debt from the closure of the Canadian Agency five years earlier and he owed more than \$7,000 for his one-fifth share in the Estevan Coal and Brick Company, a real estate scheme which had not yielded a single dividend since 1914.²⁸ Indeed, this must have been a low point in the life of the Canadian Club pioneer. Although earning a fortune was never one of Evans' primary objectives in life, he took pride in having the financial resources necessary to look after his family. Having raised his younger siblings after the death of his parents in the late 1880s, an older and seemingly much wiser Sanford Evans was somewhat humiliated by the fact that he was now unable to pay for his sister Charlotte's care at the Homewood Sanitarium in Guelph, Ontario.²⁹ That responsibility fell upon his aunt and younger brother, Harry. Eventually, money became so tight that the family grew increasingly reliant upon the allowance Irene received from her late father's estate. With the remainder of her inheritance not to be distributed until 1923, Sanford's wife eventually sold for cash much of the jewellery she received at the time of her mother's death years earlier.³⁰

Evans' only other sources of income during this period of time came from his work as Supervisor of flour mills for the Food Controller and Secretary of the Ottawa

²⁸ Evans Papers, Box 6, File 42, W.S. Evans to Unidentified Aunt, 16 May 1921 (Copy).

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

based Committee of Millers. Although his personal papers reveal very little information on either job, he once stated that his primary task in both positions was to "turn in on flour problems."³¹ With the formation of the Winnipeg based Canadian Wheat Board in late August of 1919, the miller's committee found itself under the controlling authority of the newly established selling agency and subsequently moved its own headquarters to Manitoba. Although finally back in Winnipeg after a five year absence, Evans' reunion with wife Irene and the children would not yet be permanent.

Based on his experience with the Georgian Bay Canal Commission and the flour mills, in late fall of 1919 the Canadian Wheat Board employed Evans to monitor European wheat markets from England. He set sail for London on November 25. During his three month stay in Great Britain Evans was to advise the board on conditions in the flour market and, wherever possible, negotiate contracts for flour. In this capacity, Evans met with agents of the Australian Wheat Board, read grain papers, visited mills and exchanges and observed events surrounding the Royal Wheat Commission chaired by Lord Crawford.³² He also compiled a statistical service consisting of daily, weekly and monthly figures on the movement and prices of wheat and wheat products all over the world. According to historian C. F. Wilson, the information obtained by Evans in regard to food conditions in the various European

³¹ Ibid.

³² Evans Papers, Box 6, File 41, W.S. Evans to W.W. Hutchinson, 13 December 1919.; Evans Papers, Box 6, File 41, W.S. Evans to W.A. Black, 2 February 1920. Hutchinson represented the Lake of the Woods Milling Company while Black worked for Ogilvie Flour Mills. Both were based in Montreal. During his stay in London, Evans corresponded with several members of the milling industry.

countries was invaluable as guidance to the Board.³³

Evans returned to Winnipeg in the spring of 1920 with the idea of establishing a commercial statistical service on grain. Through his work on the Georgian Bay Canal Commission, as well as his experience with both the Committee of Millers and the Canadian Wheat Board, he had come to realize the grain trade's importance in national affairs.³⁴ In the west in particular he recognized a need for more comprehensive statistical information on grain. After developing a business plan, however, Evans decided to shelve the idea because he found that it would not "meet its cost . . . perhaps for a year or two."³⁵

With the discontinuation of the Canadian Wheat Board in August, 1920, the millers decided to form a new organization based out of Montreal. After serious consideration, Evans declined a \$9,000 per year salary to work in Quebec as its Secretary. He based his decision solely on his aspirations of entering provincial politics in the near future. Moving to a new community would have meant having to rebuild his reputation completely. Evans told his aunt "I would sacrifice all I had built up in the way of personal connection in the west and with it probably the only chance I might ultimately have of sometime entering public life."³⁶

³³ Wilson, A Century of Canadian Grain, p. 1081.

³⁴ The Wheat Board Question. Minutes of Evidence of Mr. W. Sanford Evans Before the Select Standing Committee on Agriculture and Colonization. Ottawa, 1 May 1922, p. 3.

³⁵ Evans Papers, Box 6, File 42, W.S. Evans to Unidentified Aunt, 16 May 1921 (Copy).

³⁶ Ibid.

In October of 1920 an unemployed Evans began looking for work. He soon came in contact with the owner of the Dawson Richardson Publishing Company, which produced daily, weekly and monthly grain papers as well as forms for members of the Winnipeg Grain Exchange. Through preliminary discussions with the publisher, Evans discovered that the company was "a little more than paying its way."³⁷ More importantly, however, Richardson's company required just what he was in a position to supply - statistics. To Evans, a partnership seemed like a natural progression. After consideration of the \$25,000 in capital Richardson already had invested in a plant, an alliance was formed. Under terms of the agreement, both men were to start with a nominal salary of \$5,000 per year, providing the business venture was successful.³⁸

With the establishment of the W. Sanford Evans Statistical Service in 1921, Evans quickly earned a reputation as the foremost statistical authority on business conditions in western Canada.³⁹ With all documents published through the Dawson Richardson Publishing Company, subscribers were able to receive the most current foreign and domestic grain statistics available. Its "Business Service" was capable of providing up-to-date information on almost every industry imaginable including mining, building, pulpwood, oil wells and immigration. Statistics for any series of years by Government Crop District or by any defined territory in western Canada were also available on

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Unfortunately, the records of the W. Sanford Evans Statistical Service were lost in the flood of 1950. This business was the centre from which Evans conducted most of his research.

population, agricultural production, livestock production, manufacturing, taxation and other resources and industries. In addition to the publication of a Grain Trade Year Book and the availability of "tailor made" statistical compilations, Evans' company provided several other services including charting, mapping, mailing, mimeographing, and advertising.⁴⁰

While the success of the W. Sanford Evans Statistical Service may have earned its President recognition as western Canada's foremost statistician, it also confirmed his status as one of the nation's leading experts on the grain trade. As such, Evans' position on the hotly contested issue of wheat marketing was both highly regarded and well known. In a 1921 article, he wrote "if there was no intermediate or middlemen market, more than half the proportion [of wheat] Canadian farmers ordinarily deliver [during the months of September to November] could not be sold at all within that period. . . . It is the middleman's function to make an adjustment, so that the producer and the consumer can buy whenever he wants to."⁴¹ During the first week of May in 1922, Evans was asked to present his case in Ottawa before the Select Standing Committee on Agriculture and Colonization. In doing so, he maintained his commitment to the open market system.

. . . . The trading system which the world has evolved as the result of

⁴⁰ Evans Papers, Box 12, Unmarked File, Booklet entitled A Brief Review of the Work Performed by the W. Sanford Evans Statistical Service of Winnipeg, Canada.

⁴¹ W. Sanford Evans, "Features of the Open Grain Market", Grain Trade News (1921). Cited in Allan Levine, The Exchange: 100 Years of Trading Grain in Winnipeg (Winnipeg: Peguis Publishers Limited, 1987), p. 162.

centuries of experience is based, in theory at least, upon free competition among sellers and among buyers. The Wheat Board introduces an entirely different fundamental principle. Any selling pool does the same thing provided it is contemplated that the selling pool will control any considerable quantity or proportion of the producers to be marketed.

The principle introduced by the selling pool is that of a combination of sellers to restrict or limit selling competition. If the case for the open market can be sustained as being of advantage to society as a whole, then it is rather a serious matter to consider a resort to an opposite and conflicting principle, whether for temporary or for permanent ends. . . . In my opinion . . . it would not be to the advantage of society to give up its defences against the development of the monopolistic principle. . .⁴²

Although C. Rice-Jones, General Manager of the United Grain Growers, was in Ottawa seeking only the establishment of a temporary wheat board "to tide things over" until farmers could organize a pool of their own, Evans considered such a proposition to be even more dangerous than if they were debating a permanent change in policy.⁴³

. . . [O]nly the most extreme case of need could justify taking from under the whole structure of society's trading organization the fundamental pillar of the open market, and using that to fill up a little local or temporary ditch. I do not believe that we could ever put that pillar back again if we wanted to, so as to make the structure secure in Canada at least for many years to come. If the arguments in favor of a Wheat Board such as those I have listened to for the most part during this past week are sound, then they would seem to establish that the Wheat Board should be a permanent proposition. . .⁴⁴

⁴² The Wheat Board Question. Minutes of Evidence of Mr. W. Sanford Evans Before the Standing Committee on Agriculture and Colonization, p. 4.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 5.; Manitoba Free Press, [2] May 1922. In his testimony before the committee a few days earlier, Rice-Jones stated "I would be opposed to the wheat board as a permanent proposition." The Honourable T.A. Crerar, President of the United Grain Growers, was in favour of a voluntary Wheat Board. In 1921 the U.G.G. asked the statistician to prepare a report on the advantages and disadvantages of marketing wheat through a co-operative pool. See Evans Papers, Box 6, File 43, C. Rice-Jones to W.S. Evans, 29 December 1921.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 5.

In the months preceding the hearings of the Standing Committee on Agriculture and Colonization, Evans committed himself to several speaking engagements in support of the Conservative party as it prepared for the expected provincial election. In a speech before Tory delegates and supporters at the Adanac Theatre in Souris on April Fool's Day, the experienced platform performer expressed concern that current taxation levels were hindering enterprise and economic development. Always accompanied by stacks of information, Evans used recently compiled statistics to show Glenwood constituents that Manitobans had paid more taxes in the past year than the value of all grain raised in the province.⁴⁵ Casting aside the Labor party as completely insignificant, he went on to accuse Premier Norris and the Liberal government of gross overspending. The United Farmers, meanwhile, were characterized as being ill prepared to take part in provincial affairs. "Under their system of government," Evans claimed, "every candidate must pledge himself to an unsafe platform."⁴⁶

In the days following the Souris rally, Manitoba's Liberal-Conservative party held a convention at the Royal Alexandra Hotel in Winnipeg where Major F. G. Taylor was elected leader.⁴⁷ The Tory delegates also passed several resolutions that would make up their election platform. Among other things, the Conservatives pledged to maintain a balanced budget, re-organize the civil service, abolish the Provincial Tax Commission, reduce freight rates, develop the province's mineral wealth, submit a referendum on

⁴⁵ Manitoba Free Press, 1 April 1922.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ For more information on the election see Manitoba Free Press, 6 April 1922.

liquor and provide a sound elementary education to every child in the province. During an address at the close of the April 5 afternoon session, Evans expressed his support for the platform and predicted that the Liberals would be a non-entity in the July 18 election. He was certain that it was going to come down to a battle between the United Farmers and the Conservatives.⁴⁸

On June 12, 1922, Evans accepted a long anticipated nomination to run as a Liberal-Conservative candidate for Winnipeg. Soon after he began his official campaign. Speaking at a July 5 meeting in Westbourne for Lakeside Tory E. H. Muir, Evans stated that the paramount issue of the election campaign was finance. After charging the Liberals with "every serious fault that can be committed in public finance," the former Winnipeg mayor proceeded to criticize the Progressives for having "no plank in their platform which even mentioned economy."⁴⁹ The following evening in Winnipeg Evans continued his attack on the Norris government.

Two years ago we reached the crest of conditions marked by scarcity of goods and capital and high price levels. Since then we have been experiencing gradual diminution of prices, with the result that our ability to pay is declining. Therefore our obligations should be restricted and reduced.

Instead of this, what do we find in Manitoba? Public building expenses have doubled in the last seven years while the public debt has increased from \$27,000,000 to \$68,000,000. . . . The situation must be dealt with and it must be by some other party than the one recently in power. . .⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Winnipeg Tribune, 5 July 1922.

⁵⁰ Winnipeg Tribune, 6 July 1922. Incidentally, Evans completely ignored the fact that much of this debt was due to the construction of Roblin's new legislative building and its attendant scandal. See Morton, Manitoba: A History, p. 341-347.

Throughout the campaign Evans appears to have been the Conservative party's chief financial critic. Issues such as immigration and liquor control were handled by other Tory candidates including W. J. Tupper, Lily Brown and John T. Haig. Evans stressed the importance of conducting public finance and private business in the same manner. Expenditures had to be decreased when income decreased. Citing New Zealand, Great Britain and the United States as examples, he argued that countries around the world were cutting costs while Manitoba's provincial government continued to increase expenditures.⁵¹ Although Premier Norris and the Liberals remained a frequent target, the Tory candidate recognized the Progressives as a formidable opponent and made every effort to discredit them as well.

The Farmers' party has not even given a thought to the matter of economy in spending public money and has no plank in its platform designating such. . . . A party which cannot handle Manitoba's economic problems is not a safe party to place in power...One farmer out of every five and one voter out of every eleven had any say in the formation of the Farmers' party platform. . . . The Farmers claim to have a superior virtue but what it is is very difficult to say. . .⁵²

Several hours after the polls closed on the evening of July 18, returning officer D. R. C. MacLean announced that F. J. Dixon was the only candidate elected on the first count under the proportional representation system. The Labor leader had received 7,394 first preference votes followed by Liberal Robert Jacob, Independent J. K. Downes and

⁵¹ Winnipeg Tribune, 14 July 1922.

⁵² Winnipeg Tribune, 13 July 1922.

Evans with 3,429, 3,220 and 2,366 respectively.⁵³ After the Dixon surplus vote had been transferred, Evans was elected to the Manitoba Legislature with 2,703 votes, in fifth place behind Dixon, Jacob, Downes and Labor candidate John Queen.⁵⁴ According to the Winnipeg newspapers, many Labor electors were confused by the similarity between the names Evans and I. L. P. candidate Ivens, which resulted in the former receiving 366 Dixon transfers.⁵⁵ Although the United Farmers were swept into office with twenty-four seats, largely at the expense of the Liberals, the splintering of the opposition vote meant that only the best Conservative, Liberal and Labor party members were elected.⁵⁶ As stated by Bracken biographer John Kendle, the Tory front bench trio of Fawcett Taylor, Sanford Evans and John Haig was very impressive.

. . . Taylor, the leader, had a fine record and was extremely popular. As a former mayor of Portage la Prairie and a lawyer to numerous farmers, Taylor understood rural and urban conditions equally well and used his knowledge to good effect in the House. He and Sanford Evans were two of the best-dressed men in the chamber and could often be seen in morning dress with black cutaway coats and serge trousers. Evans was the patrician of the House. Tall, good-looking with gracious manner, he was the epitome of a 'gentleman' and would not have been out of place in the House of Lords. His specialty was finance and every year from 1923 until his retirement in 1936 the government's budget was subjected

⁵³ Manitoba Free Press, 19 July 1922.

⁵⁴ Manitoba Free Press, 20 July 1922. Eventually Jacob was elected on the first count. Consequently, he was excluded from the transfer of Dixon votes.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ The U.F.M. won 24 seats, the Liberals seven, the Conservatives six, and the Socialists and Labour six. Eight Independents were elected and the Progressive Association was expected to elect one in Winnipeg. Three deferred elections in The Pas, Ethelbert and Rupertsland were scheduled for the fall of 1922. See John Kendle, John Bracken: A Political Biography (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), p. 28.

to a ruthless and sometimes telling scrutiny. The roughest tongue in the House belonged to John Haig, who, it was said, often opened his mouth only to go away and leave it running. Haig sat as one of ten members for Winnipeg and was convinced of the necessity of having his name appear every day in both Winnipeg papers. . .⁵⁷

Although Sanford Evans served as chief financial expert of the Manitoba Conservative party from 1923 to 1936, he spent much of his first legislative session opposing the United Farmers' compulsory Wheat Board bill.⁵⁸ Convinced that such a measure was "contrary to the British system of trade even in war times," Evans led his party in calling for the establishment of a standing committee on wheat marketing.⁵⁹ Premier Bracken opposed Evans' resolution, stating "it is one thing for the House to inform itself, and it is another thing for it provide special avenues for the Winnipeg grain exchange to inform it."⁶⁰ As will be shown, Evans' close ties to the grain exchange would be questioned again years later, when he was being considered as a possible candidate for the 1931 Royal Commission to Enquire into Trading in Grain Futures, chaired by Sir Josiah Stamp of Great Britain. Although the first year M.L.A. eventually earned the support of Labor leader F. J. Dixon, on March 20 the resolution in favour of

⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 40-41. Evans' wardrobe also was discussed in the Winnipeg Tribune, 12 January 1924.

⁵⁸ As wheat prices continued to fall in the early 1920s, the organized farmers of Saskatchewan and Alberta were demanding the re-establishment of the Wheat Board. In 1922 Parliament passed an act to re-establish the Board for one year, provided the legislatures of the prairie provinces passed enabling acts to make the constitutionality of the legislation secure. The legislatures of Alberta and Saskatchewan had already complied and everything depended on the deeply divided legislature of Manitoba. See Morton, Manitoba: A History, p. 385.

⁵⁹ Manitoba Free Press, 27 January 1923.

⁶⁰ Winnipeg Tribune, 7 March 1923.

a standing committee was defeated by a vote of 30 to 14.⁶¹ Undaunted by the failure of his proposal and strongly committed to the open market system, Evans continued his attack on the bill for the next several weeks. On one occasion he delivered a four hour speech on the world grain trade that had to be stretched over a two day period.⁶² At its conclusion, Evans declared that he was for a voluntary co-operative marketing system "with all his heart."⁶³ Thus, it appears that his attitude was favourable towards the subsequent emergence of the prairie Wheat Pools.⁶⁴

When it came time to vote on the compulsory Wheat Board bill on April 27, 1923, six United Farmers including Cabinet Ministers Cameron, Black, and Craig joined those House members opposed to the measure and it was defeated by a margin of 24 to 21.⁶⁵ It should be noted, however, that it was not Sanford Evans' speeches or repeated attacks that influenced the Farmer members to vote against the bill. Both Provincial Treasurer Black and Attorney-General Craig based their opposition on what they

⁶¹ Manitoba Free Press, 21 March 1923.

⁶² Manitoba Free Press, 19 April 1923.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ According to Allan Levine, the reaction of the Grain Exchange in the fall of 1923 to the formation of the Alberta Pool was mild. In view of the failed attempt to reinstate the Wheat Board in 1922, Exchange members were convinced that the open market was the only viable method of marketing Canadian wheat. They also were certain that the Alberta Pool's success would be short lived. As a strong supporter of the Exchange, it seems plausible that Evans shared these sentiments. Although the Pools grew more powerful and successful, thereby threatening the Exchange's control over wheat marketing in Canada, in 1924 and after, the Exchange still preferred that farmers experiment with cooperatives rather than press for government control over grain. See Allan Levine, "Open Market or 'Orderly Marketing': The Winnipeg Grain Exchange and the Wheat Pools, 1923-1929," Agricultural History, Volume 61, Number 2 (Spring, 1987), pp. 50-69.

⁶⁵ Manitoba Free Press, 28 April 1923.

described as the extraordinary powers conferred on the proposed board.⁶⁶ Even before the bill was introduced in early April, several of the Premier's colleagues in the House were opposed to the compulsory features embodied in the legislation while others felt that only Alberta and Saskatchewan stood to benefit with their later harvests and larger distance from the market.⁶⁷ Under the existing system in Manitoba, grain moved soon enough to secure the best of the new crop prices. Bracken, favoured a co-operative selling agency but he understood that refusal to co-operate might thwart the board's chances of success and harm farmers further west. Consequently, he agreed to introduce the compulsory Wheat Board bill only after receiving assurances that the Saskatchewan and Alberta governments and the various farm organizations would agree to lay plans immediately for the development of a co-operative non-profit and non-compulsory organization to handle subsequent crops. Even then, it was introduced by a private member rather than as a government measure so that party members could vote as they desired without concern that the bill's defeat would be interpreted as a vote of censure. Despite the Premier's efforts in recommending adoption of the bill, its fate had been sealed weeks earlier by a split in the cabinet and government caucus, as well as the solid opposition stance taken by the United Farmers' adversaries in the House.⁶⁸

With the end of the first session of the seventeenth legislature in May, 1923,

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ According to Kendle, in the House as a whole thirty percent of Farmer members were opposed to the bill. See Kendle, John Bracken: A Political Biography, p. 44.

⁶⁸ Kendle, John Bracken: A Political Biography, pp. 43-44.; Morton, Manitoba: A History, p. 385.

Evans kept his name before the public throughout the remainder of the year by conducting platform work across the province. He also remained active in the business community as President of both the W. Sanford Evans Statistical Service and Dawson Richardson Publishing. Not to be outdone by her husband, in March Irene was elected President of the newly formed women's Conservative Club of Winnipeg.⁶⁹ A few months later, in early June, she received an inheritance from the estate of her father, Edward Gurney. A former mayor of Toronto, Gurney also was a highly successful businessman with heating and appliance manufacturing plants in Toronto, Vancouver, Montreal, Winnipeg and Boston. Although exact figures of her inheritance are not included in Evans' personal papers, it appears that she received a substantial number of shares in each company as well as a cash settlement.⁷⁰ Sanford was undoubtedly anxious for the estate to be distributed. Earlier in the year he and a group of fifteen other Winnipeg businessmen were sued by the Inland Mortgage Corporation for \$18,000 owing from a business transaction dating back to 1909.⁷¹

During the 1924 session of the Manitoba legislature, Sanford Evans became much more focused on the financial conditions of the province. As the Conservative party's

⁶⁹ Manitoba Free Press, 23 March 1923.

⁷⁰ Evans Papers, Box 6, File 45a, E.H. Gurney to Irene Evans, 27 December 1923. In the case of the Gurney Foundry Company of Toronto, Irene and her two sisters received an equal parcel of 2,475 shares. In 1926 alone, Evans' wife claimed \$8,813.33 from her father's estate on her income tax return to the federal government. See Evans Papers, Box 6, File 48, W.C. Simpson to Irene Evans, 6 April 1926.

⁷¹ Evans Papers, Box 6, File 45, Untitled legal document for King's Bench, February 1923. In addition to Evans, the document lists fourteen other defendants including J.J. MacMillan, W.L. Burdick, Charles F. Roland and J.B. Hugg.

chief financial critic, the second year M. L. A. was capable of reciting facts and figure for several hours at a time. "Armed with balance sheets, a whole law library, a portfolio, personal papers, pencils, a whole stationer's shop," he arrived at each session fully prepared to discredit the Bracken government in any way possible.⁷² Provincial Treasurer F. M. Black was rarely able to get anything past the "ear" of Evans.

Mr. Evans has an ear . . . specially constructed for the reception of pieces of arithmetic. It is his right ear. He sits with his right ear slewed round full on Mr. Black as Mr. Black speaks, and the figures, discounts, profits and losses, percentages which flow from Mr. Black, stream across the purple carpet and over Mr. Taylor's desk . . . and trip like troops of lively, sparkling fairies into Mr. Evans' ear. What sunsets are to a poet, what song is to a singer, arithmetical computations and statistical numbers are to Mr. Evans. You can see him sit with his ear adjusted enjoying this feast of mathematics. Each new figure dancing like a golden elf into his head and ringing bells of wonder in Mr. Evans' mind. Wonder is no name for it. Rather it is amazement. Presently Mr. Evans arises, a look of ecstasy or bewilderment on his face, and then, alas, you discover that the fairies have only convinced him that Mr. Black's arithmetic is like music jangled out of tune; and so . . . Mr. Evans, in the most arithmetical way in the world, proceeds to pour out cohorts of figures of his own and send them marching across to Mr. Black, who does not, however, turn an ear to them but only receives them on the top of his head. . . .⁷³

In addition to his mathematical capabilities, Evans quickly became known for his long and often unusual speeches before the House. Beginning with Premier Bracken's throne speech in the opening days of the session, he lashed out with "pencil, pince-nez and watch chain."⁷⁴ After a sharp attack on the United Farmers' hydro policy and alleged extravagant spending habits, Evans proceeded to recite, with much feeling and

⁷² Manitoba Free Press, 7 February 1924.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Manitoba Free Press, 19 January 1924.

cadence, the entire Old Mother Hubbard nursery rhyme. He did this to describe what members found when they sat to hear the speech from the throne; an empty cupboard.⁷⁵ Continuing his reply to Bracken's address, Evans stated that Manitobans had used bad seed at election time in 1922, resulting in a poor crop of political leaders unworthy of harvesting. It was "all straw . . . [without] a head in the whole stock."⁷⁶ On February 11, 1924, in one of his more amusing speeches, Evans argued that the government's balance sheets had been faked with the help of a friend named "Mr. Open Ledger."

The Provincial Treasurer has a little chap in his office called 'Mr. Open Ledger.' This gentlemen sits quietly on the shelf in the corner. The treasurer on occasion slips him some money to spend. During the last year, out of monies voted by the legislature, the provincial treasury took \$287,484 and handing it to 'Mr. Open Ledger' said: 'Go and spend this for me and then I can go to the house and the country and say I saved it.' The treasurer, knowing the facts, takes one statement out and draws political inferences from it which are absolutely false and a fraud upon the public.⁷⁷

While continuing the work of his statistical service in 1924, the first in a string of good years for the west, Evans created a new report entitled The Pillars of Western Progress. Using the most up-to-date information available, Evans' latest yearly publication provided diagrammatic illustrations and accompanying explanations for several economic indicators including population, livestock sold, production of staple products, railroad mileage, mineral development and industrial production.⁷⁸ Each

⁷⁵ Winnipeg Tribune, 19 January 1924.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Winnipeg Tribune, 12 February 1924.

⁷⁸ Evans Papers, Box 10, File 37, The Pillars of Western Progress: Canada's Jubilee Edition, 1867 - 1927 (Winnipeg: Dawson Richardson Publishing Limited, 1927).

section was easy to comprehend and demonstrated the basic progress of western Canada. In addition to the new statistical report, Evans delivered several enthusiastic addresses throughout the country on the same subject. After presentations before the Winnipeg Sales Managers' Association and the city's Canadian and Lions Clubs, he continued his platform campaign in Toronto and Ottawa. Following a convincing address before the Association of Canadian Advertisers in Toronto, an enlightened Mail and Empire editor wrote that perhaps eastern Canada had misjudged its western counterpart. Indeed, there was "as much political and economic sanity in the west as in any other part of Canada."⁷⁹

After an uneventful fourth session in 1925, the fifth session of the seventeenth legislature in 1926 was marked by prolonged debates and the passage of 122 of 152 bills over a thirteen week period.⁸⁰ Anticipating a brief pre-election session the following year, opposition members showed a desire to prepare as much campaign material as possible while some simply wanted to embarrass the government in an attempt to "jockey it to a fall."⁸¹ Sanford Evans' harsh criticism and opposition to nearly every non-Conservative bill brought before the House during the fifth session demonstrates that he was intent on doing both. Even Tory leader F. G. Taylor felt that his financial critic was

⁷⁹ Evans Papers, Box 27, File "Evans", Newspaper Clippings, Toronto Mail and Empire, 29 November 1924.

⁸⁰ Manitoba Free Press, 24 April 1926.

⁸¹ Ibid.

"carrying a heavier part of the load."⁸² In addition to a lengthy reply to Premier Bracken's throne speech, Evans charged the United Farmers with irregularities in its bill to amend the Industrial Home Act.⁸³ After stating that the home's rent for the current fiscal year had been incorrectly paid from the government's supply and expense account, he pointed out that the bill was an expenditure of money. As such, it had to be accompanied by a message from the Lieutenant Governor. Furthermore, he asked the speaker to rule that supplementary estimates for 1925-26 be brought down to properly cover the costs of renting the land. The following day, Evans' objection was thrown out when the speaker declared that the rules of the House permitted the delivery of a message at any time during the passage of a bill.⁸⁴ Dissatisfied with the ruling, Evans responded in his own unique style.

The principle is that there shall be no commitment of this province to any expenditure which has not received the formal consideration of the cabinet. It is a principle I am not prepared to see weakened in any way. We have had this very same point [brought] up in practically the same way, session after session. Some people are colour blind, some can't remember names, or figures or localities, or faces, and yet are quite capable in other respects. It is a rare thing for a whole group to have the same defect.⁸⁵

Following an unsuccessful attempt to obstruct an amendment to the Amusement

⁸² Evans Papers, Box 6, File 48, F.G. Taylor to W.S. Evans, 24 April 1926.

⁸³ The Industrial Home Act was to give the government authority to sign a lease for 270 acres of land to be used in connection with the Portage la Prairie industrial home. See Manitoba Free Press, 5 February 1926.

⁸⁴ Manitoba Free Press, 6 February 1926.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

Tax Act, the Winnipeg M. L. A. attacked the Bracken government sharply for its handling of suburban school districts and the freight rates issue.⁸⁶ With the latter being investigated by the Board of Railway Commissioners, Evans noted that British Columbia, Alberta and Saskatchewan had all filed exhaustive submissions to the board while Manitoba's was only one and a half pages.⁸⁷ Prior to the conclusion of the 1926 session, Evans also gave his annual reply to the budget speech, figure by figure, recognizing once again the United Farmers' failure to balance the budget or reduce taxes.

During the sixth and final session of the seventeenth legislature in 1927, Evans continued to play a lead role in the Conservative criticism of the Bracken government. Although he supported government control of the sale and distribution of liquor, the Tory M. L. A. felt that too much power had been delegated to the Liquor Commission. Not surprisingly, Evans was very suspicious of the United Farmers' handling of liquor money. On one occasion he charged "we have not had government control of liquor . . . we have had government sale and control of every penny derived from that source."⁸⁸ Referring to his ever present stack of statistics, Evans also stated that alcohol related law enforcement provisions were inadequate and unfair to the municipalities. Following this line of argument, he questioned why the government had

⁸⁶ The amendment to the Amusement Tax Act was to exempt amateur sporting events from the tax and increase the government's share of revenue from pari-mutuel machines at race meets from three to five percent. Evans believed the two percent increase in revenue from pari-mutuel monies greatly exceeded the amount lost by exempting amateur sports.

⁸⁷ Manitoba Free Press, 18 February 1926.

⁸⁸ Winnipeg Telegram, 17 February 1927.

taken \$100,000 from municipalities to cover the cost of liquor law enforcement for the coming year when the same expense for each of the four previous years had only been \$26,000.⁸⁹ After the Honourable R. W. Craig introduced five amendments to the Liquor Control Act in an attempt to curb illegal acts in the manufacture and sale of beer, Evans denounced the bills as "patchwork legislation" which carried no chance of improving conditions.⁹⁰

As was the case every year since 1923, Evans also led the Tory attack on the budget. After five years of complaining about the United Farmers' failure to reduce taxes, he remained unsatisfied in 1927 when Bracken proposed a \$600,000 or twenty percent reduction in income tax. In his reply to the budget speech on February 16, he claimed "even with reductions proposed, it will still be true that the Bracken government will be collecting at least \$15,000,000 more than in the last year of the Norris government and \$5,000,000 more than in the last year of the Conservative government."⁹¹ Before announcing that the provincial debt had increased from \$68,331,121 in 1922 to \$72,532,594 in 1926, Evans questioned Bracken's claim that the United Farmers had delivered a balanced budget. Citing England as an example, Evans stated that "a budget is not balanced as long as there is any expenditure on capital account, which merely is raised by borrowing."⁹²

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Winnipeg Tribune, 1 March 1927.

⁹¹ Manitoba Free Press, 17 February 1927.

⁹² Ibid.

Although recognized as a leading financial expert and western Canada's foremost statistician, Sanford Evans rarely offered solutions to alleviate the provincial debt. Aside from suggesting a reduction in telephone rates and the abolition of the Municipal Commissioners Levy, Evans' budget speech of 1927 contained no alternative financial strategy. According to historian John Kendle, the Conservatives most likely did not have one.

. . . No matter what group or party had been in office at the time it would have pursued the same policy. In all the emotional rhetoric from opposition groups and the strident declarations of the Tribune, not one hint of an alternative method of resolving Manitoba's economic ills was ever aired. Fawcett Taylor, the Conservative leader, and his two financial experts, John Haig and Sanford Evans, were always critical of Bracken. But they accused the Premier of extravagance. Their main point was that if the Conservatives were in office they would be even more frugal. At no time was it argued that the government would deliberately overspend and deficit finance. Not only was this an unknown economic doctrine at the time, but anything hinting of additional expenditures or of deliberately unbalanced budgets would have been an anathema to the public. Even the Conservatives were well aware of that.⁹³

Several weeks after the conclusion of the seventeenth legislature in early April, Evans began his campaign for re-election. He was one of twenty-five candidates in the fight for ten Winnipeg seats.⁹⁴ While Premier Bracken campaigned on the record of his administration, Evans drew heavily from the Conservative platform established during the party's convention in Brandon on March 15. Among other things, it advocated the formation of an old age pension scheme, widening the scope of the Mothers Allowance Act, stricter liquor law enforcement, a reduction in succession duties and the abolition

⁹³ Kendle, John Bracken: A Political Biography, p. 39.

⁹⁴ Manitoba Free Press, 20 June 1927.

of both supplementary revenue tax and the Income Tax Act.⁹⁵

Although the 1927 contest was rather uneventful, like most provincial elections it was not without a certain amount of mud slinging. Perhaps the most controversial event of the campaign took place on June 20 when Sanford Evans and fellow Tory candidates W. V. Tobias, John T. Haig, R. A. Gillespie and T. A. Hunt addressed the Conservative women's association at the Fort Garry Hotel. During the course of the evening each candidate spoke on a different aspect of the United Farmers' administration. Hunt attracted newspaper headlines when he compared Premier Bracken's political tactics to those of Italian Fascist leader Benito Mussolini.⁹⁶ Unwilling to go as far as his colleague, Evans would only state that the provincial government had "no claim to a democratic standard."⁹⁷ One of the more amusing aspects of the campaign centred around Evans' address before Conservative supporters at St. John's Technical School. After reviewing the Bracken government's tax record, the south Winnipeg M. L. A. remarked that the liquor situation was accurately displayed on signs over the doors of the United Farmers' campaign headquarters at the corner of Portage and Main. Underneath a large signing bearing the words "Bracken Committee Headquarters," the awning read "Thirsty, Just Whistle." Apparently, the election Committee had occupied a premises

⁹⁵ Evans Papers, Box 12, File "Party Literature", Conservative Handbook, 1927.: Manitoba Free Press, 25 June 1927.

⁹⁶ Winnipeg Tribune, 21 June 1927.; Manitoba Free Press, 21 June 1927.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

formerly used as a cafe.⁹⁸

The provincial election of 1927 brought a partial revival of the Conservative Party. In Winnipeg, Tories Haig and Evans were re-elected first and third with 5,108 and 4,551 first preference votes respectively. Liberal leader H. A. Robson placed second with 4,862.⁹⁹ Although the Bracken government was re-elected as expected, the Farmers gained only one new seat and returned with twenty-nine. The Conservatives, on the other hand, took fifteen seats, a gain of nine from 1922. In addition to the re-election of one Independent candidate, the Liberals retained their seven seats while the Labor party was reduced from six to three.¹⁰⁰ In short, the United Farmers were unable to make any significant improvement largely due to the resurgence of the Conservatives "who had thrown off the odium of the 1915 scandal and under new, young leadership, had built a powerful, province-wide organization."¹⁰¹ Bracken's party was weakened further by the emergence of a rival farm organization known as the District Builders and the electorate's drift back to traditional parties following the return of prosperity in the mid 1920s.¹⁰²

During the opening session of the eighteenth legislature in 1928, Evans continued in his role as a leading critic of the provincial government. Besides strong opposition

⁹⁸ Winnipeg Tribune, 16 June 1927.

⁹⁹ Winnipeg Tribune, 29 June 1927.

¹⁰⁰ Kendle, John Bracken: A Political Biography, p. 66.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 66.

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 66.

to a bill that would permit liquor advertising under the supervision of the Liquor Control Commission, the Tory M. L. A. carried out his annual attack on the budget. This was followed by an unsuccessful attempt to have an amendment made to the United Farmers' old age pension bill. Although Evans fully supported the establishment of a pension plan, he wanted written assurances that it would not be funded through a direct tax increase upon municipalities of the province as proposed by the Bracken government.¹⁰³

During a by-election campaign for Lansdowne in October of 1928, Conservative leader F. G. Taylor levelled accusations against the provincial government for awarding the Winnipeg Electric Company the contract to develop a hydro electric plant at the Seven Sisters site on the Winnipeg River. Taylor charged that the privately owned company had donated \$50,000 to the campaign fund of the Bracken government in the election of 1927 and that as much as \$1,250,000 was unaccounted for in the W. E. C. books. Repeating these accusations in speeches throughout the by-election campaign, the Tory leader also pointed out that several of the company's directors had served on the Bracken campaign committee in 1927. By an Order-in-Council of February 2, 1929, a three member Royal Commission was established to investigate the Seven Sisters power deal. It consisted of Daniel A. McDonald, Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench, and Andrew K. Dysart and James F. Kilgour, both judges of the Court of King's Bench. After a two and a half month inquiry, Taylor's accusations were proven unfounded and

¹⁰³ Winnipeg Tribune, 25 February 1928. The Bracken government proposed a \$500,000 direct tax levy against municipalities to finance the old age pension scheme. Evans felt that the amount of money required for the plan would increase substantially each year. Consequently, he recommended that the necessary funds be raised by the provincial government without adding any direct tax on the municipalities of Manitoba.

the Bracken government was completely cleared.¹⁰⁴ With the work of the commission complete, Sanford Evans distanced himself somewhat from his leader. While discussing the cost of government counsel for the inquiry during the evening session of the legislature on May 4, 1929, he declared that Taylor had acted "under a sense of public duty."¹⁰⁵ At the same time, however, Evans wanted to make it clear that he had "no association with the charges at any stage."¹⁰⁶

Although Evans did not play a role in the Seven Sisters affair, his attacks on the Bracken government continued well into 1929 session. At that time he led the Tories in opposing a minimum wage bill for boys. While he recognized a need to regulate the number of hours per week that children worked, he thought it was going too far to establish a minimum rate of pay.¹⁰⁷ In typical Evans fashion, the government's budget was subjected to a thorough and lengthy assault but no suggestions were made as to how the deficit could be reduced or a balanced budget achieved. Evans refused to explain his method of "taking rabbits out of hats, but said he would be glad to show the House once his party was in power."¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ For a more detailed analysis of the Seven Sisters affair, see Kendle, John Bracken: A Political Biography, p. 85-103.; Morton, Manitoba: A History, pp. 403-405.

¹⁰⁵ Winnipeg Tribune, 4 May 1929.

¹⁰⁶ Manitoba Free Press, 4 May 1929. Throughout the legislative session of 1929, Evans reportedly "sat glumly" as fellow Conservatives discussed the Seven Sisters affair. He wanted no part of it. See Manitoba Free Press, 5 March 1930.

¹⁰⁷ Winnipeg Tribune, 7 May 1929. Unfortunately, Evans did not elaborate further on his objection to the bill. In any case, it did not pass.

¹⁰⁸ Manitoba Free Press, 9 April 1929.

Evans delivered "one of the best" speeches heard all session when he called upon the United Farmers to explore the feasibility of developing one of four proposed direct routes linking Winnipeg to northern Manitoba and Hudson Bay.¹⁰⁹ Having led the movement among the city's business men, the newly elected first President of the Union of Manitoba Municipalities estimated that a rail and lake route from the provincial capital to Churchill would make available 500,000 horsepower from the Nelson River. With the forthcoming completion of the Hudson Bay Railway, the construction of additional lines and the utilization of Manitoba's many navigable lakes, Evans predicted that such northern connections would lead to a reduction in freight rates and stimulate national resource development and import-export trade.¹¹⁰ Finally, in early May Premier Bracken proposed that a priority permit be issued to the British Dominions Power Syndicate of London, England, for the development of White Mud Falls on the Nelson River. On May 3, 1929, the resolution was approved by a vote of 19 to 8.¹¹¹ For the first time in his political career, Evans went against his own party and supported the Bracken proposal. Although Conservative leader F. G. Taylor proposed an amendment calling for the completion of a full inquiry into northern power resources before the next session, Evans thought the resolution was unrealistic and "not in accord with sound business practice."¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Manitoba Free Press, 4 May 1929.

¹¹² Manitoba Free Press, 2 May 1929.

On August 29, 1929, British Columbia Premier S. F. Tolmie appointed Sanford Evans the sole commissioner of the Royal Commission Investigating the Fruit Industry. The Manitoba M. L. A. appears to have been selected for the position based on his reputation as an exceptional statistician with extensive knowledge of the grain trade as well as his past experience on such inquiries. Working at a rate of \$40 per day, Evans was to compile as much evidence and data as necessary to report on the production, marketing, handling and transportation of fruit and vegetables in the Okanagan, Kootenay and Kettle River districts of the province.¹¹³ More specifically, terms of the commission called for a detailed analysis of eleven main issues including water supply, irrigation systems, packing and distribution, storage, manufacture of by-products and inter-industry relations from producer to retailer.¹¹⁴ With so many different branches of the industry requiring his attention over the next few years, Evans began in the fall of 1929 by focusing only on irrigation, water supply and land adaptability. In doing so, he spent only a few months in British Columbia before returning to Winnipeg. His decision to conduct the affairs of the Royal Commission from Manitoba was later questioned by several members of the fruit growing industry.

¹¹³ Evans Papers, Box 6, File 53, Salary Account of W.S. Evans, 26 May 1930. Evans actually began the work of the commission on August 1, 1929. Starting in January, 1930, he earned \$50 per day.

¹¹⁴ Evans Papers, Box 16, File "B.C. Royal Commission in Fruit", W. Sanford Evans, Report of the Royal Commission Investigating the Fruit Industry of the Districts Territorially Known as the Okanagan, Kootenay, and Kettle River of the Province of British Columbia. Part I. Dealing with the subjects set forth in the terms of the Commission under Classifications A, B, and C. (Victoria: Charles F. Banfield, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1930), p. AA3.

The first of two reports was submitted at the end of February, 1930. On the issue of value and adaptability of lands, the commissioner could draw no significant conclusions because soil and contour surveys had never been done in any of the three districts under investigation. Consequently, he recommended the completion of chemical, bacteriological and physical examinations of all lands.¹¹⁵ In the case of water supply availability, Evans recommended that local administrative officers conduct exploratory surveys for additional water sources and that the provincial government regulate water distribution and prevent waste in any form.¹¹⁶ In regards to the more important issue of British Columbia's debt ridden irrigation districts, Evans made six important recommendations:

1. That the government accept the principle of payment according to ability to pay and abandon the present plan of payment by regular fractions of the debt.
2. That the amount a district is required to pay in any year on account of construction costs should be proportionate to the value of its products.
3. That the government lay it down as a condition of applying the new policy that system of assessing and collecting the water tax satisfactory to the government and consistent with the new policy be put into effect in each district.
4. That a change be made in the general system of administration and that an administrative officer be appointed with headquarters at some convenient point within the territory, who will directly represent the Minister.
5. That a portion of the expenditures of a district be charged to water-users as such and collected as tolls.
6. That a substantial appropriation on capital account be made by the Legislature at the present session to provide additional money for the Conservation Fund.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p. AA6.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., p. AA22.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., pp. AA15-AA19.

Shortly after its publication, Evans' report received favourable reviews.

. . . [I]t may be said that the report is a welcome rebuke to the views held by at least some influential official of government. These views may be briefly summarized as follows: The quickest and best way of providing sufficient water for the choicest properties is to enforce such rules and regulations for repayment of loans and payment of taxes and tolls that those least able to pay will be forced out; with them out there will be sufficient water for all, and reconstruction of smaller and more efficient systems and districts will prove a simpler, and inexpensive proceeding.

That Evans has resisted this view is a tribute to his far sightedness, and to his courage. His magnificent Canadianism asserted itself . . . Digging deep into the report, it is seen that Mr. Evans has endeavoured to suggest a way out which will retain under the ditches a maximum acreage, paying its way, and not beholden to any man; indebted only to the author of the plan and to the government with vision and wisdom to follow the lead.¹¹⁸

Many of Evans' recommendations were carried out. On September 9, 1930, he met with Deputy Minister of Finance E. D. Johnson and a growers' delegation to prepare a new financial scheme that would protect both irrigationists and the provincial treasury. Based on his findings, high interest rates on irrigation loans were reduced to a level below five percent. In addition to the interest, growers would pay the actual costs of maintaining water services. Also adopted from the report of the Royal Commission, the most important change in the system was that the total annual levy on each district would be calculated according to its ability to pay.¹¹⁹

By conducting his investigation of British Columbia's fruit and vegetable industry

¹¹⁸ Evans Papers, Box 6, File 56d, Newspaper Clipping, The Vernon News, 27 February 1930.

¹¹⁹ Evans Papers, Box 6, File 55, Newspaper Clippings, The Vancouver Province, 4 September 1930.

from Winnipeg, Evans was able to participate in the 1930 session of the Manitoba legislature. At this time, the three prairie province Wheat Pools were struggling to survive. In 1929 the Pools had advanced its members \$1.00 per bushel for No. 1 Northern Wheat at Fort William. In order to finance these advances, the Pools made arrangements with Canadian banks which required them to maintain a 15 per cent margin between current wheat prices and the total of their borrowings.¹²⁰ By January of 1930, however, the price of No. 1 Northern had dropped significantly making it impossible for the Pools to maintain their margin.¹²¹ In order to prevent the banks from forcing the Pools to sell their grain on a weak market, the three prairie province governments agreed to uphold the 15 per cent margin.

Dissatisfied with his party's endorsement of the Wheat Pool guarantee legislation, Sanford Evans left the ranks of the Conservatives and took a seat on the back bench, far removed from his place on the left side of John T. Haig. Like many grain companies and world renowned economists, J. E. Boyle of Cornell University included, Evans strongly condemned the Pools' sales and holding policy.¹²² During a long and impassioned speech on March 4, the self proclaimed Independent Conservative "chewed up quantities of statistics."¹²³ He stated that Canada's overseas customers would

¹²⁰ Levine, The Exchange, pp. 154-155.; Kendle, John Bracken: A Political Biography, p. 108.

¹²¹ According to Levine, the price dropped nineteen cents to \$1.2075, only five cents above the price which would have obliged the Pools to deposit further margin money at the banks. See Levine, The Exchange, p. 155.

¹²² Ibid., p. 155.

¹²³ Manitoba Free Press, 5 March 1930.

interpret the Pools' actions as proof that they intended "to make Europe pay the maximum price possible for food stuffs."¹²⁴ Continuing on, Evans reminded members of the legislature that "in fighting against the millers and bakers of the United Kingdom we are fighting against our best customers."¹²⁵ Despite his objection to the legislation, the statistician did not oppose its passage because he felt "that once the Premiers had said they would guarantee those advances there was nothing for it but to go ahead and sign on the dotted line."¹²⁶ Evans made it clear, however, that any future responsibility for the bill would rest on the shoulders of the three premiers.

Throughout the spring of 1930, the Grain Trade News, published by Evans' Dawson Richardson Publications, carried out a continuous editorial campaign in criticism of the Pools. As the situation worsened, in November Bennett intervened from London and the federal government agreed to guarantee the Pools at the Banks. The Prime Minister's friend John McFarland, formerly of the Alberta Pacific Grain Company, was appointed general manager of the Central Selling Agency, the instrument through which government wheat policy was implemented. Incidentally, Sanford Evans had a solution of his own and does not appear to have endorsed Bennett's intervention which was calculated to protect the banks and not the Wheat Pools. On November 22 he wrote to the acting Prime Minister in Ottawa, Sir George Perley, to "deplore the excited behavior

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Ibid.; Evans' speech made a considerable impression on R. B. Bennett. Bennett used it against Alexander McPhail in their first meeting after he became Prime Minister. See Wilson, A Century of Canadian Grain, p. 269.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

of the provincial premiers and to offer his opinion that a decision to liquidate the pool[s], under strong control, would strengthen the market."¹²⁷ When the price of No. 1 Northern Wheat fell below \$1.00 in late 1931, his disapproval of the Wheat Pool guarantee legislation was proven correct. However, because he was opposed to the legislation on the basis of how it would be perceived in Great Britain and Europe as opposed to any impact a continued depression might have, it may be said that Evans was right for the wrong reasons. In any case, by 1932 the Pools had collapsed and Manitoba's share of the cost in meeting the obligations to the banks was \$3,374,939.¹²⁸

Following the 1930 session Evans continued his work on the Royal Commission to investigate fruit and vegetables. In doing so, the commissioner gathered information relating to several different branches of the industry including storage, exporting and transportation. Although the marketing of fruit and vegetables was to be a primary issue of the inquiry, amendments to the Produce Marketing Act in January, 1930, made this impractical. Because the new crop pooling arrangement was to replace the existing system during the coming season, Evans felt that any marketing inquiry should be postponed for a period of at least one year, thereby allowing the new scheme to be observed in operation.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ Bennett Papers, PAC. Cited in Wilson, A Century of Canadian Grain, p. 283.

¹²⁸ Kendle, John Bracken: A Political Biography, p. 108.

¹²⁹ Evans Papers, Box 16, File "B.C. Royal Commission in Fruit", W. Sanford Evans, Report of the Royal Commission Investigating the Fruit Industry of the Districts Territorially Known as the Okanagan, Kootenay, and Kettle River of the Province of British Columbia, Part II. Dealing with the subjects of Produce and Marketing under the terms of the Commission (Victoria: Charles F. Banfield, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1931), p. 1.

Unfortunately, Commissioner Evans' schedule of investigation was interrupted in November, 1930, when fruit grower F. M. Black initiated a movement for the creation of a compulsory selling pool to be known as the British Columbia Fruit Marketing Board. Under his plan, each of the six fruit and vegetable producing regions would form a district committee and elect a local director to sit on the provincial board. It was to be entrusted with marketing on behalf of all producers "in such a way as to obtain . . . the best results in various markets of Canada and the world."¹³⁰ Concerned that the Supreme Court of Canada might throw out the recent amendments to the Produce Marketing Act, leaving growers without control over selling the following season, Black presented his plan to the provincial government in Victoria on November 6 and received permission to place his proposal before those in the industry. Predicting that commissioner Evans would not endorse the central selling proposition, several independent shippers and growers subsequently demanded the immediate completion of a marketing report.¹³¹ In compliance with their request, the Tolmie government asked Evans to submit his findings in time for the opening of the next British Columbia legislative session in January, 1931.

Evans must have found it difficult to complete the second report. As mentioned previously, his original plan was to give recent amendments to the Produce Marketing Act a fair trial before drawing any conclusions on the marketing situation. Consequently, he had gathered very little information on the issue and was ill prepared to submit a

¹³⁰ Evans Papers, Box 6, File "B.C. Royal Commission in Fruit", F.M. Black, Report on the Marketing of British Columbia Tree Fruit and Vegetables, p. 9.

¹³¹ Evans Papers, Box 6, File 56c. Newspaper Clippings, Manitoba Free Press, 16 December 1930.

report on it. Strong feelings were already prevalent throughout the industry that "a much more thorough inquiry into . . . growing and marketing" was necessary before any conclusions could be drawn, especially if it were to "throw cold water" on Black's plan.¹³² Many growers also were concerned with Evans' past record on compulsory marketing pools. In his correspondence with Vancouver lawyer R. L. Maitland, T. G. Norris wrote "it is openly said that Mr. Evans is not in a position to make a fair report on fruit marketing in view of the stand he has taken publicly against cooperative organizations and recently, against the wheat pool. . . ."¹³³ Having investigated British Columbia's fruit and vegetable industry almost entirely from Winnipeg, there also was concern that Evans could not produce an accurate report.

The followers of that false prophet [Black] are making a great deal of talk to discount your report, which they are pretty damn sure will not suit them, and are claiming that, as you have not been in the valley since the fall of 1929 except for a short visit last fall re irrigation, you don't know anything about the present condition of the fruit marketing business

If your report is not so near publication that it could not, even apparently, affect it, I think a visit here would be good politics for everybody. . .

¹³⁴

Despite having to produce his findings under less than ideal conditions, Evans managed to submit his report in early 1931. As many in the industry had expected, he rejected Black's central selling plan. He concluded "it is the experience of the world that with no competitor against whom to measure oneself effort is not sustained at the

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Evans Papers, Box 7, File 57, T.G. Norris to R.L. Maitland, 5 December 1930 (Copy).

¹³⁴ Evans Papers, Box 7, File 57a, F.E.R. Wollaston to W.S. Evans, 14 January 1931.

maximum and possible economics are overlooked."¹³⁵ In addition to his belief that a monopoly would not satisfy the different interests of each region, Evans stated that a compulsory central selling scheme "could not compel higher prices than world supply and demand dictate."¹³⁶ Citing the Wenatchee and Yakima districts of Washington as examples, Evans recommended the establishment of an open market system. If desired, growers could establish voluntary associations.¹³⁷

With the work of the fruit commission completed by mid-January, 1931, Evans returned to the back bench as an Independent Conservative for the fourth session of the eighteenth legislature. At this time, through regular correspondence with John McFarland, Prime Minister Bennett was becoming aware of farm leaders' increasing discontent with the grain exchange.¹³⁸ Meanwhile, organizations such as the Canadian Co-operative Wheat Producers Limited were demanding the establishment of an organization similar to the United States Grain Futures Administration, whose chief function was to supervise American commodity exchanges. Wanting no part of a long judicial inquiry into the operations of the exchange and the Pools, Bennett sought "an expeditious method of dealing with the pools' request for supervisory legislation" as well as "some justification for the futures market to continue."¹³⁹ As a result, the Prime

¹³⁵ Evans Papers, Box 16, File "B.C. Royal Commission in Fruit", Evans, Report of the Royal Commission Investigating the Fruit Industry. Part II, p. 32.

¹³⁶ Ibid., p. 33.

¹³⁷ Ibid., p. 37.

¹³⁸ Wilson, A Century of Canadian Grain, p. 309.; Levine, The Exchange, p. 160.

¹³⁹ Wilson, A Century of Canadian Grain, p. 310.

Minister proposed the formation of a brief non-judicial investigation into the grain futures market. Based on his success in two recent Royal Commissions in Great Britain, Sir Josiah Stamp was appointed Chairman of the Canadian inquiry.¹⁴⁰

In an effort to be impartial to both the exchange and the pools, Bennett permitted both parties to select one commissioner to assist Chairman Stamp. The three prairie premiers acted on behalf of the pools and selected J. T. Brown, Chief Justice of Saskatchewan's Court of King's Bench. Hoping that the inquiry would be "the final showdown between capitalism and cooperatives," the grain exchange council nominated Sanford Evans.¹⁴¹ Although Evans had never been a member of the exchange, he remained one of its strongest supporters and his commitment to the open market system was widely known. Not surprisingly, the Exchange council's decision to select Evans was not popular among farm and labour leaders. In a letter to Prime Minister Bennett, Central Selling Agency General Manager John McFarland questioned the wisdom of allowing Evans to serve on the commission.

. . . Referring to the Commission headed by Sir Josiah Stamp, I suggested to a couple of the prominent members of the Winnipeg Grain Exchange, prior to the time they made the appointment of Sanford Evans, that they should not make their appointment until the Provincial Premiers had announced the name of their representative, at the same time telling them that if the Provincial Premiers picked out a representative who was not prejudiced and swayed by Communistic ideas, that in that case the Grain

¹⁴⁰ Stamp was an economist by training, Chairman of one of the British railways and a Director of the Bank of England. In addition, he had recently chaired two Royal Commissions in Britain with much success. See Wilson, A Century of Canadian Grain, p. 309.

¹⁴¹ Levine, The Exchange, p. 162.

Exchange representative should be someone entirely outside the Grain Trade. However, they claimed that they had a wire from you and that they must act at once so they named Mr. Evans. Now, Mr. Evans is a very fine representative on any Commission, but unfortunately, in this instance, he had been known to have written many very scathing criticisms of the farmers' organizations. Furthermore, I presume you are aware that Mr. Evans is very closely identified with the Grain Trade, and, in fact, his earnings are rather large from that source. I do not say this connection would in any way close his mind to evidence that might be submitted before the Commission, but so far as the public are concerned they would always believe that Mr. Evans has his mind made up before he starts. . . .¹⁴²

Despite strong opposition to Evans' nomination, Prime Minister Bennett saw no reason to delay matters any further. By Order in Council on April 10, 1931, Evans and Brown were appointed to the Royal Commission to Inquire into Trading in Grain Futures with the following narrow object: "to inquire into and report upon what effect, if any, the dealings in grain futures has upon the price received by the producer."¹⁴³ During the course of its brief investigation, the Stamp Commission conducted hearings in Winnipeg from April 13 to 16 before moving west to Regina on April 17 and Calgary on April 18. At Regina tempers flared between the two Canadian commissioners when Brown requested that supervision of the exchange be explored. Evans claimed that Judge Brown's proposal lay outside the commission's mandate and it fell to Stamp to find an area of compromise. As a result, two American witnesses were heard back in Winnipeg on April 21. Dr. Alonzo Taylor of Stanford University's Food Research Institute gave evidence in support of the futures system while Dr. J. W. T. Duvel, Chief Economist

¹⁴² Bennett Papers, PAC. Cited in Wilson, A Century of Canadian Grain, pp. 311-312.

¹⁴³ J. C. Stamp, Report of the Commission to Enquire into Trading in Grain Futures (Ottawa: F. A. Acland, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1931), p. 7.

of the United States Department of Agriculture and administrator of the United States futures act reviewed his supervisory experience south of the border.¹⁴⁴ The commission concluded with "informal conversations" in Minneapolis and Chicago.¹⁴⁵

Between the conclusion of the commission's work in Chicago on April 25 and his departure from New York on April 29, Stamp wrote a 65 page report exclusive of appendices. With agreement from his fellow commissioners in its text, Stamp wrote:

There is no doubt whatever that a feeling is prevalent amongst many farmers that someone is making money at their expense unfairly by inside knowledge, manipulation and undesirable practices. Nothing was given in evidence of a practical or satisfactory character as to what it actually is that is done or how it is done and in that respect we share the experience of the Turgeon Commission.¹⁴⁶

In regard to the more specific question outlined in the mandate of the Royal Commission, Chairman Stamp made the following conclusion in his final summary.

. . . [I]n addition to the benefits reflected to the producer in furnishing a system of insurance for the handling of his grain, and in providing an ever-ready and convenient means for marketing the same, futures trading, even with its disadvantages of numerous price fluctuations, is of distinct benefit to the producer in the price which he receives.¹⁴⁷

While Exchange members were satisfied, if not elated, with Stamp's verdict in

¹⁴⁴ Wilson, A Century of Canadian Grain, p. 313.

¹⁴⁵ Stamp, Report of the Commission to Enquire into Trading in Grain Futures, p. 7.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 60.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 72. The Turgeon Commission of 1925, whose object was to inquire into the complaint that "speculation either on the cash or futures market injuriously affects the farmer and community" came to the same conclusion. See Stamp, Report of the Commission to Enquire into Trading in Grain Futures, p. 71.

favour of the open market system, farm leaders criticized the report on several grounds. Eventually, the entire Royal Commission was discredited in a whirlwind of controversy surrounding Sanford Evans and the mysterious inclusion of an anti-pool diagram in the final report. As outlined in C. F. Wilson's A Century of Canadian Grain: Government Policy to 1951, time had run out on the last day of the hearings in Winnipeg when lawyer Isaac Pitblado asked to submit several more exhibits on behalf of the Grain Exchange. He received permission to do so after the sitting adjourned and Chairman Stamp registered the papers, including a diagram which inferred that the open market cash price for No. 3 Northern was higher than the Saskatchewan Pool's payment during the crop years 1924 to 1931.¹⁴⁸ Once used as anti-pool propaganda and allegedly distributed by Evans throughout western Canada earlier in the year, the illustration found its way into the final report as Chart 10 of Appendix XII. In New York, Stamp looked at and approved several charts for inclusion in the report's appendices and turned them over to Secretary Lester B. Pearson for inclusion in the final printed copy. Obviously, in his haste, Stamp failed to scrutinize sufficiently this particular chart, otherwise he would not have approved it. When Pearson returned to Ottawa and had time to look at the chart, he questioned it with Evans who remained in Ottawa to assist with the publication of the report. When asked about Chart 10, Pearson recorded the following in a long memorandum prepared for Prime Minister Bennett: "There was then raised the

¹⁴⁸ According to Dr. T.W. Grindley, Chief of the Agricultural Branch of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, several more calculations were needed before a monthly average open market price could be compared against the Pools'. See Levine, The Exchange, p. 170. Pitblado and Evans were good friends. In fact, the Grain Exchange lawyer served as one of Evans' honorary pall bearers. See Manitoba Free Press, 28 June 1949.

question of the wisdom of including Chart X, but Mr. Evans was of the opinion that, as the Chairman of the Commission had selected the material in New York for publication as statistical appendices, his duty was merely to edit and arrange such material and he had no authority to leave any of it out."¹⁴⁹

The controversial chart was eventually removed from more than 1700 published copies of the final report by order of the Prime Minister.¹⁵⁰ Although it became the subject of lively debate in the House of Commons, Evans was never formally investigated for any wrongdoing. Nevertheless, Pool officials and opposition Members of Parliament were convinced that he was to blame for the mysterious inclusion of the diagram. Like commission counsel Travers Sweatman, Evans absolved himself from responsibility in a statement to the Free Press:

As an individual member of the Stamp Commission I would not enter into a discussion of the point raised by the pool. The material referred to was filed with the commission by the Winnipeg grain exchange and accepted by the Chairman just as was all other material and I took no individual initiative at any stage with respect to it.¹⁵¹

After escaping the backlash of the Stamp Commission with his reputation only slightly tarnished, Evans returned to Winnipeg for the 1932 session of the Manitoba legislature. Although he remained on the back bench as an Independent Conservative, the well known statistician was considered a "quietly dangerous opponent" who possessed

¹⁴⁹ The Memoirs of the Right Honourable Lester B. Pearson, Volume I, 1897-1948 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), p. 74. Cited in Wilson, A Century of Canadian Grain, p. 316.

¹⁵⁰ Levine, The Exchange, p. 170.

¹⁵¹ Manitoba Free Press, 20 June 1931.

a skill for "thrusting so that an opponent does not know he is pinked until some time after the rapier is in and out again."¹⁵² At the same time, his speeches before the House remained an occasion for members to "put away their writing materials and cock their ears alertly" as he was "one of the few men there to whom they [looked] for something more than the customary political window dressing."¹⁵³

After leading the Tories in opposing a resolution which called upon the federal government to share in the cost of seed grain and fodder relief, the financial critic attacked the Bracken government for its failure to produce a balanced budget. Weary of financial policies he perceived as makeshift, he recommended the adoption of a five year plan backed by a definite policy to reduce tax burdens and keep down overhead by balancing the budget.¹⁵⁴ In addition to his work on the Provincial Savings Office Committee, Evans accepted an offer by the Canadian Chamber of Commerce to serve as Chairman of Research for the National Committee on Economy in Public Finance. In this capacity the President of the W. Sanford Evans Statistical Services worked alongside Chairman W. L. McGregor of Windsor and a general committee of prominent businessmen from across the country. Their mandate was "to study the costs of Government in Canada with a view to such action as may seem to be in the public

¹⁵² Winnipeg Free Press, 19 April 1932.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Winnipeg Tribune, 19 April 1932.

interest."¹⁵⁵

Prior to joining the National Committee on Economy in Public Finance in the summer of 1932, Evans let his name stand for re-election to the Manitoba legislature. No longer considering himself an Independent Conservative, the Tory candidate spent much of the spring campaigning throughout the province on behalf of his party. After delivering addresses in several rural communities including Roland, Birtle, Hamiota, Russell and Selkirk, Evans gave a plain statement of the provincial situation to an audience of 500 in Morden's Victoria Hall; a vote for the Conservatives would be a vote for "financial self-preservation."¹⁵⁶ When he returned to the provincial capital, he continued his assault on the financial policies of the Bracken government. In a speech before a large crowd at the John M. King school, Evans claimed "Mr. Bracken and I do not use the same language when referring to deficits. No government that has increased the debt of the province by \$40,000,000 can be said to have lived within its income."¹⁵⁷ In response to such criticism, the Premier noted that he had received no cooperation from Evans in proposed tax reductions in the past, nor had the Tory financial critic ever offered suggestions as to where additional savings could be achieved.¹⁵⁸

After the ballots were counted on the evening of June 16, 1932, the results stood

¹⁵⁵ Evans Papers, Box 10, File 41, W. Sanford Evans, Cost of Government, Introductory Studies, np.

¹⁵⁶ Winnipeg Tribune, 10 June 1932.

¹⁵⁷ Winnipeg Tribune, 14 June 1932.

¹⁵⁸ Winnipeg Free Press, 6 June 1932.

as overwhelming evidence of Sanford Evans' popularity as a political figure in the city of Winnipeg. Only he and Labor candidate John Queen were elected on the first count with 13,538 and 9,373 first preference votes respectively.¹⁵⁹ Evans managed to collect more than half of the entire Conservative vote in Winnipeg and almost as many first choices as any other two candidates among the twenty-nine in the field. Although rural voters stood solidly behind a Liberal-Progressive coalition to return the Bracken government for a third term with 38 seats, Evans must have felt some degree of personal satisfaction in the results.¹⁶⁰ As noted by the Winnipeg Tribune, he "earned it by the qualities he brought . . . to his participation in public life. Sincerity, straightforwardness, and a sturdy independence are joined in his case to sound judgement and a capacity for public affairs, and it is on this groundwork that he has won his present eminence in the respect of the people."¹⁶¹

In addition to his popularity among the citizens of Winnipeg, Sanford Evans was highly regarded by his peers in the Conservative party. After Colonel F. G. Taylor retired from the leadership in April, 1933, to accept an appointment to the bench, prominent Tory John T. Haig nominated Evans as the former Portage Mayor's replacement. The nomination was unanimously approved by a vote of the party members.¹⁶² Although Evans was less flamboyant than Taylor, he was perfectly cast

¹⁵⁹ Winnipeg Tribune, 17 June 1932.

¹⁶⁰ Kendle, John Bracken: A Political Biography, p. 126.

¹⁶¹ Winnipeg Tribune, 17 June 1932.

¹⁶² Winnipeg Tribune, 12 April 1933.

as a leader of the Conservative party. According to a legislative reporter for the Free Press, the former Winnipeg Mayor had all the necessary attributes.

He is a distinguished looking citizen. His voice is mellow and his accent cultivated. His parliamentary manners are superb. He has the excellent virtue of political courage. His ideas are safe, sound and orthodox as could be found anywhere outside the House of Lords.¹⁶³

In October of 1933 the new Conservative leader was elected President of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce. Having been a Director of the Chamber since the early 1930s, Evans stressed the importance of maintaining the joint committee with the Chamber of Commerce of the United States and he endeavoured to establish a similar relationship with the Association of Chambers of Commerce of Great Britain. In addition, every effort was made to expand the work of the National Committee of Economy in Public Finance and its "Cost of Government" campaign.

During his final three years in provincial politics from 1934 to 1936, Sanford Evans served a dual role as Conservative leader and chief financial critic. Throughout this period, however, his political practices changed very little from past sessions. With substantial reductions in capital and expenditures, the programme of the Bracken government was severely limited during the mid 1930s. Consequently, the Manitoba legislature became somewhat of a "glorified municipal council. . . . Party politics disappeared almost entirely from the chamber and it was a dull, dreary place, lacking in ideas, humour, vigour, and incisiveness."¹⁶⁴ Evans, himself, made reference to this

¹⁶³ Winnipeg Free Press, 16 March 1935.

¹⁶⁴ Kendle, John Bracken: A Political Biography, p. 141.

trend in his reply to the throne speech on February 10, 1934, when he remarked that not a single idea had been produced by the government "other than telling the members their main duties will be to sit on the back porch and whittle away at a few old statutes. . .

¹⁶⁵

Although the 1935 and 1936 sessions were as monotonous as the one in 1934, Evans remained very busy in the work of his statistical service and the Canadian Chamber of Commerce. Already a Director of the Bank of Montreal, in 1935 the Conservative leader was appointed President of the Sovereign Life Assurance Company. He had been a member of its Board of Directors since 1911. In addition to his business interests, Evans maintained an active schedule of platform work in the field of wheat market conditions. Between 1933 and 1935 he delivered addresses before the World's Grain Exhibition and Conference in Regina (1935), Grain Market Analysts Club in Chicago (1934), Grain and Feed Dealers Association in St. Louis (1935) and the Grain Men's Lecture Club in Winnipeg (1935).

At the conclusion of a brief and uneventful seven week session of the Manitoba legislature in April of 1936, the sixty-four year old Conservative leader departed from public life and entered into a period of semi-retirement. In recognition of Evans' numerous accomplishments over the years, the University of Manitoba conferred on him an honorary doctorate of laws.

Although an avid golfer and fishermen, Evans found very little time for recreation in his twilight years. On October 16, 1936, the Canadian National and Canadian Pacific

¹⁶⁵ Winnipeg Tribune, 11 February 1934.

Railways appointed the statistician their representative on the Board of Conciliation and Investigation in a dispute between themselves and their more than 10,000 employees who were members of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees. The disagreement centred around the employees' request for the elimination of an existing ten percent wage deduction.¹⁶⁶ Montreal lawyer Howard S. Ross represented the employees and in the absence of a joint recommendation from he and Evans, the Minister of Labour appointed Judge F. L. Finley Chairman of the board.

Following an organizational meeting on January 28, 1937, the Board of Conciliation and Investigation commenced its hearings on February 1 and continued until both parties had had full opportunity to present evidence and arguments. Supplementary presentations in writing were also permitted. Although meetings were held between the railways and their employees, as well as between Chairman Finley and the parties separately, an agreement could not be reached. Consequently, the Board of Conciliation considered the facts and presented their recommendations in a formal report. On April 14, 1937, an agreement was reached in accordance with the spirit of the Board's findings. The ten percent wage deduction was to be discontinued progressively over a twelve month period, becoming eight percent retroactive to April 1, 1937, seven percent effective June 1, six percent on August 1, five percent on October 1, four percent on December 1, and one percent on February 1, 1938, with basic rates restored by April

¹⁶⁶ Evans Papers, Box 17, File "Industrial Disputes Investigation Act", Report of Board in Dispute Between the Canadian National Railways and Its Clerks Etc. Reprinted in The Labour Gazette (May, 1937), p. 1.

1.¹⁶⁷

Although Evans could boast of many outstanding accomplishments throughout his richly varied career, in his retirement years he was not content to rest on his laurels. Throughout the period 1936 to 1949 he remained active in the business community as President of the W. Sanford Evans Statistical Service, Dawson Richardson Publishing and the Sovereign Life Assurance Company. He also was on the Board of Directors of both the Bank of Montreal and Gurney North West Foundry Company, and a member of the Advisory Board of the Huron and Erie Mortgage Corporation and the Canada Trust Company. Not just a figurehead, Evans took a lively interest in the affairs of each company. As noted by the President of the Bank of Montreal, Evans provided "wise counsel" and "placed at the disposal of the Board his wide knowledge of the grain business and of western conditions generally."¹⁶⁸ In addition to his involvement with the Canadian Chamber of Commerce and the Union of Manitoba Municipalities, Evans maintained close ties to the Winnipeg Grain Exchange and continued to study the trends of the Canadian wheat market. In 1939, he wrote an article on the settlement of the Canadian west for the Americana Encyclopedia. In April of 1949, just two months before his death at the age of eighty, Evans still was submitting articles on wheat to the Free Press.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 1.

¹⁶⁸ Evans Papers, Box 18, Unmarked File, Annual Report of the Bank of Montreal, p. 14.

¹⁶⁹ Evans Papers, Box 11, File 108, W. Sanford Evans, "Our Wheat Markets." This booklet contains a series of articles which appeared in the Manitoba Free Press in April, 1949.

William Sanford Evans passed away at his Winnipeg residence, 208 Dromore Avenue, early in the morning on Monday, June 27, 1949. Later that same day, the Winnipeg Grain Exchange paid tribute to their long time supporter by ceasing trade operations for one minute of silence. Although this tradition was normally reserved for members only, President Stanley W. Jones bestowed the honour upon Evans because he was "always a friend" to the Exchange.¹⁷⁰ Funeral services were held at 3 p.m. on Wednesday, June 29, at St. Luke's Church. Survived by his wife Irene, brother Harry of Edmonton, three children and five grandchildren, Evans was buried in St. Joseph's Cathedral Cemetery.¹⁷¹

Sanford Evans' death marked the end of a long and distinguished career in business and almost every aspect of Canadian affairs. During the final phase he earned a reputation as western Canada's foremost statistician and was considered by many to be a leading expert on both the Canadian and world grain trades. In this capacity Evans remained a strong supporter of the open market system. As a Conservative member of the Manitoba Legislature between 1922 and 1936, he was a relentless financial critic of the Bracken government, capable of reciting facts and figures for several hours at a time. Although often ridiculed in the newspapers for his long and unique speeches before the House, the Tory M. L. A. was successful in earning the respect of his colleagues and in 1932 he was rewarded with the leadership of the Manitoba party. In the years to

¹⁷⁰ Winnipeg Free Press, 27 June 1949.

¹⁷¹ After payment of all debts, succession duties and funeral expenses, Evans' entire estate was left to his wife Irene. Sanford's son, Gurney, was executor of the will. See PAM, GR3744, Probate Books, Box 40649, File Y40/140, Last Will and Testament of William Sanford Evans, 16 August 1949.

come, his political career would be held in high regard by others such as Douglas Campbell, Premier of Manitoba from 1948 to 1958.¹⁷² The period following Evans' departure from public life in 1936 cannot truly be considered one of retirement. As testimony to his extraordinary work ethic, Evans continued to serve on several corporate boards and research the grain trade until his death in 1949.

¹⁷² Lloyd Stinson, Political Warriors: Recollections of a Social Democrat (Winnipeg: Queenston House Publishing Inc., 1975), p. 173.

Conclusion

William Sanford Evans' death at the age of eighty in 1949 marked the end of a long and distinguished career in business and public affairs. At an early age Evans demonstrated both a strong work ethic and spirited approach to new challenges. This would prove to be a trademark of his future endeavours. Although he was an exceptional young philanthropist, journalist and platform performer, the most significant achievement of Evans' early career was his close association with the creation and growth of the Canadian Club movement. Clubs with the same name existed prior to Evans' and McCullough's pioneering efforts in 1892 and 1893, but it was these two young men who carried out the missionary work that resulted in the formation of Canadian Clubs throughout the Dominion and eventually the world. Whether it be the late millionaire philanthropist Andrew Carnegie, Canadian Astronaut Roberta Bondar or former United States President Ronald Reagan, after more than one hundred years Canadian Clubs continue to provide a neutral forum through which prominent figures deliver important messages. At one time or another, Evans served as President of chapters in Hamilton, Toronto and Winnipeg as well as the Association of Canadian Clubs established in 1909. As further testimony to his robust Canadian spirit, he was one of the first to publicly declare support for the establishment of a Department of External Affairs and an independent Canadian navy.

After purchasing the Winnipeg Telegram in 1901, Evans took it upon himself to introduce several new innovations which helped to revitalize the Tory organ. As managing editor, he became recognized throughout the Dominion as a well informed

newspaper man. Even Conservative leader Sir Robert L. Borden sought his advice on occasion. Evans' position with the Telegram, his active involvement in Conservative functions and his high profile connection with the Canadian Club movement earned him immediate acceptance among the city's business and social elite. As such, Evans assisted in the organization of both the Winnipeg College of Music and the Winnipeg Stock Exchange. He also played an important role in the work of more than 40 sub-groups and executive committees of several booster-related organizations including the Winnipeg Board of Trade, Winnipeg Development and Industrial Bureau, Winnipeg Industrial Exhibition, Million for Manitoba League and Western Canadian Immigration Association. Although Evans can be criticized as one of many businessmen who encouraged rapid urban and industrial growth at the expense of improvements to social conditions, his work with the Imperial Home Re-Union Association and his civic government's efforts to reduce infant mortality prove that he was not entirely without a social conscience.

After leaving his position as managing editor of the Telegram in 1905, Evans established his own brokerage, real estate and investment concern. W. Sanford Evans and Company achieved moderate financial success while in operation between 1906 and 1914, but its owner was not obsessed with earning a personal fortune. Instead, he aspired to make a name for himself. In the world of business Evans accomplished this goal through his work on the executive boards of several companies including the Bank of Montreal, Gurney Northwest Foundry Company, Canada Trust, Huron and Erie Mortgage Corporation, and Canadian Bonds and Mortgage Company. In addition, Evans was a Director of the Sovereign Life Assurance Company for thirty-eight years between

1911 and 1949. Within each company, Evans was an active participant in its affairs rather than a figure head.

In addition to his success as a businessman, Evans could boast of many accomplishments in local, provincial and national affairs. In 1910, for example, he served a one year term as President of the Union of Canadian Municipalities. He also was the first President of the Union of Manitoba Municipalities in 1929 and the Chairman of Research for the Canadian Chamber of Commerce's National Committee on Economy in Public Finance in 1932. The following year he was elected President of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce.

After losing the first two election campaigns of his career, Evans' dismissed any misconceptions that he was a political failure by winning four consecutive municipal campaigns between 1907 and 1911, including three mayoralty contests, and three consecutive provincial elections between 1922 and 1936. As a member of the Winnipeg Board of Control in 1908, Evans and his colleagues carried out a fiscal plan which improved the city's financial condition substantially. During his three terms as Mayor between 1909 and 1911, several local improvement projects were carried out and the hydro electric power plant at Pointe du Bois was completed, providing both citizens and industry with the lowest domestic lighting rates in North America. Although his integrity was seriously challenged by social reformers who deplored the existence of Winnipeg's segregated prostitution district, Mayor Evans emerged from the subsequent Royal Commission with his reputation almost completely unscathed. Moreover, the civic election of 1910 shows that Evans had matured greatly as a public figure. His mayoralty

campaign was well organized and highly polished. Although the real issue raised by social reformers was the non-enforcement of prostitution laws, Evans won the election by skilfully changing the focus of the contest to one of protecting the city's reputation.

In the final phase of his career between 1912 and 1936, Evans continued to advise several prominent companies including the Bank of Montreal and the Sovereign Life Assurance Company. He also worked on four royal commissions. In 1930, for example, Evans was appointed the sole commissioner of an investigation into fruit marketing in British Columbia. Through the work of his highly successful statistical service, Evans became known as western Canada's foremost statistician and a leading expert on both the Canadian and world grain trade. During his political career between 1922 and 1936, Evans established himself early on as a Tory heavy weight. As the Conservative party's chief financial critic, he became known for his annual budget attacks and his ability to recite facts and figures for several hours at a time. Evans' prominence within the Conservative party was confirmed in 1932 when he succeeded Colonel F. G. Taylor as leader of the opposition. After four years as leader of the Manitoba Conservative party, Evans entered into a period of semi-retirement. As testimony to his strong work ethic, Evans remained active in both the business community and his statistical service. In addition, he continued to study, write and speak on the grain trade well into his eightieth year.

Throughout his extraordinary and richly diverse career, Sanford Evans served his generation to the limit of his capacity. At the time of his death in June of 1949, the Winnipeg Free Press declared that Evans had "outlived public awareness of his many

qualities and services."¹ Even today, however, this remarkable individual has yet to receive the recognition he deserves.

¹ Winnipeg Free Press, 28 June 1949.

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