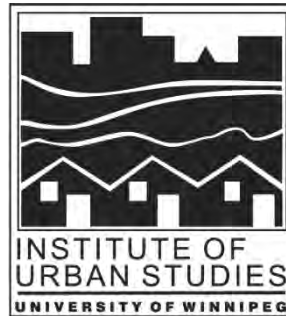


The Forks: Post 1870

**by Gerry Berkowski
1987**

The Institute of Urban Studies





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Contents

Preface

Chapter 1: The National Policy, Confederation and the Urbanization of Winnipeg...p. 1

Chapter 2: Winnipeg and the Junction: A Metropolis in the Making, 1870-1886...p. 39

Chapter 3: The Junction and the Railway Era, 1886-1923...p. 68

Chapter 4: The Junction and the Immigrant Experience...p. 109

Chapter 5: Conclusions...p. 138

Appendices

Abstract

By 1870 a small agricultural and fur trading settlement had been established near the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers and Upper Fort Garry. For the next fifty years, as the city of Winnipeg became a major transportation centre in the West, the Forks was transformed by urban and industrial developments that swept through the Canadian landscape in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The evolution of the Forks between 1870 and 1923 occurred as Canada was transformed from a British colony to a modern industrial nation. This rise to nationhood derived from the demise of a dominant agrarian fur-trading economy and the emergence of large scale industrial and manufacturing activity centred around railroad production and located primarily in large urban centres. Settlement and industrial growth in the West were critical to Canadian economic development they began around the Forks after Confederation. Though the national significance of the site waned as the city of Winnipeg expanded after the 1880s, the Forks was a microcosm which reflected the widespread socio-economic changes penetrating all Canadian regions and localities at the turn of the century.

After the creation of the CN system in 1923, the Forks continued to play a role as an industrial site and transportation centre within the urban environment. With the administration offices in the Union Station and a luxurious hotel near Broadway and Main Street the area around the eastyards, once the nucleus of the fur trade, now became one nerve centre of a vast transportation network that included rail lines, express companies, ocean and airlines, which would soon extend far beyond the borders of Canada. The consolidation of 1923 thus provided the opportunity for the new publicly owned corporation to compete in the twentieth century with other multi-nationals of its kind.

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Preface

The junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, once known to local inhabitants as 'The Forks', is now barely visible behind the old factories and warehouses that inhabit the north side of the Red River in central Winnipeg. Other views can be had from points on the east bank, or from the south side of the Assiniboine River. However, even from these choice positions the observer's attention is captured by the high buildings of the business district which loom high above the riverbank and the bridges that connect the inner city with the suburbs. Situated as discreetly as it is in the heart of metropolitan Winnipeg, it is difficult to imagine that for a very brief period not long ago the Forks was the centre of social and economic activity in the Red River valley.

In the early nineteenth century the Forks functioned primarily as part of the fur trade. The various forts which stood there served as meeting places for fur traders and as inland ports that were accessible by boat on both the Red and Assiniboine River systems. The site had also become important to the small population of Selkirk settlers who carried on small scale agriculture nearby. By the 1860s a group of free traders had constructed buildings close to the Hudson's Bay Company's (HBC) stone fort with the object of profiting from the fur trade. The Forks became the focus of attention on a national scale when in 1869 the transfer of the HBC Territory precipitated the Metis resistance and culminated in Manitoba's entry into Confederation. Upper Fort Garry was temporarily made the seat of the new Provincial Government, and it was not long after that the Federal Government established the site as one of many ports of immigration to the Canadian West. Within four years of achieving official Canadian status, the little commercial village that had settled around Upper Fort Garry had grown into a small city. Set in this context, the Forks in the Post 1870 period can be defined as the site where significant immigration and urban development first began to take shape west of the Canadian Shield.

Except for the mid-1870s and early 1880s, the actual role of the site in immigration and urban growth is more symbolic than anything else. The Forks was a locus of the urban environment for a period of no more than fifteen

years. Its contribution to industrial development is similarly symbolic. After the arrival of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) in the 1870s the Forks was transformed into one of many industrial sites within the urban environment. This process of urban industrial growth began in the late 1880s when the Manitoba government openly defied Federal authority and approved a charter for the Northern Pacific and Manitoba Railway (NPMR). The only rival to the CPR at the time, the new company was the pre-cursor of many other railways and branch lines that opened the west to settlement and economic development in the 1890s. Because the NPMR was able to build its yards, shops, and freight sheds at the junction of the Red and Assiniboine, the Forks has the distinction of being the home of the railway that broke the monopoly of the CPR. This distinction is also largely symbolic - the CPR continued to thrive despite the competition from the smaller line. The Forks continued to function as the home of the railway throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth. Indeed, the amalgamation of a series of bankrupt railways in 1923, the birth of the Canadian National Railways, confirmed the industrial activity of the Forks in the city.

Between 1870 and 1923 the rural and commercial societies around the Forks were transformed by urbanization and industrialization. In this respect the history of the site is not unique. With few notable variations it typifies the experiences of many other small communities as they struggled to adapt to the emergence of industrial capitalism and urban growth in Canada. Arguably, other sites within Winnipeg's boundaries are more appropriate examples of these broad themes. The Point Douglas area, for example, was the location of many of the city's early factories. It was also close to the massive CPR Yards, and to Winnipeg's large immigrant neighbourhoods in the North End. Unfortunately, the best historic sites (especially those in an urban environment) are not always available or practical for development. The acquisition of the land behind the CN Eastyards provided Parks Canada and ARC with space to interpret such themes as immigration, urban development and industrial growth, though these could have been more appropriately developed on or near the CPR station. The definition of the Forks as a historic place, rather than as a site, and its symbolic significance in the Post 1870 period makes it imperative to view the junction as a microcosm of many other themes in Canadian history. A study of the site and its evolution must therefore

consider the wider influences of socio-economic development in Canada, in the West, and more particularly in Winnipeg. This is the purpose of the introductory chapter, which situates the Forks within the context of Confederation, the national policy and the spatial and economic growth of Winnipeg. The next four chapters are devoted to the site itself. Chapter 2 examines how metropolitan growth transformed the site in the 1870s and 1880s with reference to early forms of trade and commerce, the emergence of steamboat travel on the Red, the land transfer and the Riel resistance, the presence of the Federal government at the Forks, and the decline of the HBC's control over the junction. Chapter 3 describes the origins and expansion of the railway yards and structures that were situated at the junction of the 1888. This chapter also shows how industrial growth transformed the socio-economic structure of cities in Canada. Chapter 4 describes the experience of immigrants who came through the Forks on their way West in the 1870s and 1880s and accounts for the limited role played by the site later in the decade. Finally, Chapter 5, the epilogue, is a brief discussion of the evolution of the Eastyards after 1923.

This study was originally intended to be a mixture of socio-economic and structural history. The vast amount of source material available and the scope of the investigation, not to mention the amount of time available for research, has made detailed use of primary sources nearly impossible. Primary research on structures has been a low priority in light of Rodger Guinn's structural and land use history and Brad Loewen's research on Upper Fort Garry. Secondary sources have been used to create a synthesis, and primary research has been undertaken to shed light on social and economic aspects of the site rather than to provide a well documented research monograph on structures and land use as is normally the case for studies of this kind.

CHAPTER 1: THE NATIONAL POLICY, CONFEDERATION AND THE URBANIZATION OF WINNIPEG

The Canadian landscape underwent a thorough transformation before Confederation. New towns and cities sprang up in the Atlantic region, along the St. Lawrence basin, and around the shores of the Great Lakes when the first stages of a world wide industrial revolution took hold of North America in the 1850s and 1860s. Under the influence of changing economic and political conditions, the construction of numerous canals and railways, and waves of immigration from western Europe, the growth of metropolitan communities accompanied the emergence of a new industrial order and the erosion of colonialism in British North America. Changes in the physical features of the political economy (economic institutions, mechanisms of trade and production, and transportation systems) were largely confined to the area we now call central and eastern Canada - Ontario, Quebec, and the Atlantic Provinces. The screech of locomotives on steel rails and the smoke of the factory had not yet penetrated the distant Indian encampments, mission houses, and fur trade forts dispersed throughout HBC territory.

Confederation made possible the push of settlements, industry and urban growth in regions west of the Canadian Shield. After Manitoba was brought into Confederation the implementation of National Policy programs by the federal government accelerated metropolitan development at Red River. The process gathered momentum under the influence of the massive CPR construction projects in the 1880s and the enormous immigrant campaigns of the 1890s and 1900s. These forces contributed to Winnipeg's role and identity as a distinctive transportation and distribution centre in a very diverse western region which through the NPMR charter, succeeded in expressing its defiance of the National Policy design.

I. Urbanization in British North America

Urban Development at the fur trade settlements in the early nineteenth century, known as the mercantile era of development, lagged behind that of the towns of the British North American provinces, but all shared similar origins.

Typical North American towns were established by imperial France and Britain as military outposts and were administered by troops who protected the interests of colonial trade. Such early communities often functioned as entrepots which accumulated staple resources from the hinterland, then sent them to a metropolitan centre like Montreal or for shipment overseas.¹ The Forks functioned in this manner until 1870.

Entrepots and towns had little control over their regions and hinterlands, regardless of the small scale exploitation of natural resources or the economic interdependence of settlements in the colonial system. Montreal and Quebec were exceptions, linked closely to each other by the waters of the St. Lawrence and by their complementary function in the French fur trade, but most towns in Upper and Lower Canada and the northwest were relatively isolated from one another. Because staples were shipped to Britain or France in return for foodstuffs and manufactured goods, there were few opportunities to establish elaborate trading networks in nearby regions. This facet of development (or lack thereof), hindered the creation of solid linkages between the Forks and American settlements until the 1860s.²

The predominant characteristics of the typical mercantile town was the role it played in the colonial system. At the end of the era circumstances in colonial Britain began to influence the transformation of towns into metropolitan cities. In the midst of the industrial revolution in the 1840s, Britain began to adopt policies of free trade and to "dismantle its old colonial system."³ The "system of preferential tariffs on timber and grain that had shaped the Canadian economy was systematically removed." British North American artisans and manufacturers, anxious about the consequences for domestic trade, petitioned the government for a protective strategy of industrial development that would ensure the growth and mutual interdependence of British North American towns.⁴ To this end protective tariffs were in place by 1849, and in the early 1850s campaigns for increases in tariff rates were renewed with greater intensity. It was in this decade of domestic economic reorientation that railroad contractors, politicians, and businessmen were able to accumulate large sums of capital from their business transactions

in the railway and canal booms. Capital was invested in "locomotive manufacturing, rolling mills for rails, rolling stock construction, and other secondary manufacturing."⁵ An entire consumer goods industry was created to serve the needs of the early industrial economy. Such fundamental changes to the colonial economy would have been impossible without the vast numbers of immigrants who travelled to Canada's shore from Britain, then found labourers jobs on the canal and railroad construction gangs, and finally settled in the cities and towns of Ontario and Quebec when these projects were completed.

Capital formation and the creation of a surplus unskilled labour market in the 1850s were the progenitors of urban and industrial growth in Canada. By the late 1860s the foundations of dramatic economic expansions were laid in the St. Lawrence basin and on the eastern seaboard, and although the west remained separated from these developments by the rock of the Canadian Shield, intimate commercial relationships had begun to pull the Red River valley into the economic orbit of the United States. However, the restructuring of the British North American colonial political economy would soon have tremendous consequences for the people living in the region of the Forks.

II. The National Policy and the West

Settlement and economic development in the West was an articulate strategy long before Confederation made possible the integration of Manitoba into the Canadian political economy. A National Policy for the development of industry, trade and commerce evolved in Canada between 1840 and 1867 from the combined activities of commercial and industrial entrepreneurs. When the government leaders of the Canadian Provinces debated the merits of Confederation in the 1860s, many of their arguments were put forward on behalf of merchants, financiers, and railway promoters who favoured specific long term strategies of national development.⁶ Political leaders believed these strategies would protect British North American interests in the West from the pull of American manifest destiny. Confederation therefore emerged as an instrument for the achievement of economic goals as well as one that would bring political security.

Concerns about economic well-being were particularly acute during a severe financial crisis that hit the British North American economy. During the railway booms of the 1850s, the provinces had incurred massive debts to English bankers, but the poor condition of rolling stock and the losses incurred in operation prompted reduction in the provincial deficits.⁷ Bankers, merchants, and financiers initially promoted a defensive strategy of national development, but a plunge in the deficit between 1858 and 1863 did little to stave off the financial crisis. At the same, Upper Canadian industrialists lobbied for a policy that would solve the economic crisis by encouraging development through the protection of industry and manufacturing. By the late 1840s Upper Canadians were promoting the growth of a self-sufficient economic base. Dismissing the western fur trade as a profitable enterprise, Robert Baldwin Sullivan of Toronto speculated on how Canada might develop properly.⁸ Self-sufficiency could evolve from a domestic market dependent on its own manufacturing and agriculture, he said, and the growth of

towns would have furnished a home market for a large portion of the produce of the land, and have become as they did in the early times of English History, places in which the capital of the country would have accumulated. However slow and difficult the accumulation might have been, we still should have the fruits of industry ready to be expended in new enterprise. Capital would be reproducing capital, and town and country acting and re-acting on each other, to the advantage of both.⁹

Industrialists and manufacturers believed that a system of tariffs would encourage industry. In 1849 a British-American League, favouring a protective tariff to encourage the development of manufacturing and industry, was formed in Upper Canada, and when the depression threatened the fortunes of railway industrialists in the late 1850s, they too began lobbying for protection.¹⁰ The movement gained popularity in 1858 when Toronto and Hamilton entrepreneurs formed the Association for the Protection of Canadian Industry (APCI), and the Montreal Board of Trade threw its support behind tariff protection. The APCI held the government's colonial tariff policy responsible for the depression because it stifled economic development:

the present tariff being based on erroneous principles, admitting as it does, at low rates of duty, the manufactures of other countries, that can be made by a class of labour now in Canada, unfitted for agricultural pursuits, and charging high rates on articles that cannot be produced in the country, thereby preventing the development of the natural resources of the colony, as well as injuring Canada as a field of immigration.¹¹

The efforts of the ACPI and the hundreds of propaganda pamphlets written by other tariff reformers in Hamilton and Toronto were important in pressuring the government, as were the English banks, to levy the tariffs which in 1859 met the needs of many Canadian manufacturers. Once these were put in place, Canadian entrepreneurs agitated for more effective campaigns for immigrants who would bring capital to Canada. Alexander Somerville, a writer for the Canadian Illustrated News summarized the opinions of Canadian manufacturers:

We want more manufacturers in textile fabrics, iron work, pottery, glassware, leather, etc. We have an abundance of raw material for all of these, and an extensive market as well, and only require the capital in order to commence their manufacture on a large scale. Let us secure that and the labourers will follow it in abundance.¹²

Other influential capitalists joined Somerville's lobby for active state involvement in developing the economy, while Isaac Buchanan, one of the founders of the ACPI, issued a call for federal union for the creation of domestic markets and for protection against annexation by the U.S.¹³

British North American governments fostered programs for the promotion of settlement and industry during the crisis both to attract the required labour and capital for the railway projects, and to respond to the outcries of Canadian capitalists. Encouraged by the high prices of agricultural exports and the availability of capital created by road and canal construction, leaders in Canada West embarked on a program which involved the "expansion of the agricultural frontier within the province by the promotion of immigration and by the adoption of an active settlement policy."¹⁴ In 1852 the provincial government created the Bureau of Agriculture, an agency whose primary task was

to attract immigrants from abroad. Through this apparatus the government was able to offer incentives to prospective settlers. Free tracts of land were made available and roads were built into inaccessible areas. These early immigration policies failed in their objectives to promote settlement: in the late 1850s and early 1860s Canadian officials watched thousands of potential homesteads and labourers flock to the American mid-west.

Most of these campaigns were undertaken for the purpose of attracting newcomers to Upper and Lower Canada and to stem the tide of immigration to the U.S. At the same time, however, the northwest was under investigation as a possible source of colonization. In conjunction with British authorities, Canadian provincial governments sponsored several programs to assess the feasibility of expanding beyond the Canadian Shield. Prompted by American expansion and manifest destiny on the Pacific Coast, many of these efforts were sustained by the faith in railways to overcome challenging transportation problems. In 1857 the British-Canadian expedition of Palliser and Dawson were sent west and "charged with the examination of transportation" and the potential for colonization.¹⁵ Aside from the transportation problem, one of the major obstacles to settlement and economic development was the Hudson's Bay Company's presence in the region, but this came under attack from select committees appointed to discuss northwestern colonization.¹⁶

By 1860, expansion into the northwest came to be regarded as an ambitious and cumbersome undertaking, but ironically the financial problems of the Grand Trunk Railway made it appear more realistic. In Britain, E.W. Watkin, "a member of the British House of Commons, accepted the task of salvaging the finances" of the railway for its British investors.¹⁷ Watkin outlined a proposal by which the Grand Trunk could obtain its financial rescue with increased operating costs. Watkin realized that the success of such a scheme was dependent on the construction of a railway to the Pacific, and he hinted that Britain might consider a union of the British North American provinces if they agreed to the overall plan. The project, he argued, would result in the construction of an empire integrating the united eastern provinces with the wheat-bearing prairies and the west coast, thus direct access through to Asia;

This line [the Grand Trunk] both as regards its length, the character of its work, and its alliances with third parties, is both too extensive and too expensive, for the Canada of today; and left, as it is, dependent mainly upon the development of population and industry on its own line, and upon the increase of the traffic of the west, it cannot be expected, for years to come, to emancipate itself thoroughly from the load of obligations connected with it....[The way out], however, to my mind, lies through the extension of railway communication to the Pacific....

Try to realize,...assuming physical obstacles overcome, a main through Railway, of which the first thousand miles belong to the Grand Trunk Company, from the shores of the Atlantic to those of the Pacific, made just within--as regards the northwestern and unexplored district--the corn-growing [wheat] latitude. The result to this Empire would be beyond calculation; it would be something, in fact, to distinguish the age itself; and the doing of it would make the fortune of the Grand Trunk.¹⁸

The programs for economic development put forward by eastern financiers, capitalists and politicians became part of the agenda of the Confederation Debates of the mid 1860s. According to economist Vernon Fowke, these could be described as the "first of a series of debates on national policy."¹⁹ Based on a concept of regionalism "which did not consider the regions to be equal,"²⁰ the National Policy was generally "imperialistic in economic design," and imperialistic towards the west specifically."²¹ Throughout its evolution creators of the National Policy envisioned in the west, "a new frontier, an area where commercial and financial activity could readily expand and where labour and capital might find profitable employment."²² The fulfillment of this dream depended on a federal act of union that was necessary to transform policy into practice using the instruments of tariff protection, railroad construction, and settlement. Fearing the pull of the undeveloped frontier into the American orbit, motivated by the need to keep pace with American economic expansion, and encouraged by the seemingly unlimited potential of the north west, Canada's leaders sought to connect the West with the central and eastern provinces. In the words of George Brown,

I go for a union of the provinces because it will give a new start to immigration into our country.... There is hardly a political or financial or social problem suggested by this union that does not

find its best solution in a large influx of immigration.... And this question of immigration naturally brings me to the great subject of the North-West Territories. (Hear, Hear) The resolutions before us recognize the immediate necessity of those great territories being brought within the Confederation and opened up for settlement.

If we wish our country to progress [as the United States], we should not leave a single stone unturned to attract the tide of emigration in this direction; and I know no better method of securing that result, than the gathering into one of these five provinces and presenting ourselves to the world in the advantageous light which, when united, we would occupy.²³

As one member of the opposition reminded the government, the construction of a transcontinental railway was the catalyst to settlement and economic growth. After the completion of

the railroad to British Columbia,... the navvies and others who have been employed on these works will find employment on the road leading to the Pacific, and will ultimately become settlers in the great Red River country....²⁴

Three components of the National Policy, immigration, settlement, and railway construction, had emerged as a strategy of national development between 1850 and 1867. Tariffs would protect home industry, railways would encourage trade and settlement, and settlement would furnish labour, capital, and the domestic markets required for economic growth. At the time of Confederation, however, the National Policy as an instrument of the Federal government was still in its early stages of development. As well, economic and political circumstances placed limits on its implementation. In 1875, for example, when a depression hit Canadian manufacturing, demands for tariff increases were heard across Ontario and Quebec.²⁵ Frustrated by the failure of the federal government to adopt these policies, the manufacturers in 1875 called for protection at meetings of the Dominion Board of Trade. Adam Brown of Hamilton argued that legislation was needed to protect "the capital already invested in manufactures' against the effects of the depression which was 'mainly owing to the competition of American manufacturers, who make of Canada a slaughter market for their surplus product.'"²⁶ The Board of trade resolved that the government should adopt a "true and patriotic policy for the Canadian

Government" and a "thoroughly national commercial policy" that would enable "a new country to build itself up."²⁷ These sentiments fell on the receptive ears of John A. Macdonald, then leader of the opposition Conservatives. Macdonald supported the position of The Board of Trade in a resolution to the House of Commons:

The welfare of Canada requires the adoption of a National Policy, which, by a judicious readjustment of the Tariff, will benefit and foster the agricultural, the mining, the manufacturing and other interests of the Dominion.²⁸

Standing on the platform of protection in the 1878 election campaign Macdonald's Conservatives brought MacKenzie's Liberals down to defeat and in the 1879 budget the victorious Conservatives demonstrated their commitment to the National Policy by raising the duties on imported agricultural and manufactured products. Sir Leonard Tilley, the finance minister, suggested that the tariff adjustments pushed the Canadian economy in a new direction:

the time has arrived when we are to decide whether we will be simply levers of wood and drawers of water; whether we will be simply agriculturalists raising wheat, and lumbermen producing more lumber than we can use, or [that] Great Britain and the United States will take from us at remunerative prices.... we will impose a reasonable duty on their products coming into this country, we will maintain for our agricultural and other productions largely the market of our own Dominion.²⁹

Tilley's budget triggered a furious debate in which the Conservatives defended their belief that the tariff wall would motivate economic expansion. The Tories responded to charges that protection was designed to line the pockets of wealthy Canadian capitalists with well-informed reassurances from U.S. industry that the tariff would attract foreign capital and stimulate immigration. To "secure the success of manufactures we must endeavour to encourage the manufacturers and capitalists of Great Britain and the United States to establish workshops in the Dominion."³⁰ Macdonald predicted that a firm industrial base would attract as many as 30,000 skilled workers to Canada.³¹

The impact of the National Policy tariff on the economy was demonstrated in 1883 when the government introduced higher duties on foreign imports, a measure that effectively prohibited American and British companies from competing with the sheltered Canadian firms. Alternatively, the foreign companies began to skirt around the tariff wall by moving their operations to Canada in the form of branch plants.³² In the House of Commons, Sir Charles Tupper proclaimed a victory for the government: "I can, myself, name one concern which is bringing in a million of British capital to establish an industry as a result of the National Policy."³³

The triumph of the Tories in the election of 1878 also enabled them to pursue the other objective of the National Policy, the intercolonial railway. Envisioned as a means of developing the northwest long before Confederation, the railway had been promised to the Western provinces of Manitoba and British Columbia in return for their entry into federal union. However, the Pacific Scandal toppled Macdonald and the Conservatives from office in 1873 before the entire project could be undertaken. The depression of 1873 prevented the MacKenzie government from raising enough capital to attempt anything more than the construction of the intercolonial as a series of public works projects.³⁴ When the Conservatives returned to power, renewal for plans for the rapid completion of the intercolonial was signable by passage of a resolution in the House of Commons in 1879 which made available a land grant of "one million acres of land, and all the minerals they contain...for the purpose of constructing the Canadian Pacific Railway."³⁵

Encouraged by surpluses from the tariff and an end to the depression of 1870s, a syndicate of financiers and railway capitalist was chosen to build the railway.³⁶

After the union of the provinces in 1867, the northwest territory became a prime target of the National Policy. Political jurisdiction and control over the region, a major obstacle to economic development, was a prime objective of the federal government because American manifest destiny fueled rumours of annexation of both Red River and British Columbia. Indeed, a



"THE SITUATION."—SEE NEXT PAGE.

SUBJECT The Forks: Post 1870.

SOURCE Provincial Archives of Manitoba

RESTRICTIONS

CAPTION Political cartoon depicting Manitoba's entry into Confederation at the time of the Red River uprising. Uncle Sam, who has annexationist plans for the Northwest, looks on as the innkeeper of the Hotel Canada beckons an uncertain Manitoba.

REMARKS

DATE 1870

series of circumstances that were focussed on the Red River settlement in the 1860s proved to Canadian politicians that annexation was a threat that had to be taken seriously. In 1862 the Minnesota Legislature hinted to Washington that the U.S. should consider serving the northwest for trade, and after the American Civil War, St. Paul merchants supported this idea in their arguments that the already healthy trade relationship could be enriched with the construction of a Red River-St. Paul railway that would extend on a northerly route towards the Pacific coast.³⁷ The American pronouncements for annexation temporarily died down when Confederation became a reality but reemerged quickly as a threat to Canadian objectives in 1869 when the "idea of an intercolonial railway through Red River to the Pacific" was received.³⁸ Then, in autumn, the United States government opened a consulate at Red River to look after the "American citizens with commercial interests at the settlement."³⁹ Meanwhile, successful negotiations between the Canadian government and the HBC resulted in the transfer of Rupertsland to the Dominion, an act which precipitated the well-known metis up-rising of 1869-1870 and led to the entry of the territory into Confederation under the Manitoba Act.⁴⁰ The arrival of the Wolesely expedition in August and of Lieutenant Governor Archibald in August established Canada's political and military presence in the region.

The objectives of this political component of the National Policy were brought home to the local population of Metis and free traders immediately upon Archibald's arrival. Soon, he promised, "new routes of communication would connect the west with the eastern provinces,"⁴¹ but even before these plans could be put into effect, a Dominion Lands Policy was involved to prepare the way for settlement. Colonel Wolesely's troops were given grants of land of 168 acres each, which were sold to speculators. Settlement was also to be promoted through the Federal Government's immigration policy which was reinforced by an already extensive structure under the jurisdiction of the Minister of Agriculture. By the 1880s federal government immigration sheds at the Forks accommodated newcomers from eastern Europe, but the problems of transportation prevented the movement of high volume of immigration into the region.

Archibald's predictions were not fully realized until 1881 when construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway linked Manitoba to the east. The completion of this instrument of the National Policy in the 1880s stimulated urban and industrial growth dramatically, precipitating a dynamic boon in real estate and building construction. As proponents of Confederation had predicted, railway construction left an economic base of technology, industry, labour and capital in its wake, integrating the nascent economy of the West into that of the national and international markets. The fulfillment of this objective of the national policy would not result in the development of the wheat economy or the massive influx of settlers for another ten years, but it shifted the traditional trading patterns off their north-south axis, creating a regionally disparate relationship between east and west. Western farmers were forced to bear high freight rates necessary to pay for the CPR's operating costs, as well as the tariffs that protected eastern manufactured agricultural products and raised the prices of goods available from the United States.

In the words of H.C. Pentland, the

National Policy of 1879 was ...to ensure that unprotected Western wheat was carried by protected Canadian railroads and handled by protected Canadian traders, and that the supplies of the West should come from protected manufacturers, in order that as much as possible of the gains to be made would be drawn to old Canada, and not to Britain or the United States.⁴²

Combined with the provision in the CPR contract for disallowances, these conditions fueled western discontent with the federal National Policy.

III. The Urbanization and Industrialization of Winnipeg, 1870-1923

In 1867 the federal government was incapable of controlling western development through tariffs, settlement and railways, and it was not until Manitoba was brought into Confederation that these mechanisms of the National

Policy could be brought into play. Though railroad construction and tariff protection would not become factors of development until the 1880s, federal government troops were posted at the Forks and institutions were brought in to administer settlement policy as soon as Canadian control was a certainty.

Historians and economists have disputed with justification "the notion of a monolithic wheat economy automatically brought into being by the railway and the National Policy."⁴³ Indeed, the early federal government's presence at the Forks only set in motion the beginnings of metropolitan growth at Red River. The process would later gather momentum under the influence of the massive CPR construction projects and these would contribute to Winnipeg's emergence as a major city located in the midst of a very diverse western economy that increasingly became independent of National Policy designs.

The critical years of metropolitan growth at Winnipeg occurred between 1870 and 1886. These years are known to urban historians as part of the early period of the commercial era of urban growth in which the acquisition of control over regional development to the federal government created a mere autonomous national political economy.⁴⁴ Closer trade connections and interdependent relationships developed between towns, cities and their respective hinterland environments and facilitated metropolitan growth. In cities and towns of the period the process is discernible in population growth and the creation of a demand for goods and services that can only be supplied through the interwoven production and distribution networks of an urban infrastructure. The character of metropolitan centers in the commercial era is thus rounded out by the appearance of sophisticated financial institutions, of heavy industry, and of the construction of roads, housing, factories, offices and civic buildings - all of which were the necessary foundations for an urbanizing society.⁴⁵

At Winnipeg, population growth began shortly after the end of the Riel Resistance and continued moderately throughout the remainder of the 1870s. Population increases came mainly from immigration rather than natural increase.⁴⁶ The wave of optimism that swept through Winnipeg in 1871 and

1872, and induced the movement to incorporate the city in 1873 attracted some settlers in the mid 1870s, and by 1875 the local population had risen by only about 600 persons, from 1,467 to 2,061.⁴⁷ The expansion of trade and commerce in the local community, the scarcity of homestead land in Ontario, and the implementation of federal government colonization programs made Winnipeg a desirable location for settlers, but the construction of a railway line from Winnipeg to Pembina made it accessible by linking Winnipeg to the east via the American railway network.⁴⁸ Consequently, the city's population rose to over 4,000 by 1879.⁴⁹ Throughout the period the majority of Winnipeg's population, nearly 43 percent, came from Ontario, while a total of 21.3 percent were born in Scotland, England, or Ireland, and 4.6 percent came from the United States. Less than 10 percent were from eastern and western Europe.⁵⁰

An enormous real estate and building boom altered the small scale character of the Winnipeg population. Construction of the Pembina line and the approach of the CPR drove up land values and attracted thousands of real estate agents, contractors, railway workers, and skilled and unskilled labourers.⁵¹ In the autumn of 1880, as CPR construction crews advanced towards Winnipeg, contractors "began advertising in the Winnipeg daily newspapers for a thousand labourers."⁵² A city "of less than nine thousand-most already engaged in small scale production - could not respond to this demand."⁵³ Workers poured into the city from Ontario, Quebec, Great Britain and the United States, followed by skilled craftsmen and businessmen who were eager to profit from high wages and plentiful business opportunities that suddenly arose. Though many of the travellers returned to their homes and families for the winter, the boom caused Winnipeg's population to swell from 6,245 in 1881 to 19,525 in 1886.⁵⁴

The boom transformed permanently the occupational structure of Winnipeg's population. Formerly an important part of the city's economic activity, agriculture became less significant as Winnipeg grew in the 1880s: the number of people classified in agricultural occupations in federal census figures declined from 1,145 in 1881 to 329 in 1886. Another noticeable trend was the expansion of the commercial sector, which grew from 752 to 2,043, and

reflected Winnipeg's growth as a commercial city.⁵⁵ As well, Winnipeg's working population grew in diversity with the emergence of the new industrial occupations associated with the construction of the Canadian Pacific and Pembina branch railways. Though as many as 600 artisans worked in the small shops that had predominated the production process in the 1870s, they were joined by a new workforce of skilled tradesmen and unskilled labourers who had learned their jobs in the factories and warehouses of industrial Toronto, Montreal, and Hamilton.⁵⁶ Of the 1,341 industrial workers in Winnipeg in 1886, approximately 1,000 worked in the CPR yards and shops.⁵⁷ The growth of the commercial and industrial sectors of the population also created a demand for service occupations. The number of domestic workers rose from 595 to 1,311, while the number of professionals increased from 316 to 792. Throughout the early 1880s the ethnic composition of this population changed very little. In 1886, 83 percent, many of whom came from Ontario, were born in Britain, 6.7 percent were born in Scandinavia and Iceland, 3.0 percent were French, 1.6 percent were Indian and Metis, and the remainder were from countries in Western Europe.⁵⁸

The growth of Winnipeg's population created a host of new social, political and economic services that had to be provided for the residents in the metropolis. In order to fulfill these requirements, residents were forced to organize these activities in ways that would enable the feasible distribution of goods and services, and for the maintenance of law and order. An urban built environment was constructed to shelter the city's inhabitants and house its political and economic institutions. Growth also became possible through the use of new technology, which enabled the city to compete economically with its rivals in nearby regions, to export and import its goods, to attract other people, and to modernize its light and heavy industries. Urban growth in these areas entailed the development of the structures and activities (such as factories and transportation systems) that were necessary for the exploitation of the raw materials of the hinterland, the importation and growth of capital and industrial equipment, and the development of domestic consumer and labour markets for consumption and production.

A movement to incorporate Winnipeg began in 1872 in response to the modest growth in population that had occurred as a result of the first boom. Winnipeg's business leaders at this time lacked control over local affairs. As a town Winnipeg lacked the municipal by-laws and tax base that could be used to distribute "burden of municipal services" and to solve local commercial problems as a community.⁵⁹ A series of meetings called by Alexander Begg, whose pronouncements in favour of incorporation appeared in the Manitoba Gazette and Trade Review, brought to light the need for municipal power to deal with "fire protection, municipal works such as sidewalks and streets, and the preparation and enforcement of by-laws" that would "regulate matters generally, so as to answer to the public good and not the ideas of individual parties."⁶⁰ Amidst charges by Winnipeg citizens that the HBC and the Manitoba legislature opposed the movement, incorporation was achieved in November 1873. The Act of Incorporation, which was modelled on an Ontario system of authority, provided Winnipeg with the means to set up by-laws to govern "nuisances, safety, sanitation, fire, police," and to collect taxes that were necessary for the construction of the physical infrastructure of the city (sidewalks, roads, bridges, sewers, hospitals, waterworks).⁶¹

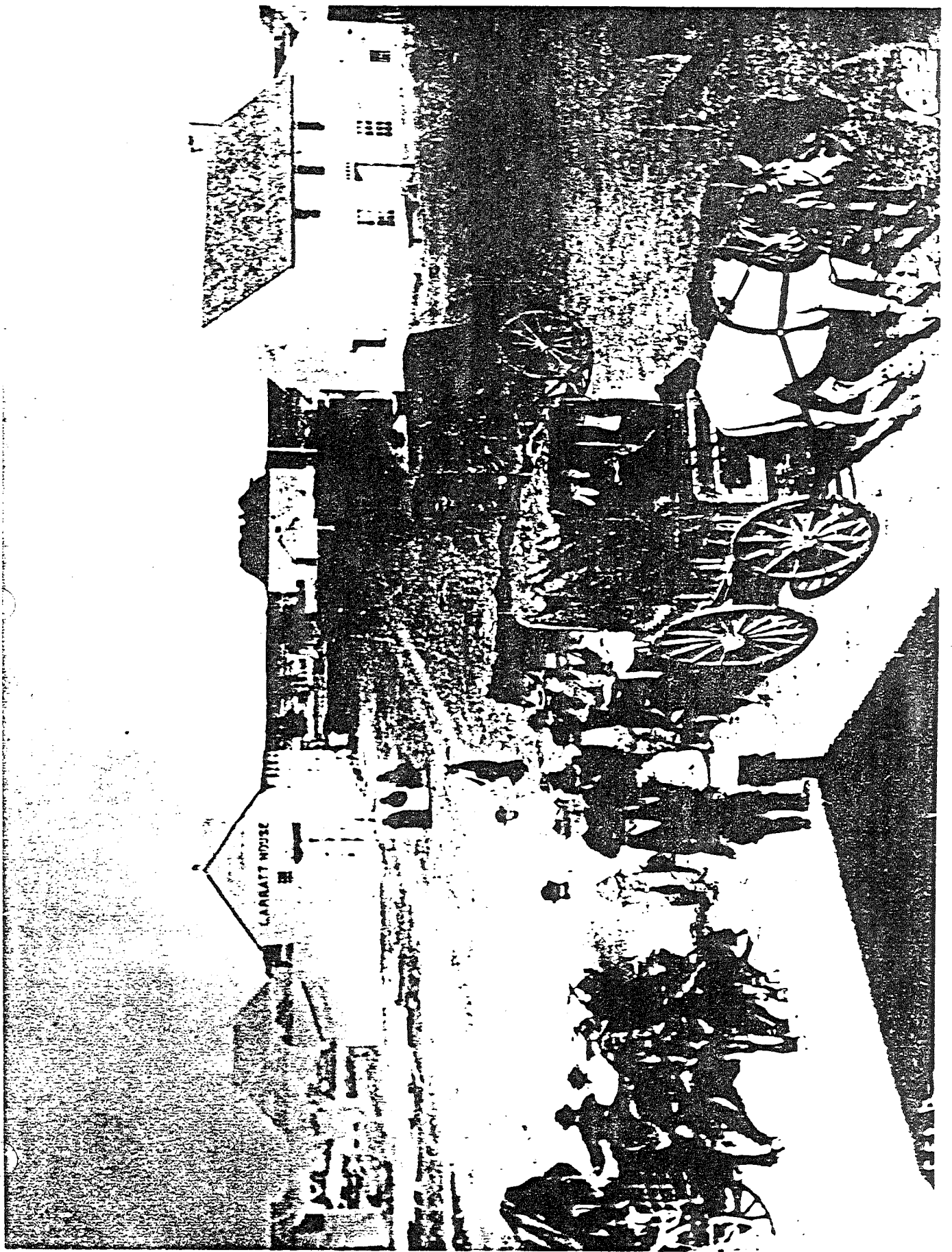
Local leaders, merchants and artisans envisioned in the 1870s a future in which railroad and river transport, wheat production, and industry and manufacturing would flourish. Winnipeg, they believed, would soon become one of the North west. This spirit of boosterism was expressed by Begg and Nurse in 1879:

That Winnipeg is destined to be the great distributing and railway centre of the vast North-West is now no empty figure of speech, for it admits of no denial, it being all but an accomplished fact. If we have been prosperous in the past, no great amount of prophecy is required to predict the era of multiplied prosperity that awaits us in the immediate future. Winnipeg must advance. Importance is thrust upon her by the accident of her geographical position. Ten years from now she will be ten times the size she is today. Her levees will be lined with steamboats; her river banks with elevators; industries and manufacturers will spring up in her midst, and the shrill whistle of the locomotive, piloting the rich burden of cereal

products from the supporting west, will ring in the dawn of the creation of a wealthy and populous city, that the boldest enthusiasts until now have hardly had the audacity to contemplate.⁶²

The realization of this dream was made possible after incorporation because the authority and influence that was once held privately by individuals was now embodied in a city council that was dominated by the commercial interests of the city. One of the first actions of the municipal government, aside from the allocation of monies for public works, was to secure the CPR route. In 1874 the Federal government had announced plans to construct the transcontinental line through Selkirk because it was safer from flooding, and the city sent delegations of private and public officials to Ottawa to persuade the Federal government to re-route the railway. These early efforts failed but the city continued to agitate for the line while it passed resolutions to issue subsidies and grant loans and land to any companies that would construct a rail line through Winnipeg. The delegations and resolutions eventually led to the procurement of a railway from Pembina to Winnipeg in 1878-79 and to the Federal government's decision to construct the CPR mainline and railway shops in Winnipeg.⁶³

Political organization in Winnipeg resulted from the centralization of commercial power in a city council that could promote the interests of the city and which in the 1870s and early 1880s resulted in a readjustment to the specifics of the national policy design. A Canadian commercial elite came to dominate the affairs of Winnipeg in the early 1870s and to shape the growth of its institutions. The majority of this community were self-made men deficient by eastern standards in social status or education, but driven by the conviction that hard work was the key to success on the frontier.⁶⁴ James H. Ashdown, for example, had come from Ontario in 1868 as a tinsmith, then set up his own hardware store in Winnipeg and was well established in the City by the 1870s.⁶⁵ A popular guide book of Winnipeg applauded Winnipeg's businessmen as examples of "what can be accomplished in this new country by truly energetic men."⁶⁶ Others who came to Winnipeg in the 1870s were imbued with a similar spirit. Typical of the self-made man was George Andrew, a watchmaker, who



SUBJECT The Forks: Post 1870.

SOURCE Provincial Archives of Manitoba

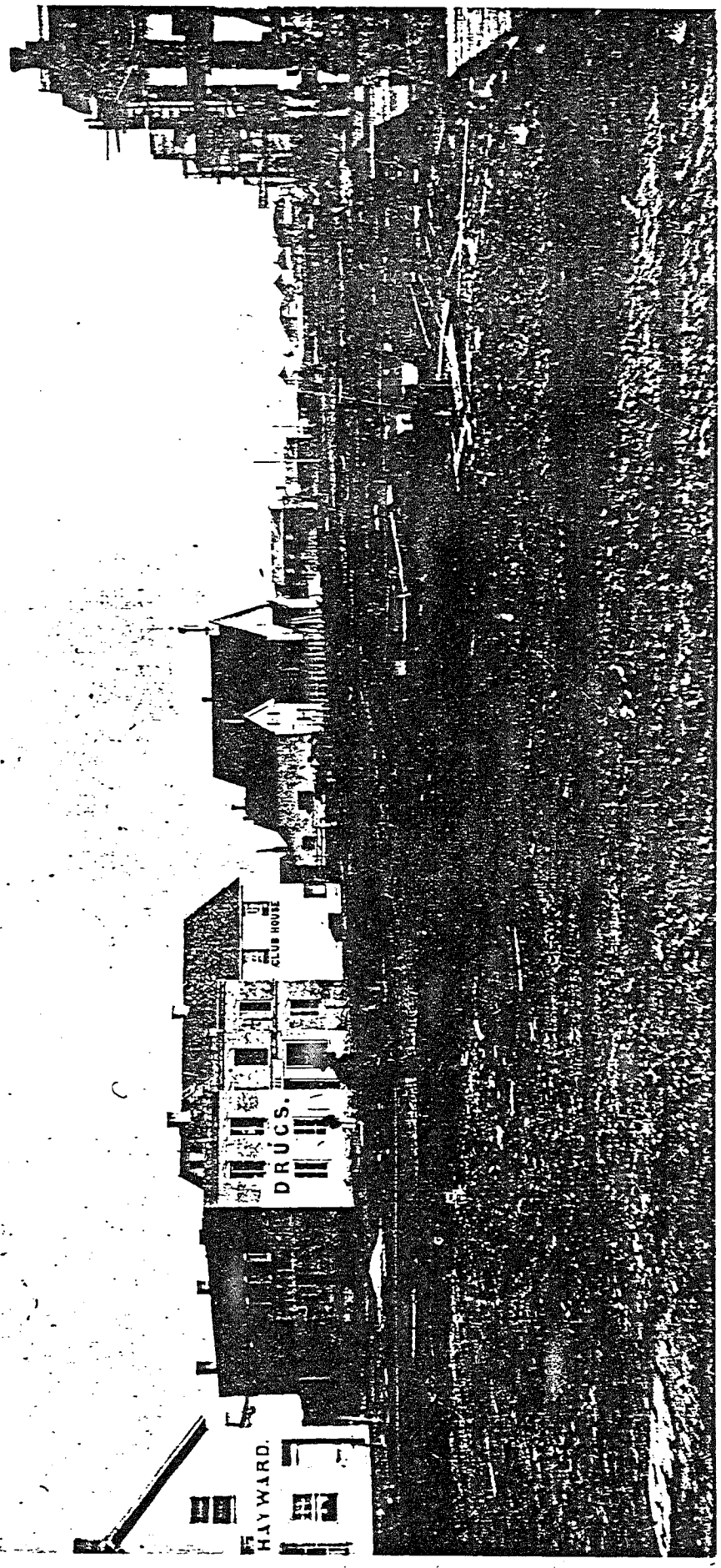
RESTRICTIONS

CAPTION The village of Winnipeg at Portage and
Main before incorporation.

REMARKS

DATE 1872.

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY ASTOR LENOX TILDEN FOUNDATION 500 5TH AVENUE NEW YORK 17 N.Y.



SUBJECT The Forks: Post 1870.

SOURCE Provincial Archives of Manitoba

RESTRICTIONS

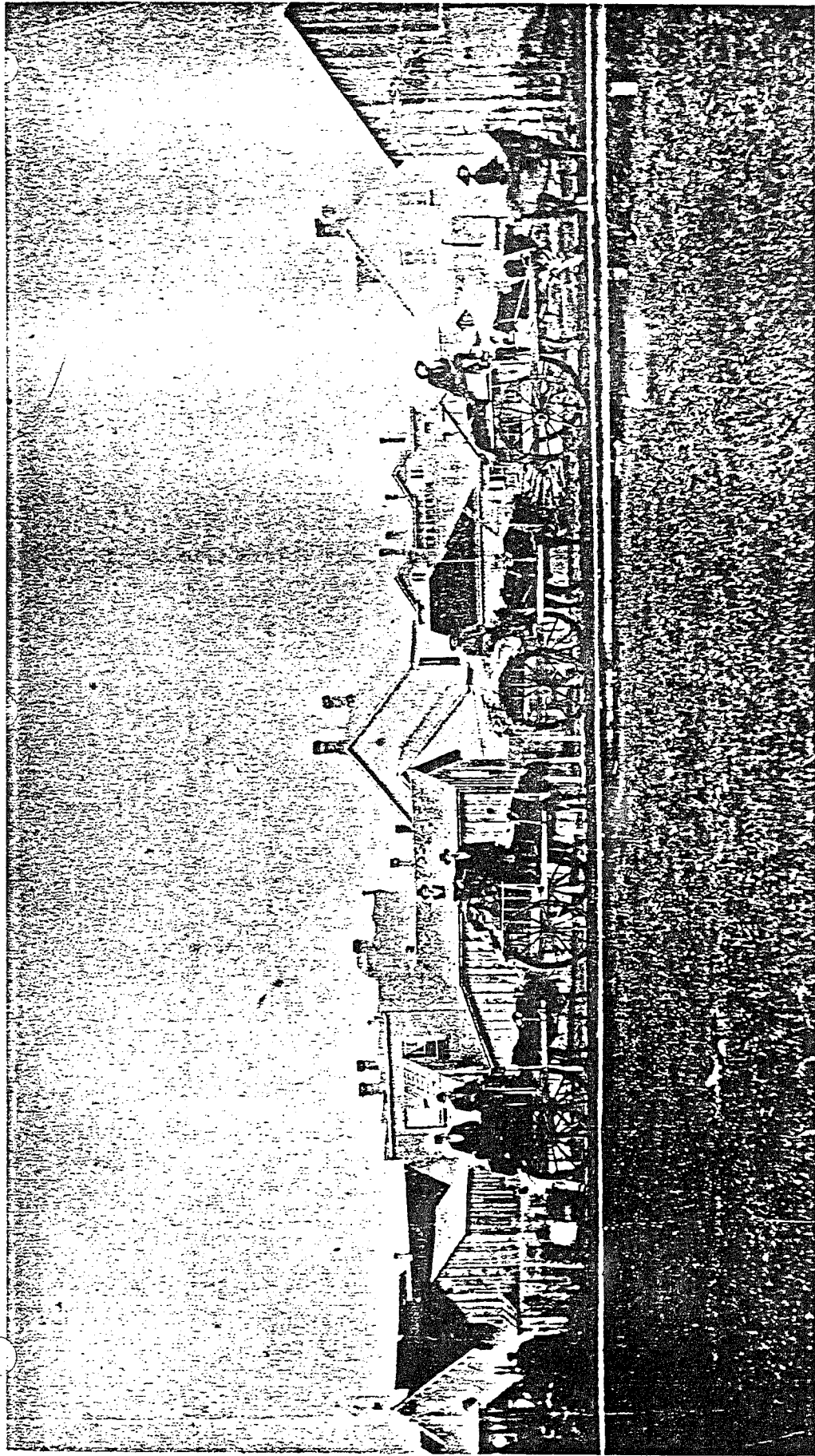
CAPTION A real estate boom followed the HBCo. land transfer and the entry of Manitoba into Confederation. The boom contributed to population growth within the village of Winnipeg as settlers and landseekers came to Red River from central Canada. The village began to expand southward, integrating the Forks and Upper Fort Garry, temporarily the seat of the provincial government, into the community.

REMARKS This is a view of Main Street, looking south from Notre Dame. Note Upper Fort Garry in the background and the unfinished buildings, products of the boom, in the near right of the photograph.

DATE c1873.

"for one year worked at his trade," then in 1875 "entered into business himself, put in a small stock of jewelry, ... such as his limited means afforded, and the public required."⁶⁷ What was important about people like Andrew and Ashdown was their character - a mixture of enterprising vision, energy, and interest in being "public spirited citizens."⁶⁸ During the boom of 1871-73, as Winnipeg "grew and prospered there sprang up among [this] business and professional group" an "unshakeable conviction of optimism."⁶⁹ These people believed "that the future of their community was boundless," that they had come to a place "where there had been no one but fur traders and Indians before, but which today numbered a thousand," and "might be expected to number tens or even hundreds of thousands tomorrow."⁷⁰ By the end of the boom this spirit of boosterism affected the entire town and it became a leading force in promoting civic incorporation and later the CPR route through Winnipeg.

Metropolitan growth was also apparent in the evolution economic institutions in the vicinity of the Forks. Until 1875, when the fur trade was the major business in Winnipeg, there was little need for elaborate financial institutions. On the whole, wealth was defined in terms of privately held property such as wholesale merchandise, land, tools, or small financial holdings. By the 1880s, however, the real estate booms and commercial growth created the need for new institutions which could facilitate business transactions and larger scale investment. Such institutions had begun to grow slowly in the early 1870s. After incorporation, local merchants dealt through agents or loan companies and Canadian chartered banks that had been set up in Winnipeg, but in the 1880s, with the construction of the railway shops and the expansion of the economy, financial institutions became a more significant part of the urban infrastructure.⁷¹ According to Naylor, the boom of 1881-1883 "ushered in a real growth of private bankers" from Ontario and the maritimes into Manitoba.⁷² The number of private banks in Winnipeg rose from 0 to 21 by 1883.⁷³ Industrial development was also stimulated by National Policy initiatives. Immigration contributed to population growth and this expanded the domestic markets, while railroad building provided incentives for investment. Consequently, the late 1870s and early 1880s witnessed the



SUBJECT The Forks: Post 1870.

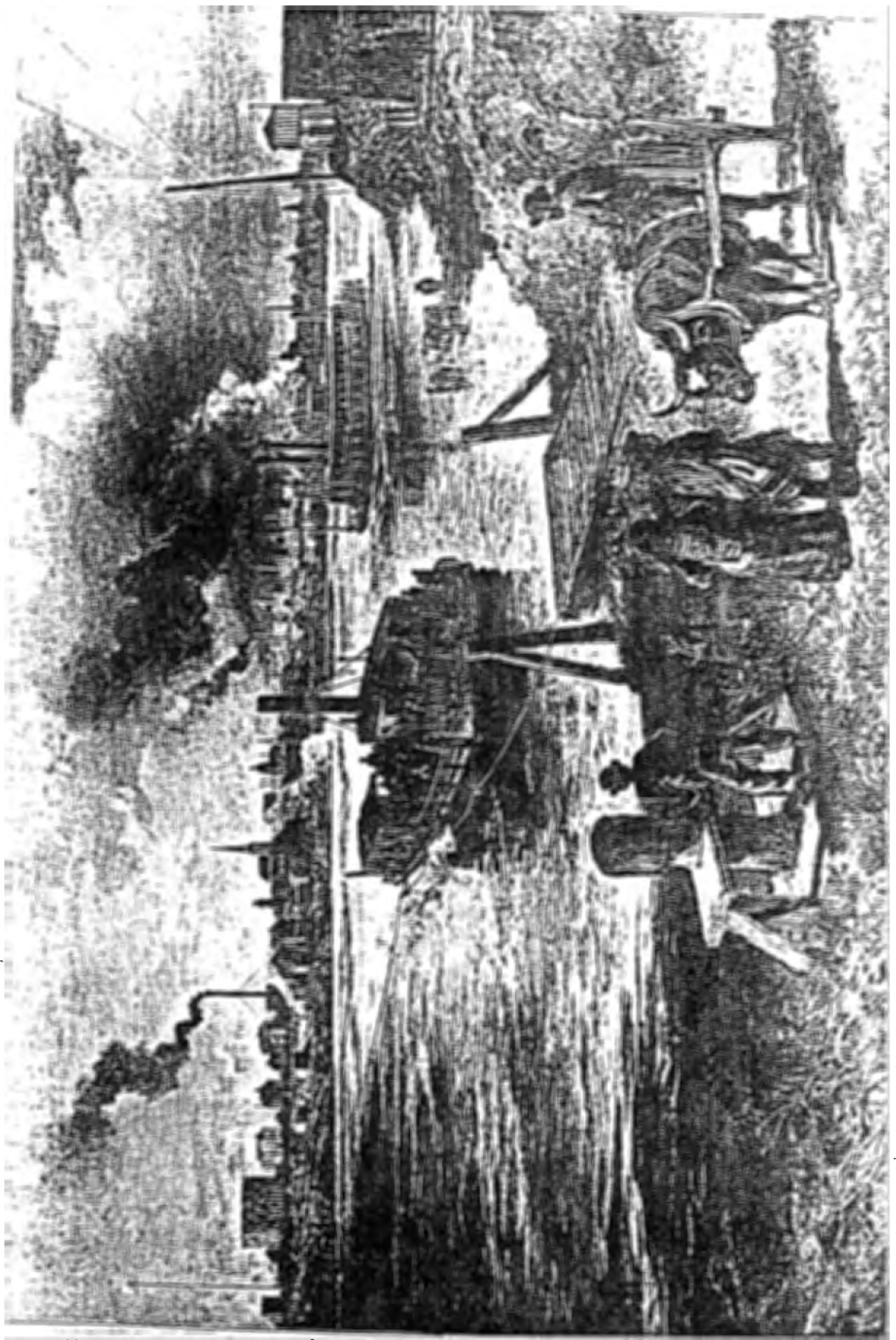
SOURCE Provincial Archives of Manitoba

RESTRICTIONS

CAPTION In the mid-1870s the predominant mode of transportation, aside from riverboat and barge, was by Red River cart .

REMARKS

DATE c1875.



SUBJECT The Forks: Post 1870.

SOURCE Western Canada Pictorial Index

RESTRICTIONS

CAPTION Served by barge, riverboat and cart, the City of Winnipeg grew commercially and industrially in the late 1870s. Smoke billows from the small factories located along the Red River in this scene of Winnipeg from St. Boniface.

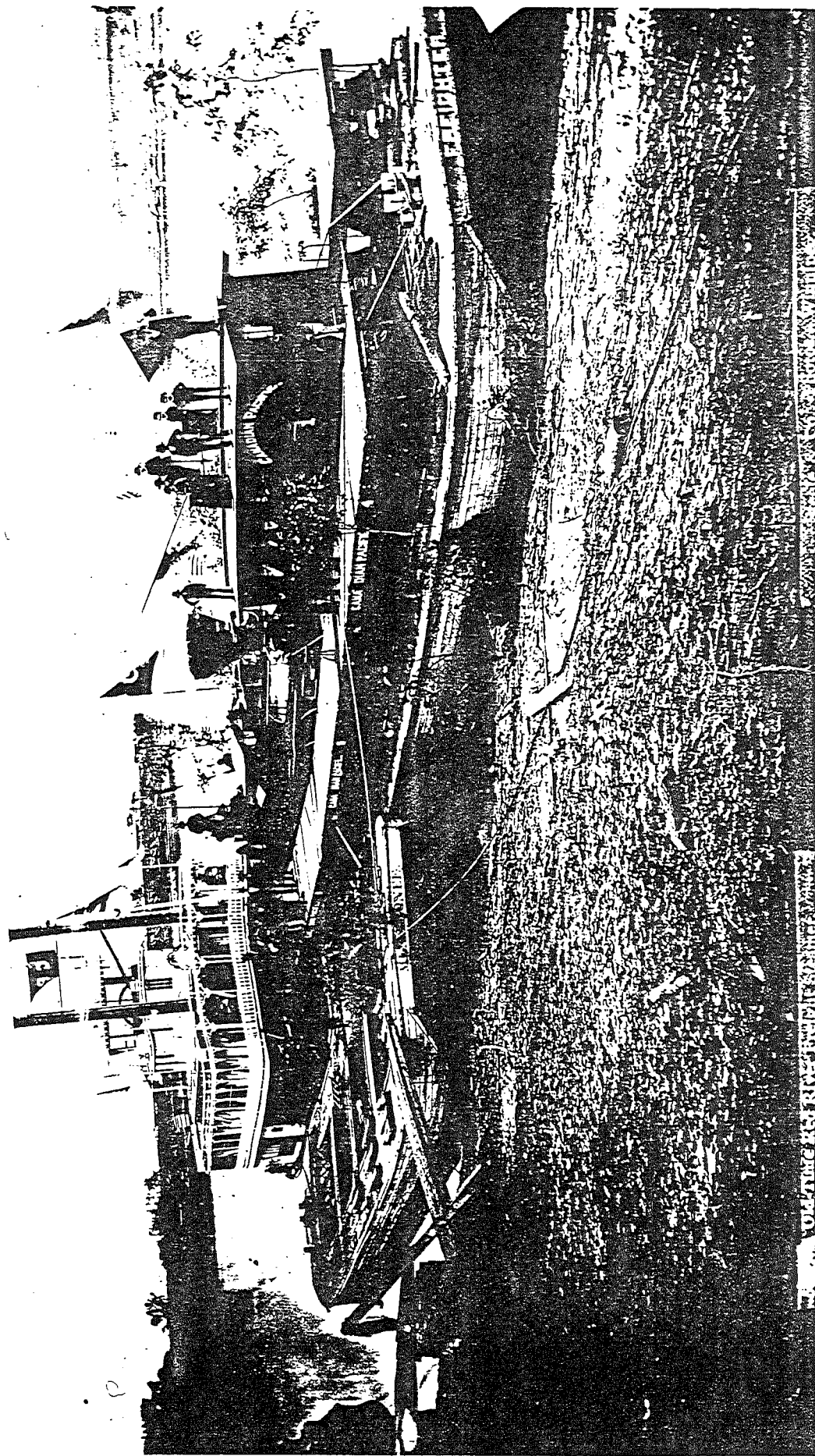
REMARKS The Pacific Hotel, constructed in 1873 is located in the extreme left of the picture, immediately behind the HBCo. flats, where a number of tents and shanties have been established.

DATE c1877.

beginnings of industrial capitalism on the prairies, a facet of urban growth that transformed the social structure of Winnipeg. The dissolution of artisanal and handicraft production and the rise of factories contributed to the creation of two new and distinct classes: one of wage labour and the other of capital. In response to a series of events associated with the factory system and its corollaries (lower wages, loss of skill, loss of craft independence) the new industrial working class struck for better wages and working conditions and founded trades unions and trades councils. By the 1890s they had made significant strides in forming their own political parties.⁷⁴

The arrival of the railway enabled Winnipeg to extend its influence further afield into the hinterland and to create important links with central and eastern Canada. In 1878, for example, when the Pembina line was completed, 35,000 bushels of wheat were exported to the Ogilvie Mills of Goderich and Montreal, and when the CPR came to Winnipeg Ogilvie built a mill at Point Douglas.⁷⁵ Rail transportation had a similar impact on other industries as well. During the boom, for example, the railway made possible the shipment of whole streets of prefabricated buildings from the Truaxes Planning Mills in Ontario to Winnipeg.⁷⁶ The railway was also a major factor in attracting eastern capital. Entrepreneurs from Ontario and Quebec invested in real estate and in the supportive industries that emerged with the CPR yards and shops. Even during the depression of the mid-1880s capital investment increased from \$700,755 in 1881 to \$2,050,766 while the number of industrial establishments rose from 97 to 129.⁷⁷ These developments in transportation did not diminish the importance of the rivers to Winnipeg's economy: seven steam vessels and ten barges navigated the Red and Assiniboine in 1885-86.⁷⁸

The boom of the 1880s and the completion of the CPR line at Winnipeg also transformed the city's physical appearance dramatically. The W.G. Fonseca map of 1884 depicted an urban metropolis that stretched for miles north and west of the Forks. The city was a mixture of new and old. The street patterns reflected the influence of the river lot system and the old cart routes, yet



THE OLD TIME RED RIVER STEAMSHIP

SUBJECT

The Forks: Post 1870.

SOURCE

Provincial Archives of Manitoba

RESTRICTIONS

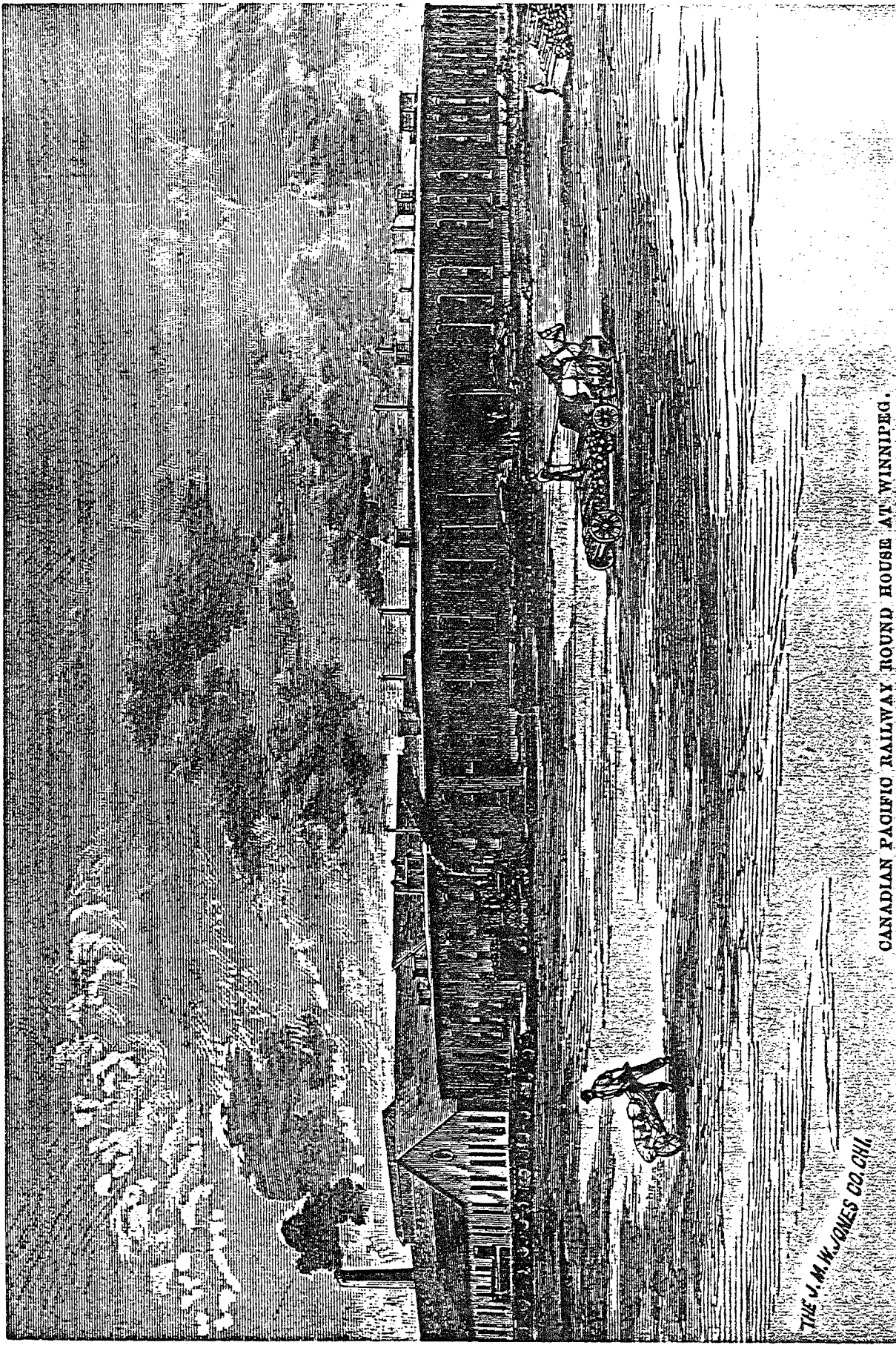
CAPTION

Arrival of the Countess of Dufferin in 1877. The arrival of a branch line from Pembina in 1878 and the CPR in the 1880s prompted a dramatic building and real estate boom in Winnipeg between 1881 and 1883 which contributed to metropolitan growth. After the coming of the railway the Forks would cease to be the principal local and regional port of immigration, trade and commerce.

REMARKS

DATE

1877.



THE J. M. H. JONES CO. CHICAGO

CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY ROUND HOUSE AT WINNIPEG.

SUBJECT The Forks: Post 1870.

SOURCE Provincial Archives of Manitoba

RESTRICTIONS

CAPTION The CPR Yards, built in the 1880s, helped to reduce the role of the Forks as a western entrepot.

REMARKS

DATE 1883.



OLD WENNER (OF) WINNIPEG



British Association.

SEPTEMBER

1884

BISHOP OF WINNIPEG

SUBJECT

The Forks: Post 1870.

SOURCE

Provincial Archives of Manitoba

RESTRICTIONS

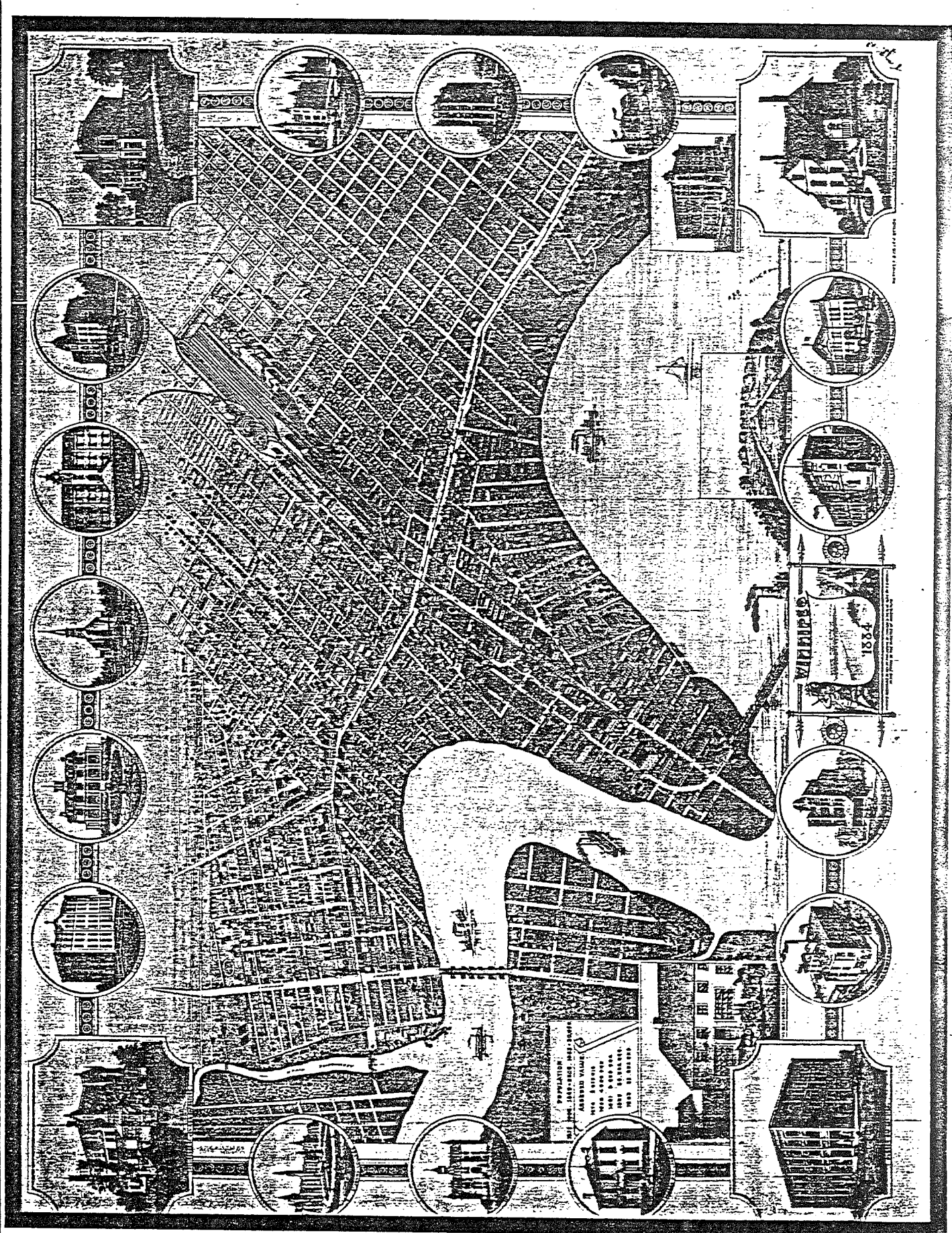
CAPTION

This souvenir published by the British Association shows how the spirit of boosterism was closely linked to the faith in the positive impact of railways on industry, trade and commerce.

REMARKS

DATE

1884.



PHILADELPHIA
1884

REPRESENTATIVE
ALL THE LATEST NEWS, DELEGATES

SUBJECT The Forks: Post 1870.

SOURCE National Map Collection

RESTRICTIONS

CAPTION The emergence of the metropolis around the Forks in 1884 is indicated by the spatial growth of the City of Winnipeg. A vast transportation network has grown to supply the metropolis with goods and services. Note the persistence of river travel, the roads and bridges, and the domination of the CPR yards to the north of the Forks.

REMARKS This map appears in Artibise and Dahl, Winnipeg in Maps/Winnipeg par les cartes, p. 22.

DATE 1884.

the segregation of residential, commercial and industrial districts were evidence of the emergence of nineteenth century industrialization.⁷⁹

The creation of a new urban infrastructure around the Forks changed the city's relationship with its hinterland. Within the city the emergence of new spatial and land use patterns were largely the products of two interrelated events, the construction of the CPR and the real estate and building boom which followed. Formerly at the hub of the Red River settlement, the HBC properties at the Forks appeared to have shrunk to a small area bordered by valuable residential lots. Light and medium industries grew around Point Douglas and West along the CPR Yards which physically bisected the city and now were the most dominant of the features of the urban landscape.⁸⁰

By the early 1880s Winnipeg had achieved metropolitan status, but in the aftermath of the frenzied railway construction and real estate boom, the city which had become integrated into world markets soon found itself in the grip of a world wide depression. Winnipeg recovered briefly in the late 1880s, only to be plunged into another economic crisis in the 1890s. Low wheat prices and a scarcity of capital in New York and London money markets discouraged large-scale industrial growth early in the decade, although the construction of the railway shops of the Canadian Pacific and Northern Pacific and Manitoba helped to create a more diversified economic base, along with the demands of the growing population for locally manufactured goods. Large-scale investment and capital accumulation in industry and manufacturing were limited also by a series of other economic and geographic factors, including the high cost of electric power, railway tariffs on manufactured goods, the distance from markets of raw materials, and the distance from highly populated industrial consumer markets. Consequently, economic recovery at mid-decade resulted in moderate increases in production, but in no major transformation in the economy. Investment between 1891 and 1901 rose from approximately 3.1 million dollars to 4.6 million, the value of production and investment rose from 3.1 million to 4.6 million and 5.6 million to 8.6 million dollars respectively.⁸¹

However gradual economic growth was during this period, there were three perceptible trends which in the 1900s would contributed to the rapid expansion of the local economy. First was a very subtle shift, especially after 1895, towards greater competitiveness and economic security in business. After the depression, which forced many family firms and partnerships into bankruptcy, businesses began to search for protection, either in the form of limited liability companies, mergers, or combines. This trends was apparent by the late 1890s. Although production and investment in Winnipeg industries increased slightly, the number of industrial establishments declined by about two-thirds, from 307 to 103. This was due in large part to the number of bankruptcies, but the popularity of the large-sized company would become more pronounced in the 1900s.⁸²

A second trend, one that had begun with City Council's efforts to attract the CPR to Winnipeg, was the attempt to have branch plants locate in the city. The Northern, Pacific and Manitoba had also been lured to Winnipeg in the 1880s, and in the 1890s, City Council offered to help other companies set up factories. In 1894, for example, Council attempted, but failed to induce McCormick to build an agricultural implement factory in the city, but financial institutions began to establish their offices locally. This growth occurred on a very small scale, but would accelerate after 1900.⁸³

Finally, the most obvious development in the 1890s was emergence of Winnipeg as the centre of the grain trade. Recovery from the depression of the 1890s produced a high demand for wheat on foreign and domestic markets. Favourable weather allowed farmers to reap high yields, and the lowering off freight rates under the Crow's Nest Pass agreement of 1897 provided them with cheaper transportation with which to bring crops to market.⁸⁴ As a result of the volume of grain production and distribution in the late 1890s, "Winnipeg's domination over the Western grain trade was confirmed and strengthened."⁸⁵

Winnipeg's economy entered a period of rapid growth and development after 1900. The wheat economy expanded as settlers moved from Europe onto the prairies and as branch rail lines were built to serve remote areas of the west. Wheat acreage increased from 1.4 million to 2.8 million in 1912 and

overall yields rose from 13 million bushels to 58.4.⁸⁶ Expansion of the wheat economy, combined with the arrival of thousands of skilled and unskilled labourers bound for work on western farms and in prairie towns and cities, contributed to two dramatic building booms between 1900 and 1912. The first occurred from 1902 to 1906 when the value of construction rose suddenly from 1.4 million in 1900 to over 12.6 million dollars in 1906. At the zenith of the second boom in 1912, construction had risen to 20.5 million.⁸⁷ The erection of huge privately owned offices and warehouses, railway shops, public works, and residential districts in these years was a reflection of the impact of the grain economy on urban development.

The years between 1900 and 1912 was a critical period in terms of capital formation in the local economy. Total capital investment increased from about 4.6 million in 1901 to 25.8 million dollars in 1911,⁸⁸ while property assessments rose from 27 million to over 247 million.⁸⁹ Throughout the early 1900s most of this property and capital became concentrated in the hands of large producers, creating a widening gulf between the large and small firm. This was the case in the building industry, for example, where small companies survived on jobbing contracts, repairing old buildings or working for larger employers on huge projects, while large companies produced grain elevators, factories, expensive public buildings, and privately owned skyscrapers.⁹⁰

Many of these companies were able to set up branches of their businesses in Western towns and cities. At the same time, in recognition of Winnipeg's domination over the regional wheat economy, foreign firms from the United States, Britain, and eastern Canada established branches in Winnipeg.⁹¹ This was part of a growing fnational trend. In 1900 British investment in Canada totalled approximately 10,00 dollars, but by 1912, the figure had increased to more than 200,000.⁹² The Winnipeg Telegram, a local daily ndwspaper, reported on the impact of this investment on Winnipeg and the west in 1910:

This year has seen a great tide of English capital flowing into Western Canada. Millions upon millions have been invested by English financiers and capitalists in various concerns in western Canada. In Winnipeg alone, the amount of English money sunk in real estate is

astonishing. The west has seen a continued stream of wealthy and titled visitors from the Homeland this year all of whom have gone back apostles of the West.⁹³

Most British capital was invested in Canadian railways and real estate, but American investment took the form of branch plants - by 1909, 100 American branch plants had been established in Winnipeg.⁹⁴

Capital accumulation and the vast increases in production between 1900 and 1912 were impossible without a large and diverse labour market. Encouraged by employers and by federal government programs, thousands of immigrants came through Winnipeg during this period, often stopping for a few months or staying permanently in Winnipeg to find jobs in railway yards and local factories. A total of 255,187 immigrants arrived in Winnipeg between 1899 and 1903, before the massive booms.⁹⁵ By 1906 immigration accounted for the growth of Winnipeg's population by 113 percent, followed by another dramatic growth spurt of 50 percent between 1906 and 1911.⁹⁶ The redistribution of this market into new occupations created by demands of the urbanization and industrialization of the local economy was reflected in Winnipeg's occupational structure: in the 1900s most workers were employed in manufacturing, transportation, or trade related activities.⁹⁷

Throughout the 1890s and 1900s the built environment became separated into specialized units organized according to land use and political and economic activity.⁹⁸ A commercial nucleus, located around the intersection of Portage Avenue and Main Street, became the administrative centre of productive life in the city, and the headquarters of the western grain trade in the 1900s. The district was bordered by the Eastyards in south, and the economy expanded, the area began to encroach upon the attractive residential property along Broadway Avenue. It was in this general vicinity where Winnipeg's major financial and real estate institutions, the offices of the city's grain traders, wholesale warehouses, retail stores, and various other buildings which distributed agricultural implements and supplies were located. The inner city thus functioned as a point from which goods and services were

distributed. The prerequisites for production, labour and capital, were also distributed from this central area. Money was borrowed and purchased in the banks and loan companies, while most of the local labour force resided here temporarily before finding work and residents in adjacent districts.

Winnipeg's light and heavy industries were located in clusters around the commercial core. The largest of these, Point Douglas, was dominated by lumber mills, paint factories, bedding factories, and the Vulcan Iron Works, one of the three major railway contract shops. Further west, other such industries were established along the CPR yards, while smaller garment factories, dairies, cigar makers, wagon and carriage works, and agricultural implement manufacturers set up their shops west of City Hall, on the outskirts of the inner city. A similar pattern, though on a much smaller scale, existed to the south of the core at the Forks and near the Fort Rouge Yards, where there were paint manufacturers, breweries, and an asphalt plant.⁹⁹ Middle and working-class housing was located near the industrial districts and usually could be found interspersed among the factories and warehouses. Such residential patterns had been established in the 1880s and 1890s in the absence of adequate urban transportation, when workers settled as close to their jobs as possible.¹⁰⁰

The growth of regional and urban transportation networks facilitated the movement of capital, labour, natural resources, and products to and from the city. Regional systems expanded considerably in the 1900s. Increased volumes of raw materials, staples, and finished products were shipped through the terminals of the elaborate railway systems of the CPR, the Canadian Northern, and the Grand Trunk Pacific Railways. All brought thousands of immigrants, the major source of skilled and unskilled labour, through Winnipeg in this period. Smaller companies, like the Midland Railway, joined the larger firms in building spur lines into Winnipeg's warehouse districts and industrial areas.¹⁰¹ Despite the domination of the Fort Rouge shops, Eastyards, and CPR Yards over the urban landscape, the rivers also played an important role in the regional transportation system after 1900. Having been completed in 1910, the St. Andrews Locks allowed riverboats to navigate the Red River to Lake

Winnipeg. The cargoes of wood, stone, and other materials increased from about 8,000 tons in 1910 to almost 100,000 tons in 1912.¹⁰²

The improvement of transportation within the city limits contributed to increased production and distribution of local goods and services. Nearly \$800 was spent each year on public works during the boom of 1904-1906.¹⁰³ After 1900, bicycles were a major improvement in transport, so much so that employers in the building industry were insisting that they be used by workers to travel between jobs.¹⁰⁴ Winnipeg's street railway system grew dramatically between 1900 and 1914. Construction of lines around the CPR and the Fort Rouge shops connected working class neighbourhoods with the rest of the city and reduced walking distance to work. The number of passengers carried on the street railway increased from 3.5 million in 1900 to almost 60 million in 1913.¹⁰⁵ The growth of urban transport was a significant factor in promoting the development of suburban neighbourhoods like Crescentwood, Fort Rouge, St. James, Elmwood, and St. Boniface.¹⁰⁶

Within the broad context of Canadian history, the years between 1913 and 1923 have been viewed as one stage in the development of a national industrial economy. These years of economic, international, and social crisis contributed immensely to the urban industrial expansion and consolidation that had begun as early as 1896 and ended with the transformation of Canada into a modern industrial state in 1930. The war effort stimulated the concentration of capital in large firms and in many cases, accelerated the adoption of advanced technology, while the regulation of industry by business and government opened up new avenues for corporate growth. As these developments unfolded, industrial expansion flourished in certain regions, although, it stagnated in others. By the 1920s, the centralization of capital and industry around large cities like Montreal would contribute to the de-industrialization of the Atlantic provinces. In the west, Winnipeg began to close its domination over the wheat economy and its status as the major western metropolitan centre to Calgary and Edmonton.

The recession of 1913 was triggered by the outbreak of war in the Balkans in 1913.¹⁰⁷ According to Bellan, this "gave rise to panic and foreboding in the capitals of Europe; stock markets reflected the political tension", and, as a result "security prices tumbled, new lending declined sharply, and central banks, notably the Bank of England, raised discount rates to the highest in two decades."¹⁰⁸ Canada rapidly became unfavourable territory for foreign investors, especially in light of the massive federal and provincial bond guarantees that made possible the expansion of such lines as the Grand Trunk and Canadian Northern at total costs that were much higher than the original estimates. The reluctance of British financiers to invest in Canadian industry was

enhanced by the report of a committee appointed to investigate irregularities in the construction of the National Transcontinental Railway, which revealed startling evidence of fraud, negligence and incompetence.¹⁰⁹

The security of capital on foreign markets forced Winnipeg business and government into restraint. Spending on public projects was reduced, creating less demand for building construction and materials and less business for local wholesalers and retailers. Consumers were forced to pay higher prices and rents and many suffered from starvation. Large companies were affected to a lesser degree. Though the reduction of goods and services meant less business for manufacturers and transportation companies, they could practice fiscal restraint by ordering layoffs to cut overhead costs.

Because the recession mainly affected industries related to construction, and because this was primarily related to "the distributed conditions prevailing in the London money markets,"¹¹⁰ it was not a traumatic blow to big business in Winnipeg or in the rest of Canada. The recession, in Bellan's words, "took the form...of a reduction in the rate of expansion" in the economy, "rather than an absolute decline."¹¹¹ On a national scale, this was evident in a reduction in the wave of industrial mergers in Canada during the boom years: the total number of mergers dropped from twenty-two in 1910 to three in 1914.¹¹² This downward trend and the recession itself had little

impact on the ability of large companies to accumulate and consolidate their holdings. Though the value of products increased modestly in Winnipeg manufacturing firms between 1911 and 1915, capital investment nearly trebled, from \$25.8 million to \$73.3 million.¹¹³

When the war broke out in 1914, there were signs of economic recovery. Lower bank rates in Britain early in the year were promising for industries hoping to borrow capital on foreign money markets. Any optimism arising from such trends were shortlived. British capital was siphoned into domestic war production leaving no surplus available for investment in Canada. Soon the war threatened the political economy of the entire national and the fundamentals of national development. In the past, through the outlines of the national policy, the state had played an active role in promoting and protecting urban, rural, and industrial expansion. The war suddenly put an end to rapid domestic economic growth because economic energy was diverted to military needs. The federal government was forced by the war effort to encourage private industry to fulfill these needs, but at the same time, the old methods it had used to stimulate growth, immigration and railroad production, now became liabilities. The rate of immigration fell drastically after the war began, and there was growing fear of the militancy of the Canadian working class: the new transcontinental railway systems became an international embarrassment in financial circles. Having adopted new methods, private industry recovered due to wartime production in certain regions. Prosperity in central Canada and stagnation in the west revived old debates about regional disparities. What was important about consolidation and expansion during these years, was not only the rate of growth, but also the manner in which private industry strengthened itself through re-organization, and the way in which corporate solutions were applied by government to urban industrial problems and vice versa.

Mobilization for war involved a well co-ordinated effort between business and government so that personnel, munitions, food and clothing could be moved efficiently from hinterland to metropolis. The resources can then be shipped to their final destination. In Canada, the firing up of the war machine was facilitated by mechanisms of the National Policy (the tariff and regulative

legislation) which traditionally brought the goals of business and government together. Formerly a means of attaining economic security and competitiveness in peacetime, efficiency through regulation now became essential for the war effort, and private business increasingly turned to the government for support.

The war created a huge demand for staple products and, in a sense, legitimized national policy objectives in the west. Fowke writes, for example,

It became evident, as the crisis of the war became more clearly defined, that the economic development of the West in the tradition of the national policy was not contradictory to the requirements of the new situation but was, on the contrary, of the utmost positive importance to it.¹¹⁴

For a short time, western farmers and grain traders enjoyed a high demand for wheat. Under normal conditions, in times of peace, government and business relied on the market to control prices, but a series of exorbitant increases, combined with a drop in supply, prompted allied governments to institute price fixing policies. In 1917, "an Order in Council established the Board of Grain Supervisors, an agency of the federal government, and endowed it with monopoly control over Canadian wheat."¹¹⁵ Price fixing policies were implemented in the name of the war effort in other industries as well.¹¹⁶

While Canada mobilized for war, residents in Winnipeg and other cities suffered from high rates of inflation and a rise in the cost of living. In many ways, the war prolonged the recession that had began in 1913. Capital was still scarce, construction had ceased.

The City's streets became thronged with unemployed, chiefly men who had hitherto been employed on railway construction, and general construction in Winnipeg and throughout the West. Upon discharge from their jobs, all remained in or headed for Winnipeg, the metropolis and labour distributing centre for Western Canada.¹¹⁷

Against the background of federal regulatory policies, and inspired by a vibrant labour movement, many of Winnipeg's workers came to see profiteering industrialists at the source of their problems. This was one reason for the growing unrest that culminated in the 1919 General Strike in Winnipeg (the others will be discussed along with the specifics of the strike in a different context). By 1919, thousands of workers returned to Winnipeg to find unemployment, inflation, and rising costs. Business faced the unwelcome prospect of a post-war depression. When the strike began in Winnipeg in May 1919, and quickly spread to other urban centres, business associations had already formed to discuss strategies of economic reconstruction. The strike posed a terrifying threat, especially against the background of the Recession revolution, to the resumption of normal economic life. The federal government intervention in the conflict represented among other things, an alliance of local business and federal power - the solution to social problems through corporatist decisions and mechanism developed during World War I.¹¹⁸

The recession of 1913, the First World War, and the post-war depression impeded urban expansion across Canada. Financial stringency made it difficult for cities to acquire loans to support the elaborate public works and beautification projects that had characterized the pre-war boom.

The impact of the conditions of the 1913-1923 period on urban growth in Winnipeg can be seen by comparing Hathaway's Guide and Birds Eye map of 1911 with that prepared by Stovel in 1921. Stovel's map depicts an urban infrastructure and sprawling metropolis that was the product of the boom period. The population of the city had increased moderately from just over 136,000 in 1911 to about 179,000 in 1921.¹¹⁹ In the midst of the war, the population actually declined by as much as 25,000 when Winnipeg men and women joined the armed forces.¹²⁰ Expansion of the city's suburbs was stultified by slow population growth, as well as by a decline in property values outside the core. For the most part, the scarcity of capital meant that public works (a new City Hall planned for 1913) had to be postponed, although several projects like the Legislative Buildings, the aqueduct to Shoal Lake, and the Law Courts Building continued throughout the recession and the war years.¹²¹

The domination of corporatism over civic boosterism had a significant impact on the urban environment. Western "municipal elites and governments lost much of their power, exuberance and innovativeness and eventually were forced to adopt policies of retrenchment."¹²² After the St. Andrews locks were built, the railway boom of the 1910s made river traffic relatively ineffective. After 1914, Winnipeg "had become a railway city and its rivers, the sole natural adornment of the prairie city, were left in slattern neglect" by local businessmen.¹²³ The "earlier enthusiasm for a great inland navigation system was completely lost by 1914."¹²⁴ In the 1920s, one member of the commercial elite lamented the lack of public spirited citizenship and leadership in Winnipeg's business community:

Winnipeg lacks leadership. It is [in 1925] in that state of its development when those old stalwarts who put Winnipeg on the map and took part in its great development which culminated in 1912, have either retired to a well-earned rest or settled in some other part of the world.

...During the last ten years it has been impossible for the younger men to come forward and take their places; thus Winnipeg has been passing through a critical period in her history when she very much lacked leadership, and in this connection, I would like to say that one of the difficulties of the Winnipeg Board of Trade has been to obtain the support of the younger business men of the city the bulk of whom are to be found in various Service Clubs.... [These men] neglect the larger sphere of promoting the commercial and business prosperity of the city; and that is the primary function of the Board of Trade. In fact, the Board of Trade is the only body whose first business is to look after the city's commercial progress. I sometimes think the various members of our Service Clubs fail to realize how important it is to the city that they get behind the Winnipeg Board of Trade if Winnipeg is to maintain its supremacy and grow industrially as it should.¹²⁵

These qualities, which once characterized the civic booster, were missing in a new core of urban leaders who sought corporate progress through foreign trade or through linkages with federal and provincial governments. The erosion of local autonomy was typified by the efforts of Winnipeg to have the federal

government (which had taken over the Canadian Northern) to move the head office of the railway from Toronto to Winnipeg in 1917.

Corporatism in an international context contributed to the removal from Winnipeg's domination over its western hinterland. Improvements in transportation made it possible for cities to compete with each other for trade, commerce, and industry just as companies within in city competed for profits. Once the Panama Canal opened up a new route for grain shipments in 1914, Vancouver "emerged as a major competitor for grain and merchandise traffic."¹²⁶ At the same time freight rate reductions from Vancouver to inland destination allowed it to compete with Winnipeg for Alberta and Saskatchewan bound traffic,¹²⁷ "where hitherto Winnipeg jobbers had enjoyed a freight rate advantage."¹²⁸ The growth of automobile transport made rural areas less dependent on the urban metropolis:

The increased use of automobiles enabled farmers to shop in larger centres; loss of patronage by small town merchants to city stores as well as to the mail order houses forced many into bankruptcy, thereby in turn imposing pressure on the Winnipeg wholesale houses which had given them credit and relied upon their patronage.¹²⁹

Taken together with the financial crisis during the war, all these developments had serious implications for the survival of independent railway companies in the west.

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Cities, and particularly the great metropolitan cities of modern times, so far as they can be regarded as the product of wit and design rather than the effect of natural forces, are, with all their complexities and artificialities, man's most imposing creation, the most prodigious of human artifacts. We must conceive of our cities, therefore, not merely as centers of population, but as workshops of civilization, and, at the same time, as the natural habitat of civilized man.

Robert Park ¹

Confronted with this notion, a bold and farsighted visitor arriving at the Forks in the early 1870s might have thought the Red River settlement an appropriate place for the growth of civilization. Vestiges of the fur trade and rural life still dominated the landscape. The buildings of the original Selkirk settlers were located at Point Douglas. The stone walls and round turrets of Upper Fort Garry loomed above the flat horizon near the Forks, at the center of a small built environment that sustained the various agricultural and commercial activities of the fur trade. But, between these two settlements, the small wooden buildings of the village of Winnipeg comprised a newer built environment that was fashioned by the free traders for their own commercial and financial needs. In the 1870s and 1880s, under the auspices of the National Policy and the intercolonial railway, this village grew rapidly into a city that absorbed the Forks and redefined its role in the local economy.

I. Before the Metropolis

Land ownership was of critical importance in shaping urban and industrial growth in sparsely populated localities like the Forks. In eastern Canada development followed on the heels of expanding towns and of private property relationships that were created within them and around their hinterland: these were the foundations of trade and commerce that, together with the influences of British colonial contact, laid the basis for an industrial capitalist economy. In the West, before the metropolis came into being at the Forks, the vast territory in the northwest was tenuously controlled by the

HBC, whose fur trade was dependent on thousands of miles of unpopulated land abundant with fur bearing animals. Granted and held under a royal charter, the HBC's economic role in the North-West had been established as a monopoly. A series of fur trade forts located at various strategic points along the rivers that emptied into Hudson Bay were evidence of its presence in a domain that was inhabited only by nomadic Indian tribes. These forts also functioned as para-military outposts, because, in the absence of governmental institutions and state control, the protection of HBC rights in the territory was its own concern. The company frequently used frontier justice to repel transgressing competitors and to discipline its own servants.

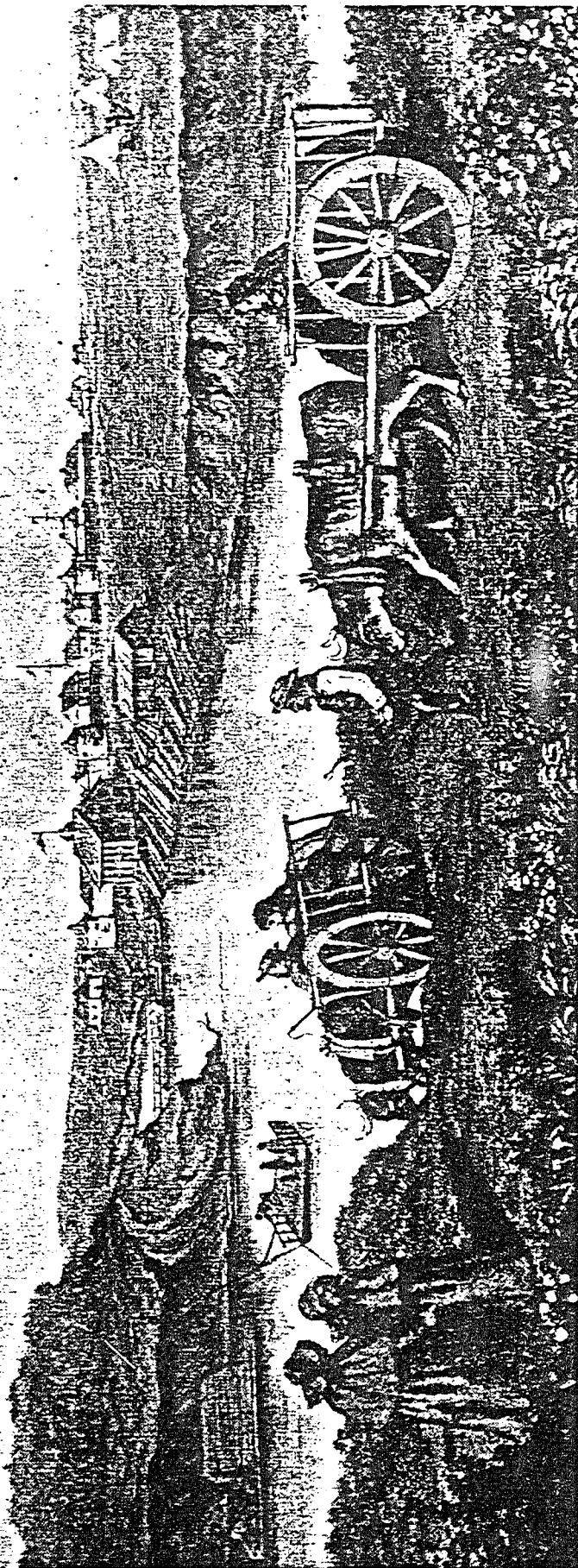
The HBC was unable to maintain control of the entirety of the northwest territory. HBC land rights had been established under Indian treaties and were defined in British corporate law as "clear titles". Indians and Metis were able to control valuable portions of hunting and fishing territory because land could be acquired "in common" - by possession if it was left vacant or unattended.² One economist has aptly described the relationship between the HBC and non-HBC personnel as one in which the company's posts were "islands among... tribal hunting ranges" and pockets of European settlements.³ The HBC had

established tentative and fragmentary claims to property in land within the pickets about its posts, to fenced and planted fields around them, and to pastures in the company's "horse-guards". The fields were often trampled, horses on occasion stolen from the horse-guards, and a post left empty, torn down by people who had no notion of exclusive and permanent property rights in land or the other gifts of the Great Spirit.⁴

In the northwest "outsiders ... could gain access to ... lands by friendship or by force" and "use the riches that they offered."⁵ Metis, Indians, travellers, and missionaries "could and did pitch their camps or build their cabins wherever they saw fit outside the range of raids by hostile groups."⁶

The practice of holding land in common was not the only challenge to HBC authority in the northwest. At the turn of the nineteenth century river lots were granted to the Selkirk settlers for agriculture, and as early as "the 1820s private trade began between Red River and American fur trade posts when settlers and Indians began ignoring HBC fur trading rights and St. Paul on the Mississippi to handle the Red River Trade,"⁷ and by the "end of the 1840's this transport system was carrying furs valued at about \$20,000 annually."⁸ The American Fur Company was followed by other U.S. trading companies which sprang up at Pembina and the North-South connection became stronger as American railway lines began to stretch further west across the continent. In the late 1850s wagons and Red River carts made regular trips from Fort Garry to St. Paul.⁹ The route had become so practical that even the HBC used it to ship supplies to its forts and trading posts in the interior. The increase of trade in the 1850s inspired St. Paul merchants to sponsor the construction of a steamboat to navigate the Red and Saskatchewan River systems. The arrival of this boat, the S.S. Anson Northup, ushered in a new era of trade when it arrived at Red River in May, 1859. Throughout the 1860s products such as cast-iron stoves and agricultural machinery were shipped from the United States to the settlement by boat and cart, and with the increase in trade came an influx of American free traders.¹⁰

Groups of American and Canadian free traders settled near Upper Fort Garry at the Forks. Portions of the original Selkirk settlers river lots had been "sold and subdivided among settlers descendants or newcomers," and by the 1860s some of these landholders, "such as AGB Bannatyne and Henry McKenny, used their holdings for business pursuits."¹¹ Others like E.L. Barber, Andrew McDermot, and John C. Schultz "dealt solely in land from a revenue point of view."¹² The Canadian group, "aggressive Ontarians who had seen the methods of speculation in the Boom of 1857," intended to "apply the methods to the northwestern frontier of the 1860s,"¹³ and were hostile to both the HBC and the system of common ownership that had traditionally governed property rights in the North-West. By the 1860s, Canadian settlers at Red River had begun to institute new forms of ownership based on squatter's right, rather than on common occupancy.¹⁴ The Nor'Wester, for example, argued that this form of



SUBJECT The Forks: Post 1870.

SOURCE Provincial Archives of Manitoba

RESTRICTIONS

CAPTION This painting of Fort Garry by W.F. Lynn illustrates the role of the Red River carts and the importance of river travel in the period before the metropolis. Early trade and commerce in the area, including the village of Winnipeg, took place primarily at the Forks.

REMARKS Though the photograph of the painting is dated 1875, it is more likely that the depiction is of the Forks prior to 1872, since the immigrant sheds are not illustrated. This photograph also appears in Guinn, "The Red-Assiniboine Junction," p. 283.

DATE c.1872.

land tenure was "precisely the same with the new comer as it was with the Hudson's Bay Company - you hold as much as you occupy and no more."¹⁵ While the pronouncements of the Canadian at Red River were irritating to the HBC, they were also perceived by Indians and Metis as a threat to their land and treaty rights. Rumours that the Canadians intended to drive out the Indians the Metis raised fears that immigration and a land boom would destroy an entire way of life.¹⁶

Unwanted competition, immigration, settlement, and agriculture posed a threat to the fur trade and to the indigenous peoples who worked as freighters and tripmen for the HBC, or who depended solely on hunting and fishing for their sustenance. The rise of industry and the growth of towns and cities would destroy the wilderness and harm the fur trade, yet this scenario gave inspiration to the speeches of the proponents of western economic development in central Canada.

Acquisition of HBC territory in the northwest was essential if Confederation west of the Canadian Shield was to become a reality. Accordingly, the Canadian government began to discuss with Britain the possibilities of procuring land held under the royal charter issued to the HBC.

Among the indigenous peoples of Red River, news of an impending land transfer was greeted with anxiety, and rumours that Indian and Metis landholdings were in jeopardy seemed to be justified by the arrival of Canadian government surveyors in 1869.¹⁷ In October of that year, the Metis, led by Louis Riel, turned away the survey party at St. Vital, then crossed the Assiniboine River near the Forks and captured Upper Fort Garry. Opposition to the resistance of the Metis came from William McDougall, the appointed lieutenant-governor of the North-West Territories, who proclaimed the transfer of HBC territory of Rupert's Land to Canada and the beginning of his governorship. When it was learned that the transfer had not taken place, the Canadians at Red River attempted, but failed to wrest power from Riel. The struggle between the Canadians and the Metis at Red River continued throughout



SUBJECT The Forks: Post 1870.

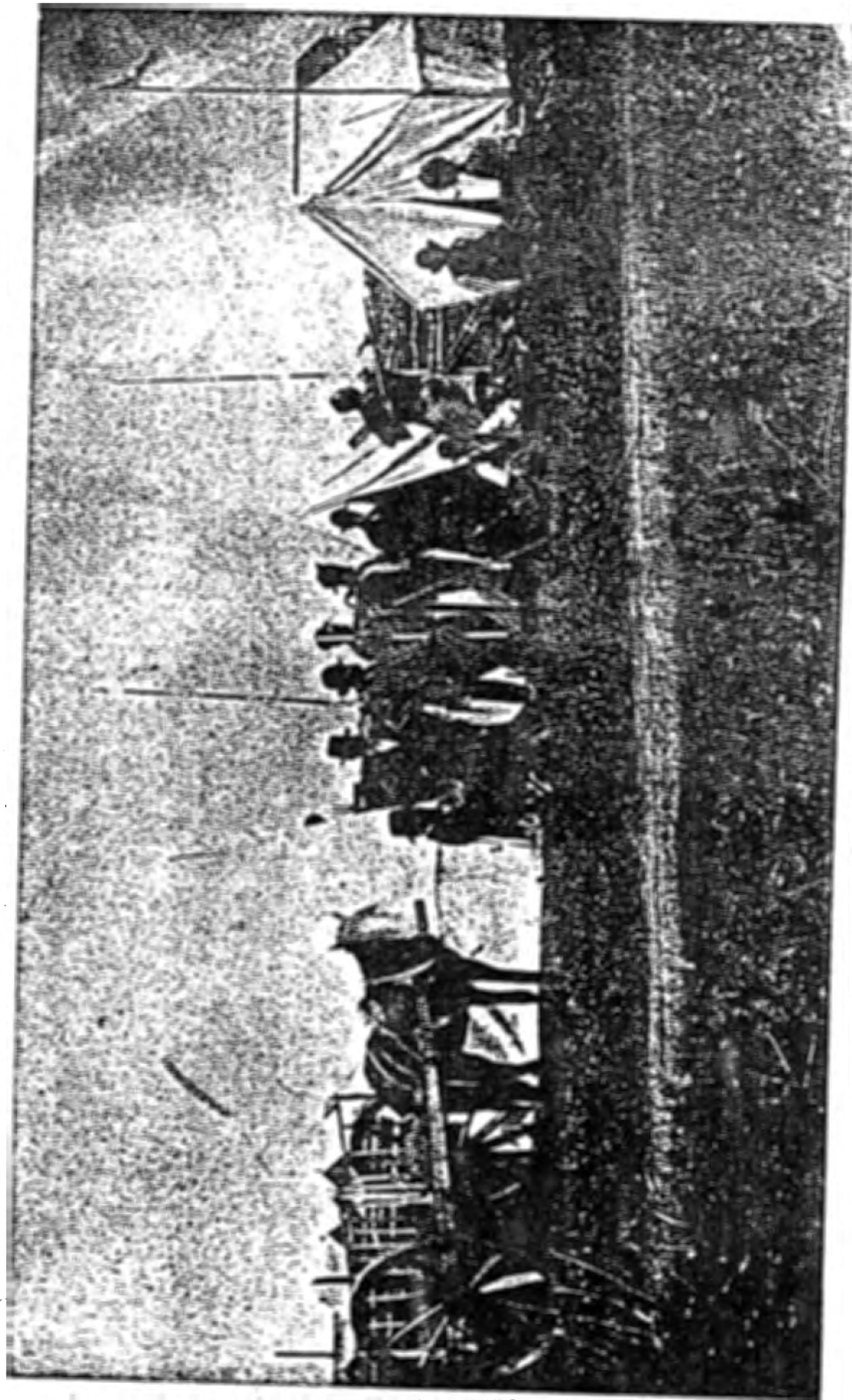
SOURCE Provincial Archives of Manitoba

RESTRICTIONS

CAPTION Louis Riel.

REMARKS

DATE 1870.



SUBJECT The Forks: Post 1870.

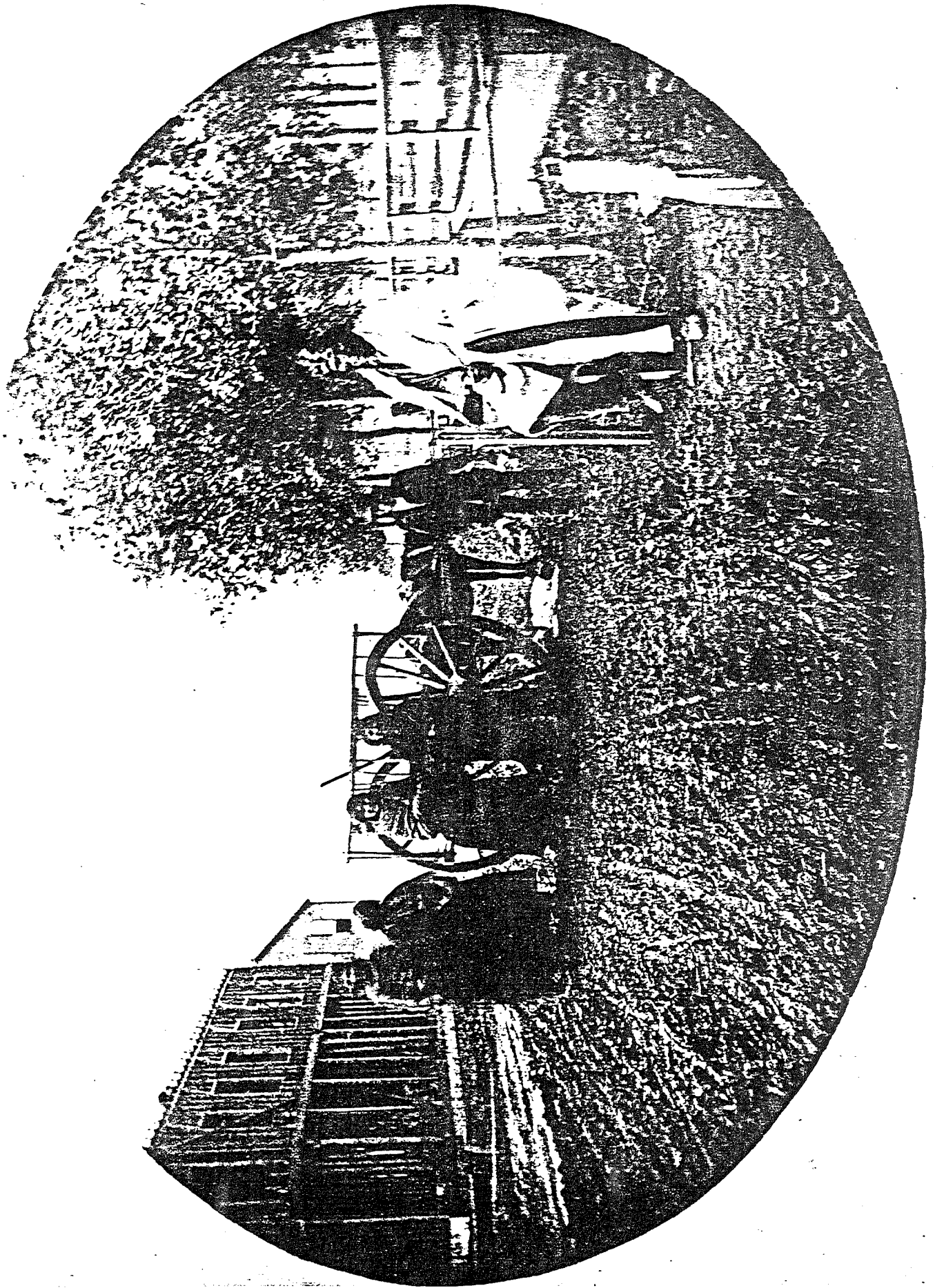
SOURCE Provincial Archives of Manitoba

RESTRICTIONS

CAPTION Survey party on Main Street. The appearance of survey parties around Winnipeg after 1870 exemplified the significance of real estate in a changing economic infrastructure, one in which native and metis land claims were removed by legal and illegal mechanisms.

REMARKS

DATE 1871.



SUBJECT

The Forks: Post 1870.

SOURCE

Provincial Archives of Manitoba

RESTRICTIONS

CAPTION

In the aftermath of the land transfer and Manitoba's entry into Confederation, many Indians and Metis were displaced from their lands around the Red River settlement.

REMARKS

DATE

c1881.

the winter of 1869-1870, while negotiations went on between the Hudson's Bay Company, the Federal Government, and the Metis, and culminated dramatically in the killing of Thomas Scott in March 1870. In May, the Manitoba Act gave the Red River territory provincial status under Confederation. Henceforth, the region would be subject to federal and provincial law: the federal government acquired control over "public lands and natural resources" which were distributed in units to the Metis and retained for railway and settlement land grants. The arrival of the troops of the Wolseley expedition in the summer of 1870 asserted federal military control of the region.¹⁸

The Riel resistance of 1869-70 was a turning point in the history of the Red River settlement. The occupation of the Fort testified to its importance in the area as "the real seat of administration of both the District of Assiniboia"¹⁹ and the HBC. What was important from the view of metropolitan growth was that it brought Manitoba into Confederation and the National Policy to the West. As soon as Manitoba's provincial status was assured, a political and legal institutional infrastructure was established close to the Forks to the benefit of the inhabitants nearby, and it contributed to the maturation of a commercial town economy primarily through the redistribution of land. Federal and provincial laws were designed to remove the Metis and Indians from their holdings, so that real estate could be made available for settlement and railway grants.²⁰ The old system of common lands and territorial rights gave way to the predominance of real estate and fluctuating land values. The land speculators around Fort Garry in the 1860s had to contend with the HBC and with the logic of common ownership, but the entry of Manitoba into Confederation made the sale of land a legitimate business. The land around the Forks and the village of Winnipeg became a commodity.

The suddenness of this transformation, and the impact it had on metropolitan growth can be seen in the evolution of the built environment at the Forks and the town of Winnipeg at the time of the Riel resistance. In 1870 the Forks was still at the heart of the Red River settlement because of the HBC's old economic role in the Red River Valley. Since 1858, when "the extension of the western railhead to the Mississippi revolutionized the

importation of goods to the North-West,"²¹ Fort Garry had functioned as an entrepot for the HBC fur trade. In the aftermath of the HBC land transfer, Upper Fort Garry acquired a new role as the seat of the provincial government. The Fort served as headquarters for the military population stationed at the settlement. As many as 300 troops of the Wolseley Expedition were stationed briefly at the Fort in the summer of 1870, then were replaced by Ontario militia until 1872 when the Osborne barracks were built.²² These troops purchased their goods and services in Winnipeg, a settlement of approximately 100 hotel owners, saloonkeepers, millers, general storekeepers, post office clerks, and road overseers who had established themselves as close as possible to the locus of trade in the area, the HBC store.²³ The HBC flats at this time still functioned as a place where Indian and white trading parties camped briefly to trade at the Fort and at Winnipeg.

One of the most striking features of the Red River settlement in the early 1870s was the domination of the natural over the built environment. Photographs, paintings and maps of the period depict a rural frontier where Upper Fort Garry and the village of Winnipeg appear as islands of civilization on the open prairie landscape. Settlement had not produced major alterations to the physical features of the area. A system of dirt roads connected Winnipeg and Fort Garry to traditional overland routes but these did not disrupt the creeks that drained from the Red. In addition, because of the relatively small population and the HBC reserves, a good deal of land lay vacant around the Forks and between Winnipeg and the rivers.²⁴

II. Early Metropolitan Formation

In the early 1870s the village off Winnipeg was located about one mile northwest of the Forks. A resident described village infrastructure at the time of the Riel resistance:

We had no bank, no insurance office, no lawyers, only one doctor, no City Council, only one policeman, no taxes - nothing but freedom and, though lacking several other - so called - advantages of civilization, we were, to say the

least of it, tolerably virtuous and unmistakably happy. Mr. James Mulligan, one of our largest property holders at the present time in the city was the last policeman under Hudson's Bay Company sway....The Jail and Court House at the time was a small log building just outside the wall of Fort Garry, and was far from being a very secure place of confinement for prisoners. There was one church, a very small one, "Holy Trinity," which then consisted of what is now the small wing of the old abandoned church.²⁵

The bank in the Red River Settlement was the HBC, which "received money on deposit and issued notes in denominations of one shilling, one pound, and five pound."²⁶ By 1871, the emergence of new financial institutions was already underway, when two members of the Wolseley expedition, W. Alloway and H. Champion began dealing in Metis scrip, then in tax certificates, and later "pioneered the small loan business in Winnipeg."²⁷ In a social context transformation was evident in the emergence of new institutions in Winnipeg which reflected the presence of Ontarian cultural traditions and the arrival of the military: in December 1870, for example, "the first performance of the Ontario Rifles, Musical and Dramatic Association was given" in the town.²⁸

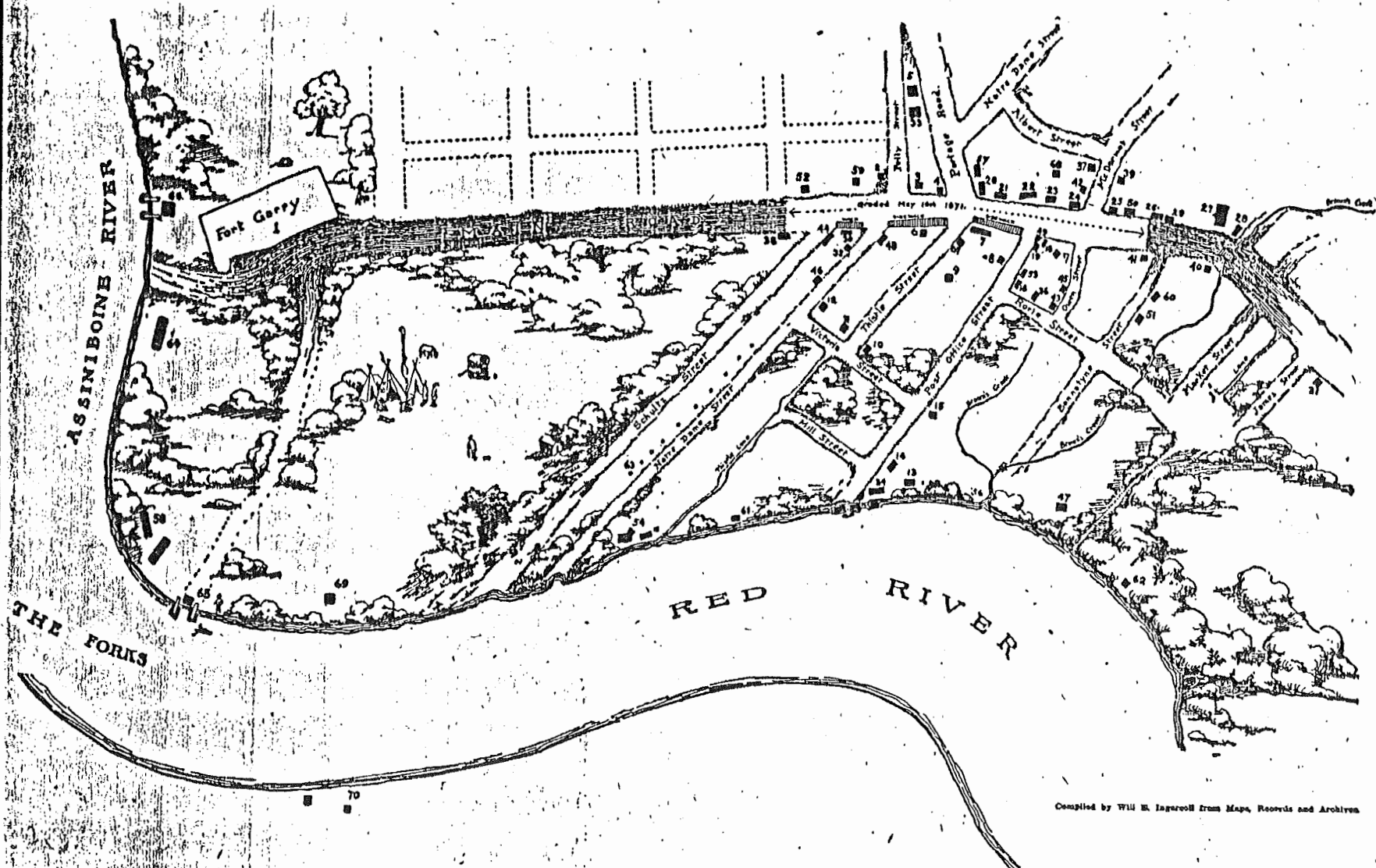
The Riel Resistance inadvertently stimulated the growth of this small population. Many soldiers of the Wolseley Expedition left Upper Fort Garry in late 1870 and returned to Ontario with stories of a western frontier that was waiting to be settled. Others chose to settle on farms near Red River.²⁹ In Ontario, prospective settlers who were encouraged to travel west, were also reassured by the promise of an intercontinental railway and the establishment of Canadian law and order at the settlement. In 1871 and 1872 hundreds of people poured into Red River from Ontario, while others trickled in from Quebec, the Maritimes, the United States, and Great Britain.³⁰ Many of the people who came to Winnipeg in these early years were land seekers who had witnessed the westward expansion of American railroads and were further encouraged by the Dominion Railway Act of 1872, which, if implemented, would cause land values at Red River to soar.³¹ Even the HBC made preparations to put some of its land near the Forks up for auction.³² As a result of this boom, the population of Winnipeg grew from a village of 100 to a town of 1,467 between 1870 and 1872.³³ In 1870 Upper Fort Garry and Winnipeg had existed as

separate entities, but by 1872 they had already begun to merge as some of the townspeople illegally took up residence on HBC land near the Forks.³⁴

During the early 1870s, Winnipeg's population was a reflection of the pre-industrial and commercial character of the frontier economy. At the time of the real estate boom of 1871-1872 residents of the town were engaged primarily in commercial or agricultural occupations, although some small handicraft producers also existed. A map of Winnipeg in 1872 depicted buildings owned by free traders in furs, storekeepers, saloonkeepers, post office clerks, hotel owners, agricultural implement dealers, newspaper publishers, ferrymen, and blacksmiths. The HBC employed no more than fifteen servants. Others who worked in its store and warehouse were hired from the Red River settlement.³⁵ In addition, many of the real estate agents who came during the boom remained permanently. As the city expanded in the mid-1870s, other merchants, businessmen, real estate agents, small-scale manufacturers, and bankers set up businesses in Winnipeg. Skilled artisans found employment in local carriage works, flour and saw mills, livery stables, blacksmith shops, and breweries that had sprung up by late in the decade.³⁶ A small but essential number of professionals provided legal and medical services for the city. Many of these people brought few resources with them, in the form of craftsmen's tool kits, limited personal wealth, or simply the knowledge and energy that was often required to set up small business.

The organization of the built environment also reflected the predominance of natural landforms over the community. Winnipeg was a cluster of 73 buildings in 1872 most of which were commercial, residential, and artisanal establishments, (unsegregated by their function in the town) located near the town's main road. The only industrial buildings were located closer to the banks of the Red River. The importance of the river to this community was evident from the vigorous trading activity that carried on throughout the 1870s. Steamboats and barges regularly docked at landings along the banks to unload cargoes of foodstuffs and other supplies or to secure log booms near Winnipeg's sawmills. Begg and Nursey commented on the appearance of the river in Winnipeg's early years:

LOCATION AND IDENTITY OF BUILDINGS IN VILLAGE OF WINNIPEG, 1872



Compiled by Will E. Ingersoll from Maps, Records and Archives

The above chart shows the location of the buildings, public and private, in the village of Winnipeg proper (the centre of which was then, as it is now, the corner of Main and Taylor streets) in 1872. The noted buildings adjoining the village, to the north—but not in the village—do not appear in the chart and should be mentioned here. These were Manitoba College and the first Winnipeg public school, which stood not far from the present site of the C.P.R. buildings. The buildings shown have been carefully checked and their positions verified by old-time residents of Winnipeg. They are: 1, Fork Garry; 2, Dominion Lands office; 3, Wm. Boyer's building; 4, Red School; 5, Holy Trinity church; 6, Brian Dobbin's restaurant; 7, Red River hall or, as it was sometimes called, McDermott's Row; 8, O. Manohamy's hotel; 9, Garrett Heaver; 10, Indian Department; 11, Customs House; 12, Roman Catholic convent; 13, Andrew McDermott's windmill; 14, Andrew McIntyre's residence; 15, A.G.B. Bannatyne's residence; 16 and 17, Bannatyne's store and sail warehouse; 18, McKenny block, the first building erected in the village of Winnipeg; 19, White saloon, kept by McIntyre and McIntyre (afterwards holder of McIntyre block); 20, Davis hotel, formerly kept by George Kinsolving; 21, John Higgins' store; 22, P. Gingras' building; 23, W. J. Lyons; 24, Henry Couture's butcher store; 25, J. H. Ashford; 26, Dr. (afterwards Sir John) Robitaille's drug store; 27, Free Press office; 28, the Good Templars' hall, in which were the offices of the News Letter, Dr. Schultz' newspaper, and the Manitoba Liberal; 29, Knox church; 30, steamboat landing and small warehouse; 31, gut-boat stores on river, near levee; 32, side of the government newspaper, the Manitoba; 33, Theo. Lusted's blacksmith shop; 34, Grace church; 35, Wm. Harvey's livery stable; 36, A. M. Brown & Co's building; 37, Dr. Curtis J. Bird's building; 38, A. Sturz's residence (Mr. Sturz was then a clerk in Bannatyne's store); 39, John Harkett's bakery; 40, brick block erected by Dr. Schultz; 41, Robert Stalker's harness shop; 42, Royal Canadian (later Brown's) hotel; 43, old Rose house, residence of William Goldswail, editor of the Manitoba; 44, Lyster Hayward's auctioneer; 45, W. Palmer Clark's general store; 46, Alfred Boy's store; 47, Bernard R. Ross block; 48, shop shared by Wm. Chambers, gunsmith, and Geo. D. Northrup, jeweller and watchmaker; 49, "Pride of the West" mill; 50, W. J. Macaulay's lumber mill, Ross's boarding house, and office; 51, old lumber down cardery bridge across Brown's Creek, which crossed Main street at this point; 52, Brown's Creek; 53, Merchants' hotel; 54, immigration sheds; 55, Alex. McMillan's bank; 56, Alex. Deane's soda water factory; 57, Drs. A. Dunning's sawmill; 58, residence of Duncan Blackie, surveyor; 59, group of residences, including—reading from the river—those of John Johnston II, Hodges, Theo. Collins, Geo. E. Fairbairn, James Lewis (city waterman), Matthew Davis, blacksmith; Theo. Johnson, ferryman; Reta Spencer, driver John Kennedy, registrar; Wm. McGowan, Ass. Dunlop, ship employe; Free Press, and Stewart McIntyre; 60, Hudson's Bay company steamboat warehouse; 61, ferry from Mt. Rosifoon; 62, ferry across Assiniboine; 63, Thiel's store; 64, John Higgins' residence; 65, General hospital (moved from centre of village down to this point about end of 1871); 66, St. Boniface cathedral and college.

SUBJECT The Forks: Post 1870.

SOURCE National Map Collection

RESTRICTIONS

CAPTION

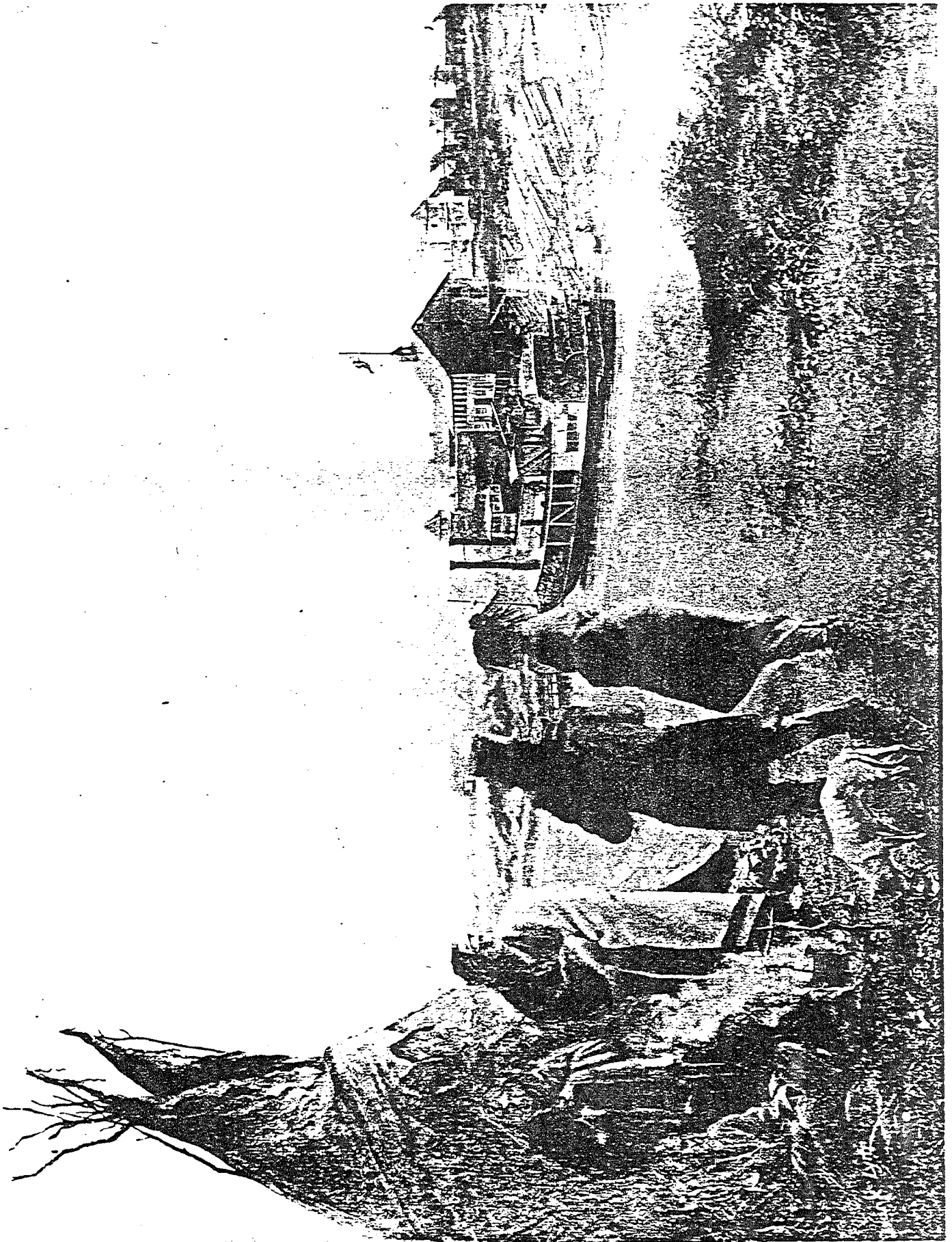
Before the metropolis the Forks is at the center of the Red River settlement, while the village of Winnipeg has grown as a trading settlement on the edge of the HBCo.'s land.

REMARKS

This map appears in Artibise and Dahl, Winnipeg in Maps/Winnipeg par les cartes, p.12.

DATE

1872



SUBJECT The Forks: Post 1870.

SOURCE Provincial Archives of Manitoba

RESTRICTIONS

CAPTION The Forks as an entrepot in the West in 1873.

REMARKS

DATE 1873.

the banks of the river, opposite the city, usually presented a lively appearance during the summer months, on account of the numerous flat-boatmen who carried on a trade with the housekeepers and others of the town. Indeed the river had a very celestial sort of appearance from the fact that a number of floating stores, which, Chinese-like, did business at the levee....³⁷

The passage of the Manitoba Act in 1870 brought the Forks and the village of Winnipeg into the sphere of an emerging industrial state. Not only was the Forks made the temporary seat of provincial government, it was also chosen by federal authorities as the site for its institutions such as the Dominion Immigrant Sheds. Construction of these facilities in 1871-1872 were physical evidence of National Policy priorities at Red River; they were among the first of the state owned institutions in the area. As such they gave credence to official predictions that Western settlement and trade and commerce would spring up around the Forks. In a more concrete fashion, the Immigrant Sheds became a focus for an early town planning movement, while their actual construction created a demand for an artisanal labour force.

Most immigrants to Manitoba arrived by steamboat at Fort Garry until the completion of the first railways in Winnipeg during the late 1870s and early 1880s. The Forks became a major disembarkation point for travellers throughout this period by virtue of the importance of the HBC and Fort Garry at Red River in the years preceding the Incorporation of Winnipeg. The boom of 1870-1872 created a demand for better facilities. At the time newcomers to Winnipeg were able to find accommodation either in commercially owned establishments such as local hotels or in the small immigration hall set up in the 'Theatre Royal'.³⁸ In 1871, Ottawa authorities were made aware of the need for more adequate accommodations. In his annual report for 1871, G. McMicken outlined a proposal for the construction of an immigration shed near Fort Garry:

In view of the expected immigration this year, and which will most probably set in early, I would recommend that a

building be erected in the neighbourhood of Fort Garry for the reception of families of the settlers on their arrival; at present there is no accommodation or shelter of any kind which they can procure. The building might be in length 150 feet and in width 30 feet. This divided into thirty compartments would afford temporary accommodation for at least thirty families at a time. There should also be ten or more cooking stoves provided and placed in temporary sheds contiguous to the building. Families should have permission to occupy the space or compartment allotted to them for a certain time, to be defined; this sufficient to afford the head of the family an opportunity to select and determine upon his location for settlement.³⁹

McMicken's choice was opposed by the commercial interests in Winnipeg who wanted the sheds located closer to the village.⁴⁰ In Spring 1872, R.A. Davis and John Norquay drafted letters to the Department of Public Works in protest, but McMicken, "a sympathizer for the interests of the Hudson's Bay Company"⁴¹ defended his choice by arguing that the "parties who objected [to the choice] are laughed at."⁴²

In March 1872, plans were drawn for the immigration sheds and the Immigration Branch received funds of \$9,000 through order in council for the project.⁴³ In July, "temporary sheds", probably the cooking facilities mentioned in McMicken's report of 1871, were completed at a cost of \$600.⁴⁴ The main building was constructed in August for \$2,945 by John H. Bell. Except for its exact dimensions (it measured 180' x 121' rather than 30' x 150'), the building closely resembled that described by McMicken a year earlier. There were 30 compartments for families, each measuring 10' x 12'.⁴⁵ According to the architects specifications, it is clear that the Immigration Branch intended to have a well constructed facility, which was a reflection of the government's attitude towards the value of making a lasting impression on newcomers to the northwest. The structure was to be constructed "in the best manner" and with the finest of materials. The superstructure was of undressed timber with shingled roofs (see appendix for further details). Because the region was inaccessible to immigration in the winter, no provisions were made for anything other than earthen floors.⁴⁶ The cooking houses were equipped with brick chimneys and tin flues. Water closets were also constructed

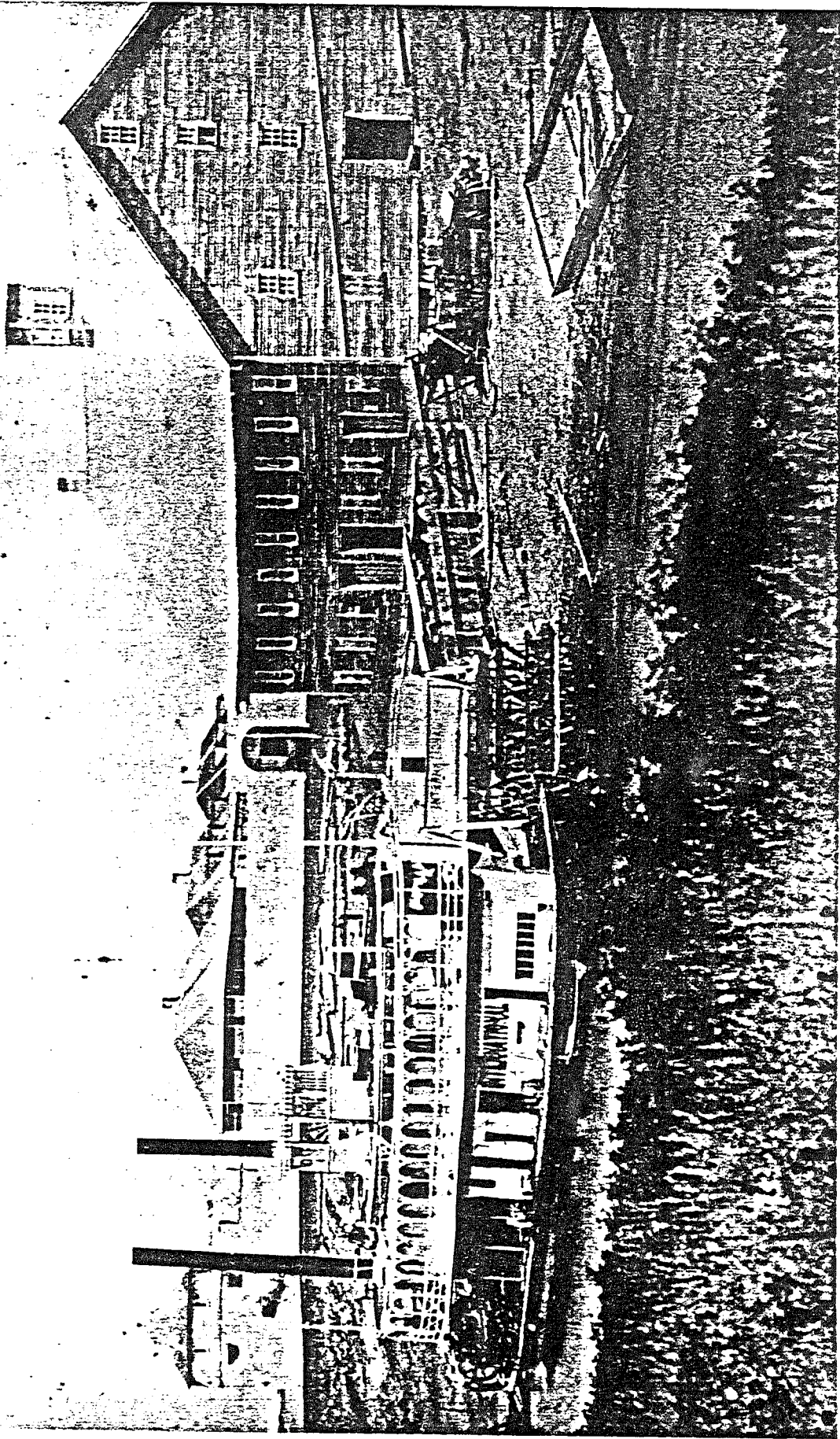
nearby. The finished sheds were described as follows in the Manitoba Gazette and Trade Review:

This shed, situated at the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers has been completed and is a good substantial looking building, containing a number of rooms having separate entrances, and just comfortable enough for a temporary residence without giving any inducement for a prolonged stay, as is often the case in some instances. The cook houses are detached from the main building, so that there is no danger from fire. The interior of the shed is nicely whitewashed and the outside is painted a stone colour. The whole design is good and the arrangement as perfect as possible.⁴⁷

In autumn, 1872, the Immigration Branch authorized construction of another shed. According to Rodger Guinn, "there is little information on the design or specifications of the second shed," but "one might assume that it was probably similar to the first one."⁴⁸ A contemporary described the sheds in 1876 as being located "near the mouth of the Assiniboine" and comprising "two separate ranges, capable of accommodating four or five hundred persons."⁴⁹ John Parr's 1874 'Plan of the City of Winnipeg,' however, depicts only one long rectangular structure (labelled 'emigrant sheds') at the Forks, east of the HBC warehouse.⁵⁰

Changes at the Forks in the early 1870s were also the product of a broad strategy undertaken by the HBC to protect its commercial trade. Under increasing competitive pressure in the northwest and as a result of the decline of the fur trade monopoly in central Canada, the HBC had begun to modernize by centralizing and streamlining its operations as early as the 1850s and 1860s. The land transfer intensified the need to adapt to the changes in commerce, transportation, and private property.

Re-organization of the HBC's corporate structure has a dramatic effect on its economic activities at the Forks in the 1870s. During the early and mid-1870s the Company began to expand its retail trade. The retail store at Upper Fort Garry was renovated in 1871,⁵¹ and later other retail buildings were constructed on Main Street north of Broadway. These retail operations



SUBJECT The Forks: Post 1870.

SOURCE Provincial Archives of Manitoba

RESTRICTIONS

CAPTION The steamer 'International' docked at the HBCo.s warehouse, which was built in 1872 in order to accommodate the increase in river traffic along the Red during the early 1870s.

REMARKS This photograph also appears in Guinn, "The Red-Assiniboine Junction", p. 289.

DATE 1872.

confirmed the HBC's identity in Winnipeg as a "branch operation and an important agent for distribution."⁵² A warehouse was built southeast of the Fort on the HBC's vacant reserve land to accommodate the steamboat traffic on the Red River before local Customs agents promoted construction of a warehouse in the town of Winnipeg:

The erection of the warehouse on the levee at Fort Garry, was a necessity for our own transport business apart from the profit arising there from on outside work. Had we not put these buildings up the Customs House authorities would have induced other parties to do so opposite Winnipeg where we would have been obliged to enter our goods there at heavy cash disbursement for storage and expense of teaming, besides which all the steamboat and other business would have been carried half a mile away from us and left the fort in an isolated position where it would have been useless to continue carrying on any sort of general business.⁵³

In 1877-78 the warehouse was moved north away from the river to avoid flooding. Apart from being a symbol of HBC adaptation to change in the regional economy, the construction of the warehouse exemplified the role of the Forks at Winnipeg and Upper Fort Garry. The warehouse established the Forks as an important distribution point for the community, since most goods were transported down the Red, unloaded at the levee and then transported to the town. The Red and Assiniboine Rivers were the most important transportation routes in the 1870s, and this form of transportation became a key factor in modernizing the Company. The costs of conventional means of shipping provisions to the interior and of extracting furs increased in the mid-nineteenth century. Voyageurs began to demand higher prices, desertion and losses of outfits became more common. After the maiden voyage of the Anson Northup in 1859 and its purchase shortly thereafter, the HBC began to build riverboats capable of navigating the interior river systems. With its "policy of maintaining a controlling interest in rival transportation concerns" the Company was able to secure a monopoly over river transport on the Red River until 1878.⁵⁴ This added to its unpopularity among citizens of Winnipeg in the 1870s because the steamboats docked at Fort Garry, forcing

local merchants to travel several miles to pick up their goods. On May 10, 1872 the first boat of the season arrived at Winnipeg:

The arrival of the first boat was...looked upon as an event, because with it, generally, came a revival of business, and a happy deliverance from the winter months...all the boats landed freight and passengers at Fort Garry, much to the annoyance of the merchants.⁵⁵

The appearance of the Selkirk, at St. Paul riverboat in 1872 resulted in a drop in freight rates and the amalgamation of the HBC and Hull, Briggs and Co., the owner of the Selkirk, in the Red River Transportation Company.⁵⁶ Despite the rate reduction, many merchants believed that the St. Paul/HBC monopoly of steamboat traffic deprived Winnipeg of trade and commerce:

Probably the greatest drawback to the commerce of that region has been - and indeed continues to be - the high cost of transportation to and from it. This high cost has been mainly caused by the steamboat monopoly upon the Red River. This steamboat company has the sole transport of goods and passengers between Fort Garry and Moorehead, the point where the Northern Pacific Railway crosses the Red River; and its rates of freight have been such as to enable it to declare last year a dividend of eighty per cent, upon its stock. Being a St. Paul organization, the company arranged this tariff to discriminate in favour of that city, which drove Winnipeg merchants to purchase heavy goods in St. Paul.⁵⁷

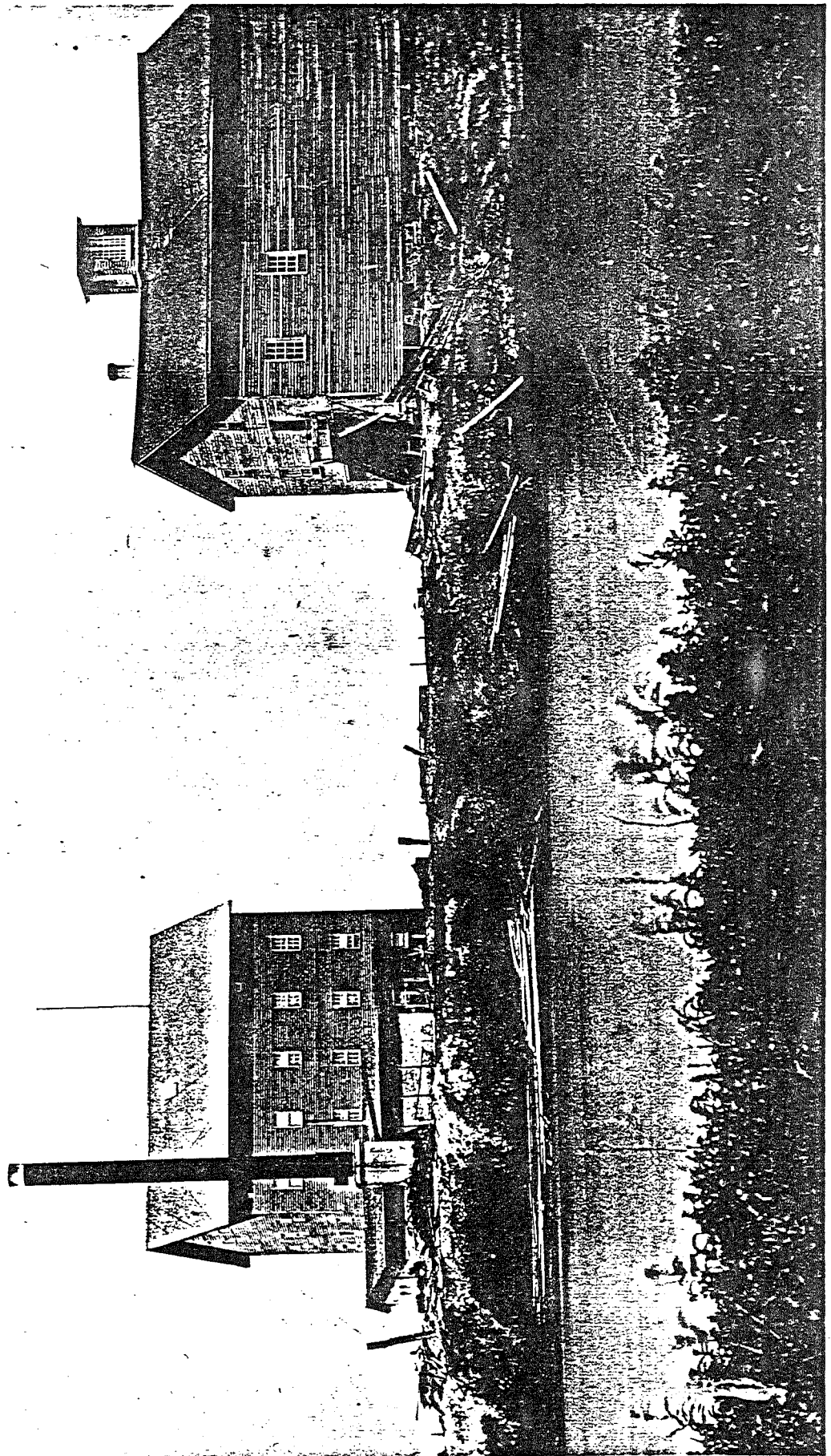
All complaints against the Red River Transportation company aside, it was under this monopoly that local merchants expanded and modernized their businesses before the arrival of the railway. Winnipeg's first fire engines, printing presses, factory equipment, and dry goods shipments were all made boat and unloaded in front of the HBC warehouse at the Forks. Local traffic used a ferry crossing at Upper Fort Garry on the Assiniboine and at St. Boniface on the Red River until bridges were built on Main St. and on Broadway Avenue. One of the ferries was described as "a curious looking contrivance, half wharf, one third scow, and the remainder raft."⁵⁸ The ferry had

a capacity for carrying two teams and twenty or thirty passengers at each trip, and its mode of propulsion is according to the ancient law of the utilization of currents. A wire rope is stretched across the river, and the 'scow' is fastened to this by means of ropes and movable wheels. It is controlled by two hands - one fore and the other aft. When the men want to cross they push into the current and the ropes and movable wheels do the rest, as the motion is directed in a straight line between the opposing forces, and the [ferry] reaches the wharf opposite to that from which she, starts, without any apparent effort.⁵⁹

River travel enabled Winnipeg to expand its hegemony over the hinterland before the arrival of the railway. Resource extraction, such as lumbering, for example, was dependent on water routes; timber was shipped from Rat Portage (Kenora) to the mills of Winnipeg; most of which were located at Point Douglas. The banks of the Red River were lined with log booms. The scene was much different at the Forks because it was more important for its place in the wheat economy. In a sense, this role was an outgrowth of traditional agricultural life before Confederation. Early paintings by W. Frank Lynne and others offer depictions of windmills located to the west of upper Fort Garry. Introduced to the Red River Colony by Lord Selkirk in the early 1800s, windmills supplied enough flour for the HBC to "discontinue importing flour from England by way of the Hudson Bay."⁶⁰

In 1876, the HBC constructed a grist mill at the Forks, east of the warehouse. The mill was described as being "57-1/2 x 37-1/2 feet, and 60 feet in height to the peak of the roof."⁶¹ Like the early windmills it used millstones to grind the wheat, but it was powered by a steam plant. The engine house was

is 38 x 44, and the engine of 250 horse power. The main driving wheel is 12 feet in diameter and 38 - inch face. It has four run of stones, and is fitted up with all the modern improvements. Without exception...this was the finest mill anywhere West of St. Paul. Its capacity for grinding is 1,350 bushels every 24 hours, which is pretty good for a young place like Winnipeg.⁶²



SUBJECT The Forks: Post 1870.

SOURCE Provincial Archives of Manitoba

RESTRICTIONS

CAPTION McLean's flour mill at the Forks, c1875.

REMARKS

DATE c1875.

The mill was leased to J.H. McLane, one of the infamous flat-boatmen who had navigated the Red River several years earlier.⁶³ Visitors to the mill when it was operating must have had the experience of seeing "the miller, a man appearing from time to time out of the white, whirring interior," with "his clothes all white, and covered in a thick coat of flour dust."⁶⁴ His face and skin would have been "caked with the crusty accumulation" of working in the mill - "everywhere was the dust...."⁶⁵ In a historical article on mills in Western Canada, the Manitoba Free Press referred to the HBC mill as the "direct outgrowth from the old sweep mill" of the 1830s and the "first mill of the Western plains," the "one whose turning stones for many years supplied the flour of all the vast territory of the HBC."⁶⁶ According to contemporaries it "held a leading position among the city's industrial institutions" from "the very start."⁶⁷ As noted earlier, in the early 1880s the steam generated in the plant was used as the power source for Winnipeg's first lighting system. In January 1883, the Daily Times reported that the

partial failure of the electric light last evening is attributed to the breaking of the valve of the steampump used to pump water into the steam boiler of the engine at the Hudson's Bay mill.⁶⁸

Alterations were made to the mill in the early 1880s, when the HBC took over operations from McLane. Storehouses were added and a spur line from the CPR main line "allowed the mill to compete more affectively with Ogilvie's new mill at Point Douglas."⁶⁹ By this time, however, the technology of the mill was outmoded by rollers and purifiers.

The operations of the mill exemplified the HBC's changing attitudes towards its commercial activities in the northwest. Fur trade revenues were supplemented in the 1870s with expanded retail, manufacturing, and real estate revenues. In 1863, officials in England began to secure greater control over capital accumulation by revoking the Deed Poll of 1834, the legal base of the old partnerships, and by introducing a new Deed Poll in 1871. Under the latter agreement Company shares were redistributed to traders, factors and chief factors, as were the returns from fur trade revenues. Land revenues,

which were not discussed in the new Deed Poll, were becoming more important during the period because of the anticipated railway. By the late "1870s and 1880s the Company's principal governors...grappled with the problem of disposing of vast quantities of land as a modern business corporation."⁷⁰ The mill was intended to add to the HBC's manufacturing operations and to attract attention to the Forks and along Broadway Avenue under the terms of the land transfer. In anticipation of the inflated values that would be caused by railways and settlement, Donald A. Smith wrote to London in 1871, and argued that the Reserve be surveyed as soon as possible to prevent the village of Winnipeg from gaining any geographic advantage. "The effect of delay," he wrote, "might be materially to decrease the value of the property, by causing people to erect buildings to the north."⁷¹ A Survey of the reserve was completed a year later. At the same time that these events were occurring at the Forks, the federal government in Ottawa went ahead with plans for the Transcontinental railway by chartering Sir Hugh Allan's syndicate (which included Smith on its board) and by passing the Pacific Railway Act in 1872.⁷² Before the Pacific Scandal destroyed these plans, however, the Company was able to sell 85 lots at auctions in the summer of 1872.⁷³

The HBC attempted to exert its influence over development at Red River during the boom. Generous land grants were made available to provincial and federal authorities to build government facilities on or near the Forks.⁷⁴ In 1872 a cottage development was built west of Upper Fort Garry on reserve land,

as a very paying speculation in themselves, while being built above Fort Garry on the land purchased by the Trade...they tended to counteract the strenuous efforts made by the people of Winnipeg to keep the rising town away from Fort Garry and increase the value of the Company's land....⁷⁵

The land transfer and the surveys fueled local merchants' invective against the Hudson's Bay Company 'monopolists.' Relations between Winnipeg merchants and the HBC worsened in 1872 and 1873 during the incorporation movement when proponents accused Smith, who also sat as a member of the



SUBJECT The Forks: Post 1870.

SOURCE Provincial Archives of Manitoba

RESTRICTIONS

CAPTION The Forks after the incorporation of
Winnipeg. The HBC cottages are in the
background. The warehouse is in the
foreground.

REMARKS

DATE 1875.

provincial legislature, of stalling the bill.⁷⁶ By empowering the Winnipeg merchants with the means to levy taxes and promote trade and commerce, Incorporation inhibited the HBC's control over development at Red River. In 1875 the Company and the City of Winnipeg became embroiled in a dispute regarding jurisdiction over the Portage Road, a traditional trade route that bisected a portion of the HBC's Reserve. The Company maintained that Broadway was the main east-west thoroughfare in the city but a legal decision was brought down in favour of Winnipeg. This action shifted the main road south towards the city and eventually contributed to the development of a commercial core around Portage and Main rather than at Main and Broadway.

The decision of 1875, coupled with the collapse of the boom and a recession in the 1870s resulted in a slump in sales of HBC real estate. With the renewal of economic prosperity and the railway connections established in the 1880s, the Company began aggressive campaigns to increase the value of its land. The HBC financed construction of the Broadway and Assiniboine bridges in 1880 through the Red River and Assiniboine Bridge Company.⁷⁷ These increased traffic from St. Boniface and Fort Rouge through the Forks and facilitated transportation to Winnipeg, thus increasing land values. After the construction of the Broadway Bridge, a large block of the Reserve was sold around the Fort and it was abandoned in 1882.⁷⁸ According to Brydges:

The Fort Garry property was never supposed to be of much value owing to its great distance from the business centre. It is only at its south end 200 feet from the Assiniboine, where it was divided into lots there were hardly any enquiries made about them until Mr. [Sedley] Blanchard said to me that he would make me an offer for the whole block on behalf of some parties whom he was acting.⁷⁹

The boom ended in 1882-1883. A serious flood in the spring of 1882, which submerged a portion of the HBC land at the Forks and washed away the Broadway Bridge, devalued HBC land at the Forks and at Fort Garry.⁸⁰

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C. J. BRIDGES,

Land Commissioner Hudson's Bay Co.

Montreal, November, 1874.

SUBJECT The Forks: Post 1870.

SOURCE Provincial Archives of Manitoba

RESTRICTIONS

CAPTION Advertisement for sale of HBCo. land, 1878.
In anticipation of the completion of the
transcontinental CPR line, the HBCo. sought
to profit from the demand for real estate.
The HBCo. also attempted to sell its property
at the Forks.

REMARKS

DATE 1878.

III. The Forks and the Metropolis

On May 10, 1887 two of the early historians of the HBC, Charles N. Bell and Robert Miller Christy walked down to the riverbank at the Forks. There they found the remains of Fort Garry, Fort Gibraltar, and what Christy believed was old Fort Rouge. At the site of Fort Garry "an old wooden building at least 3/4 of the site..has gone into the river," and traces of burnt wood chips, old cellars, chinking mortar, iron and tinware, and burnt beams were found nearby.⁸¹ As the city expanded, these old forts, relics of the fur trade, slowly slipped into the river. Their condition in the 1880s was symbolic of the passing of an old order and the emergence of a new socio-economic structure, but this did not involve the decay of the HBC. Throughout the 1870s and 1880s the Company had attempted to adapt to the forces of modernization by changing its corporate structure, by allying itself with Ottawa's national policy, and by trying to attract urban and industrial development at the Forks.

The changes and improvements that were made to the HBC's property at the Forks between 1870 and 1880 were consistent with the Company's evolving corporate policy. Many of these were aimed at serving a prominent place for the HBC in the expanding urban environment and were made possible by connections with the federal government. Elements of the National Policy which had in the past threatened the Company's hegemony in the north-west, now became valuable assets to its local operations at the Forks.

In the late 1870s for example, the federal government once again began to put in place the railway component of the National Policy. In the summer of 1875 "the first installment of Mackenzie's celebrated steel rails" for the inter-continental arrived on the Cheyenne⁸² and two years later the Selkirk brought the first locomotive:

On Tuesday, 9th October, the first locomotive ever brought into Manitoba arrived at Winnipeg, and great crowds of the citizens went down to witness the event. The steamer Selkirk, with a barge containing the locomotive and a number

of flat cars, was handsomely decorated with Union Jacks, Stars and Stripes, banners, etc. Steam was up on the locomotive, and what with its shrill whistling, and that of the steamer, the ringing of bells, and the mill whistles joining in the chorus, there was a perfect babel of noise. A lady, Miss Racine, kept tolling the bell of the steamer, and was cheered lustily by the crowd. The Selkirk touched at No. 6 warehouse, and then steamed down to the landing below Point Douglas, where a track was laid, on which they ran the engine and cars, and thus was landed the first locomotive ever brought to this Province.⁸³

With the railway making its impact felt across the West, officials such as Brydges, Smith, and Hargrave realized the limitations of the steamboat and foresaw to the Hudson's Bay company a future in railroads.⁸⁴ Between 1877 and 1878 for example, Grahame became involved in a scheme to acquire the St. Paul and Pacific Railway⁸⁵

The union of national policy and HBC objectives at the Forks involved a coalition of merchant and industrial capital. Donald A. Smith, who served as Superintendent, governor and Chief Commissioner had extensive connections with the federal government in Ottawa. In 1869 he had been sent by Macdonald to Red River to negotiate with Riel on behalf of the HBC. Two years later, the Macdonald government sought his aid in launching the CPR. According to Naylor, "Smith's presence was expected to ensure close co-operation with the HBC in the matter of land sales" and "especially to serve its influence among London bankers in marketing Pacific railway securities."⁸⁶ The Pacific Scandal ruined the possibilities of a railway in the early 1870s and toppled the Conservative government. Smith retired as Land Commissioner in 1879 but emerged again in the 1880s as a director of the HBC and representative of its interests in the CPR syndicate. His successor, C.J. Brydges, also had experience with railways. A personal friend of Macdonald, he had been involved in the Great Western and Grand Trunk railways, as Commissioner of the Intercolonial, and General Superintendent of Government Railways. It was on Macdonald's advice that the Hudson's Bay company appointed Brydges Land Commissioner in 1879. These relationships between the federal government and

HBC officials would have far-reaching implications for Company properties at the Forks.

The HBC also competed for participation in other national policy projects. In 1878 the city of Winnipeg attempted to have the CPR mainline through Winnipeg by authorizing and financing the construction of the Louise Bridge at Point Douglas. Donald Smith and J.H. McTavish failed to obtain a provincial charter to construct their own bridge at the Forks to connect with the Pembina Branch of the CPR.⁸⁷ Before the Company finally received a charter in 1880, C.J. Brydges had taken control as Land Commissioner. Based on the belief that Upper Fort Garry was "a harbinger of the fur trade...old and dilapidated, poorly situated" and inadequate for the HBC's retail trade he argued that Upper Fort Garry be dismantled, that a bridge be constructed at Broadway, and that Main Street be straightened.⁸⁸ At the same time twenty acres of land were offered by the Company as a location for a railway station.⁸⁹ None of these tactics succeeded in persuading the federal government to route the CPR through the Forks, though Brydges' recommendations regarding the Upper Fort and Main Street were implemented in the early 1880s.

The impact of HBC's corporate policy and the National Policy on the Forks is visible on a series of maps produced between 1870 and 1886. The depiction of the Forks in 1872, compiled by W.G. Ingersoll, shows the prominence of Upper Fort Garry in the community.⁹⁰ The antagonistic relationship between the town and the Fort is represented by the ungraded main road that appears to link the HBC tenuously with Winnipeg. The limits of the Company's Reserve lands were Schultz Street which extended from the Main Road to the river, and Pelly Street, west of the Road. The structures depicted on the Reserve reflect the transitional nature of the HBC and the Forks in this early period. The presence of the federal government and its implementation of the National Policy is revealed by the immigration sheds southeast of the Fort. The HBC warehouse that was constructed to accommodate the Company's growing retail trade is located across the Main Road, east of the Fort, but the Indian encampment on the Reserve is a reminder of the persistence of the fur trade, and is possibly a representation of the squatters who inhabited portions of

the Reserve when the Company was preparing its survey. Two ferry landings gave traders on the east bank of the Red and the south bank of the Assiniboine access to the Upper Fort and the town.⁹¹ Two paintings of the Forks by W. Frank Lynn, which depict fur traders against the background of the HBC Fort, steamer, and warehouse, capture the clash of new and old at the junction in the early 1870s.⁹² These paintings and the map fail to show the danger that the reserve lands faced from flooding each year. During the spring of 1882, for example, the flood waters swept over the Forks. The HBC flats:

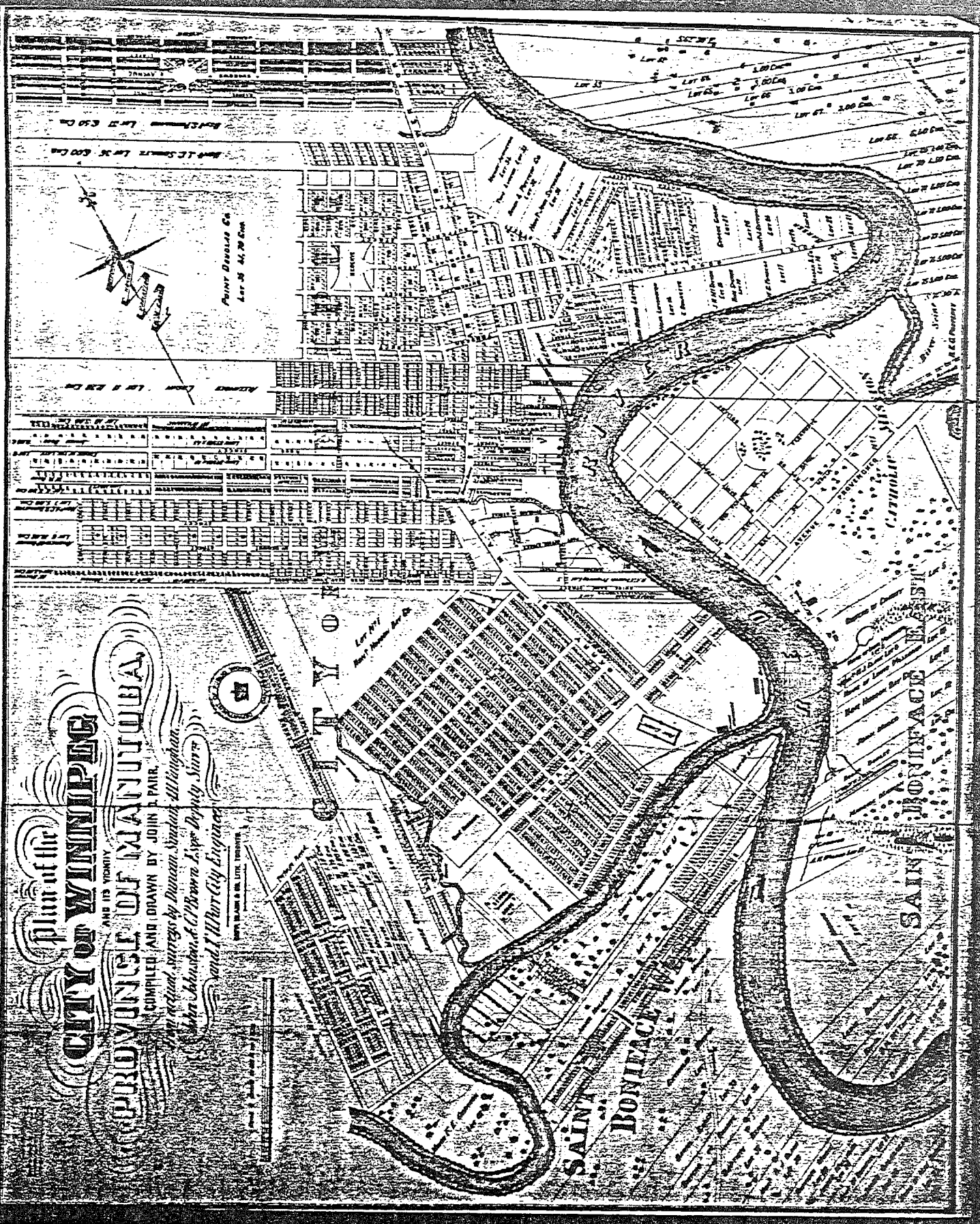
...were flooded this morning, almost up to Main Street, and where only yesterday stood a number of shanties and tents, which were inhabited for the most part by Icelanders and [Metis], to-day were to be seen the unfortunate beings in boats endeavouring to fish out their household effects, while here and there could be seen tables, chairs, etc. floating around among logs, barrels, and other floatable material which had been brought up from the river banks by the flood. All business in the flour and saw mills has to be suspended, and while every precaution has been taken towards preventing the water from injuring the flour, grain, etc., at McMillan's mills, still the damage to machinery and building here as well as to other mills will be very heavy.⁹³

The violence of such flooding may have motivated the removal of one of Winnipeg's first hospitals from the northeastern section of the flats in the mid 1870s.

The effects of the HBC's land surveys is seen in John Parr's 'Plan of the City of Winnipeg and its Vicinity.'⁹⁴ Broadway and Garry figure prominently in a grid pattern of streets and lots on the Reserve. Both Streets follow approximate routes used by traders to the Red and Assiniboine ferries. The Portage Road which became the subject of the legal battle between the city and the HBC is disrupted in favour of Broadway. The land around the Forks is vacant except for the Fort, the warehouse and the Immigrant Sheds.⁹⁵

The Bird's Eye Views of Winnipeg in 1880 and 1884 document the dismantling of Upper Fort Garry and the emergence of the HBC's distributive,

Plan of the
CITY OF WINNIPEG
 AND ITS VICINITY
PROVINCE OF MANITOBA
 COMPILED AND DRAWN BY JOHN A. PAIR
 From actual surveys by Duncan, Stephen, Allingham,
 John Johnston, & C. Brown Esqs. Deputy Surveyors
 and J. Har-ley Esq. Engineer



SUBJECT The Forks: Post 1870.

SOURCE National Map Collection

RESTRICTIONS

CAPTION Winnipeg and the Forks at the time of
incorporation.

REMARKS This map also appears in Artibise and Dahl,
Winnipeg in Maps/Winnipeg par les cartes, p. 16.

DATE 1874.

manufacturing and administrative functions.⁹⁶ Though the land at the Forks had been surveyed and offered for sale, much of it remained vacant. In 1884 two bridges traversed the Red and Assiniboine near the old ferry crossings.

Formerly the nucleus of an agricultural and emerging commercial population, the Forks in 1886 became less important as a place of work and residence. Upper Fort Garry had housed hundreds of troops who came to quell the resistance of the Metis in the 1870s, but as Winnipeg grew during mid-decade, its significance as the locus of population declined. By the 1880s, only a small portion of Winnipeg's entire population settled at the Forks. The site of Winnipeg's first ghetto, the Forks was the home of transient workers, a red light district, and of the city's most destitute.⁹⁷

In the early 1880s several residential neighbourhoods began to emerge around the Forks. North of Broadway a cluster of shacks and shanties inhabited by immigrants and other poverty-stricken residents is visible in an early photograph taken from St. Boniface.⁹⁸ During the boom seasonal labourers such as carpenters and masons set up tents on the unsold HBC lots to avoid paying high rents charged by local hotels and boarding houses.⁹⁹ South of this area, along the riverbank, were located the residences of Thomas Scott, a senator, A. Landrie, a labourer, and J.J. Johnston, a contractor and builder.¹⁰⁰ In the early stages of the boom Winnipeg neighbourhoods had not yet become separated by class. A similar unsegregated pattern existed elsewhere on land near the Forks that were sold by the HBC.¹⁰¹ Residences were located close to local industries. The Jarvis and Berridge lumber yard was situated between Scott's residence and the immigrant sheds. West of the sheds, Henderson's Directories listed the residences of two engineers, a miller, a fireman, and a stone dresser.¹⁰² By 1884, professionals and artisans moved away from the district, leaving skilled and unskilled labourers, and by 1886 city and HBC officials succeeded in evicting shanty-dwellers from the Forks.¹⁰³

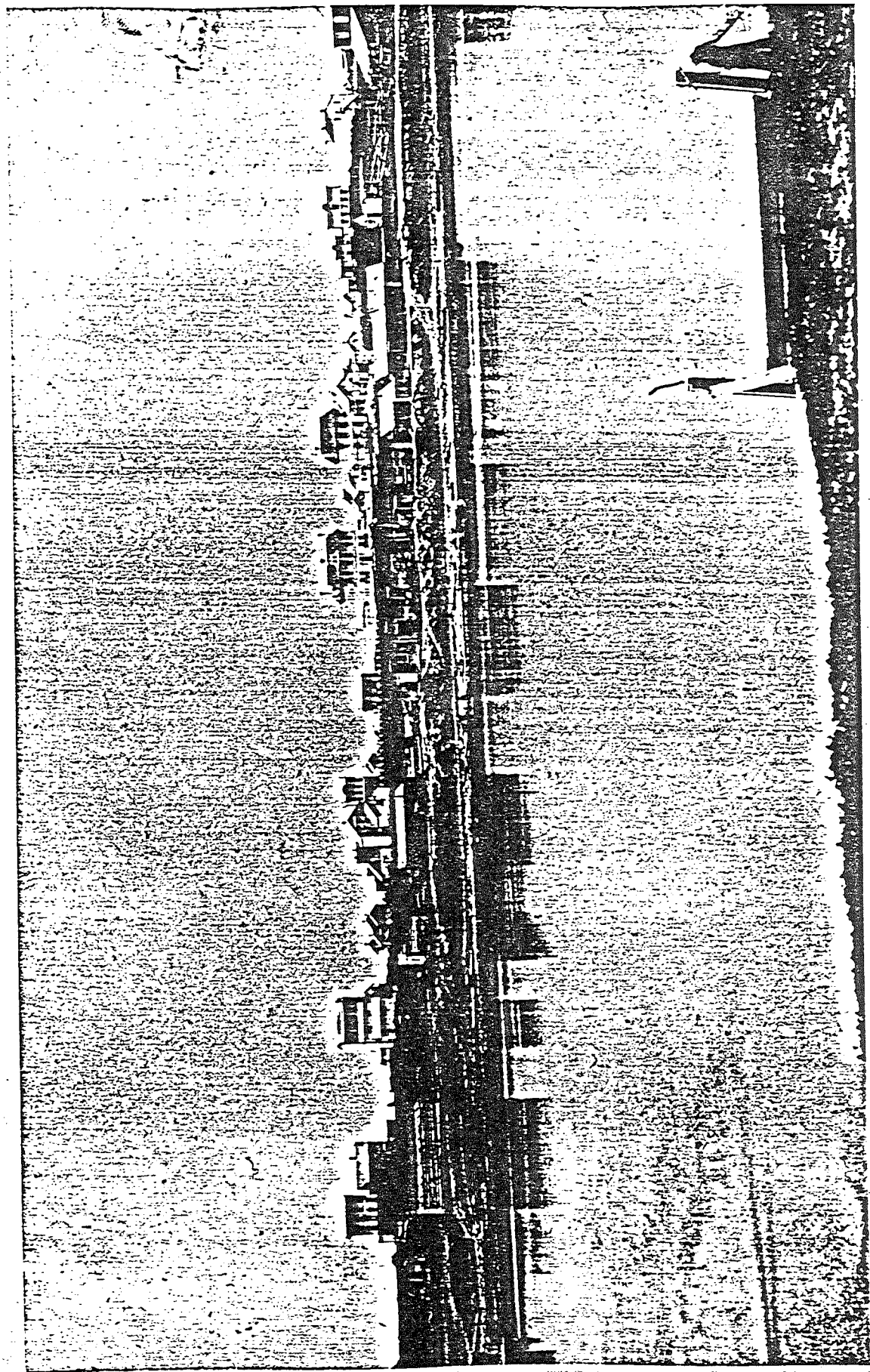
An urban-industrial infrastructure was in place around the Forks by 1886. Formerly the centre of the fur trade, the Forks became part of a growing city

RESTRICTED

WINNIPEG - VIEWS c1880 2

View from St. Boniface looking
across Red River to Main Street

PAM



SUBJECT The Forks: Post 1870.

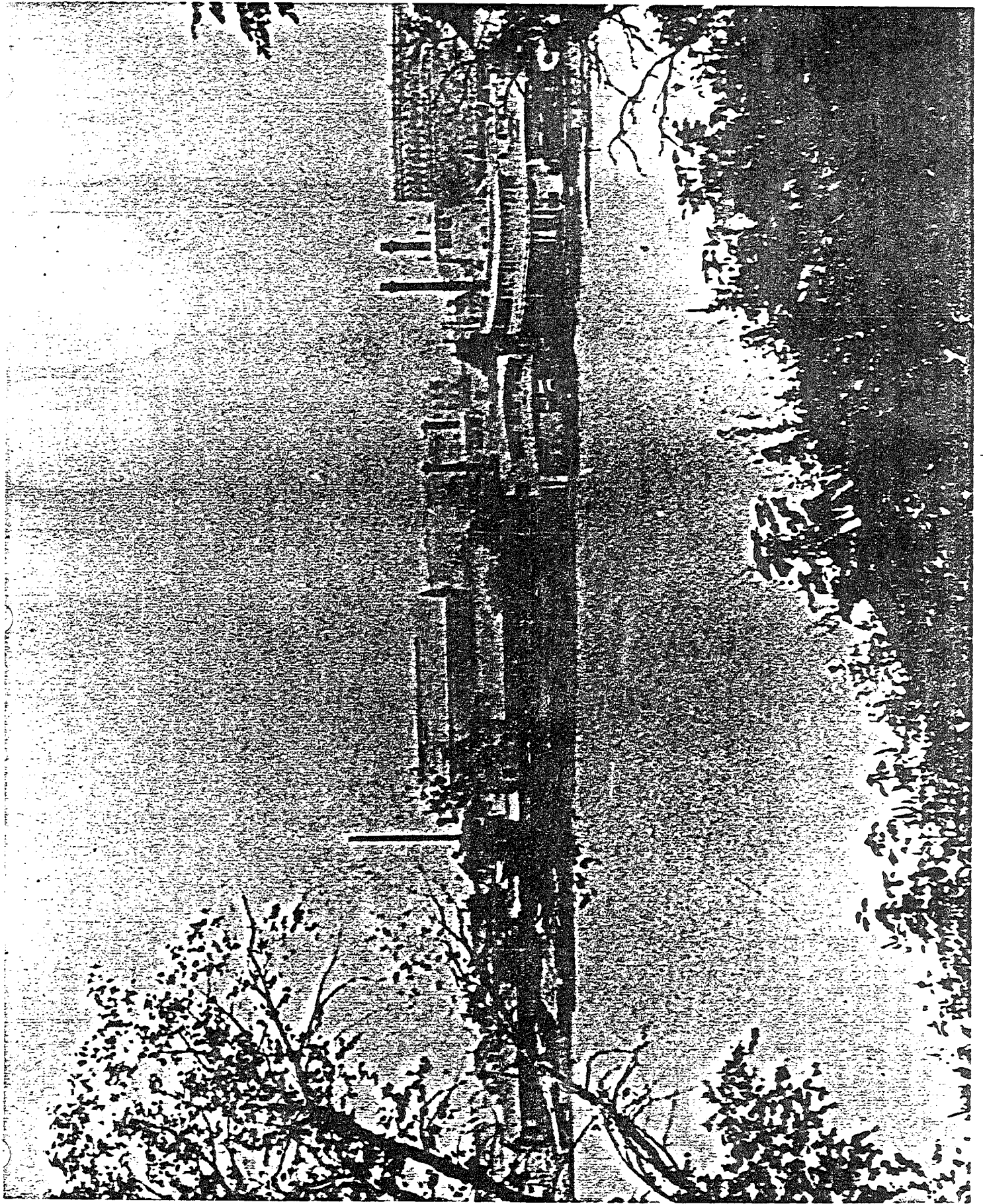
SOURCE Provincial Archives of Manitoba

RESTRICTIONS

CAPTION Prior to the boom of 1881-1883, 'squatters' constructed flimsy shanties on the unsold HBCo. property near the Forks. During the boom transient workers and artisans inhabited the area in makeshift huts and tents.

REMARKS This photograph also appears in Guinn, "The Red-Assiniboine Junction," p.338.

DATE c1880.



SUBJECT The Forks: Post 1870.

SOURCE Provincial Archives of Manitoba

RESTRICTIONS

CAPTION The Forks against a metropolitan background in 1880, showing the importance of river travel even after the arrival of the railway.

REMARKS This photograph, with the caption 'Prete a apportement a Hudson's Bay', is also located at the Hudson's Bay Company Library.

DATE c1880.

that would soon assert its prominence as a major transportation and distribution centre in the west. The HBC attempted to adapt to the new era that emerged in the 1870s and 1880s. Urban-industrial growth and the efforts of the HBC transformed the Forks from the centre of the community in the early 1870s to urban real estate that possessed residential and industrial potential in the 1880s. The Forks would continue to change in the late 1880s and in the 1890s, as the HBC persistently sought to modernize its operations.

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Chapter 3: THE JUNCTION AND THE RAILWAY ERA, 1886-1923

The Forks had evolved into a quasi industrial site by the mid-1880s. It was no longer the entrepot of the West, but part of the metropolis of Winnipeg, and its former status as a port on the northwestern frontier was now overtaken by the busy marshalling yards and shops of the CPR, west of Point Douglas. However, largely due to the efforts of HBC officials who wanted their company to keep pace with the changing economy of the West, the Forks remained a significant urban location on which small-scale manufacturing and transportation industry was prominent between 1886 and 1923. Officials such as C.J. Brydges, the HBC land commissioner, understood the importance of railways in stimulating economic development and attempted to dispose of HBC real estate to prospective rival companies of the CPR. The location of a terminal at the Forks, he said in 1886, after discussions with the directors of the Northern Pacific Railway, would "make a wonderful difference to our end of the town."¹ When the Northern Pacific and Manitoba Railway was chartered and construction began at the junction two years later, the Forks became the focus of the entire West. Once regarded as the soulless fur trade monopoly, the HBC now provided land for the railroad that broke the monopoly of the CPR, and made possible the construction of the NPMR yards at the Forks in 1888 and 1889.

Construction of the N.P.M.R. yards in the late 1880s represented more than the victory of Manitoba over the federally sponsored railway and a challenge to the national policy. Between 1886 and 1900, Winnipeg experienced its first industrial revolution in which manufacturing and transportation facilities expanded to meet the demands of the growing wheat economy. At the same time the urban infrastructure continued to change. The Forks entered this important phase of development when land was made available for the new branch line. Thereafter, economic development and industrial activity at the Forks were a reflection of transformations that occurred elsewhere in the city throughout the 1890s.

I. The Challenge to the CPR Monopoly

The transformation of the Forks into an industrial site in the late 1880s and early 1890s was the product of western discontent with privileges for eastern capital and CPR shipping policies. In 1883 the CPR established its first freight rates for western traffic. Poor harvests and declining prices during the mid-1880s turned many farmers against what they believed were ruinous rates for their cargoes. Protection of the CPR monopoly against competition through federal disallowances increased bitterness against the railway. Not only were alternative railways forbidden to offer cheaper services, but the CPR also possessed control over grain handling facilities such as elevators. In the mid 1880s the company refused to accept shipments of grain from small, flat storage facilities on the grounds that they were not fully equipped with the cleaning equipment necessary to handle wheat that was damaged by frost. Many western farmers claimed that this policy favoured the large expensive grain elevators owned by such eastern capitalists as William Ogilvie. Further complaints arose over Ogilvie's practice of falsifying wheat grades in order to reduce prices.² The freight rates imposed by the CPR also had a negative effect on Winnipeg wholesaling. The 1883 rate schedules made it possible for eastern wholesalers to ship goods directly to Portage La Prairie, Brandon, and Regina at lower rates than if their goods travelled through Winnipeg. According to Donald Kerr, the CPR rates thus "discriminated against Winnipeg as a centre of distribution and gave eastern wholesalers a distinct advantage in the trade of the western hinterland."³ By 1884, the Winnipeg Board of Trade argued that the situation was "one of the most troublesome affecting mercantile interests,"⁴ and the "following year in anger and frustration Winnipeg wholesalers threatened to import their goods via American railways and steamboats on the Red River if the CPR did not change its schedule of rates."⁵ These efforts succeeded in persuading the CPR to reduce its rates by fifteen per cent; however, the new schedule now discriminated against western towns, and the CPR's reputation as a monopoly that was destructive to the interests of the western farmer remained intact.⁶

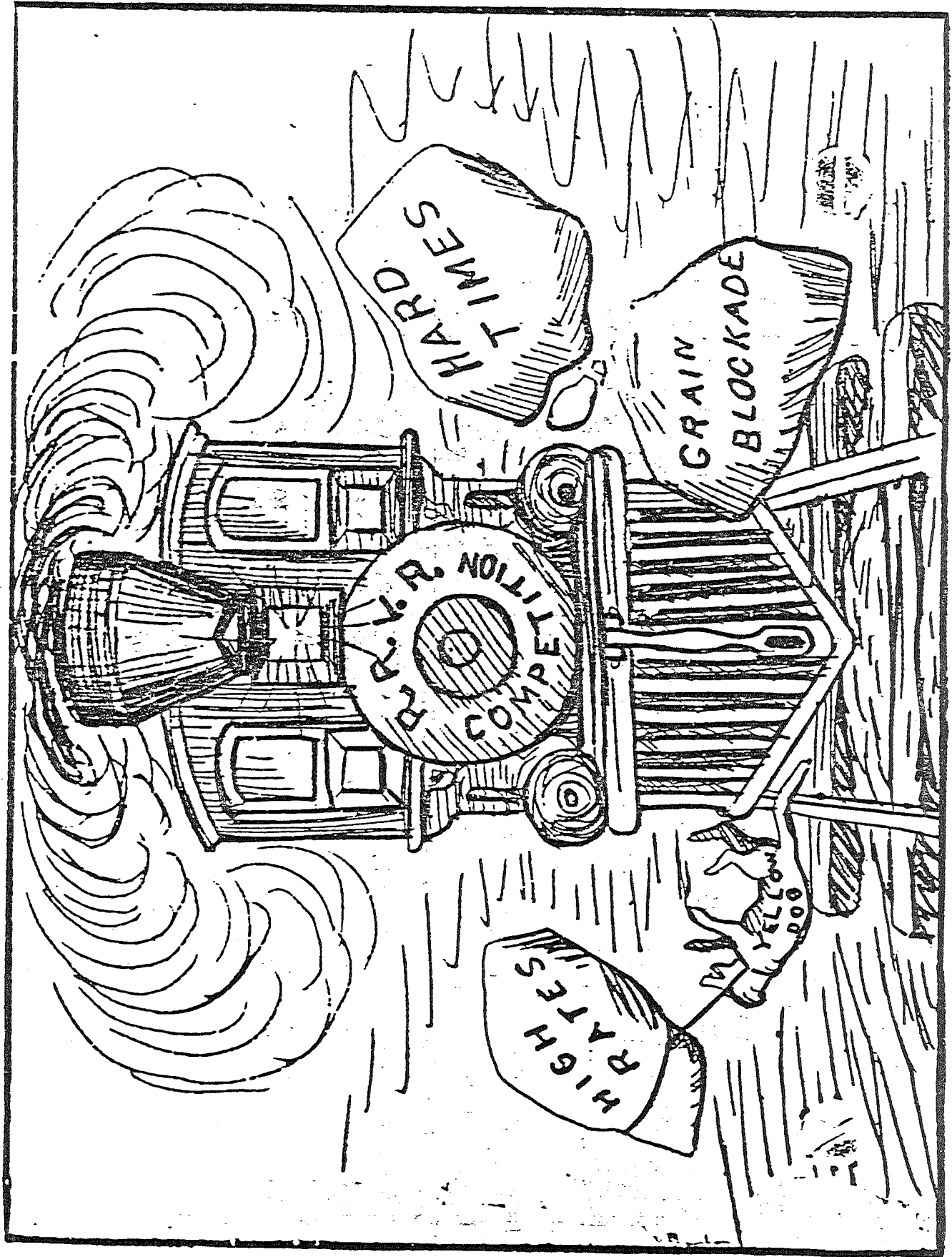
C.J. Brydges played a prominent role in these years of discontent, both as a critic of the CPR, and as a person who worked to provide a viable alternative to the CPR monopoly. As early as 1880 he had predicted that the CPR would be forced to charge high rates to support its operating costs, and in 1883 he attempted to obtain a charter for a branch line, the Great North-Western Railway of Canada. By 1886 he had become a vocal critic of the CPR freight policies and had participated as a member of the Board of Trade in the movement to force the CPR to lower its freight rates. At this time the provincial government had begun to challenge the federal disallowances which protected the CPR monopoly, while Brydges took the opportunity to make a profit on vacant land at the Forks.⁷

By 1886 western opposition to the CPR and federal disallowances had forced Manitoba's Conservative premier, John Norquay, to oppose the federal Tories in Ottawa. A branch line, the Red River Valley Railway, was chartered as a public work in 1887 to link Winnipeg with the U.S. border. C.J. Brydges immediately contacted the Board of Directors of the HBC to suggest that land at the Forks be made available for the Red River Valley Railway yards and terminals. Brydges argued that the land could be granted "on easy terms" and that

even if the initial price of the proposed railway land might seem some sacrifice, the benefits in improving the general economy and Winnipeg's central position, and in raising the value of other Company lands would warrant it.⁸

Sensing a bitter federal-provincial dispute over the issue of disallowances Hudson's Bay Company officials remained lukewarm to Brydges' proposals.⁹

Meanwhile, provincial authorities claimed that because the Red River Valley Railway was a public work, it was immune to disallowance legislation. Construction of the line progressed through the early summer of 1887, but in mid-July the federal government disallowed the railway. The Manitoba government ran into financial difficulties with the project and was forced to seek British investment to continue construction. Failure to secure the



CLEARING THE TRACK.

SUBJECT The Forks: Post 1870.

SOURCE Provincial Archives of Manitoba

RESTRICTIONS

CAPTION A new era at the Forks began in the late 1880s when the provincial government issued charters first to the RRVR, then to the NPMR, in defiance of federal disallowance legislation. Motivated by high freight rates in a period of economic depression, the charters broke the CPR monopoly and promised an end to hard times for the Western farmer.

REMARKS

DATE 1888.

necessary funds, which was due to John A. Macdonald's influence among London bankers, led to the postponement of construction on the Red River Valley Railway and to the defeat of Norquay in the Provincial elections of 1888.¹⁰ By spring 1888 the CPR required further federal monetary grants for the railway and was willing to yield on the issue of disallowances and the CPR monopoly clause. In April the Manitoba government was informed that the disallowance of the Red River Valley would be removed. The provincial government then opened negotiations with prospective railroad companies from the U.S. In September 1888 a charter was granted to the Northern Pacific and Manitoba Railroad, a company that was formed by the President of the Northern Pacific to connect the American railway's branch lines with the NP and M line at the Manitoba-U.S. border.¹¹ On October 4, 1888 the Red River Valley line, "which is now within days of its completion, was...handed over to the newly organized co. (NP&M)."¹²

With the track nearly laid the railway still required land for its terminal facilities. C.J. Brydges continued to promote HBC land at the Forks for this purpose. In the spring of 1888 when the federal government revoked disallowance of the RRVR, Brydges informed the provincial government of the Company's willingness to provide a "grant for right of way and station grounds on the HBC's land between Main Street and Red River."¹³ Later in the year he informed the Northern Pacific of available land "suitable for yard purposes, shop grounds, etc., comprising about 24 acres."¹⁴ By September Brydges was able to announce to the London officers of the HBC that he had concluded an agreement with the NPMR to sell

a narrow crescent-shaped piece of land that ran along the north bank of the Assiniboine, to its junction with the Red, and then along the west bank of the Red as far as the foot of Water Street and, from that point, a 150 foot wide strip of land along the northern limit of Water Street to Main Street.¹⁵

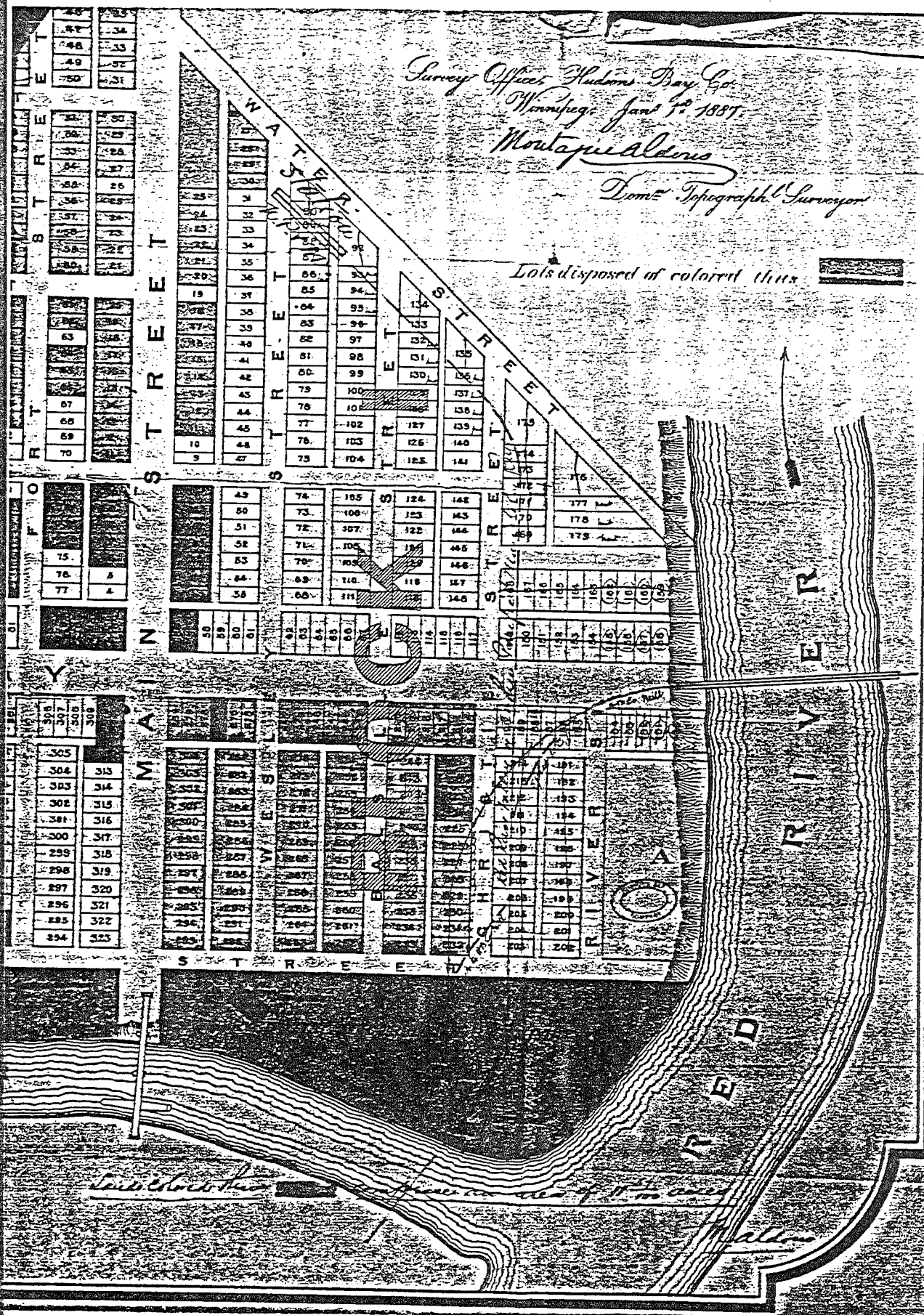
In a letter to his superior, William Armit, Brydges described the proposed arrangement between the Northern Pacific and the HBC:

Survey Office, Hudson Bay Co.
Winnipeg, Jan 7th 1887.

Montreal

Done Topograph. Surveyor

Lots disposed of colored thus



Done at Montreal

at

SUBJECT The Forks: Post 1870.

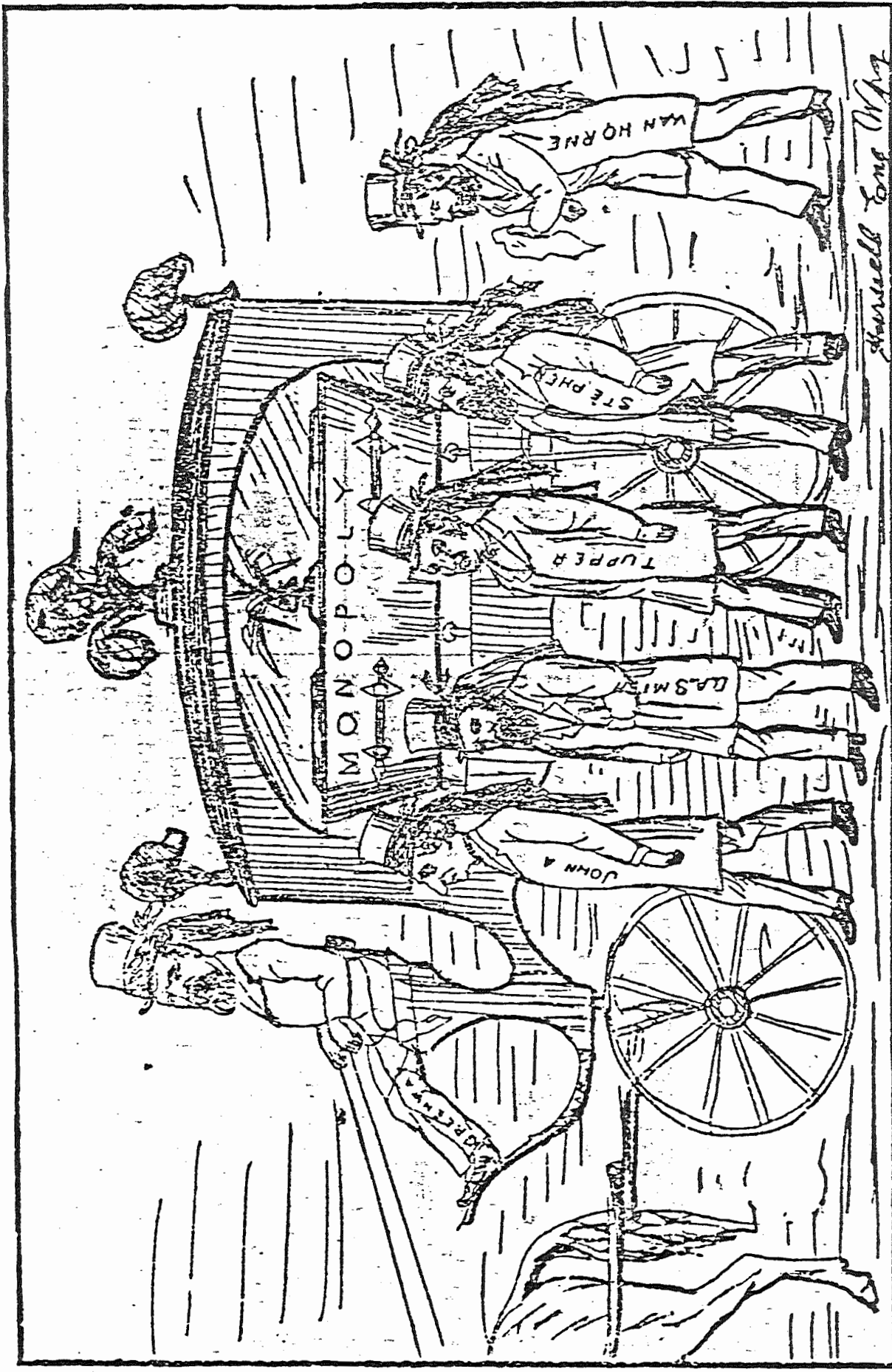
SOURCE Hudson's Bay Company Archives

RESTRICTIONS

CAPTION The Forks on the eve of the railway era.
This plan of HBCo. property shows the
proposed land sale for the NPMR.

REMARKS This plan appears in Guinn, "The Red-Assiniboine
Junction," p. 341.

DATE 1887-1888.



Stewart Long

SUBJECT The Forks: Post 1870.

SOURCE Provincial Archives of Manitoba

RESTRICTIONS

CAPTION Premier Greenway drives the hearse that carries the CPR monopoly, whose passing is mourned by its creators.

REMARKS

DATE 1888.

We give them the land between Christie Street, from the Assiniboine river to the Red River, and 150 feet from Christie Street and the river, which if granted, will give them 3 or 4 acres in addition. If not granted they will have to run across those streets. They are to allow the Hudson Bay or other railways not in direct antagonism with them the use of the station grounds on fair or arbitration terms. The track to the mill is to be preserved. Our land between Christie Street and the river is the least valuable part of the flats. We reserve all the available building sites. My expectations as to the value of the new property are being realized. I have already sold on the anticipation of the location of the station, lots to the value of \$10,000 - 3 months ago they were positively unsalable. I shall not sell any more, until work is actually commenced...."¹⁶

This agreement was nullified by the HBC directors in October, who apparently worried about future conflicts between the provincial and the federal governments and Brydges was warned in October not to press forward with the land sale. Negotiations between the Company and the Northern Pacific continued from 1888 to 1890 when an agreement resulted in the sale of river lots to the railway. The HBC retained its land near the Broadway Bridge. The Company also kept some of its property around the mill.¹⁷

Construction of the railway facilities was underway as soon as the initial sale of land was made by Brydges. On 21 September 1888, he informed Armit that a "grading camp has been placed on the flats yesterday."¹⁸ The ground was to "be raised about 4 feet to agree with the level on the south side of the river." Grading on the south bank of the Assiniboine "will be completed to the river tomorrow night," and the "piling for the temporary bridge will be completed" in two weeks.¹⁹ The "permanent bridge, which will be at the exact mouth of the Assiniboine river will be built during the winter."²⁰ Tracks on "our flats will be laid in about a fortnight and by that time station buildings will be under way."²¹ Two weeks later, Brydges reported that the

temporary bridge across the Assiniboine is completed, and the tracklaying on our side will be gone on with at once.

The grading is all done - ties are all on the ground - and I expect to see the locomotive from my office window before Saturday night.²²

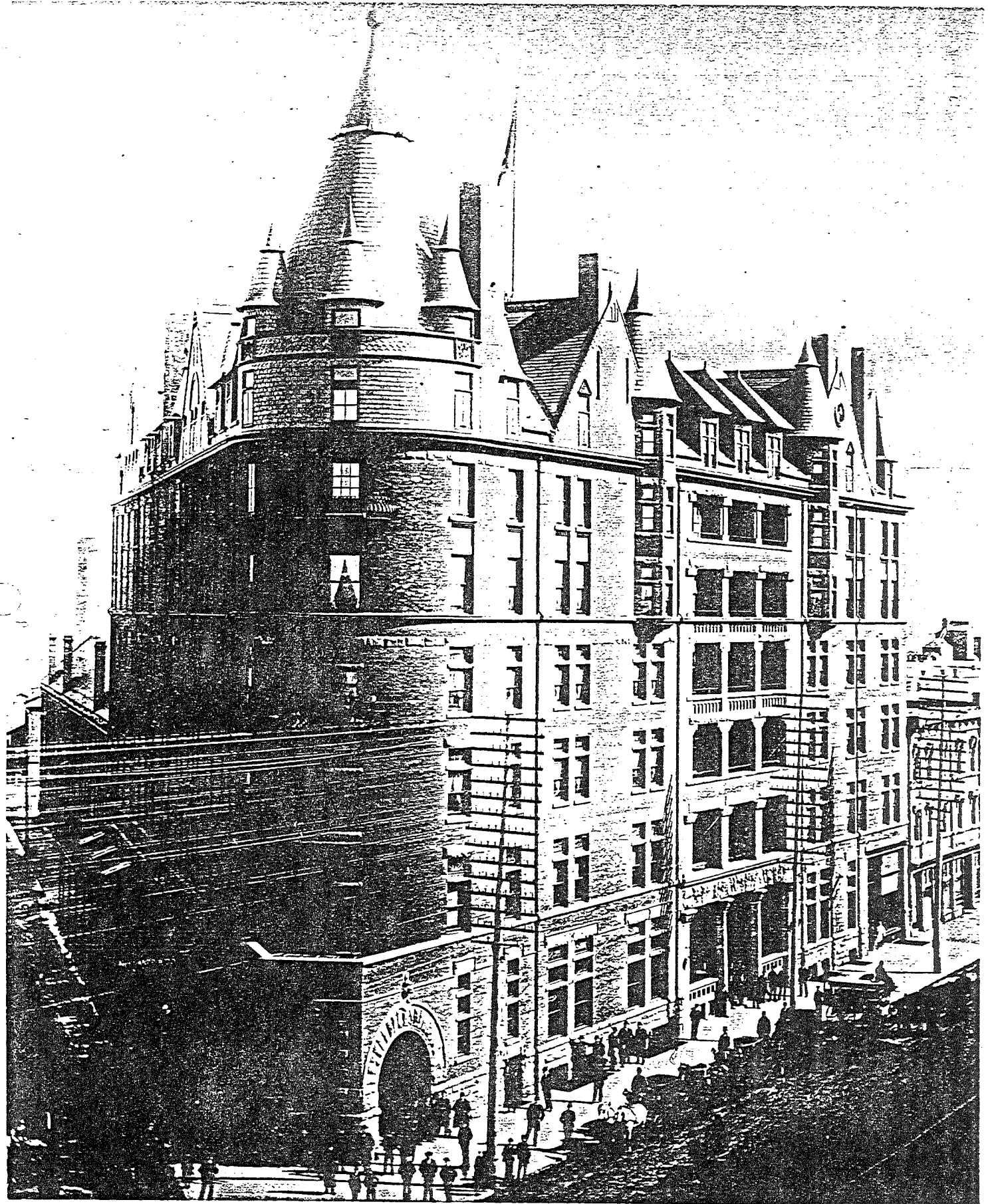
The NPMR intended to "proceed at once with the construction of buildings."²³ and to build a station at the corner of Main and Water Streets. According to Brydges, the NPMR

will have their passenger waiting rooms, ticket offices etc. on the corner...with a covered way down to the trains, which will be parallel to Water Street. At its lower end will be the freight sheds, and their yard, roundhouse and workshops will be between Christie Street and the river.²⁴

In mid-November Brydges noted the existence of the station on Water Street, "the trains not going beyond Wesley Street and reaching back to Broadway."²⁵ A building, possibly a temporary two stall engine house was "being erected starting on the east side of Wesley Street and running towards the River."²⁶

The NPMR had made a great deal of progress in the fall of 1888. The company had built "the necessary stations and section houses, water tanks, etc." on its rail line, and constructed a "truss draw bridge, 400 feet long over the Assiniboine."²⁷ The construction of 1888 changed the physical appearance of the Forks dramatically, but it was also significant in terms of changing modes of transportation. Brydges argued that the "navigation of our rivers is a thing of the past."²⁸ By the "spring there will be three railways in operation alongside the Red River...The railroads take all the traffic and steamers cannot live."²⁹

In the spring of 1889 work began on the NPMR hotel and on its shops. At the corner of Main and Water, workers laid the foundation for a seven-storey hotel, the building which housed on the second floor the NPMR's depot, baggage, express, customs, conductors, dispatchers, and train masters offices. An "immigrants' waiting room" was also located on this floor. Two storeys were occupied by "higher officials and internal departments."³⁰ The hotel was completed in 1891. In the yards near the Forks 100 labourers graded the flats



SUBJECT The Forks: Post 1870.

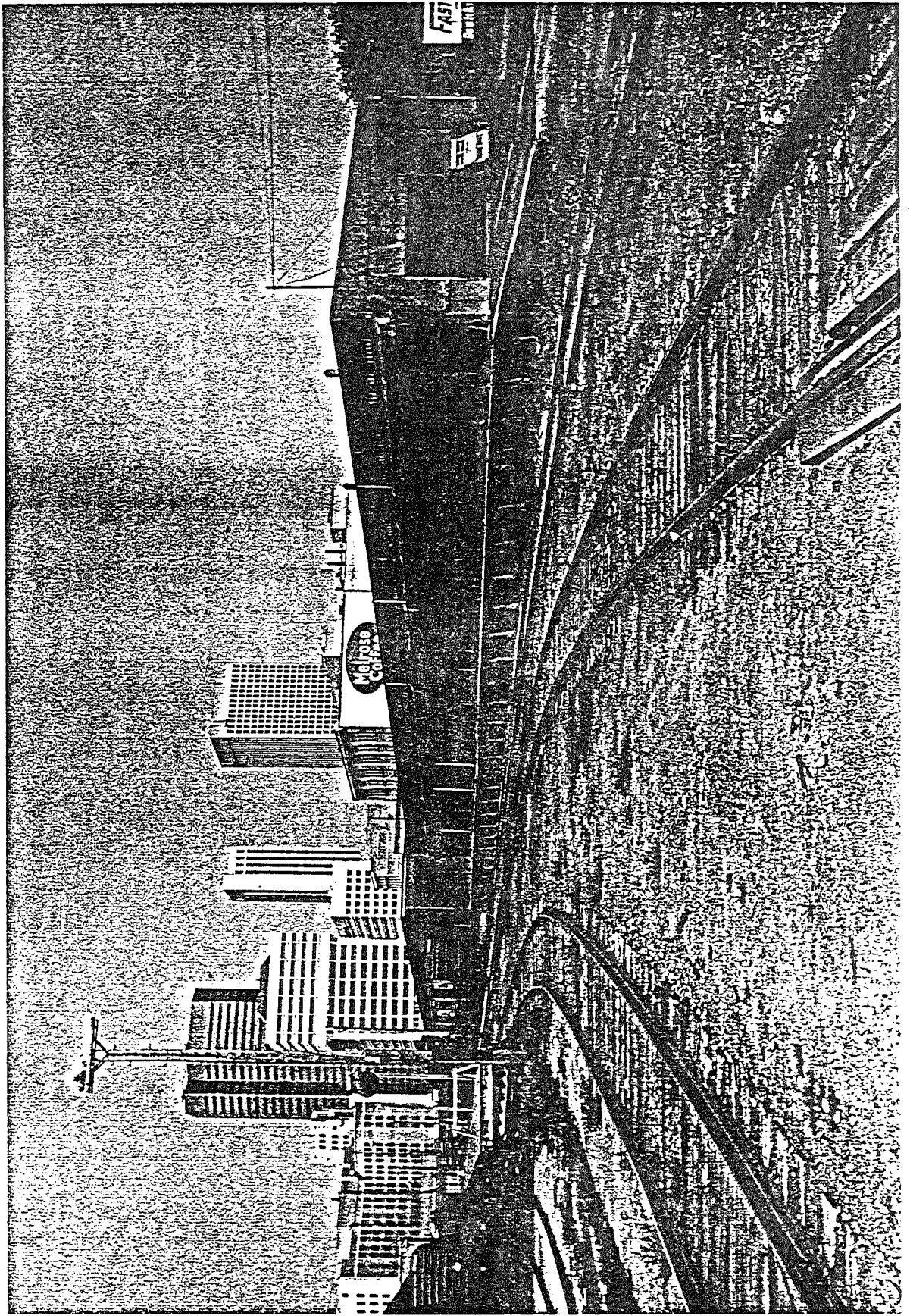
SOURCE Provincial Archives of Manitoba

RESTRICTIONS

CAPTION Front view of the NPMR Manitoba Hotel with the HBCo. mill visible in the right background.

REMARKS This photograph appears in Guinn, "The Red-Assiniboine Junction," p. 344.

DATE c1896.



SUBJECT The Forks: Post 1870.

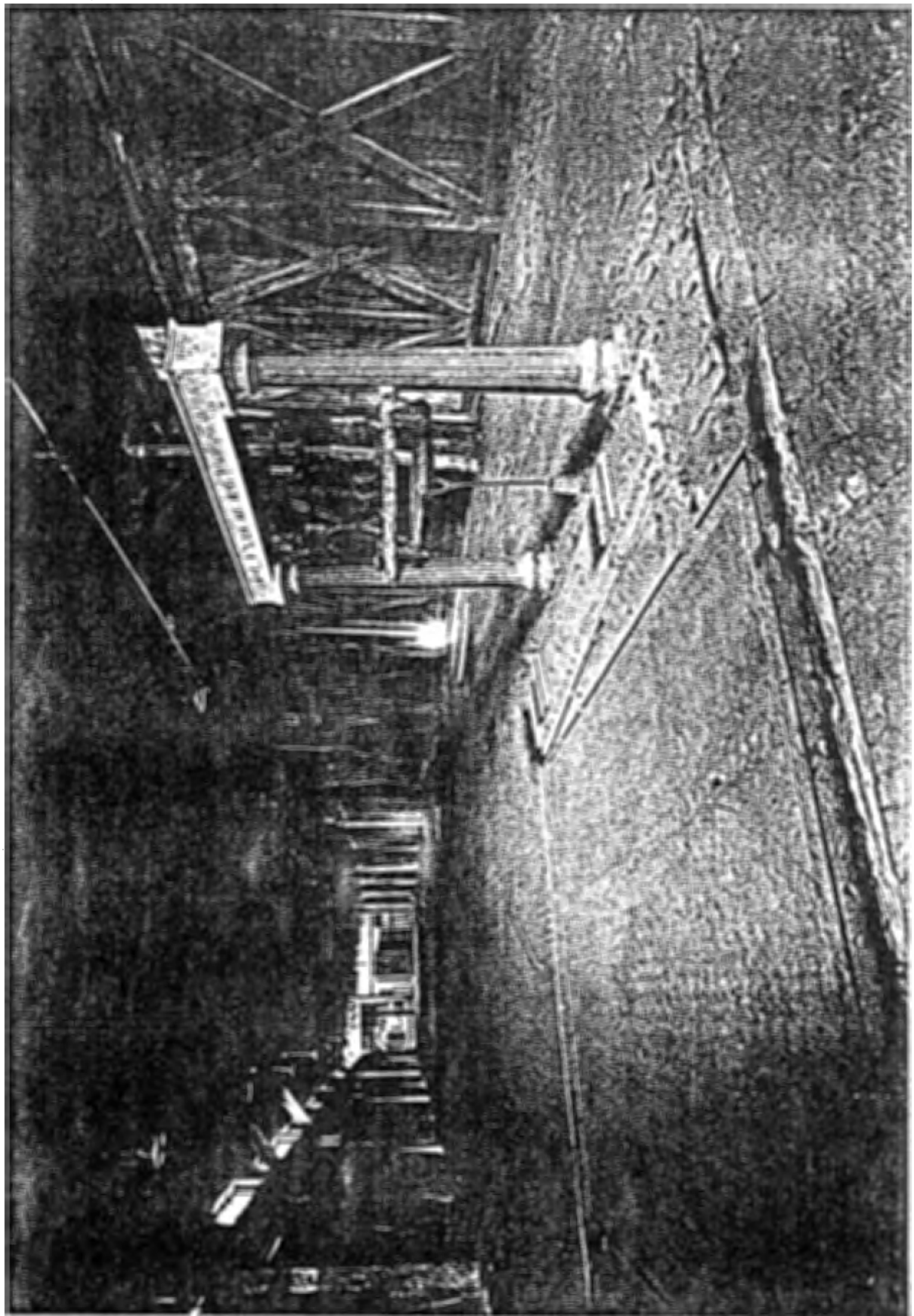
SOURCE / Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature

RESTRICTIONS

CAPTION View of the freight sheds built for the
NPMR in 1889, demolished in 1984. The
Federal Building (left) is located at the
site of the Manitoba Hotel and NPMR
offices.

REMARKS

DATE 1984.



SUBJECT The Forks: Post 1870.

SOURCE Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature

RESTRICTIONS Credit: Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature
Photo: Rob Barrow

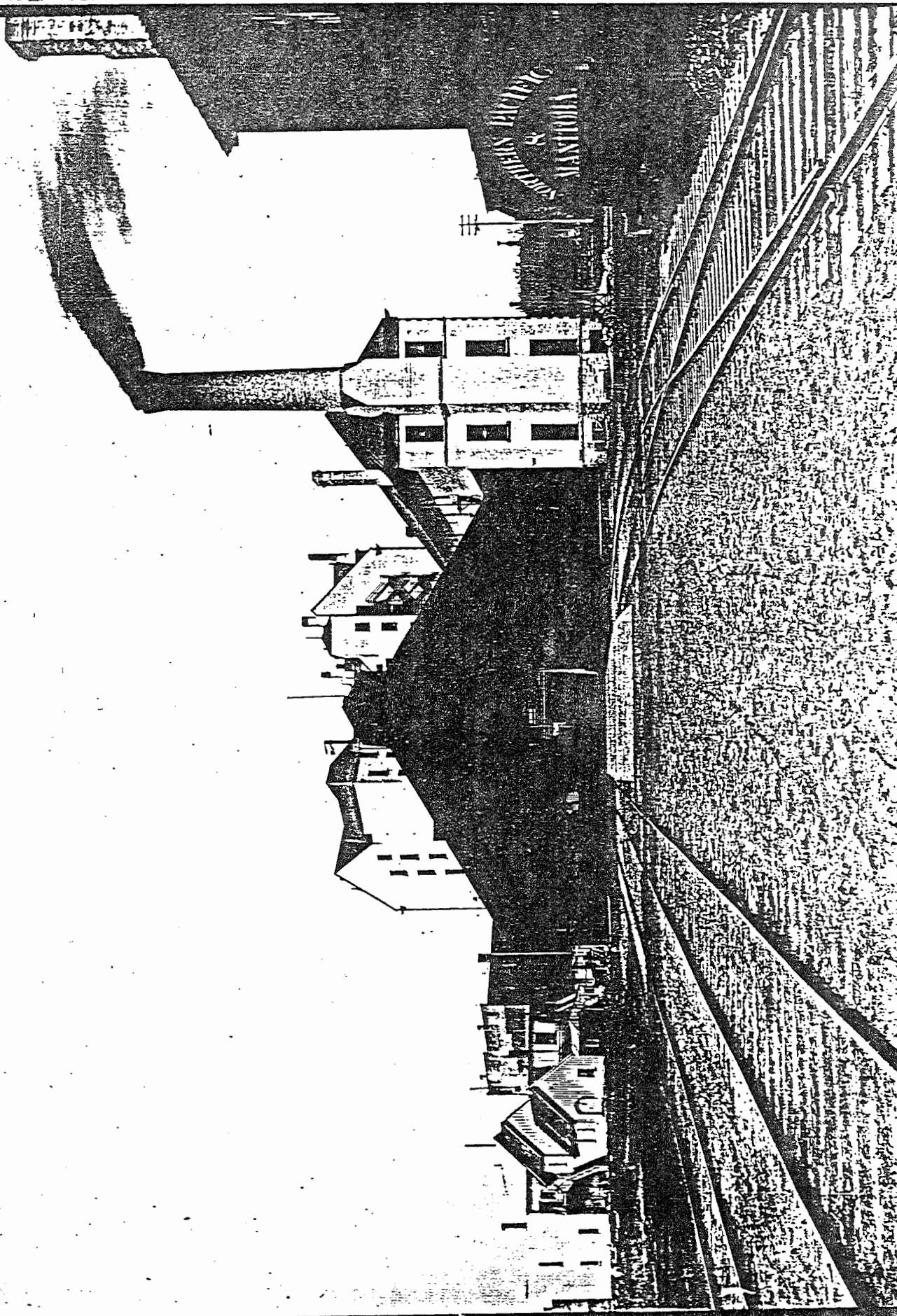
CAPTION Interior of Eastyards freight sheds,
demolished in 1984.

REMARKS

DATE 1984.

WINNIPEG - HOTELS - MANITOBA 9 N7966
-c1895. Depot, Northern Pacific &
Manitoba Railway. Photo by Haynes

RESTRICTED



SUBJECT The Forks: Post 1870.

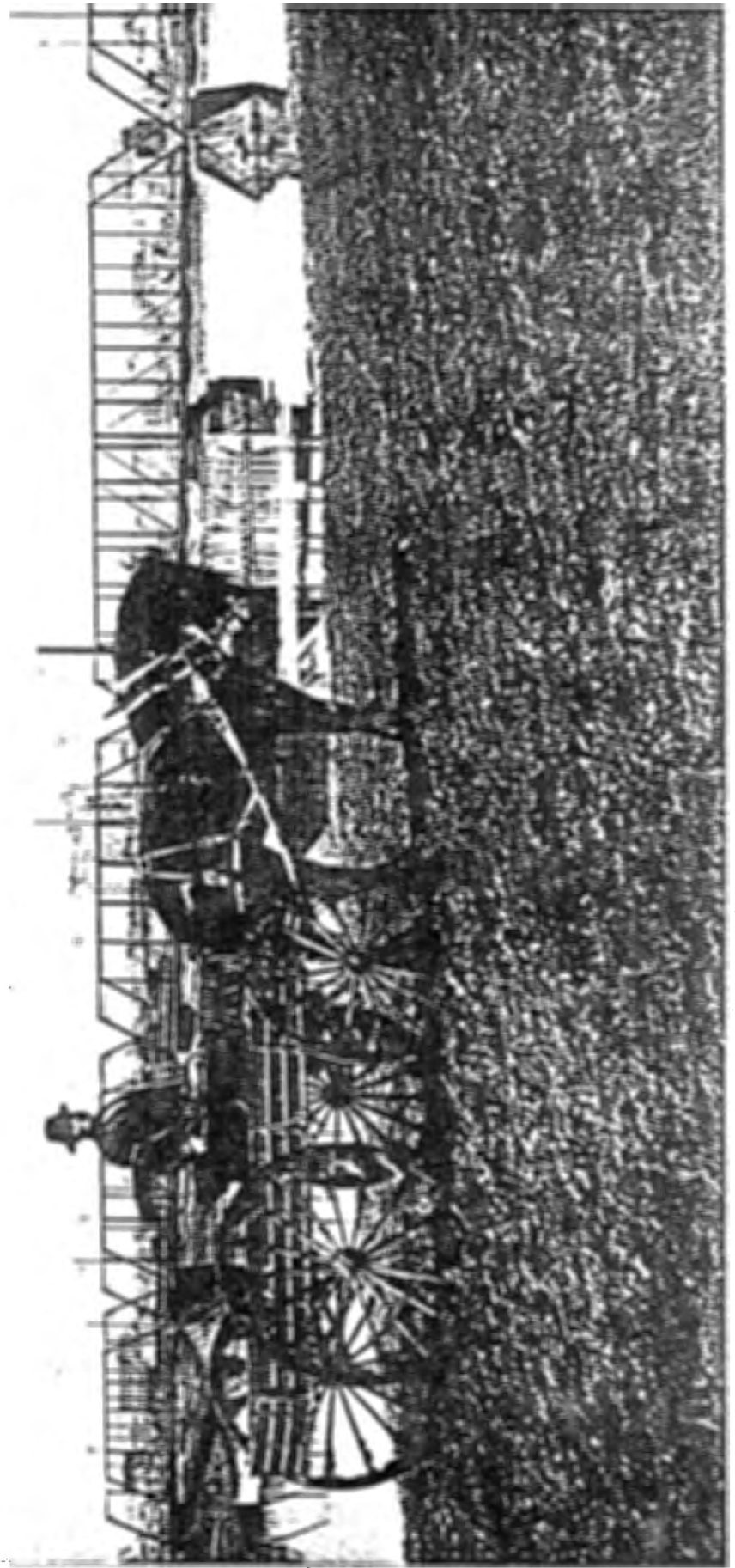
SOURCE F.J. Haynes Foundation Collection
Montana Historical Society, Helena,
Montana

RESTRICTIONS

CAPTION Rear view of a portion of the NPMR yards,
office building, and station in 1895.

REMARKS This photograph appears in Guinn, "The Red-
Assiniboine Junction," p. 343.

DATE c1895.



Man driving wagon across bridge over river. The wheels are for a sawmill.

SUBJECT The Forks: Post 1870.

SOURCE Provincial Archives of Manitoba

RESTRICTIONS

CAPTION St. Boniface, on the banks of the Red River near the Broadway Bridge, with the flats in the background shortly after construction of the NPMR yard facilities.

REMARKS The tall structure in the background (centre) is the Manitoba Hotel.

DATE 1892.

with 15,000 cubic yards of gravel that were transported "daily from the pit on the Portage extension."³¹ East of the HBC mill the railway company constructed its shops, which according to the Free Press, consisted of a

ten stall roundhouse, repair car shop and a blacksmith shop, all solid brick and connected with each other under the same roof; also water tanks, coal sheds, oil house and other small buildings....³²

Of all the buildings the roundhouse was the most important to the railway because it was here that the locomotives were serviced. In the winter, for example,

Cold air seems to have a faculty of doing damage, even inside a glowing firebox [causing leaky steam tubes]....The leaking tubes put out the fire, or reduce its vehemence so that the steam cannot be maintained at driving pressure. The stricken engine coughs herself into impotence, and the train stalls. Only in a roundhouse during weather that begets such a casualty is there hope of resurrection for the dead iron horse.³³

The shops at the Forks in the late 1880s were a scaled down version of maintenance and repair facilities required on other railways such as the CPR. The roundhouse, for example, was a semi-circular brick building with windows on the outside. From the roof, which slanted down towards the outside, protruded large smokestacks. The inside wall had wooden doors which faced a large round turntable that was located approximately 40 feet from the wall. Part of the roundhouse was connected by doorways to the repair shops. The roundhouse was equipped with large pits, one for each of the ten stalls, which were used by skilled machinists, labourers and other repairmen for the daily maintenance of the NPMR's nine engines. Located in the roundhouse were two machinists' benches and various tools, as well as washout pumps and nozzles that were used for cleaning.³⁴ When a train was ready to leave the yards an engineer and fireman made their way to the roundhouse where they took over "the locomotive from the hostler - an occupational name which [derives] from

CANADIAN NORTHERN RAILWAY
PLAN of SHOPS & ROUND HOUSE—

of WINNIPEG.

Scale 1/8" = 1'-0"

See also plan of
the Administration Building

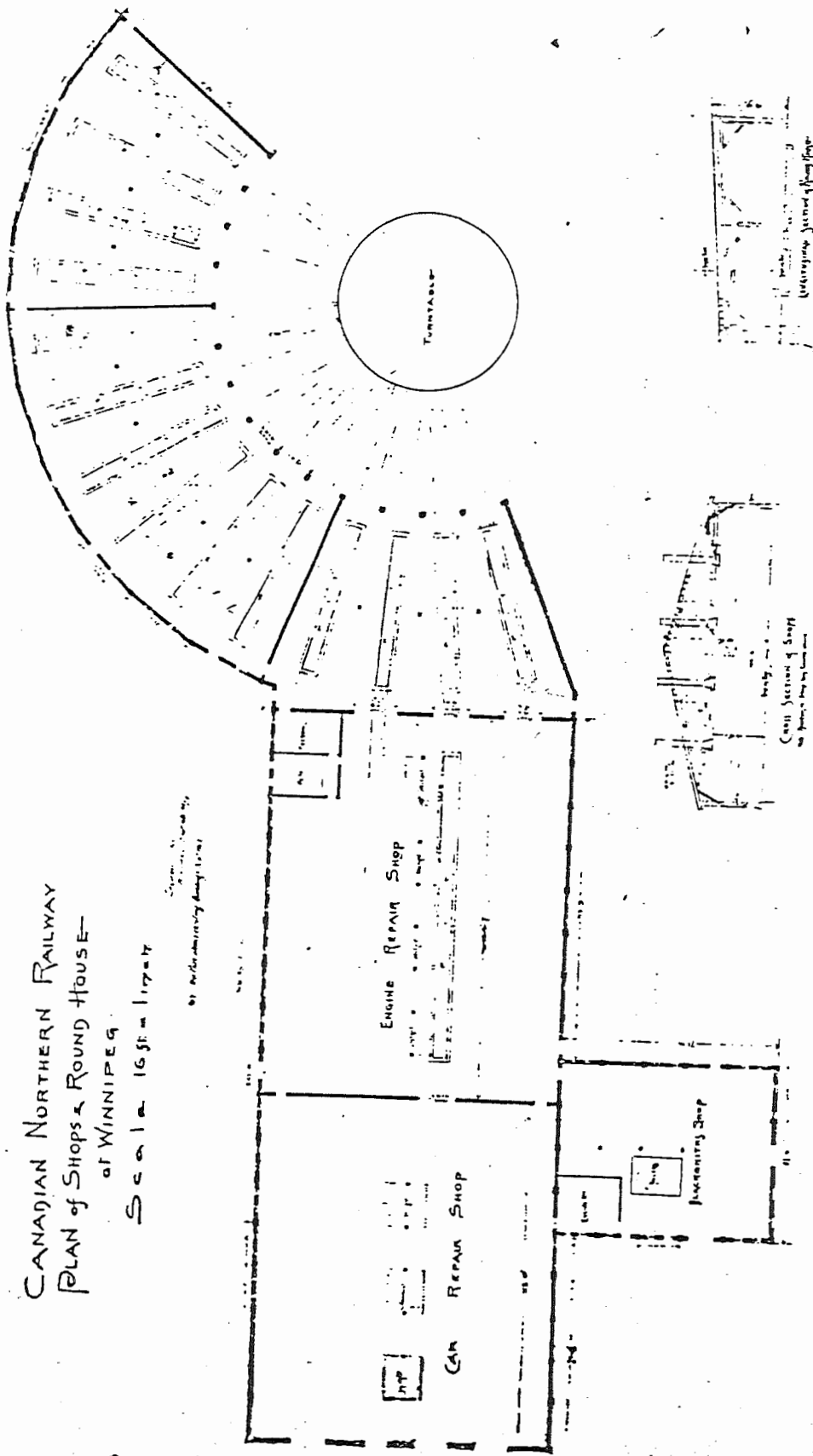


Figure 4

SUBJECT The Forks: Post 1870.

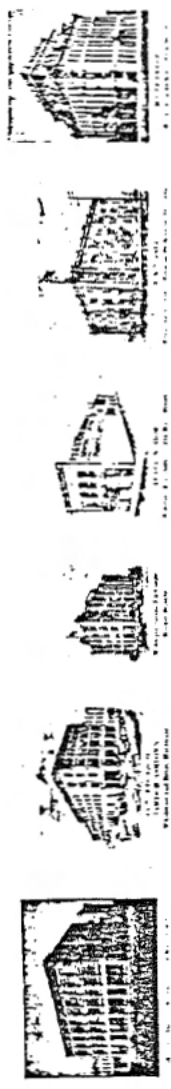
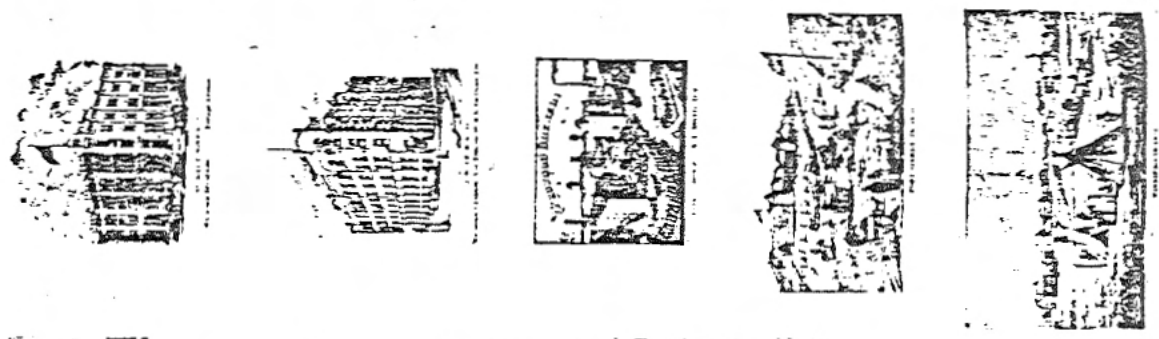
SOURCE Unknown

RESTRICTIONS

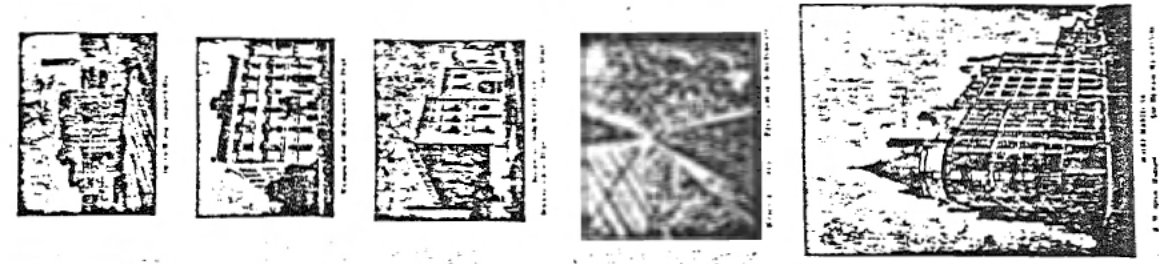
CAPTION Plan of the shops and round house built by the NPMR in 1888-1889 and purchased by the Canadian Northern in 1901.

REMARKS This plan appears in Guinn, "An Historical Assessment of Four Structures," p. 13.

DATE 1902.



Birds Eye View of the Central Business Portion of Winnipeg, Manitoba.



POPULATION 1911 1906 1901 1896 1891 1886 1881 1876 1871 1866 1861 1856 1851 1846 1841 1836 1831 1826 1821 1816 1811 1806 1801 1796 1791 1786 1781 1776 1771 1766 1761 1756 1751 1746 1741 1736 1731 1726 1721 1716 1711 1706 1701 1696 1691 1686 1681 1676 1671 1666 1661 1656 1651 1646 1641 1636 1631 1626 1621 1616 1611 1606 1601 1596 1591 1586 1581 1576 1571 1566 1561 1556 1551 1546 1541 1536 1531 1526 1521 1516 1511 1506 1501 1496 1491 1486 1481 1476 1471 1466 1461 1456 1451 1446 1441 1436 1431 1426 1421 1416 1411 1406 1401 1396 1391 1386 1381 1376 1371 1366 1361 1356 1351 1346 1341 1336 1331 1326 1321 1316 1311 1306 1301 1296 1291 1286 1281 1276 1271 1266 1261 1256 1251 1246 1241 1236 1231 1226 1221 1216 1211 1206 1201 1196 1191 1186 1181 1176 1171 1166 1161 1156 1151 1146 1141 1136 1131 1126 1121 1116 1111 1106 1101 1096 1091 1086 1081 1076 1071 1066 1061 1056 1051 1046 1041 1036 1031 1026 1021 1016 1011 1006 1001 996 991 986 981 976 971 966 961 956 951 946 941 936 931 926 921 916 911 906 901 896 891 886 881 876 871 866 861 856 851 846 841 836 831 826 821 816 811 806 801 796 791 786 781 776 771 766 761 756 751 746 741 736 731 726 721 716 711 706 701 696 691 686 681 676 671 666 661 656 651 646 641 636 631 626 621 616 611 606 601 596 591 586 581 576 571 566 561 556 551 546 541 536 531 526 521 516 511 506 501 496 491 486 481 476 471 466 461 456 451 446 441 436 431 426 421 416 411 406 401 396 391 386 381 376 371 366 361 356 351 346 341 336 331 326 321 316 311 306 301 296 291 286 281 276 271 266 261 256 251 246 241 236 231 226 221 216 211 206 201 196 191 186 181 176 171 166 161 156 151 146 141 136 131 126 121 116 111 106 101 96 91 86 81 76 71 66 61 56 51 46 41 36 31 26 21 16 11 6 1

SUBJECT The Forks: Post 1870.

SOURCE National Map Collection

RESTRICTIONS

CAPTION Birds-Eye View of Winnipeg depicts the Forks shortly after the NPMR established its yards on the HBC flats.

REMARKS Note the drawings of the roundhouse and shops.

DATE 1894.

horse-travel."³⁵ Once the engine was fired up it would be rolled onto the turntable and positioned on a track leading to the assigned train.

Other portions of the NPMR shops were dedicated to the heavy repair and maintenance of the company's rolling stock. The blacksmith's shop, located on the southeast part of the building, contained a boiler in the centre of the room, anvils, forges and sledge hammers, chisels, and punches that were used to make parts that were worn out or had been damaged. Any of its 500 freight or passenger cars that required major repairs were fixed in the car or engine repair shops adjacent to the blacksmith's shop. When the NPMR yards opened in 1889, less than 150 helpers and apprentices were employed in the shops.³⁶

Construction of the NPMR yards in 1888 and 1889 transformed the Forks into an industrial site within the city. The railway and its facilities dominated a crescent-shaped area extending from Main on Water to the railway bridge near the HBC mill. The land owned by the HBC was bisected by the freight yards and sheds. In 1893 the land bordered by Main, Broadway, and Christie Streets was leased by the HBC for the construction of a park. A two-storey grand stand was erected by the HBC near its mill. This area, together with the point on the south bank of the Assiniboine, which was connected to the Forks by the NPMR railway bridge, became a haven for the city's homeless in the mid 1890s.³⁷

The dispute with the federal government over disallowances, the chartering of the NPMR, and the construction of the railway yards at the Forks coincided with the beginning of Winnipeg's first industrial revolution. The essential resources necessary for this revolution were brought to Winnipeg during the boom of 1881-1882 in the form of technology, labour, capital, and efficient new methods of transport, but the depression of mid-decade prevented many entrepreneurs from freeing capital that was locked up in real estate to invest in large scale industry and manufacturing. This situation began to change when Winnipeg emerged from the depression after 1886. Capital investment increased from \$2,050,766 in 1886 to \$3,124,367 in 1891 while the number of industrial establishments rose from 129 to 307. Employers continued

to modernize their plants with machinery: over \$1,000,000 was invested in machines and tools, while less than half that amount was invested in buildings.³⁸ The Winnipeg Board of Trade mounted aggressive campaigns to promote industry and to attract skilled and unskilled labour to work in local shops and factories. Between 1881 and 1891 the number of employees working in Winnipeg, according to the Census, rose from 950 to 2,359.³⁹ Winnipeg was hit by another depression in 1893-1894 but, despite this, capital investment and production increased moderately from 1891 to 1901: capital investment rose from \$3,124,367 to \$4,673,214, while the value of goods produced increased from \$5,611,240 to \$8,616,248.⁴⁰

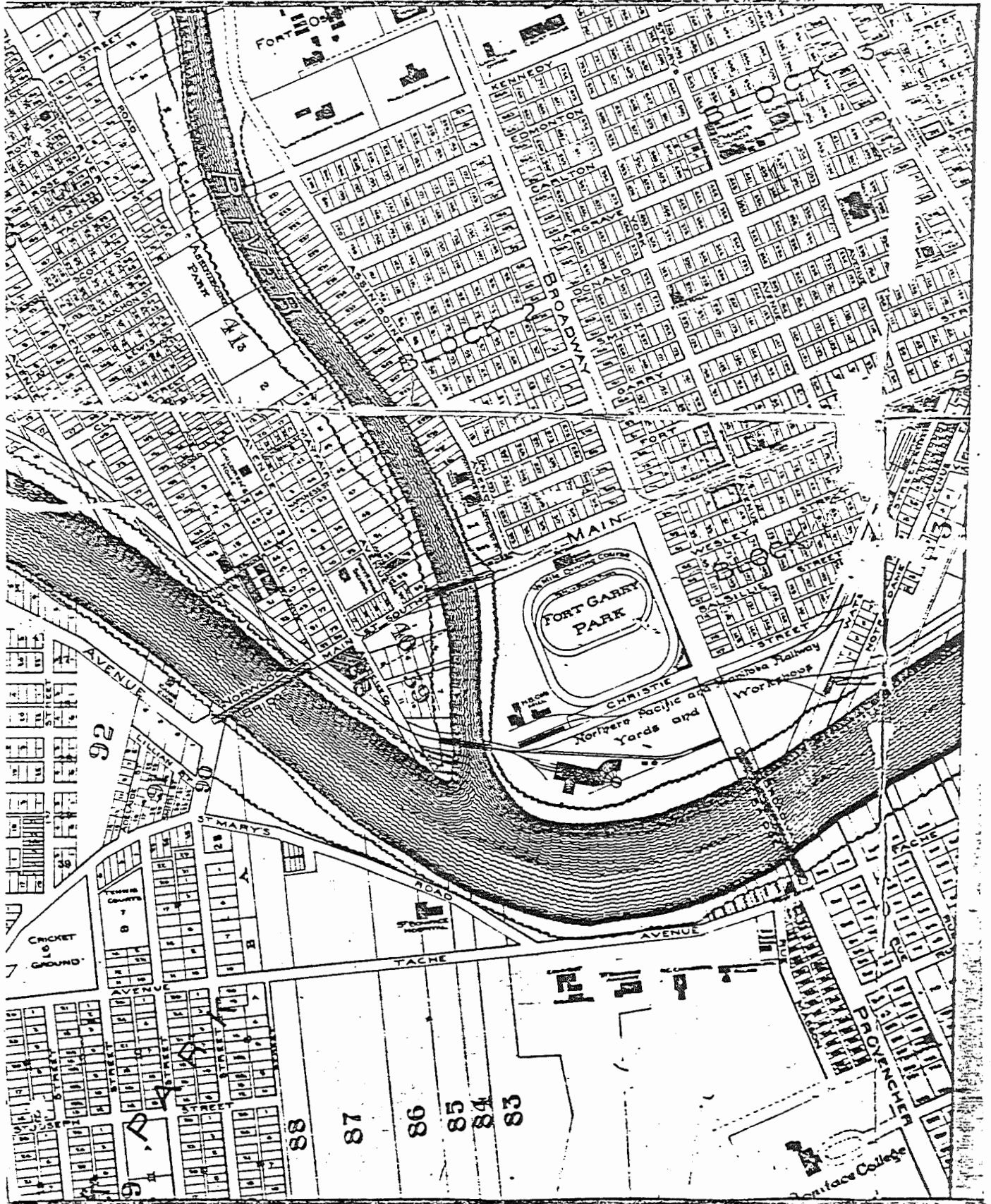
Several subtle trends were characteristic of Winnipeg's industrial revolution from 1886 to 1900. First, renewed industrial activity (railways, agricultural implements, lumber products, etc.) grew from the urban infrastructure that emerged between 1870 and 1886. One major feature of this era of industrial growth was a change in the structure of productive activity, rather than in a massive expansion of industry and factory production. The depression of 1893-1894 and the panic of 1897 threatened many companies with serious losses and, in many cases, with bankruptcy. This situation intensified competition and eventually contributed to the separation of small and large companies and, consequently, to a wave of consolidations and mergers in the early 1900s, as employers searched for more efficient means of remaining competitive. Businessmen who were involved in activities that required small amounts of fixed capital and depended heavily on labour, as in building construction, for example, could defend themselves either by scaling down production or by moving into a new field of investment altogether. This was not the case for railway companies, for whom profits depended upon a vibrant economy that kept millions of dollars worth of rolling stock shipping goods across the continent in return for the freight rates that were necessary to sustain operating costs.

As a result of the depressed economy, the 1890s were a difficult decade for the NPMR. Unlike the CPR, which was maintained by federal subsidies and grants, the NPMR was a prime example of one of a branch of an international

corporation. Initially, between 1888 and 1889 the company laid 301 miles of track and grain elevators and other facilities at certain points along the line.⁴¹ Between 1893 and 1896, when "not a mile of new track was laid in western Canada," the NPMR ran into financial difficulties.⁴² First, the Northern Pacific, its parent company, went into receivership in 1893 and stocks plummeted. Then a year later, the Pullman strike in the U.S. exploded into an international dispute when members of the American Railway Union walked off their jobs in the CPR shops, and the workers at the NPMR were canvassed for their support. Before the strike was over at the yards near the end of July, company officials announced that the shops would be closed until September 1.⁴³ To fend off bankruptcy, the NPMR was forced to continue and even expand its services, while utilizing its existing rolling stock on the lines built in the 1880s. Gross values of shipping increased from \$160,332.27 to \$199,524.81 between 1890 and 1895, yet the value of the company's rolling stock and other property depreciated from about five million to four million dollars.⁴⁴ After 1895 the company's operating expenses overcame its gross earnings: in 1896 net earnings totalled \$2,937.21, a year later the company lost \$77,534.79.⁴⁵ The NPMR went into receivership in 1897 and the Northern Pacific sought buyers for the troubled branch line.

In addition to the emergence of an industrially organized economy, the late 1880s and the 1890s saw the development of Winnipeg as a metropolitan centre of the wheat economy. Despite the low prices during the depression years and an over supply of grain on the international markets the grain trade expanded. Winnipeg, according to Ruben Bellan,

became the undisputed headquarters of the Western grain trade. Practically from its outset the modern wheat economy adopted the type of grain handling and marketing organization that had been developed in the United States, characterized by numerous small elevators at country points which received farmer's grain, to be loaded on to freight cars which were sent on to a central point for grading and marketing...large firms located in the strategic centre dominated the trade through their ownership of chains (lines) of country elevators, which fed grain into their respective marketing organizations.⁴⁶



SUBJECT The Forks: Post 1870.

SOURCE National Map Collection

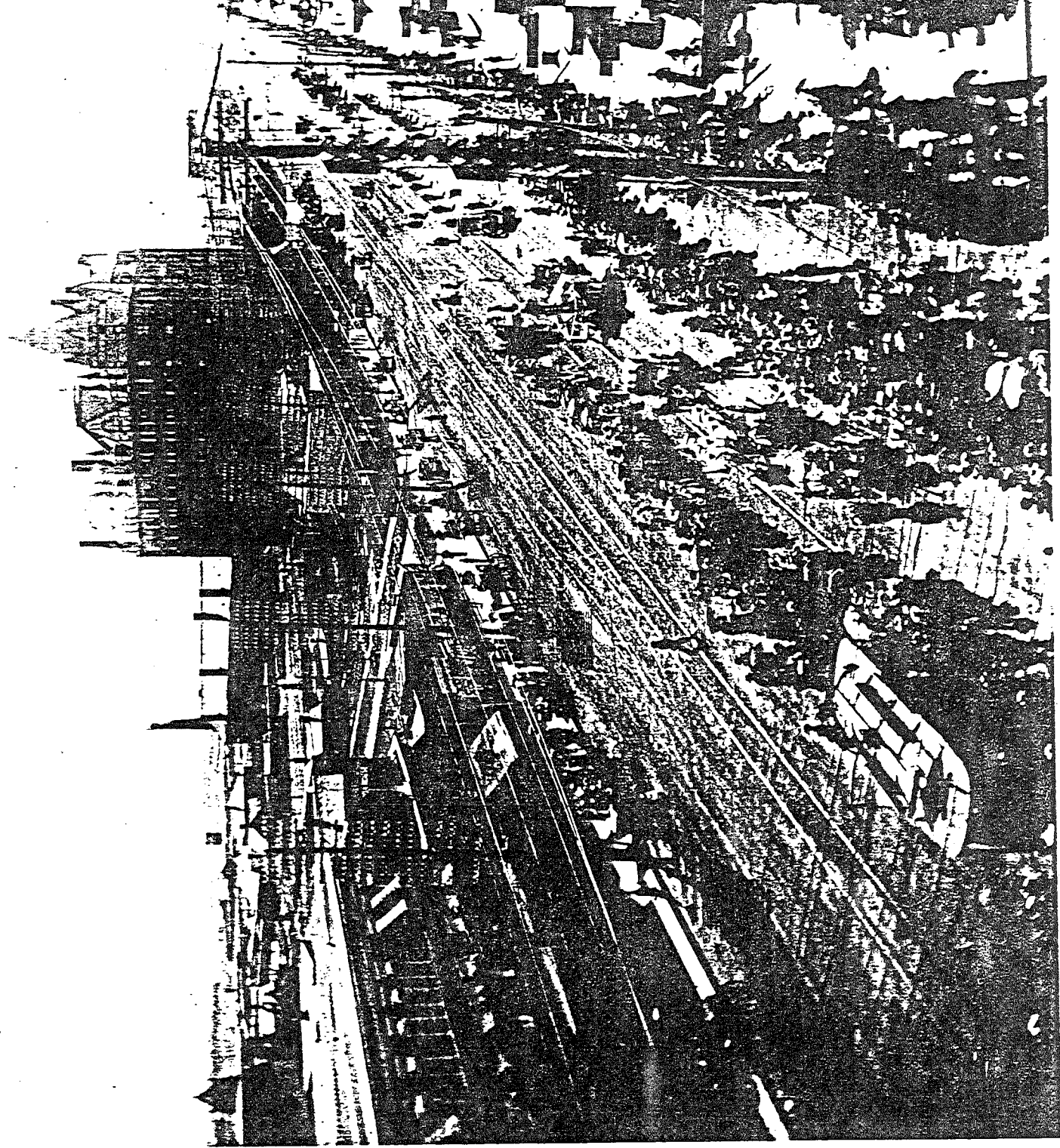
RESTRICTIONS

CAPTION Detail of 'McPhillips Map of Winnipeg' show the changes to the Forks after the construction of the NPMR yards and shops. The HBCo. Mill is still intact and in use. Three bridges connect the Forks with new neighbourhoods adjacent to the city.

REMARKS This map appears in Guinn, "The Red-Assiniboine Junction," p. 353.

DATE 1895.

GO TO
NO 431 FOR
EDWARDS RENT
& CO
CHINA CROCKERY
L.A. 557-4111



SUBJECT The Forks: Post 1870.

SOURCE Provincial Archives of Manitoba

RESTRICTIONS

CAPTION Front view of the Manitoba Hotel and office/terminal complex in 1897. By this time the NPMR was experiencing severe financial difficulties.

REMARKS

DATE 1897.

Grain was loaded in country towns, transported to Winnipeg, then shipped to the Lakehead. The expansion of the wheat economy is reflected in output in Manitoba between 1883 and 1900. The number of bushels harvested rose from 5.5 million in 1883 to 31.7 million in 1895, and fell sharply to less than 15 million in 1895 before recovering in the late 1890s.⁴⁷ After the recovery, "Winnipeg's domination over the Western grain trade was confirmed and strengthened," as companies from eastern Canada and from the United States began to establish branch offices in the city.⁴⁸ In the late 1890s the Grain Committee of the Winnipeg Board of Trade had begun lobbying Ottawa to pass legislation that allowed western rather than eastern officials to inspect and grade grain.⁴⁹

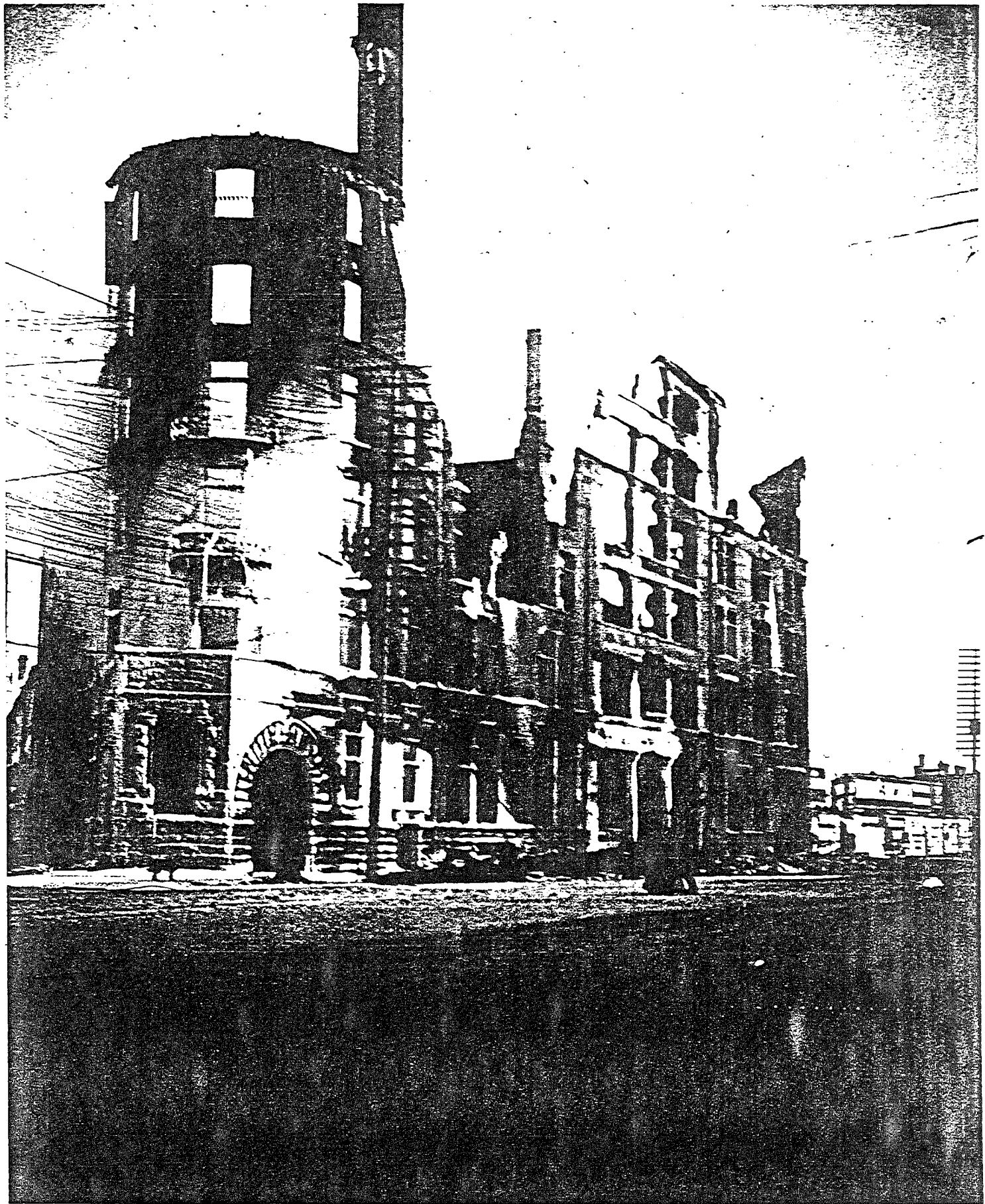
At the Forks, the HBC continued its milling operations. By 1890, nine buildings were located on the site. The three and a half storey mill with its adjacent feed storage shed were joined by walkways to two elevators and a power house. Three warehouses were located nearby and the buildings were serviced with railroad sidings that connected them to the CPR lines at Point Douglas. The cluster of these buildings, which appeared in a photograph in an 1891 Souvenir of Winnipeg booklet, was valued at \$108,276.12 in 1890.⁵⁰

As one of the sources of transportation, the NPMR also played a role in the wheat economy. Though a much smaller company than the CPR, the NPMR offered lower freight rate schedules which were welcomed by Manitoba farmers along lines from Winnipeg to Souris, Portage La Prairie, and Morris. On these lines, the company made regular shipments of firewood, lumber, livestock, flour, grain, and manufactured goods. Grain shipments were the company's major source of income by 1900 and the NPMR maintained an elevator capacity of over 1.5 million bushels, second in Manitoba to the CPR whose capacity was more than 17 million.⁵¹ The railway also reaped benefits from immigration in the late 1890s. Revenues from passenger traffic between 1890 and 1900 rose from 37.4 million to 97 million. Other activities, such as mail and express freight, were relatively insignificant in comparison with heavy freight

cargoes and passenger traffic, and the NPMR hotel, which was destroyed by fire in 1889, operated at a loss in the 1890s.⁵²

The NPMR was an important factor in opening up Winnipeg's hinterland and in offering competitive freight rates, but it did not solve all the problems of prairie farmers. The company was limited by its size during bumper crop years and grain had to be left in storage over the winter on some occasions because cargoes could not be transported east to the lakehead.⁵³ As the NPMR's financial situation worsened in the late 1890s and company officials expressed a willingness to sell its facilities, the line gradually fell out of favour. In 1897, the President of the NPMR attempted to bring the company out of debt by expanding the line to Duluth, Minnesota, but he failed to come to an agreement with the Manitoba government.⁵⁴

Although the NPMR challenged the CPR monopoly, it had little effect on the implementation of the national policy in the west. By 1900 the CPR had obtained control of the movement of goods throughout the west. After the NPMR was chartered, rates had fallen slightly and the CPR had established regulation agreements for rates in certain areas, but this did not shatter the public perception of the CPR as a hungry monopoly. Western farmers despised CPR policies which they believed were responsible for the slow movement of wheat to market. As Fowke explains, because of the "mid-continental location of the wheat growing areas" and the severe winters, rapid transfer of crops was essential for the accumulation of rural capital.⁵⁵ The "farmer's need for maximum cash receipts, as soon as possible after harvest and threshing" created "demands for transfer and storage facilities at local points," as well as for "rolling stock and locomotive power to rush grain to the lakehead."⁵⁶ In the early and mid-1880s farmers brought their grain to independent handlers who operated makeshift flat storage facilities, or to the more expensive elevator facilities owned by large firms such as Ogilvie and the HBC. It was practical, therefore, for farmers located near the southern outskirts of the city to bring grain to the HBC's two elevators at the Forks in the 1880s, or to choose among other independently owned storage facilities near rail lines. Often, several operators could be found at a single terminal, but by the late



SUBJECT The Forks: Post 1870.

SOURCE Provincial Archives of Manitoba

RESTRICTIONS

CAPTION Ruins of the Manitoba Hotel after the
fire.

REMARKS

DATE 1899.

1880s and early 1890s railway companies began constructing their own elevators and to force many of the smaller operators out of business.⁵⁷ Animosity was directed first at the large corporations, who were accused in 1898 of forming syndicates, then at the CPR, whose directors were accused of forming a combination with the syndicates against small operators. James Douglas, the MP for Assiniboia East, informed the House of Commons that there were

a number of elevators in full operation, and an understanding has been reached between the Canadian Pacific Railway and the elevator syndicate that all...flat warehouses must pass out of existence; so that in the province of Manitoba and a portion of the North-West Territories, the business has been wholly absorbed by the elevator syndicate.⁵⁸

In 1899 a Royal Commission on the Shipment and Transportation of Grain discovered that although many terminal points had more than one elevator or storage facility, there "have been combinations of elevator owners into large companies," and this "has resulted in fewer and larger elevator-owning corporations, which naturally tends to further decrease competition."⁵⁹

II. The Canadian Northern Years

Amidst a background of economic hardships in the rural West, the emergence of the Canadian Northern Railway signified to many farmers and businesses an alternative to the CPR monopoly, and to the ineffective and bankrupt NPMR. At the turn of the century the Canadian Northern appeared as a fledgling railroad in a world of trusts, combines, and corruption in business and government. In reality, the Canadian Northern was a child of the union of private enterprise and the federal government. Like its Canadian predecessor, the CPR, it was the product of the government's new rail initiatives, which, in the 1890s and 1900s were intended to implement the National Policy by extending rail services to all corners of the north-western region of Canada.

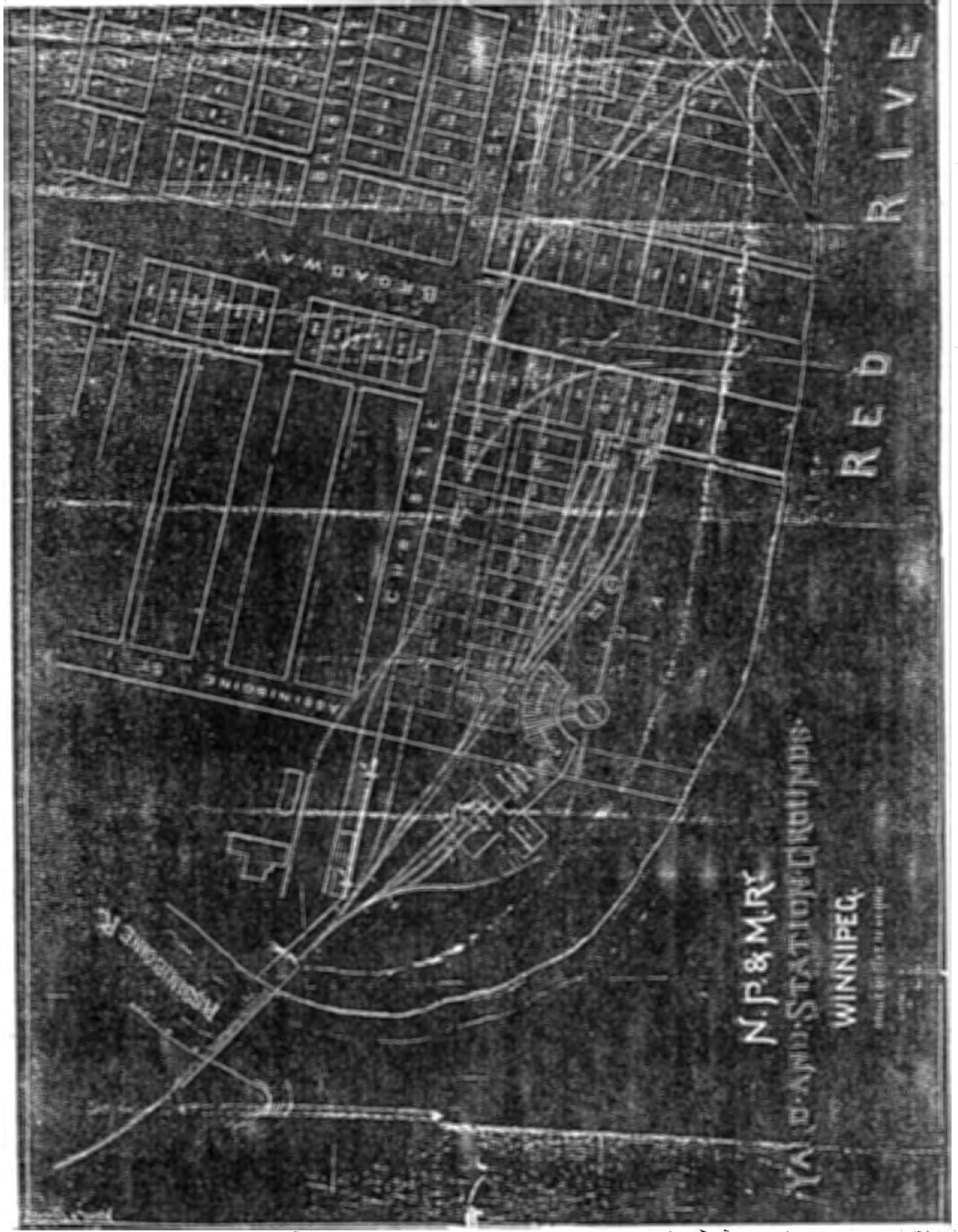
Depression and financial crises in the 1890s took its toll on federal railway policies. The CPR, like other railways of the period, suffered financially in the early part of the decade, placing further financial burdens

on the federal government, and when the Canadian economy recovered after 1896, railway companies discovered that the federal government had adopted a new policy towards the financing and construction of major transportation projects. The lines of the CPR had been financed in the 1880s with cash subsidies and land grants, but by the 1890s available land was becoming scarce while hostility to subsidies rose in Ottawa. In Sir Edmund Osler's words, these

railway subsidies...are a main source of corruption in elections, such as we are now having exposed. It is from such subsidies that the money is supplied to pay the men who have been engaged in ballot box stuffing and the election frauds which we hear so much about. These men are not committing these crimes for nothing. They are paid with the money of the people.⁶⁰

In 1899 the federal government officially changed its policy of cash subsidies and forced new lines to seek other financial sources in foreign money markets or from provincial governments. Railway construction was encouraged through complex federal-provincial arrangements which involved deferred subsidies or provincial bond guarantees.

It was against this background of changing federal policy that the Canadian Northern Railway emerged as a competitor to the CPR with the blessing of the federal government. From 1895 to 1897 the provincial government issued bond guarantees to William MacKenzie and Donald Mann for the construction of branch lines in Manitoba. At the same time the provincial government approached the Northern Pacific Railroad to expand Manitoba's services eastward to the lakehead with the construction of a Manitoba-Duluth line to bring the line out of its financial troubles. Clifford Sifton, the federal Minister of the Interior, was opposed to this plan and urged Premier Greenway to finance Mann and MacKenzie. By 1898, after the Manitoba-Northern Pacific deal had fallen through, the Canadian Northern Railway was formed in an amalgamation of two MacKenzie and Mann branch lines. A federal charter for the new line was issued in 1899 and the new railway was forbidden from amalgamating with the CPR. Soon these events would result in the sale of the



N.P. & M.R.

STATION

WINNIPEG

MANITOBA

RED RIVER

BROADWAY

ASSINIBOINE ST.

CHESAIRE ST.

RENSSELAIRE R.

SUBJECT The Forks: Post 1870.

SOURCE National Map Collection

RESTRICTIONS

CAPTION A plan of the yards at the Forks after the Canadian Northern takeover and before the joint terminals agreement and construction of Union Station. Alterations were made to the NPMR shops and a second roundhouse was added.

REMARKS This plan appears in Guinn, "The Red-Assiniboine Junction," p.365.

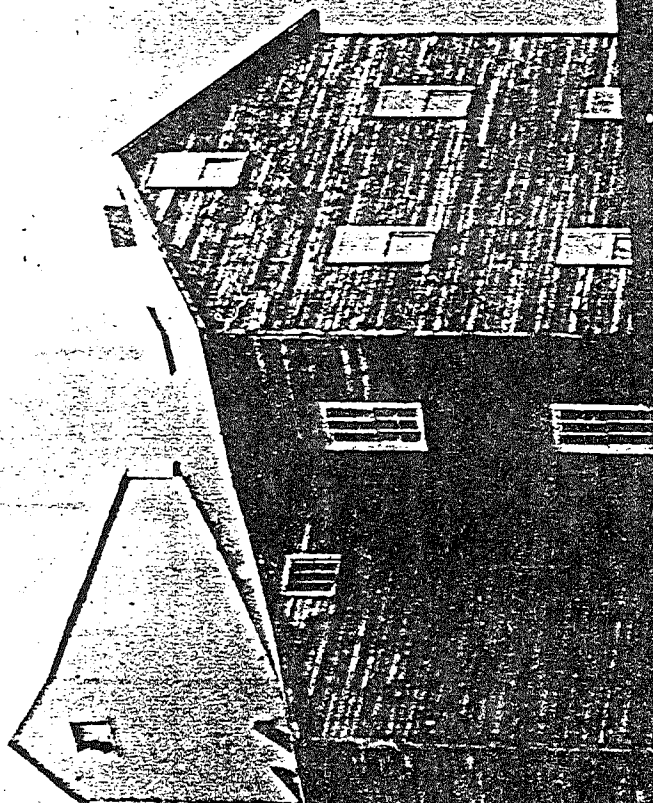
DATE 1970.

Northern Pacific and Manitoba and the appropriation of its facilities at the Forks by the Canadian Northern.

The acquisition of the NPMR by the Canadian Northern Railway transformed the Canadian Northern into a major western railway capable of competing with the CPR. Prior to the takeover, both the Canadian Northern and the NPMR operations in the west were dwarfed by the volume of investment, traffic, and rolling stock of the CPR. In 1900 the CPR issued 65 million dollars worth of common stock, its major source of capital, while in the same year the capital of the smaller rivals did not exceed 20 million.⁶¹ The small size of the Canadian Northern was further expressed by its operating strategy. In order to avoid the crippling operating expenditures that beset the CPR, MacKenzie and Mann depended upon low rates to secure business, low construction costs, obsolete and second hand rolling stock, and infrequent service.⁶² The Canadian Northern thus "failed to meet immediate needs. Grain was often piled alongside prairie branch lines in the fall, awaiting boxcars which would take it east."⁶³

With the transfer of NPMR rolling stock and shop facilities, the Canadian Northern also acquired additional mileage to procure new business, as well as the assets with which to expand and improve its own equipment and facilities. As early as February 1901, William MacKenzie told the Free Press of his company's plans to establish Winnipeg as the central terminus of the Canadian Northern system. He indicated at the time that the NPMR facilities were inadequate for a modern twentieth century railway and that "radical changes" would have to be made so that all new rolling stock could be built in Winnipeg.⁶⁴

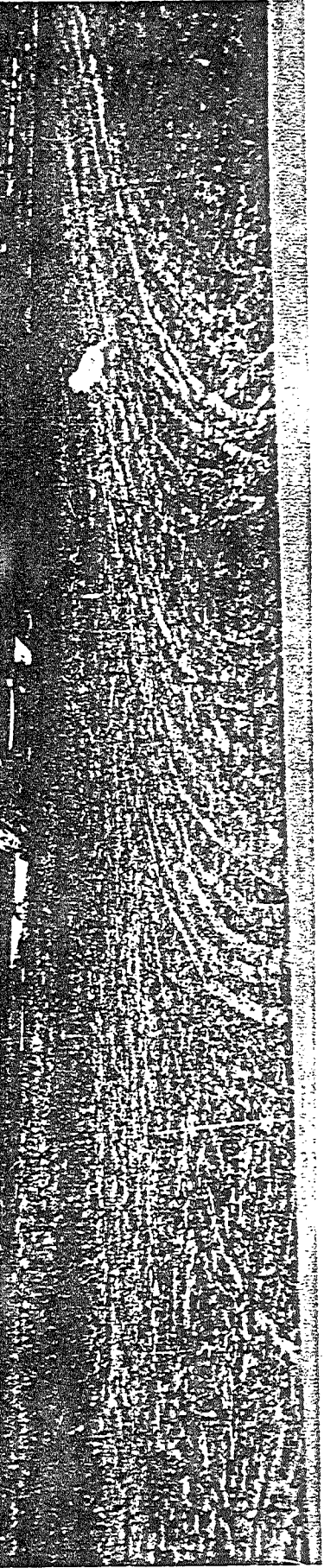
Improvements to the eastyards facilities were first on the agenda of the Canadian Northern's extensive process of modernization. In 1902, a year after the purchase of the Northern Pacific and Manitoba, drawings were made of existing eastyards buildings such as the enginehouse and roundhouse. In his study of the Red-Assiniboine junction, Rodger Guinn argued that few alterations to the eastyards took place from 1901 to 1907. This conclusion



CANADIAN NORHTERN 2602 G.N.R. 2002

1642

CANADIAN NORHTERN RAILWAY



SUBJECT

The Forks: Post 1870.

SOURCE

Provincial Archives of Manitoba

RESTRICTIONS

CAPTION

A Canadian Northern train at a grain elevator. Much of the rolling stock of the Canadian Northern was old and outmoded, having been purchased second-hand from other railways. This enabled the Canadian Northern to compete with the CPR in the 1890s and early 1900s by charging lower freight rates to its customers.

REMARKS

DATE

c1910.

was based on a comparative analysis of 1895 and 1908 plans of the terminal and yard. However, the 1906 fire insurance plans of the area depict major alterations, most of which were undertaken in the boom years between 1903 and 1906.⁶⁵

The 1906 fire insurance plans depict major alterations to the structure and function of the old Northern Pacific and Manitoba roundhouse and enginehouse complex. The shunting of cars and other such yard activities was now taken over by locomotives stationed in the new roundhouse, while the older building was converted to maintenance and repair of rolling stock. An addition was constructed onto the southern extension of the car shops and several sheds and small buildings were constructed around the blacksmith shop. The old engine house was now used as machine shops, while the roundhouse was used as an erecting shop for engines and as a boiler shop. Daily maintenance of locomotives was undertaken in the new roundhouse.⁶⁶

In 1907, a correspondent of the Free Press visited the yards, and his report survives as an eyewitness' view of the modified buildings and the diverse activity that went on inside. The new roundhouse, located north of the original NPMR shops and roundhouse, employed 98 workers "engaged in the care of the locomotives as they are brought in from the road."⁶⁷ The men were of various occupations and skills; there were fitters, fitters' helpers, boilermakers and helpers, washout men, hostlers, wipers, and carpenters. All were employed "for the purpose of repairing cabs."⁶⁸ The roundhouse was equipped with a heating system that "permits the engines being quickly thawed out...in the coldest weather of the winter," by means of a "powerful fan" which blasted hot air "from beneath the engine."⁶⁹ The system was also used to heat the building for the workers.

The old roundhouse was divided into two sections, an erecting shop and a boiler shop. Comprising one third of the northeast end of the structure the boiler shop was the place where

ASSL

231

5' 3" dia. machines for 500 rolls.
10' 6" dia. electric for 500 rolls.
10' 6" dia. electric for 500 rolls.
10' 6" dia. electric for 500 rolls.
10' 6" dia. electric for 500 rolls.

FORT GARRY

MILL GRIST MILL, Hudsons Bay Co.

WAREHOUSE
(CORR. IRON CLAD)

WAREHOUSE
(P.C.)
24 stone mill

ELEVATOR
60' dia. 1000 diam. 10' dia. mill

WAREHOUSE
(P.C.)
24 stone mill

SHEET No. 52

Scattered

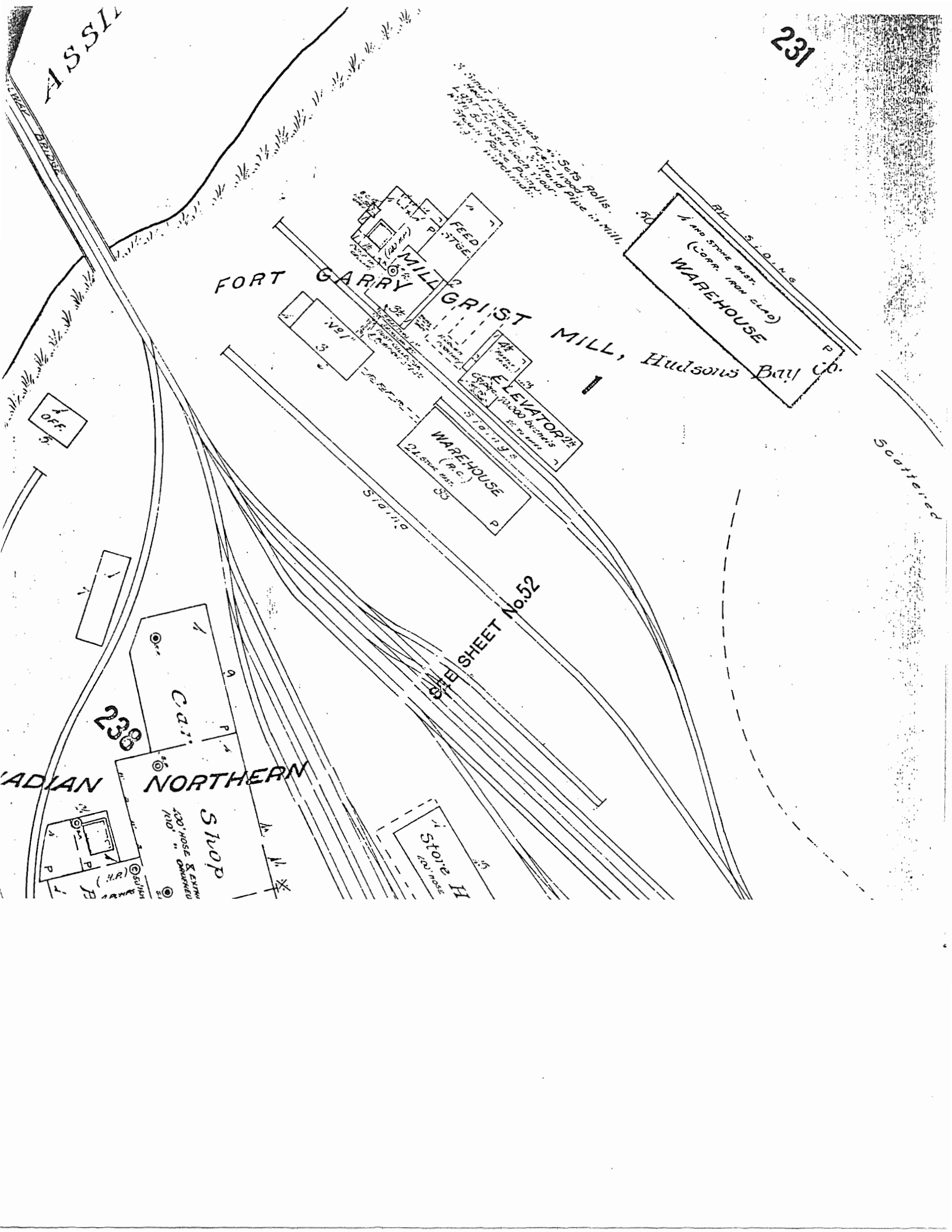
238

CANADIAN NORTHERN

Shop

400' HOSE & EXHAUST
R/O " " " " " "

Store H
for more



SUBJECT The Forks: Post 1870.

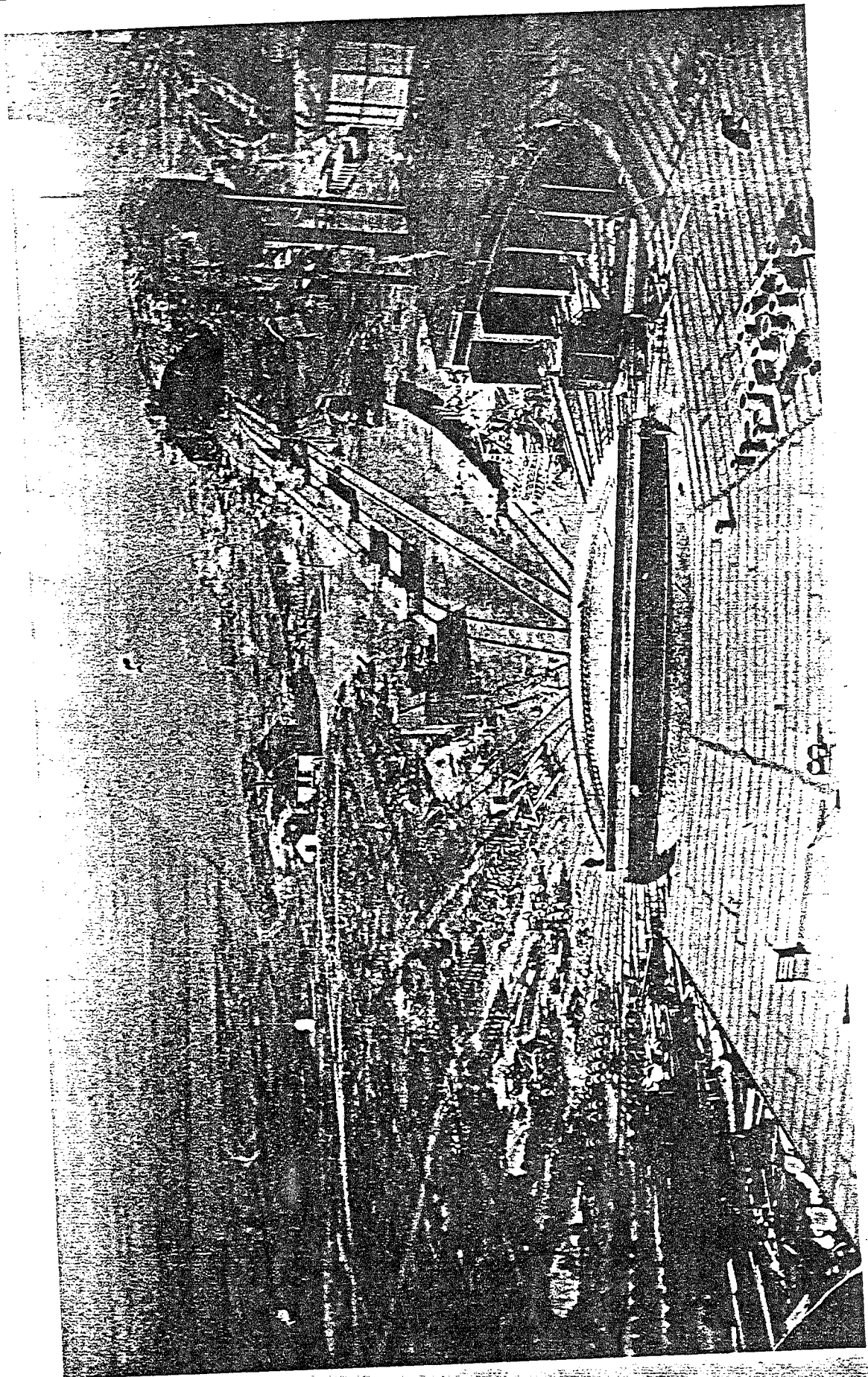
SOURCE National Map Collection

RESTRICTIONS

CAPTION Details of the Canadian Northern roundhouses at the Forks during the company's period of expansion.

REMARKS

DATE 1906.



SUBJECT

The Forks: Post 1870.

SOURCE

Western Canada Pictorial Index

RESTRICTIONS

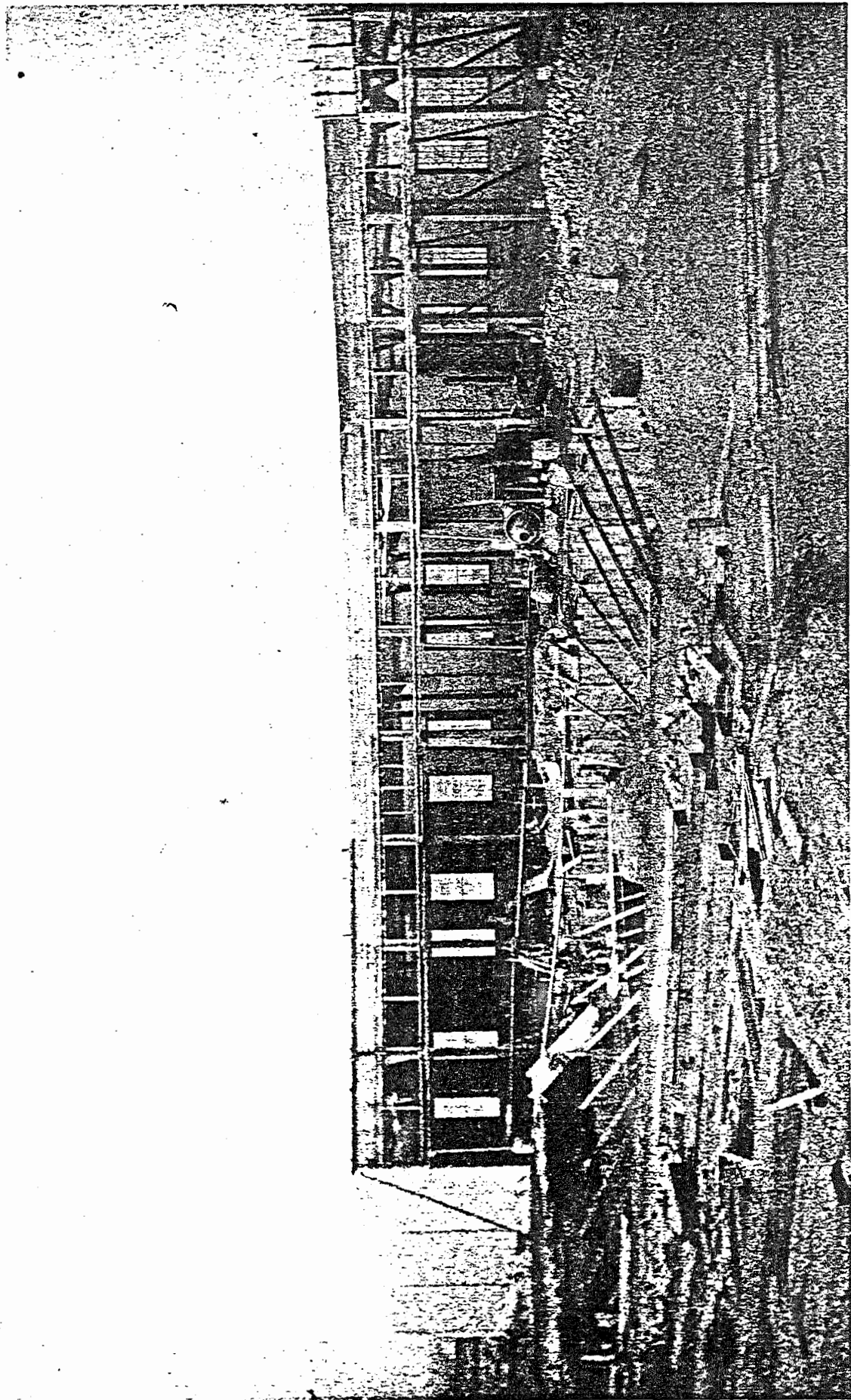
CAPTION

The roundhouse, yards, and turntable at Rivers, Manitoba under construction gives an idea of how the scene at the Eastyards must have looked during construction of the Canadian Northern roundhouse.

REMARKS

DATE

C. 1913.



SUBJECT The Forks: Post 1870.

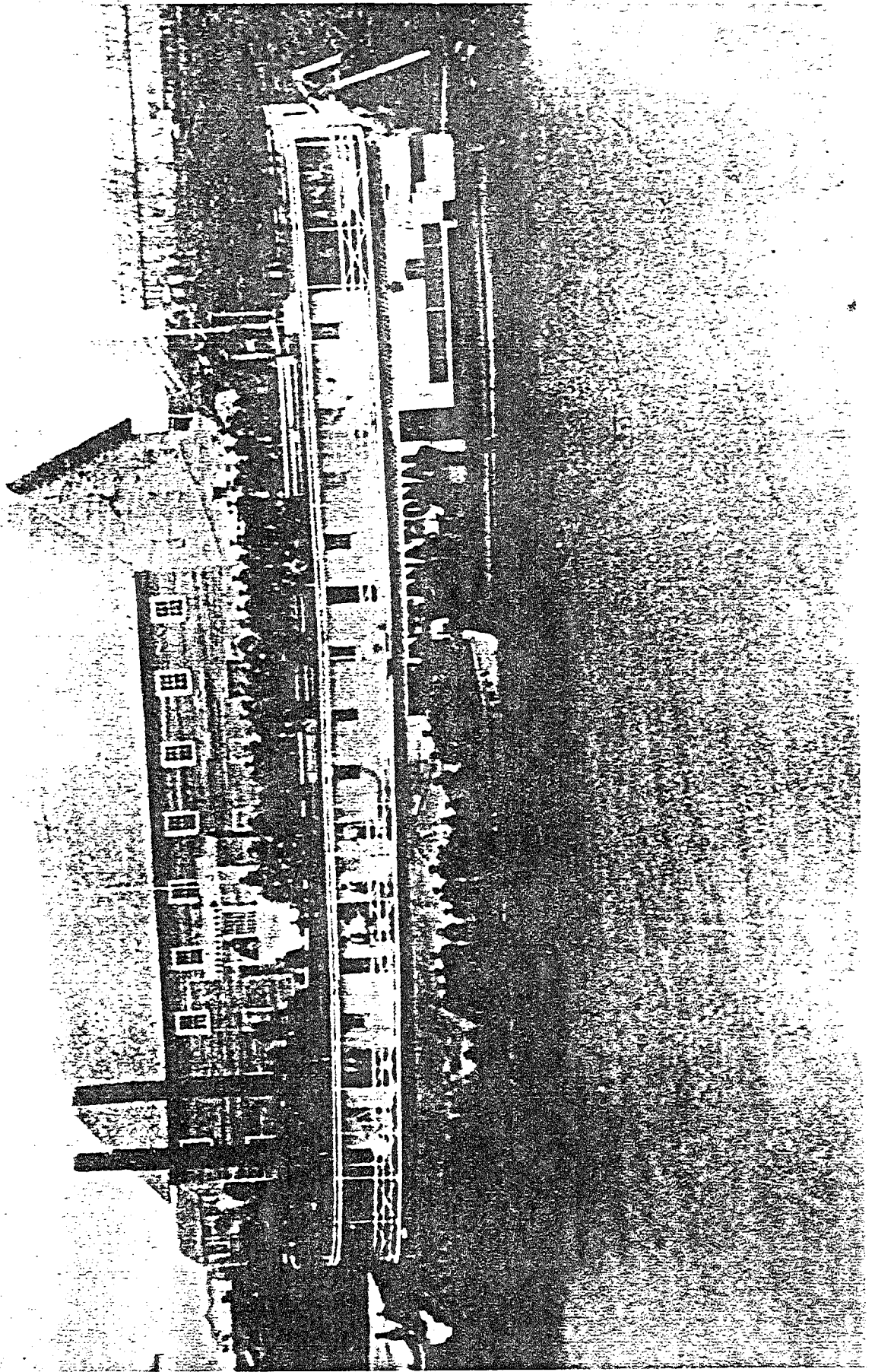
SOURCE Provincial Archives of Manitoba

RESTRICTIONS

CAPTION Construction of a Grand Trunk Pacific
roundhouse at Rivers, Manitoba.

REMARKS Note the excavation for the turntable.

DATE 1908.



SUBJECT The Forks: Post 1870.

SOURCE Western Canada Pictorial Index

RESTRICTIONS Credit: Glenbow Alberta Collection,
Western Canadian Pictorial Index.

CAPTION The arrival of the first Mennonites at
Winnipeg, July 31, 1874 on the "International"
shows the HBCo. warehouse and one of the
immigrant sheds (upper right). Until the
railway era, immigrants were forced to travel
to the West overland by coach and cart or
on river routes by boat.

REMARKS Another touched up version of the same
photograph appears in Guinn, "The Red-
Assiniboine Junction," p.284.

DATE 31 July 1874.

called into life in this progressive city, as well as in some other towns within this Province, have now opened a field for a class of immigrants - the labourer and mechanic - for whom, up to the present year, there was no room....The advantage gained by railroad transport was most striking, from the fact that where in former years the immigrant had to spend weeks under great hardships in reaching certain localities, he can now accomplish in so many days in comfort, and greater facilities will yet be given to the immigrant when once the Government open the head land office in Winnipeg, where every immigrant in search of land can, before leaving the city, receive all necessary information respecting the homestead lands in all other land office districts within the Province and territory.²⁹

By the early 1880s the immigration sheds at the Forks were in deteriorating condition and the federal government accordingly made plans to construct new buildings nearer to the CPR facilities in North Winnipeg. In March 1882 the question came up in the House of Commons and the government argued that "we are now making arrangements for the accommodation of these immigrants." The object at that time was "not only to repair the old sheds but to build new ones."³⁰ Several weeks later the government reported that there was "a new shed now almost completed at Winnipeg, and an old one is being repaired."³¹ In addition to this work, "Winnipeg is erecting two sheds at the expense of the city."³² The new buildings were located close to the CPR yards, on West Fonseca Avenue, east of Princess Street near the Brown and Rutherford lumber mill.³³ In 1880 as many as 1,164 people received temporary shelter at the Forks, but by the end of the boom, when the totals rose to over 4,000, the new sheds became the main facility. In August 1883, the Daily Sun reported that due to the poor condition of the buildings at the Forks, a number of families were forced to leave before the facilities were to be torn down for firewood.³⁴ In 1887 the sheds on Fonseca Avenue "were partially destroyed by fire," and the "remaining portion was unfit for human habitation, leaving a 'want of proper accommodation' for the immigrants."³⁵ A new building was later constructed at Higgins Avenue and Maple Street in 1891.³⁶

After the arrival of the CPR in Winnipeg and the construction of its huge marshalling yards through the north end of the city in the 1880s, dominion government immigration facilities also gravitated northward. The only exception was the Dominion Lands Office, which remained on the south portion of Main Street until the 1900s when Dominion Lands became increasingly involved in rural settlement campaigns. By the time that the HBC was ready to sell blocks of its land on the flats for the newly chartered NPMR, the Forks had been abandoned as a feasible terminus for immigrants arriving by riverboat. These developments preceded a shift in federal immigration policy in the early and mid-1890s. In 1892 the Department of the Interior took over jurisdiction of the Immigration Branch from the Department of Agriculture. Two years later, Clifford Sifton, a former Attorney-General in the Thomas Greenway administration, was appointed as head of the Department of the Interior, where he began an aggressive campaign to attract immigration to the Canadian west. For Sifton this involved restructuring the bureaucracy and streamlining policy:

What Sifton did accomplish was to set up an organization for the administration of a policy which took him about seven years to complete. At home medical inspection was improved and detention and quarantine buildings were erected at seaports. In the West, immigration sheds were erected at distribution points, and immigration agents were appointed to supervise the processes of settlement. In the years preceding and immediately following his taking over the Ministry of the Interior, inflows of immigrants were small. But the combination of advertising, bonuses to steamship agents, ...and personal representatives working in various foreign areas began to attract increasing flows of the classes in which the minister had the strongest interest.³⁷

More publicity and propaganda advertising the 'last, best west' appeared at international fairs and exhibitions and in foreign cities than ever before.³⁸ As well, the Department became more actively involved in using the railway companies to encourage settlement. The Department secured free passes and cut rates for passengers from Canadian and American companies - small railway

FRUITFUL
Manitoba

HOMES FOR
MILLIONS

THE
BEST WHEAT LAND
AND THE RICHEST
GRAZING COUNTRY
UNDER
THE SUN

WESTWARD
THE STAR OF EMPIRE TAKES ITS WAY

AREA 116,021 SQUARE MILES



Front cover of pamphlet prepared by the Manitoba
Department of Agriculture and Immigration, c. 1892

SUBJECT

The Forks: Post 1870.

SOURCE

Western Canada Pictorial Index

RESTRICTIONS

Credit: Provincial Archives of Manitoba

CAPTION

Cover of a pamphlet prepared by the Manitoba Department of Agriculture and Immigration. Pamphlets and advertisements such as these were an important part of the campaigns which attracted thousands of immigrants to the West.

REMARKS

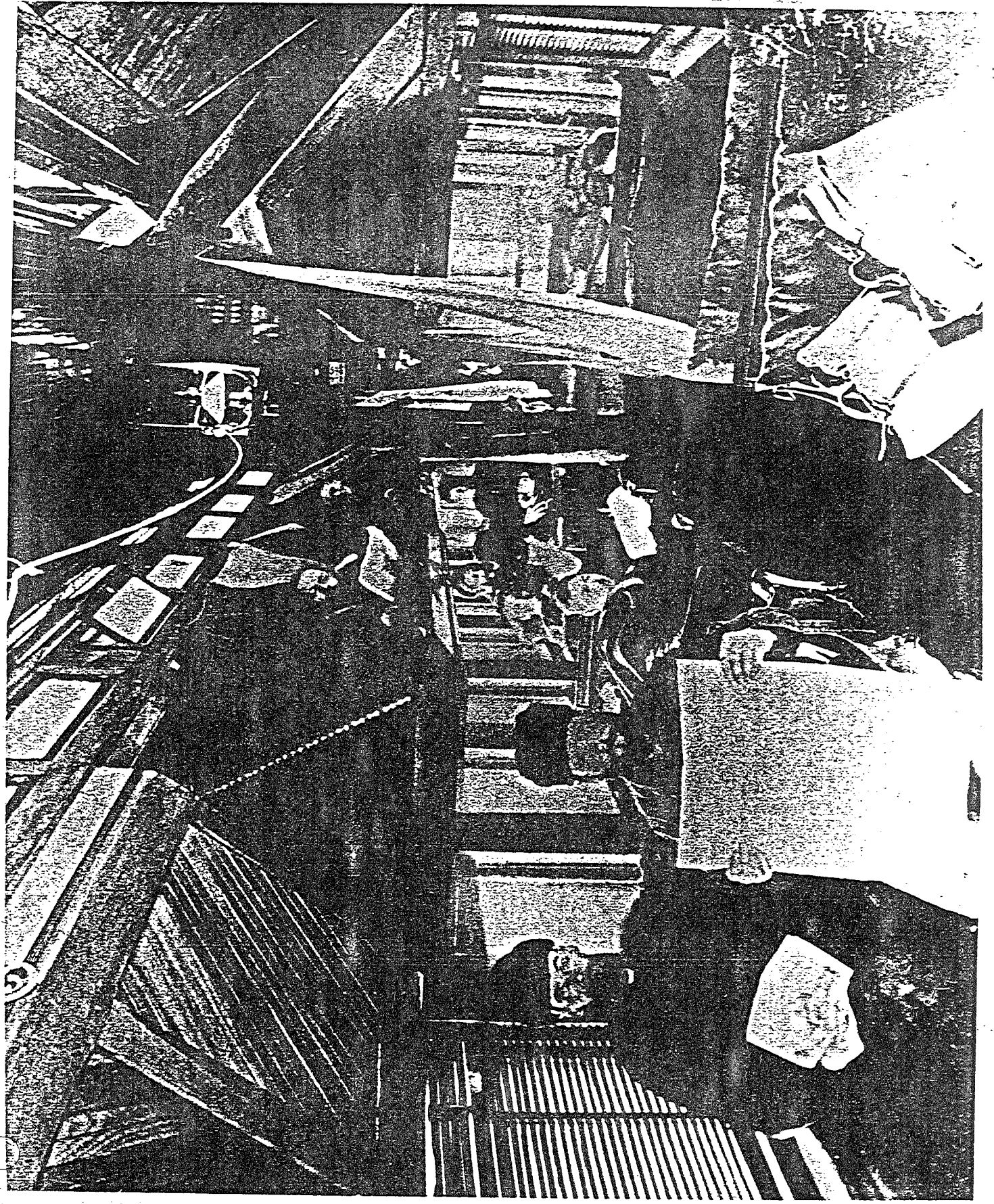
DATE

1892.

companies such as the Canadian Northern and Grand Trunk Pacific exchanged free passenger rates for long term loans that were used to build new branch lines.

The construction of the NPMR facilities at the Forks in 1888 and 1889 re-established the area as a terminus for immigration, albeit on a scale much smaller than that of the CPR. The NPMR built an immigrant reception area in its hotel, though no immigrant sheds were available. Of its seven passenger coaches, three were designated as 'second class and emigrant cars' in 1890. Two more were added to the fleet in 1895, but no rolling stock statistics were available for 1900.³⁹ The Annual Report of the Department of Railways and Canals, from which these figures were taken, did not report the number of immigrants carried over the NPMR, however, the number of first, second, and 'emigrant' class passengers increased from 26,668 in 1890 to 93,197 in 1900.⁴⁰ The Canadian Northern and Grand Trunk Pacific also played an active part in transporting immigrants to the west, especially since unskilled labour was essential to the construction of branch lines. Between 1900 and 1910, for example, the number of passengers carried on the Canadian Northern increased from 24,564 to 1,268,296.⁴¹ Until the construction of Union Station in 1909, neither company possessed officers to process or buildings to accommodate immigrant travellers. Presumably, they made their way to the sheds at Point Douglas or the boarding houses on Main Street upon their arrival.

The aim of immigration, and indeed of the National Policy itself, was to attract people from foreign countries and have them settle on western homesteads as agriculturalists. Prairie agriculture, however, was only one aspect of economic development - transportation and manufacturing were equally important to the growth of the wheat economy, and they too required ample surpluses of immigrant labour for expansion. It was one of the ironies of the National Policy that capital and labour chosen by the federal government for prairie agriculture was often lured into western cities during the rise of urbanization and industrialization after 1870. For the Briton or European who had come to Winnipeg in search of the 'last, best west,' the reality of immigration involved more than adaptation to the strangeness of a new and unfamiliar land. Adaptation and assimilation was made more difficult by the



SUBJECT

The Forks: Post 1870.

SOURCE

Western Canada Pictorial Index

RESTRICTIONS

Credit: CPR Saskatchewan Archives,
Western Canada Pictorial Index.

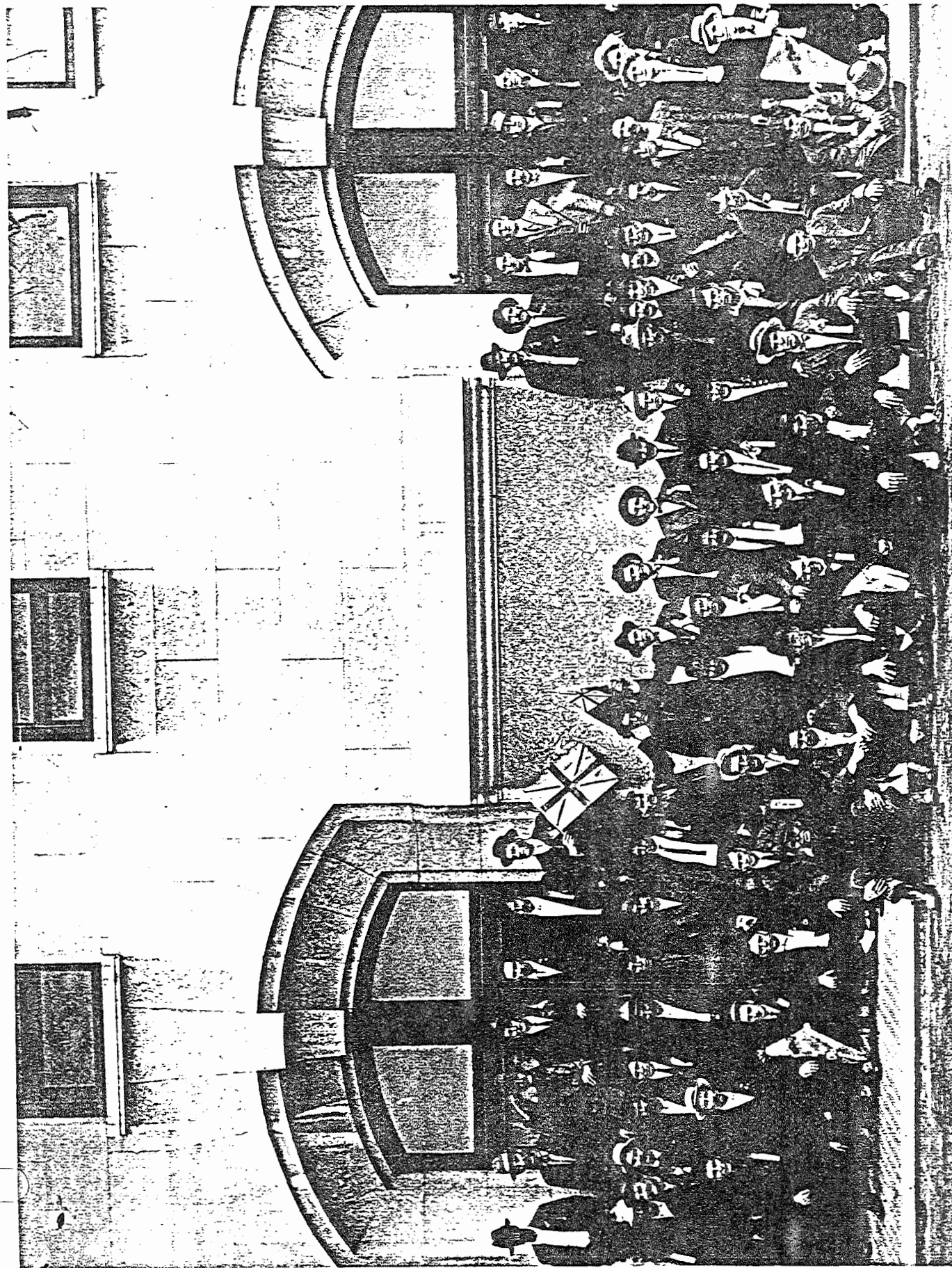
CAPTION

Interior of a colonist's car, c1908. The advent of the railway made possible the transportation of thousands of immigrants to the West between the 1880s and the 1900s.

REMARKS

DATE

c1908.



need to function within a host society that was itself experiencing profound changes caused by the emergence of industrial capitalism in the city.

II. Leaving Home

The people who came to the West via the Forks in the 1870s and early 1800s left home for many different reasons. The migrations of several thousand Icelanders in the mid-1870s began after the eruption of Mount Hecla in 1873 "buried miles of pasture beneath a flood of lava and a drift of ash."⁴² In 1873 and 1874 entire colonies of Mennonites left Russia when the Imperial Government revoked "their exemption from military service," a privilege that had formerly been respected as part of their pacifist religious beliefs.⁴³ In the early 1880s, hundreds of Russian Jews, escaping from the pogroms, were sent to the northwest by the Canadian government for colonization and settlement.⁴⁴ Britons, Americans, and eastern Canadians came either to farm, to find employment in a growing city, or to take advantage of new opportunities in the trade and commerce of the West:

Why have I come to Canada? Well, that is easy. To get work. I haven't earned a penny since Christmas. I have walked twenty miles a day looking for a job. For every position that is open there are hundreds of applicants. They actually have to call out the police. I had been in one position twenty-eight years looking after the stud of a wealthy man. The governor died. The stables were sold. Every man of us was discharged; some there forty years, too. It was tough, I can tell you. I have been looking for work ever since. There is none to be had. There are hundreds of thousands out of employment. Conditions are awful. It's my opinion England is going down hill - that England has had her day. Everybody is talking Canada. You hear Canada every place. There are advertisements in every railroad station, in every post-office.

Do you think I can get work? I have booked to Winnipeg. I have letters to men there. But



SUBJECT The Forks: Post 1870.

SOURCE Western Canada Pictorial Index

RESTRICTIONS

CAPTION Artist's depiction of an immigrant family leaving home for a new land. Painting by Richard Jack.

REMARKS

DATE Unknown.

I don't care what it is. All I want is work,
and the right to make a living.⁴⁵

Despite the promises of free lands and the impression of unlimited opportunities, the departure from one's homeland was a traumatic experience. The situation was perhaps more difficult for the European emigrant who looked forward with apprehension to the uncertainties of the long journey to an unknown land, with its strange language and customs, than for the British emigrant artisan who was used to 'tramping' in search of work. Many hardships had to be overcome even before leaving Europe. The emigrant's "journey was a pilgrim's progress."⁴⁶ They "ran a gauntlet of Prussian border police, fraudulent moneychangers, greedy steamship agents and careless dock workers."⁴⁷ Some "lost cash and baggage before embarking at Hamburg."⁴⁸ Before boarding the huge passenger ships that would leave from Hamburg, Bremen, Trieste or Liverpool, they waited in "line-ups for medical inspection, vaccination certificates, [and] baggage fumigation."⁴⁹ Then they were herded into accommodations which featured "bunks that lined the walls of the lower-deck dormitories" and "long tables down the centre of these spaces" which "served as eating and public areas."⁵⁰

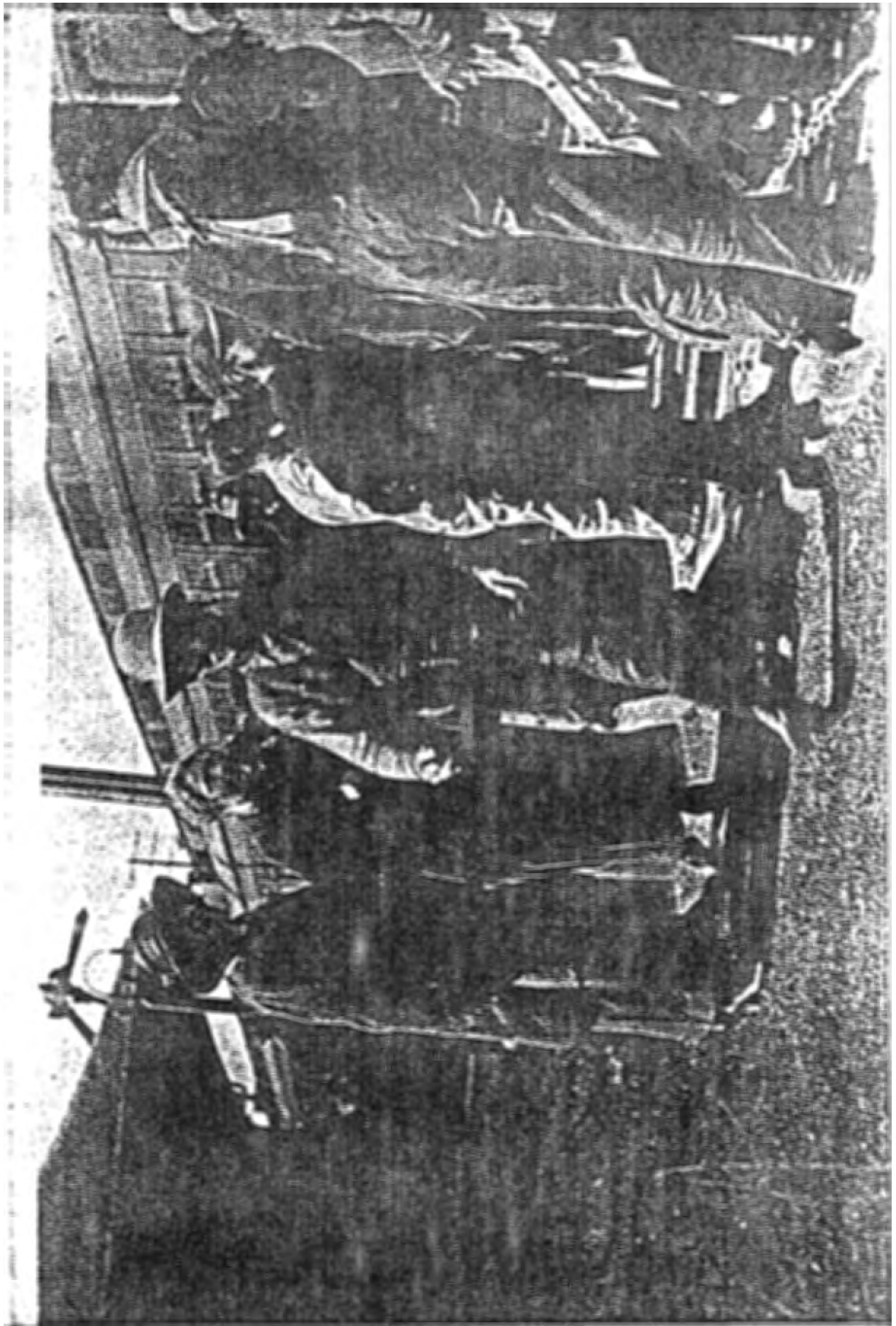
The journey across the Atlantic from Europe was completed in about twelve days. After the ship docked at one of several ports, including Montreal, Quebec City, Halifax, or New York, the people were once again shuffled through line-ups by medical and immigration authorities:

Fortunately, perhaps, the immigrant does not need to take the initiative, but finds himself carried along with the crowd. Management there must be, somewhere, and reason, doubtless, for all these tedious examinations, but he has no very clear idea as to the 'how' and 'why' of all that takes place during the long hours that elapse after his baggage. And what an assortment of boxes and bundles! No wonder that some pieces go astray!

First comes the medical examination. Then all must pass through the 'cattle pen' - a series of

iron-barred rooms and passage ways. They must go in single file, and each pass before various officials who question them as to their nationality and destination, and the amount of money they have in their possession. All this is very necessary, but it is a weary, anxious time. No one can tell what will come next. Many fear they will be stopped. Some are turned back - one taken and the others left. Now, there is the customs examination. At last tickets are arranged for, baggage transferred, and the immigrants find themselves bundled into a colonist car.⁵¹

Then began a difficult overland journey to Winnipeg. The first leg was usually by rail on the Grand Trunk to Southern Ontario. In the early 1870s the immigrant would have travelled along the Dawson Road, a trip that included "311 miles of [inland water] navigation interrupted by eight portages"⁵² between Lake of the Woods and Fort Garry. On at least one occasion the "inferior management of the Dawson Route contractors" was a source of "severe losses to the new settlers," who were "compelled to wait from three to five weeks for their baggage, after enduring a most trying journey which averaged twenty-two days."⁵³ When the Dawson Route was closed the trip could be made mainly by boat and rail. In April 1882, for example, "more than 240 [Jewish] refugees" left Quebec and Montreal on the 'Lake Huron'.⁵⁴ They "travelled by rail to Windsor, Ontario, then by boat to Duluth, Minnesota, and from there by rail to Winnipeg...a six-day journey."⁵⁵ Until the CPR made it possible to travel from Port Arthur by rail to Winnipeg, the Duluth trip caused considerable hardships for travellers. Immigrants found the route extremely slow: the "steamers stop at all the American ports situated along the line, which causes the voyage to last-sometimes nearly twelve or fifteen days."⁵⁶ This was especially a problem in the spring when steamboats could become frozen in the ice. In 1876 a party of settlers accompanied by Lalime "remained for eleven days fifteen miles from Duluth, nipped by the ice, without being able to go backwards or forwards." Famine "threatened on board, and we endured much privation."⁵⁷ Even when railway travel made transportation speedier and more efficient, immigrants were faced with:



SUBJECT The Forks: Post 1870.

SOURCE Western Canada Pictorial Index

RESTRICTIONS

CAPTION Immigrants arriving by railway, c1900.

REMARKS

DATE c1900.

another new experience - not altogether a pleasant one either, since they are not accustomed to cooking and sleeping in such small quarters. Some have not made proper provision. After several days, all were glad to get off the train at one of the large distributing points.⁵⁸

The overall journey to Winnipeg from Europe could last from four to six weeks or more, ending an ordeal that was both frightening and exhausting. The experience was later described by a Ukrainian poet, Ivan Franko:

If in some railway station you should spy
 Like herrings in a keg, tightly packed, a crowd,
 Women so gaunt and pale you want to cry -
 Like wheat stalks hit by hail, broken, wilted, bowed -
 The children huddled close, without a smile,
 With care and thwarted beams each forehead lined,
 Their ragged, dusty bundles around them piled -
 Those are the emigrants.⁵⁹

III. Settling in Winnipeg

Immigrants who came to Winnipeg were directed by agents and officials to government immigration sheds as soon as they arrived by steamboat or by train. J. S. Woodsworth once described the role of such facilities:

Arrived at Winnipeg, all go into the Immigration Hall for rest and refreshment, and from there in due time find their own place in the new land. The majority are bent on farming, and those who have means and experience to make an immediate start on their own account are told about vacant lands, and helped to a decision upon the momentous question of "where to settle." Others are directed to employment of various kinds, and in various directions, and so party succeeds party from day to day.⁶⁰

Through Woodsworth's description was in reference to the Hall near the CPR station in the 1900s, in the heyday of Sifton's administration, the sheds at the Forks in the 1870s and 1880s were intended to function in a similar manner. For the immigrant who had just spent weeks travelling overseas from Europe, this smooth transition from destitution to Canadian farmer or labourer did not take place in the immigrant sheds. From the very beginning the facilities were inadequate as accommodations. Two years after they were constructed, when the first arrivals were accommodated in 1874, the Winnipeg agent reported that the buildings were overcrowded. The situation continued through the remainder of the 1870s and were, no doubt, a contributing factor to successive outbreaks of scarlet fever and measles from 1876 to 1878.⁶¹ Because of the disease, the government was forced to use other buildings to shelter the newcomers. At any rate, most of these people appear to have found employment, either as farmers or as labourers, leaving the sheds deserted during the winter months.⁶²

In 1878 and 1879, during the construction of the branch line from Pembina, other immigrants began to settle at the Forks, near the sheds on the area known as the 'flats.' Lack of adequate housing forced many carpenters, bricklayers, and labourers from England, Ontario, and Italy to pitch tents on the flats during the spring and summer, and more appeared during the boom of 1881-1882.⁶³ Many of the skilled immigrants had been attracted to Winnipeg by reports of high wages and later complained "bitterly that the state of affairs in the city was greatly misrepresented to them in England."⁶⁴ Several "state that" they were "misled by false reports" and "threw up good situations in England and come here, only to find the labour market overstocked."⁶⁵ Most of these skilled workers came to Canada without their families and were able to make their way home or to hospitable climates in the U.S. for the winter months.

Other immigrants were not so fortunate. In the spring and summer of 1882 parties of Russian Jews began arriving at the Forks. Some found work in Winnipeg and were able to leave the sheds, but by August there were still several families, comprising a total of twenty-five people at the sheds. They

spent the winter in buildings which were designed only for summer use. One observer described the living conditions in January 1883:

The old immigration shed has been divided into little rooms about 10 x 12, like so many pens in a pig sty. There are about twenty-five families. Two or three married couples have no children. The others have families of about two to eight children each.... In one corner of the shed were found three families....⁶⁶

Some families "are in absolute want of the necessaries of life, and in danger of perishing for want of fuel." Men, women, and children "are huddled together in filthy pens, literally starving,"⁶⁷ and in "several cases the only furniture is a stove, a bench and a small table, while beds are made on top rough boxes...."⁶⁸ Many of these people were suffering from bronchitis and asthma.⁶⁹ Some families had abandoned the sheds and erected small shanties nearby:

The first place called at [by a local newspaper reporter] was the shanty near the shed owned to Isaac Layovski, who has a wife and three children. Isaac worked during the summer and saved \$130. With this he purchased a stove and erected his shanty....⁷⁰

The Daily Sun reporter also visited a shanty close to the Broadway Bridge which two families occupied:

The mother of the first family was suffering greatly from erysipilis [sic] in both hands. She was lying on a piece of board on which was an apology for a mattress...and groaned and cried piteously from the pain. The frost lay along the walls and on the bed clothes, and, though, the fire was kept in the stove, the shanty must be a dreadful place for a sick woman to be in with the thermometer down to 30.⁷¹

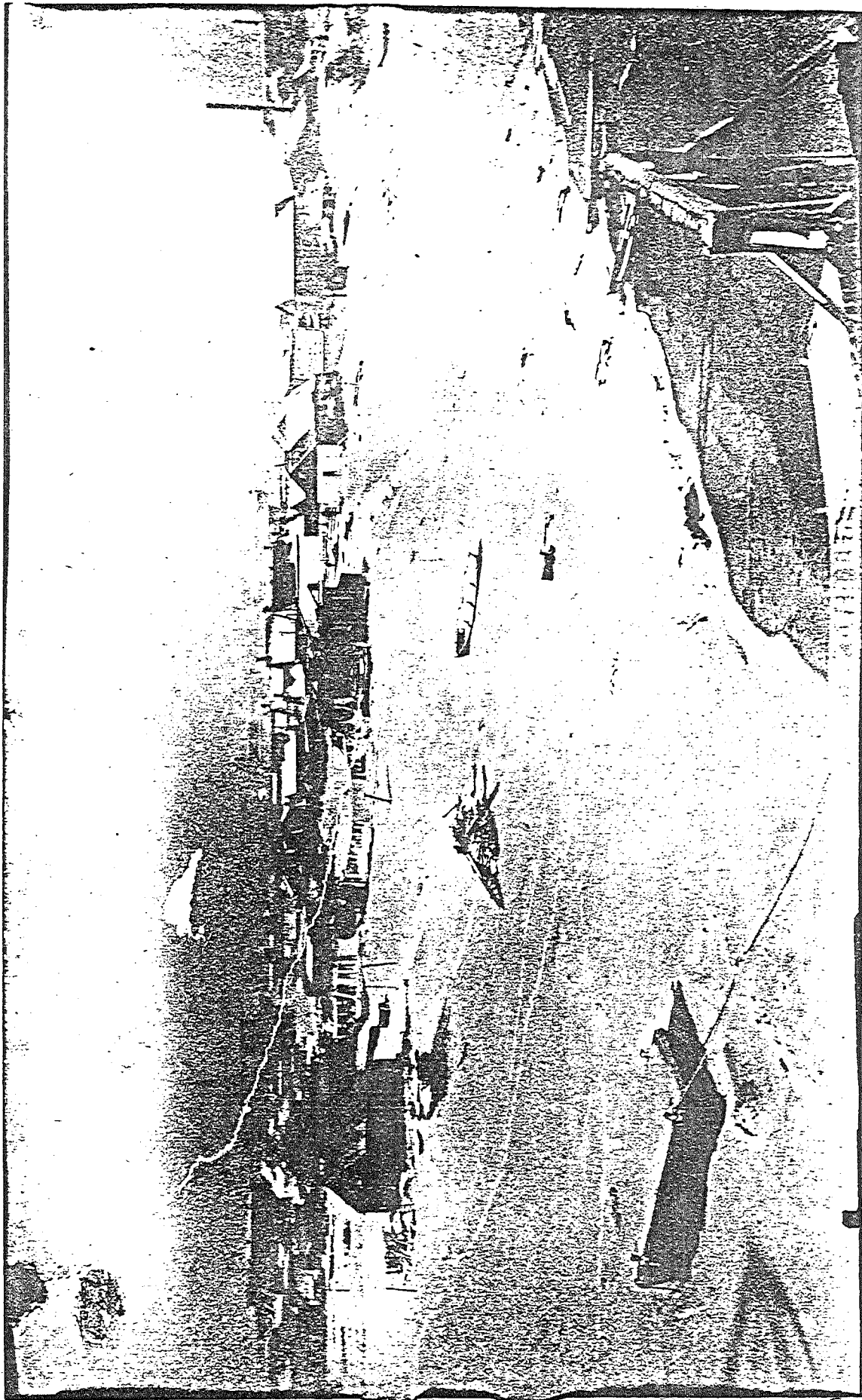
During the summer of 1883, other visits were made to the Forks. In July, as many as 50 families were reported to be living in the "filth and dirt" of

the immigrant sheds - refuse was "piled up each door inside and everywhere else inside the sheds."⁷² At the end of the month the city health inspector threatened to close down the buildings. Fearing prosecution, the Jewish refugees then vacated the immigrant sheds and built "little miserable shanties" on the nearby HBC flats south of the Broadway Bridge.⁷³

The immigration sheds had not been closed down, for they were still inhabited by English immigrants in the winter of 1883-84. The following description of conditions inside appeared in late January 1884:

Entering the building, a score of able-bodied men were observed - some standing listlessly around, some probing the depths of a cooking utensil in search of the remnants of food supposed to be concealed therein, and others looking as though they knew not what to do with themselves. An odour of victuals, fragrant and strong, greeted...the [visitors], and a cloud of steam fled through the doorway... Pushing through the motley den, the visitors entered a long corridor. Sleeping apartments were ranged along either side, but nearly all were empty. The reason for this was that the frost on the ceilings was melting, and the water dripping down in such copious quantities that had there been any occupants they would have been subjected to a very disagreeable... shower bath. Mr. Jackson, the caretaker, however, stated that there were enough dry rooms in the upper story of the building to accommodate the present occupants, who numbered about seventy. Pursuing their way, the [visitors] came to a room near the end of the corridor in which a middle-aged man lay suffering with rheumatism. He was attended by his daughter, a girl of about twenty years of age. They were unmistakably English....The sick man stated that he had come to this country about eight months ago, had been prostrated with pleurisy... and having no funds...sought admission to the sheds.⁷⁴

Towards the end of the building boom, the flats had become



SUBJECT The Forks: Post 1870.

SOURCE Provincial Archives of Manitoba

RESTRICTIONS

CAPTION The 'shanty town' in winter from the Broadway Bridge. By the mid-1880s, this area would be inhabited by many of the Jewish immigrants who were forced to leave the deteriorating immigrant sheds. It was also one of the city's first red light districts and urban ghettos.

REMARKS

DATE c1880-1881.

the home of many of the city's destitute population. One source reported as many as 2,000 squatters on the site at one time. Aside from the Jewish refugees, there were also groups of English, Scots, Irish, Italians, and Icelanders,⁷⁵ some of whom had settled as early as 1881 and 1882 in the days of the first transient tent communities. According to the Daily Times,

Shanty town may be said to be divided into three sections. First that lying on the Hudson Bay flats along the Red River, second those lying in the triangle found by Portage Avenue and Notre Dame Streets in the vicinity of Knox and Congregational Churches, and the third the lawyer colony in the north end of the city, principally located along Fonseca Street and around the CPR yard.⁷⁶

The tents and shanties of the Forks were washed away in the flood of 1882, but this part of the town was re-built in the summer of 1883 with the resumption of building construction and immigration to the city.

The population at the Forks was increasing in 1884. Shacks and tents were erected daily by carpenters, masons, unskilled workers, and the unemployed who could not afford to rent accommodations elsewhere in the city.⁷⁷ By the end of the year the flats had become well-known for prostitution and general disorderliness. From September to November the area was raided repeatedly by police. On one occasion, according to the Free Press, a "disorderly house on the Hudson's Bay flats was raided....Two men and two women," all Metis, "were captured."⁷⁸ During another raid four people were found "in a beastly state of intoxication"⁷⁹ after they had "stolen a keg of rum from one of the Hudson's Bay Company's delivery wagons."⁸⁰ By May 1885 many of the former residents of the flats had left the Hudson's Bay Reserve;

Lately shanty town has been attaining an unenviable sobriety in police circles as the resort of criminals and [Metis] prostitution. In many instances the more respectable class have deserted it, having been enabled to do so by the fall in rents and their places have been taken by the scum of society....At present the city is

greatly disfigured by the huts of tar paper and slab and the traveller on entering the city is given a very unfavourable impression by passing through the heart of the slums.⁸¹

IV. Adaptation and Assimilation

Of all the settlers who came to Winnipeg in the 1870s and 1880s, the Anglo-Saxons from Ontario were by far the largest group. They brought with them capital, cultural values, and traditions which by the mid 1870s came to dominate the cultural and economic life of Winnipeg. The early immigrants to the West were expected to share in the aspirations for growth and development that were held by these transplanted Ontarians; to contribute to rural settlement and agriculture, or to adapt to the customs of Anglo-Saxon working-class society when they remained in the city. The early Mennonites and Icelanders who settled in farming communities outside Winnipeg probably fulfilled most of the expectations held by the Canadians, but the immigrants who came at the time of the boom of the 1880s and settled at the Forks were much more difficult to assimilate. As the Jews and other European immigrants sank deeper into poverty, local residents of Winnipeg began to identify between what they perceived as different types of immigrants. There were the industrious people who could adapt to a new way of life through virtuous hard work, and they might be rewarded some day with a prominent social or economic position in the community. Conversely there were those whose refusal to accept responsibility led them further into economic obscurity until they eventually became a social and civic liability. The growth of these perceptions coincided with a shift in attitude first towards the Jews, then towards the other people living in the shanties on the HBC flats.

Initially the Jewish immigrants were welcomed by local residents into the community. Most of the newcomers were tradespeople who were "expected to become farmers."⁸² Civic authorities helped to make arrangements for their stay at the immigration sheds at the Forks, while local businessmen promised to find employment for them.⁸³ When the first party of nineteen Russian Jews

arrived in May 1882, the tiny Winnipeg Jewish community organized a welcome supper for them. At the sheds the "Jewish women of Winnipeg provided a fine dinner"⁸⁴ where "all the delicacies of the season were served in abundance, and were thoroughly enjoyed."⁸⁵ The Winnipeg Jews also found work and clothing for the refugees.

Larger parties of refugees, numbering as many as 340, arrived throughout the summer of 1882. Winnipeg's Jewish population as well as non-Jewish voluntary and civic bodies took up their cause with appeals for charity. These became more urgent during the winter of 1882-1883 when some of the people who "are living huddled together in squalor in the immigrant sheds, or in miserable shanties at different parts of the city."⁸⁶ In January a meeting was held to consider the establishment of a charitable fund sponsored by City Council. The YMCA also became active to aid the efforts of the Winnipeg Jews who "have been aiding their brethren, but find the work too great for them to do alone."⁸⁷ Many citizens responded, having "expressed themselves willing to give money, food, clothes, etc. if satisfactory arrangements can be made for their judicious distribution."⁸⁸ Respectable members of the community also offered moral and spiritual encouragement as well as economic assistance:

In one shanty the Respected Mr. Pitblado was found. He was making a tour of the shanties enquiring into the conditions of the families and seeking out cases of want in order to afford relief. In his company the tour was completed. The res. gentleman...enquired how the folks were "making out," how they liked the country, if the "good men" had plenty of work, and in all cases wound up by urging all to go to church, no matter to what denomination they belonged.⁸⁹

One of the most ambitious organized campaigns to aid the immigrants was made by J.S. Coolican of the St. Patrick's Benevolent Society. Coolican regularly visited the immigrant sheds and the shanty towns all over the city, then publicized his often horrifying discoveries in the local press. In January 1884, the Free Press reported that the St. Patrick's Benevolent Society "is doing good work, and its efforts are being to a certain extent supplemented by

the other charitable national societies."⁹⁰ A soup kitchen was set up on McDermot Street where:

scores of people are fed daily....Most of them are immigrants out of work and out of money - people who have become objects of charity for the first time in their lives - but hunger and cold are merciless, and struggle as they may, they are ultimately compelled to accept the help that is extended to them by willing hands and sympathetic hearts.⁹¹

As the situation worsened in the immigration sheds and the shanties between 1883 and 1885 there were growing fears that the slums would soon become the sources of small pox or diphtheria epidemics.⁹² While various charitable and benevolent organizations sought relief for the destitute, a group of "tax payers" and "sanitarians flooded the columns of the newspapers" with arguments "pointing out the danger was in from an outbreak of disease."⁹³ The Jewish immigrants were singled out as the cause of much of the squalor. In one newspaper article they were believed to be responsible for the condition of the immigrant sheds:

The outbuildings were in a disgusting state of filthiness. It is not long since they were cleaned out but the inveterate recklessness and uncleanliness of many of denizens of the sheds were manifest everywhere. There appears to be no thought for present appearance or future consequences. There was filth, filth, filth, till one turned away sickened and discouraged.⁹⁴

Much of the moral outrage against the squalor of the shanty towns, the prostitution, and intoxication was directed at the Jews. In September 1884 a Jewish resident of the shanty town near the CPR station was tarred and feathered after having been accused of keeping a woman for prostitution.⁹⁵ Throughout the spring and summer of 1884 the sanitarians argued that the shanties at the Forks were a dangerous source of disease and that the appearance of huts on the unused roads of the HBC petitioned City Council "to take some action to evict the squatters."⁹⁶

By October 1884, the City of Winnipeg was prepared to clear the Forks of the shanties with law suits against the residents who were breaking fire regulations.⁹⁷ In response to this a group of Icelanders presented the following petition before City Council:

We, the undersigned Icelanders, who reside on the H.B. reserve in this city, between the Red River and Main Street, north and south of Broadway, and who have been notified by said company that the removal of our shanties from their site is immediately required, and whereas we have reason to believe from what we have seen in yesterday's papers that we have now to treat with you in the matter we beg to state that we do not feel ourselves to be in a position to remove our shanties from their present site on such short notice, but do hereby faithfully promise to remove them at first opportunity not later than the first of May next.

We promise to pay to the owners of the land such fair ground rent as they may demand until the day of our removal.

Those of us who reside north of Broadway propose removing away from our present sites within the given time as set forth in the notice of the Hudson's Bay Company but we request that we be allowed to remove south of Broadway or some other part of the plains as would secure the safety of the former should our shanties burn.

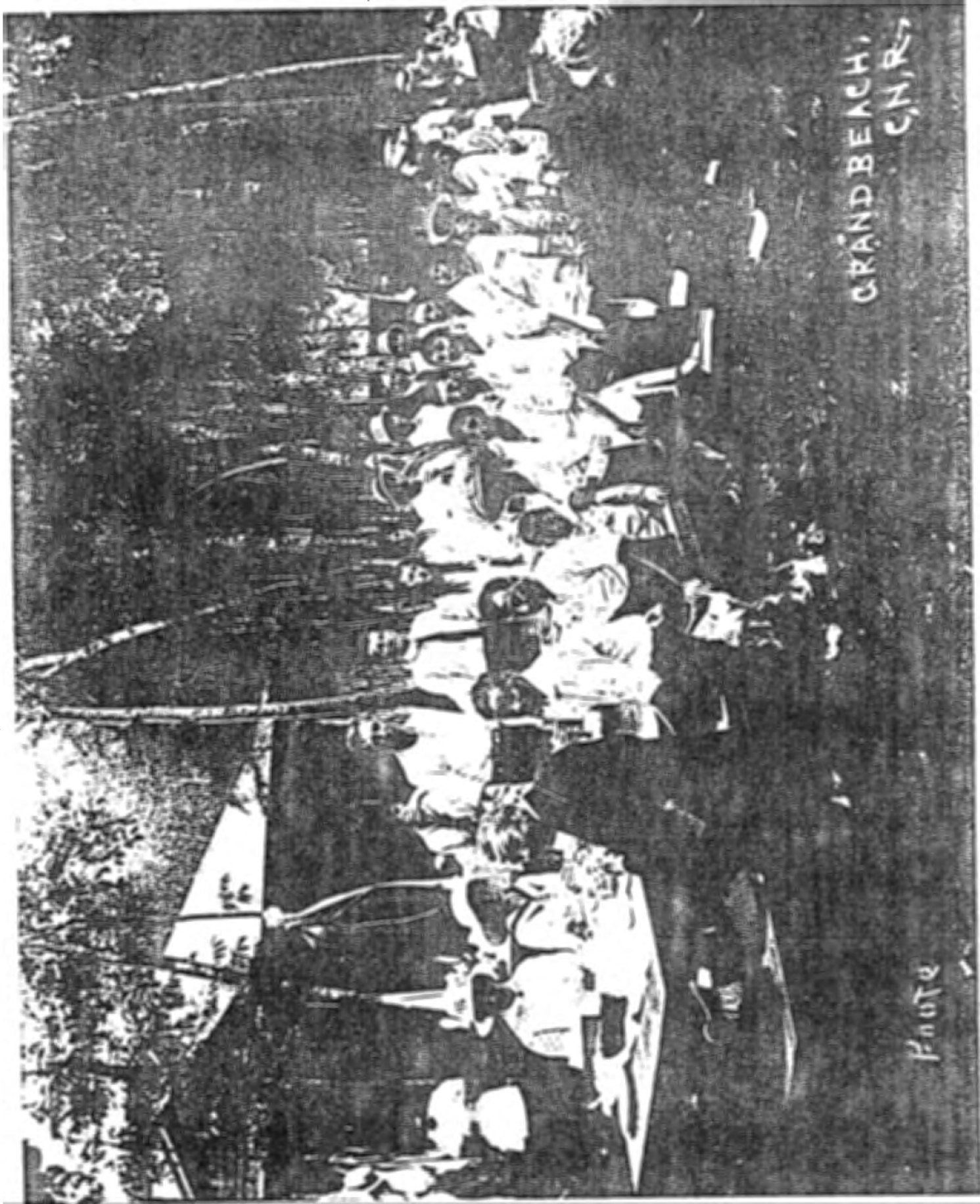
It was subsequently resolved that no doubts arise as to the power of the city engineer to pull down or destroy buildings obstructing some of the public streets, be it received that the city engineer be instructed to notify all owners of shanties obstructing such streets, that on the 1st day of May, 1885, all buildings found on the streets shall be pulled down, removed or sold by public auction, and that the by-law be amended to meet the different cases in the meantime, provided that the city engineer see the parties living on the street near the lumber yard of the Winnipeg Lumber Company, and, if possible, make arrangements with them to remove the south of Broadway.⁹⁸

The petition succeeded in moving the humanitarians on City Council to delay the evictions until May 1885. The residents of the shanty town at the Forks were then forced to move to the huts in Point Douglas and in North Winnipeg.

In later decades the efforts of Winnipeg's dominant elite to assimilate immigrants and to deal with the 'immigrant problems' of disease, immorality, and crime would be undertaken by cultural institutions as well as by government. Immigrants would be encouraged to adopt Canadian value through the school system. Indeed, one of the many problems of the shanties in the early 1880s was that the rules and regulations regarding the duties of tenants were posted only in English.⁹⁹ By the 1890s and 1900s notices would read in four or five languages and would serve the purposes of directing people to jobs and boarding houses until they learned English in the schools. The role of charitable and voluntary organizations would continue - in the 1900s people like J.S. Coolican would be replaced by urban reformers such as James S. Woodsworth or Margaret Scott.

In the 1870s and 1880s the destitute immigrants could respond only in limited ways to their circumstances at the Forks, either by enduring their conditions, or by appealing to the goodwill of their fellows and benefactors. One consequence of the events of 1885 was that the immigrant communities became more centralized in one area than before. Subsequent influxes of settlers concentrated in the North End in the 1890s and 1900s contributed to the creation of cohesive ethnic neighbourhoods that remained "separated on the basis of ethnicity, religion and class,"¹⁰⁰ from the dominant Anglo-Saxon culture. By 1923 these communities had fashioned their own ethnic clubs, benevolent societies, and meeting halls.

Many of the changes wrought by capitalist responses to urban industrial growth produced challenges to the fabric of middle and working class life. Throughout the 1890s, and increasingly in the 1900s, Winnipeg's workers attempted to defend themselves from deteriorating working and living conditions. Middle class reformers, like Woodsworth, publicized the terrible



GRAND BEACH,
C.H.R.

Photo

SUBJECT The Forks: Post 1870.

SOURCE Provincial Archives of Manitoba

RESTRICTIONS Credit: Provincial Archives of Manitoba,
Foote Collection.

CAPTION Canadian Northern Railway workers enjoying
a company picnic at Grand Beach.

REMARKS

DATE c1914.



SUBJECT

The Forks: Post 1870.

SOURCE

Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature

RESTRICTIONS

Credit: Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature
Photo: Gerry Berkowski

CAPTION

Soccer trophies used by various railway unions, including the Order of Railway Conductors, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, and Brotherhood of Railroad Employees.

REMARKS

DATE

social conditions of Winnipeg's North End in the early 1900s and they established missions to aid the needy. Such institutions helped some of the immigrants, who had settled in Winnipeg, assimilate into the dominant Anglo-Saxon culture, but many were able to preserve traditional values and customs that were centred around churches, labour halls, or benevolent clubs and societies. At the same time, working-class Anglo-Saxon immigrants maintained their own cultural traditions in similar institutions. In either case, these various cultural activities often allowed groups to survive many of the economic crises (i.e., falling wages, periodic depressions) that were the offspring of capitalist consolidation. In addition to this, cultural growth stimulated defensive responses to urban industrial expansion.¹⁰¹

ENDNOTES: Chapter 4

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4. Ibid., (13 April 1870), p. 1024.
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6. Canada, Parliament, Sessional Papers 8 (1877), p. 101. (cited hereafter as Sessional Papers).
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63. Free Press, 22 February 1882; Daily Times, 2 June 1879, 15 May 1879, 25 April 1882, 20 April 1883.
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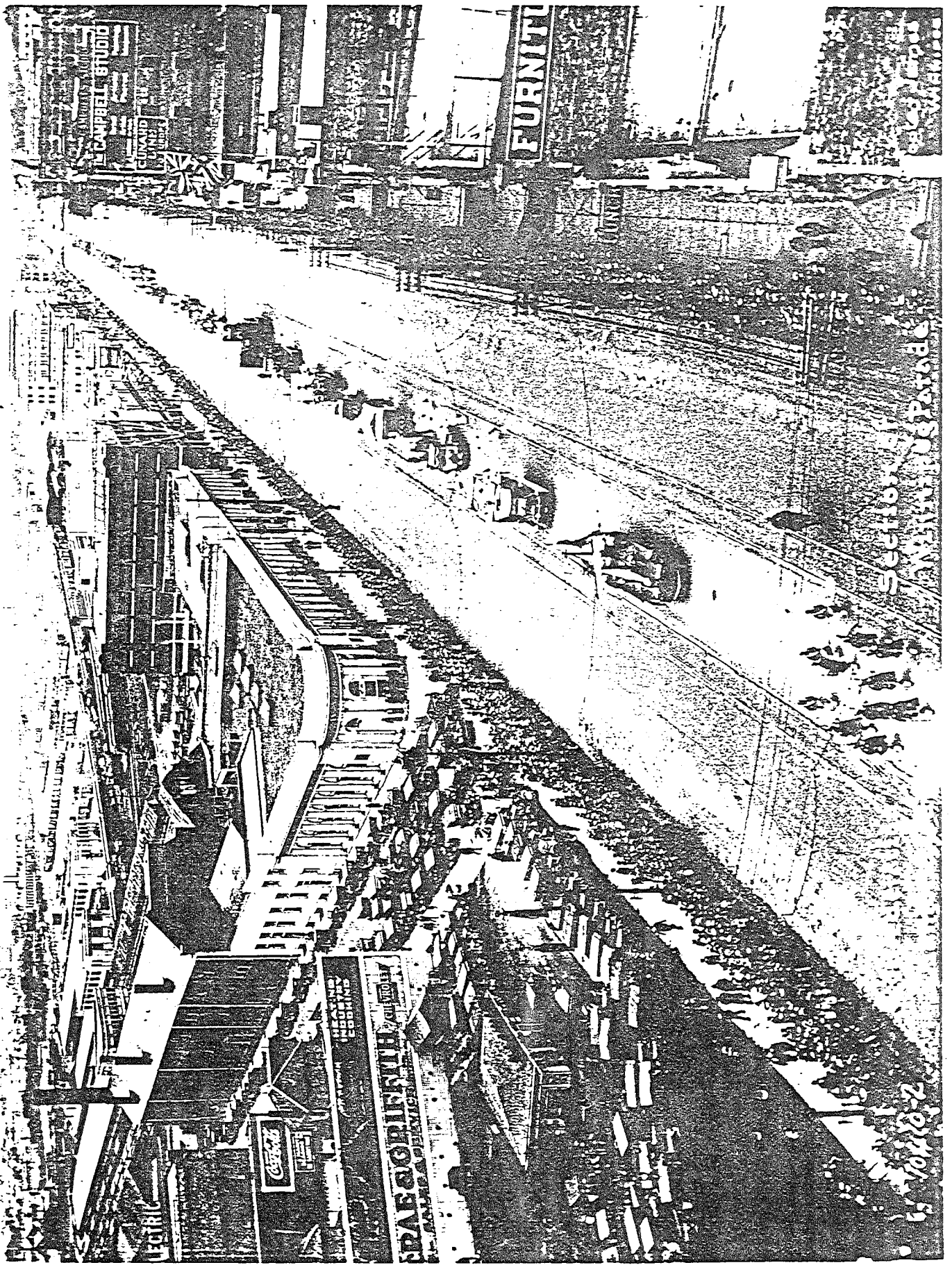
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Chapter 5: Conclusions

The Forks was an entrepot for immigration in the 1870s and early 1880s. After the completion of the CPR yards by mid-decade, the entrepot shifted closer to the core of the city - to the midst of commercial and industrial activity of the metropolis, and, more importantly, closer to the CPR station and enlarged federal government facilities nearby. It was at this place that most immigrants disembarked from the crowded railway cars of the 1890s and 1900s, and around this general area that the largest immigrant neighbourhoods flourished. Though the railways of the eastyards also transported immigrants to western towns and cities, the Forks had become one of many urban industrial sites that was comparatively insignificant in relation to the scale of the CPR's operations.

This transformation was typical of the evolution of the site throughout the post-1870 period. Early in the 1870s the Forks was a pre-industrial entrepot, a locus of trade, commerce and population where the sounds of the excited voices of the men, women, and children who welcomed the riverboats were heard above the shouts of HBC servants, the hum of the mill, and the flow of the rivers. With these sounds, the clatter of carpenters' hammers and buzz of sawyers working on the immigrants sheds had died away by the time the boom of the 1880s brought with it the sounds, smells and activities of heavy industry. The Forks by this time was on the periphery of metropolitan development, and when the NPMR and Canadian Northern brought the steam, clanking and screeching of heavy industry to the Forks, it slipped into the background, as one of many urban industrial sites in the West. In this context, the Forks was no different than many other urban sites in places such as Toronto or Hamilton.

If the Forks is to be highlighted for its significance to metropolitan growth, railways, and immigration, it must be related to more subtle patterns of evolution and dramatic change that affected other sites in Canada. What is significant about these processes, and their relation to the National Policy, is how they reflect the emergence of industrial society in Winnipeg and Western Canada as a whole. The sounds of industry at the Forks in the 1890s signified changes in transportation, technology, capital and labour, and



CAMPBELL STUDIO

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SUBJECT

The Forks: Post 1870.

SOURCE

Provincial Archives of Manitoba

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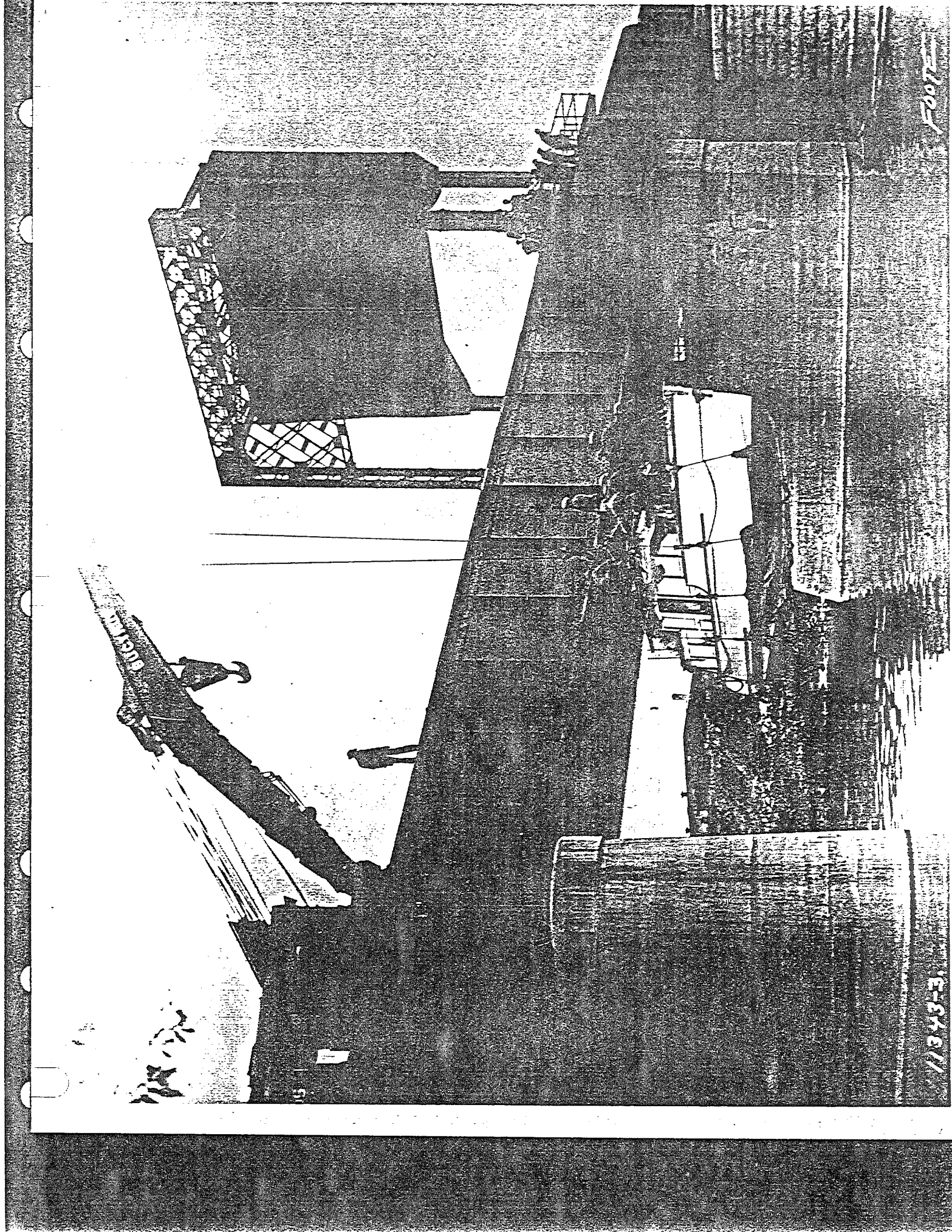
View of the Eastyards before construction
of the Johnston terminals building.

REMARKS

Note the remaining portion of the NPMR
offices and terminal on Water Avenue
behind the Industrial Bureau.

DATE

1927.



FOOTE

11343-3

SUBJECT The Forks: Post 1870.

SOURCE Provincial Archives of Manitoba

RESTRICTIONS

CAPTION

L/
Lowering a boat from the CN railway bridge. The house used for operating the bridge works (visible in the 1908 photo) has been removed.

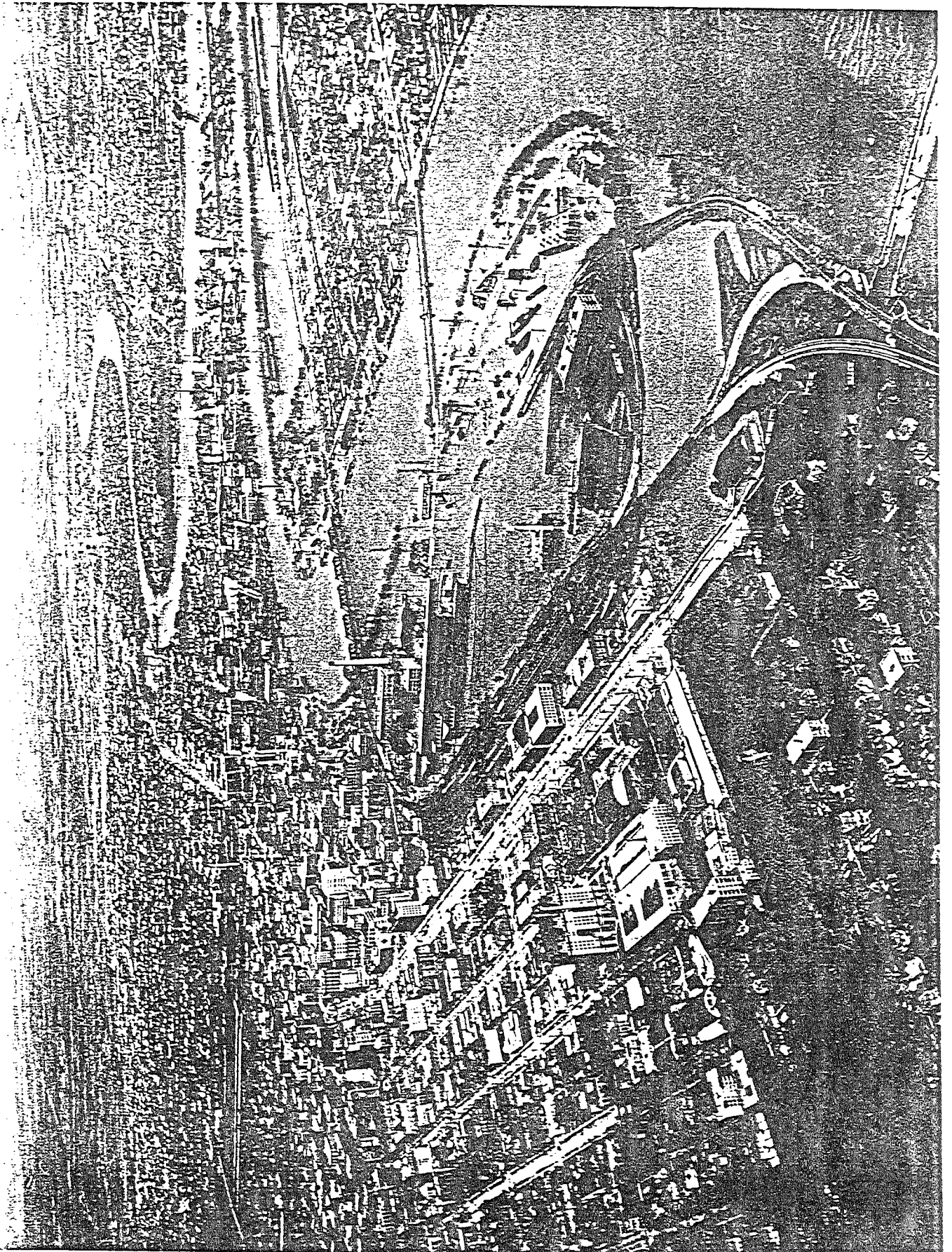
REMARKS

DATE 1929.

social structure as much as they exemplify the recession of monopoly and old economic organization.

The transformation of the Forks into an industrial site in an international corporatist system took place after 1923, when the site entered a new era of development. After the creation of the CN system in 1923, the Forks continued to play an important role as an industrial site and transportation centre within the urban environment. With the administration offices in the Union Station and luxurious hotel near Broadway and Main Street the area around the eastyards, once the nucleus of the fur trade, now became one of many nerve centres of a vast transportation network that included rail lines, express companies, and ocean liners which would soon extend far beyond the borders of Canada. The consolidation of 1923 thus provided the opportunity for the new publicly owned corporation to compete in the twentieth century with other multi-nationals of its kind.

Alterations to the buildings at the east yards after 1923 reflect the changes in scale of railway operations which accompanied the consolidation of the CNR, the GTP, and the National Transcontinental. With this transaction, the CNR had acquired considerable maintenance facilities at Symington and Transcona in addition to the shops and yards already present at Fort Rouge. Following the takeover, the company began dismantling the last vestiges of the NPMR, leaving only warehouses, freight sheds, administrative offices, and passenger facilities in the east yards. Portions of the roundhouse, which was "in a ruinous state" in 1914, were removed between 1923 and 1925 according to Guinn.¹ The vacant 6 stalls of the building were torn down completely, but the "vacant and dilapidated" car shops were left standing.² The latter buildings, now referred to as the-B and B shops were apparently restored. The Fire Insurance Plans of 1955 depict an Engine House with a machine shop (formerly the boiler room) adjacent to it. The machine shop was refitted with boilers, and tall sheet metal smokestacks were installed either in the late 1920s or 1930s.³



SUBJECT The Forks: Post 1870.

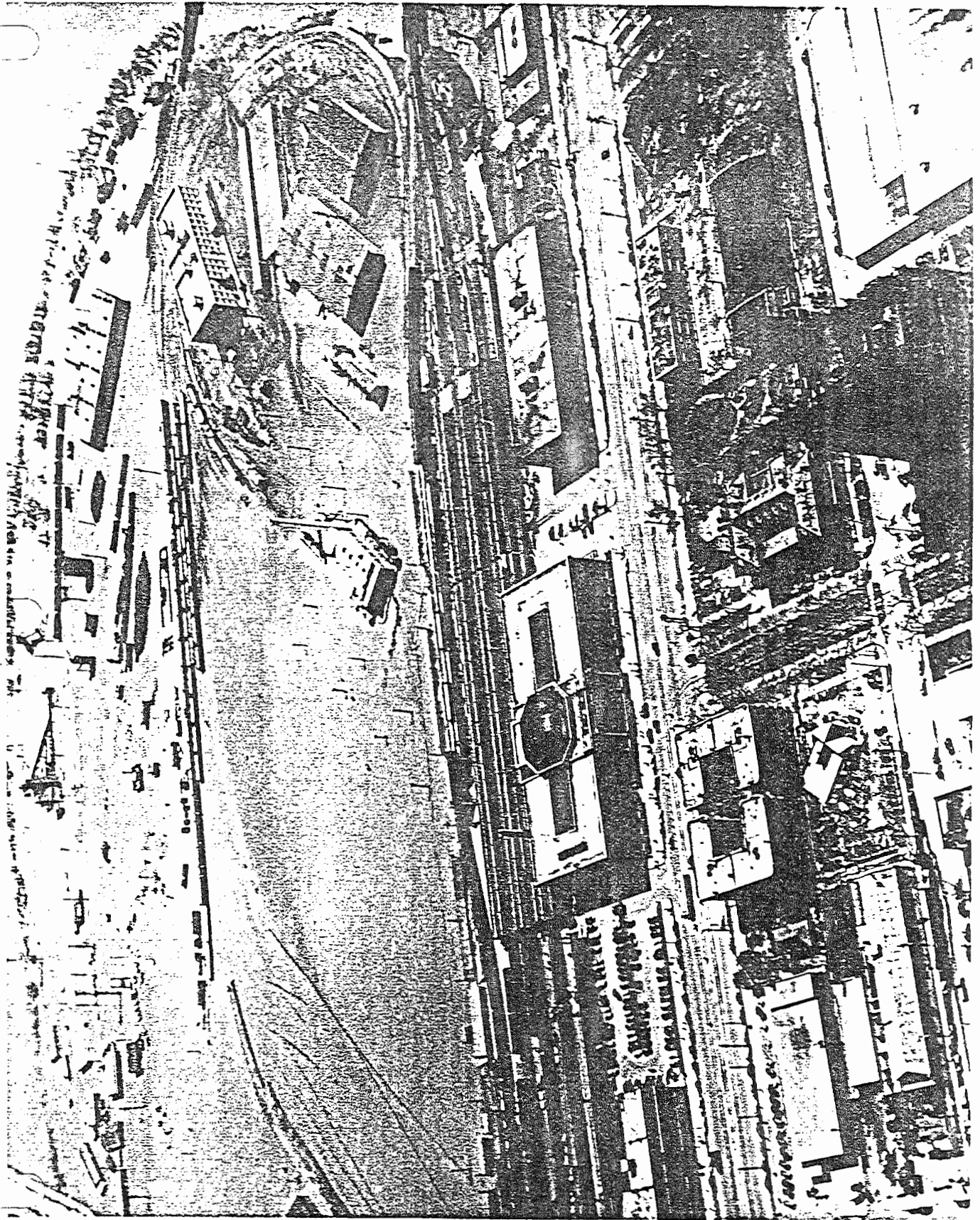
SOURCE Western Canada Pictorial Index

RESTRICTIONS

CAPTION Aerial view of the Eastyards during the
1950 flood.

REMARKS

DATE 1950.



SUBJECT The Forks: Post 1870.

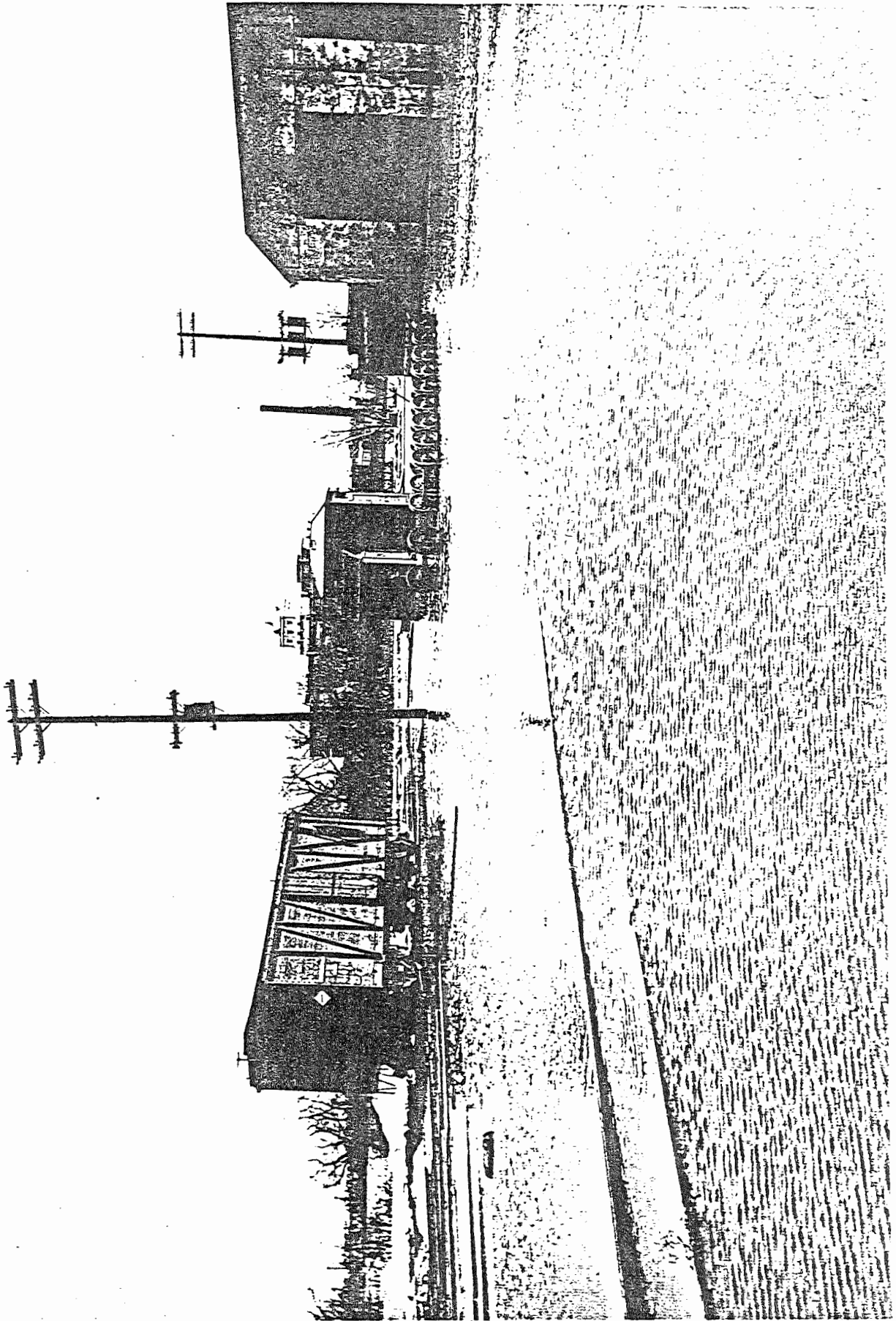
SOURCE Western Canada Pictorial Index

RESTRICTIONS

CAPTION Aerial view of the Eastyards during the
1950 flood.

REMARKS

DATE 1950.



SUBJECT The Forks: Post 1870.

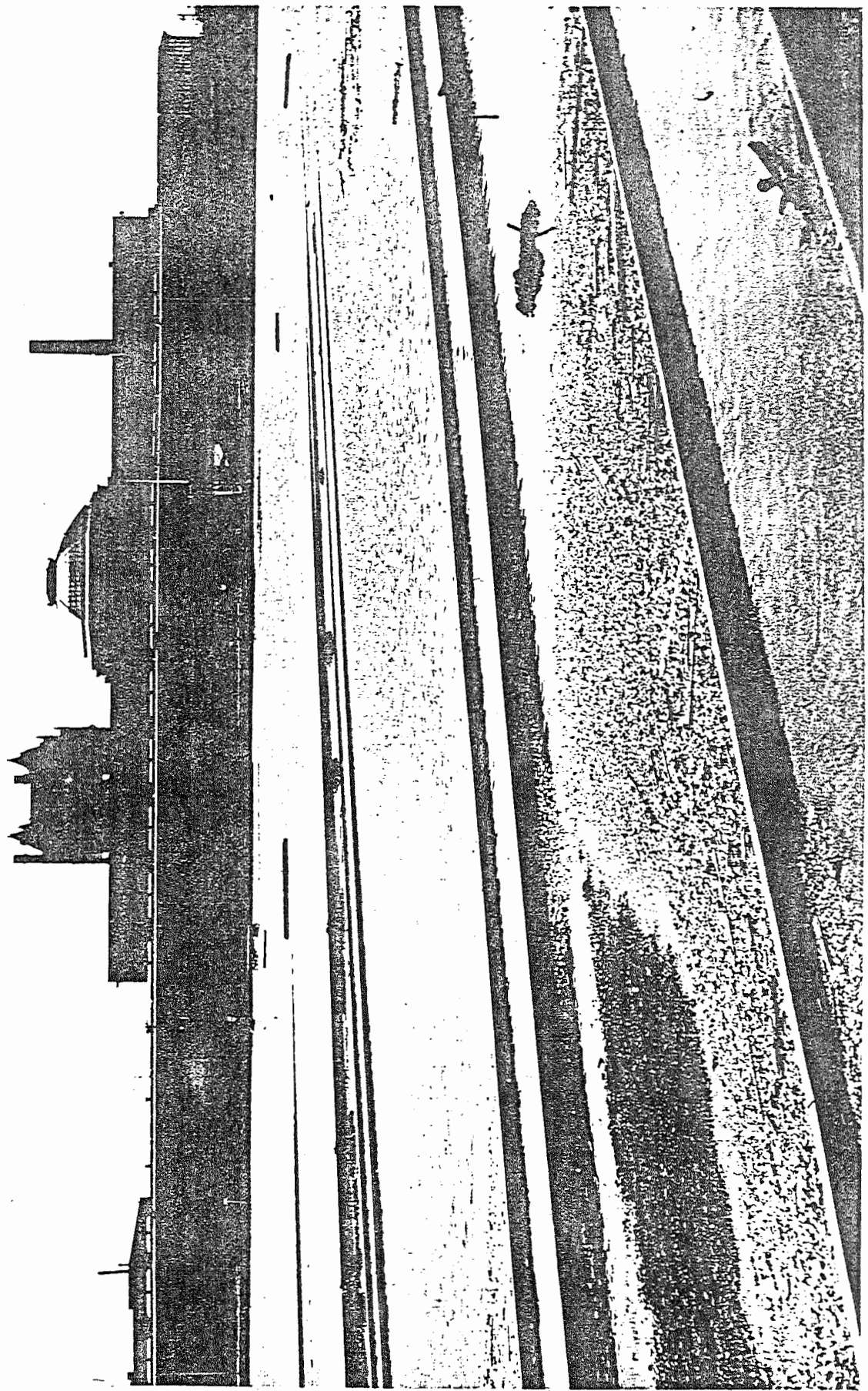
SOURCE Western Canada Pictorial Index

RESTRICTIONS

CAPTION View of the CN Eastyards during the 1950 flood shows the impact of flooding on the Forks, east of the former NPMR shops (right).

REMARKS The buildings to the left of the shops, probably storage sheds, were constructed after 1918.

DATE 1950.



SUBJECT

The Forks: Post 1870.

SOURCE

Western Canada Pictorial Index

RESTRICTIONS

CAPTION

Flooding of the East Yards in 1950.

REMARKS

DATE

1950.

The CNR's cartage and express activities expanded throughout the 1920s. Between 1928 and 1930 the company built the National Cartage Building west of the NPMR car shops. The requirements of the CNR and the arrangements to lease the building to the National Cartage Company were explained in a letter to the Deputy Minister of Railways in Ottawa in 1930:

Prior to 1921 The Canadian Northern and Grand Trunk Pacific Railways each carried on its own cartage and storage business in Winnipeg. This was done with insufficient equipment and at a loss. Subsequently, a proposal was made to us by the National Storage and Cartage, Ltd., that they take over our equipment and perform the service for the railways. After due negotiations, this was arranged on a basis satisfactory to the railway, and the cartage company were assigned [in 1921] certain space in our freight shed.

In 1927 we found we needed the space in our freight shed occupied by the Cartage Co., and it was considered advisable to erect a new warehouse and lease it to the Cartage Company, they to pay rental at the rate of 5 1/2% on the cost of construction, plus the cost of heating and taxes.

Since the construction of the warehouse, [in 1938] our traffic has increased to such an extent that last fall it was found necessary to increase the accommodation and an extension to the present premises was authorized to provide 30,000 additional square feet of storage space.⁴

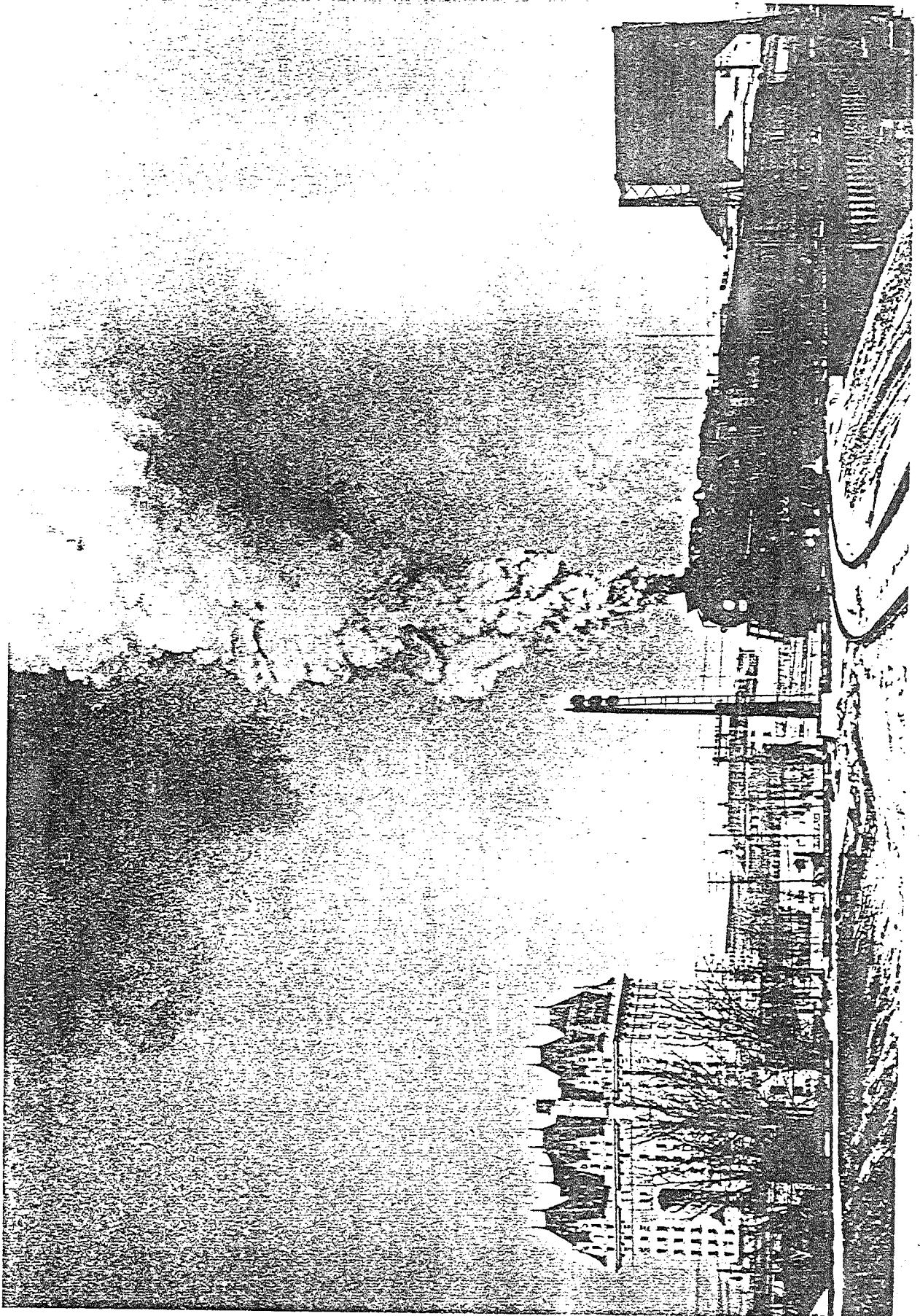
The National Cartage Building was built by Carter - Halls-Addinger and Co. at a cost of \$134,700 and measured 151'9" x 81'5". An addition measuring 96' x 75' was added to the four story structure in 1929.⁵ The building was "designed and used as a warehouse and freight forwarding facility."⁶ Between this building and the garages stood a stone basement covered with a wooden platform; in the 1950s this was what remained of the warehouse of the Winnipeg Transfer Railway, the Canadian Northern, and the McLaughlin Fruit Co.⁷

The GTP and especially the Canadian Northern Railways had proudly claimed to serve the interests of the western farmer in the 1900s. Neither had made significant efforts to transport immigrants to the west. This strategy towards immigration was abandoned when the CN was formed. In the 1920s the company was forced to compete directly with the CPR in all aspects of the transportation industry. When large numbers of immigrants came to Canada in the 1920s the CNR used some of the buildings constructed by the NPMR for accommodations. In 1926, the old station along Water Avenue were renovated: "dormitories and dining rooms were installed in the former station, thereby transforming it into an Immigration Hall for newcomers arriving at Union Station."⁸ Later, this structure became a soup kitchen and hostel for the unemployed men in the 1930s...⁹

In addition to these changes to the railway facilities, the west bank of the Red River near the old roundhouse and turntable was more extensively used by local industrial concerns. The City Asphalt Plant was torn down by the 1950s, but the area bordered by Provencher and Christie Streets was occupied by the Building Products and Coal Co. Ltd., which had storage facilities for building materials, gravel, coal, cement, lime and supply trucks. Other buildings were located on sidings which ran from the railway bridge across the Assiniboine River, past the NPMR shops and across the old turntable site. "Numerous" one-story "frame storage buildings" were located on the bank opposite the turntable location.¹⁰

Winnipeg in the 1870-1920 period has usually been viewed within the context of metropolitan growth and domination over its regional environment. Economists and historians have demonstrated how Winnipeg came to occupy a hegemonic role in the western economy. Bellan writes, for example,

Though Winnipeg grew substantially after 1912, that year marked the apogee of its power and influence in the west. Its grain traders completely controlled the marketing of the great staple product of prairie agriculture....¹¹



SUBJECT The Forks: Post 1870.

SOURCE Western Canada Pictorial Index

RESTRICTIONS

CAPTION CN locomotive leaving Union Station across the railway bridge that was constructed during the joint terminals years.

REMARKS

DATE C. 1945.

While this analysis is undoubtedly correct, to portray Winnipeg's development and that of the Forks exclusively in these terms is to ignore the subtler nuances of urban and industrial growth in these years. In fact, while Winnipeg was rising to metropolitan status, some very important, but contradictory changes were occurring at its economic base. Itself a product of the industrial revolution, producerism was challenged by corporatism, an emergent but not yet dominant form of socio-economic organization. These changes were the product of human actions, as companies, governments, and workers attempted to adapt to the evolution of the urban industrial environment. At the same time, their responses to change initiated new possibilities for urban and industrial development. After 1920 Winnipeg's economy was integrated into a global economic network. Perhaps this was reflected in the appraisal of the CN system by a local business review in the 1940s:

The Canadian National Railways offers a complete service to Winnipeg, with rail transportation for passengers and freight, express service, telegraphic service, and a special department which provides assistance in developing and locating industrial organizations on good trackage property. Now, through its youngest subsidiary, Trans-Canada Air Lines, it operates an airline service across Canada, trans-Atlantic and international, and to many points in the United States.¹²

ENDNOTES: Chapter 5

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12. "Canadian National System," Manitoba Industrial Topics, (V. 7, #2) p. 24.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Public Archives of Canada, RG11, Volume 369, File #23293, from Rodger Guinn, The Red-Assiniboine Junction: A Land Use and Structural History, 1770-1980.

SPECIFICATION

Of various Works to be done and Materials (except otherwise mentioned), to be furnished in and the for Erection and Completion of an Immigrant Shed, Cook Houses and Closets, to be built at Fort Garry, Manitoba.

Excavations. - Necessary holes to be dug for all pickets or posts, also for cess-pools of W.C.; and, when fixed in place, ground to be well and hard rammed to sides of or around the same, till top is reached.

The ground to be levelled so that water will flow or fall from the building in every direction. If any hollows occur, they will have to be filled up to the level shewn, with good hard, and dry stuff.

No earth to be placed under main cills of building closer than six inches; but to be fixed against plinth.

There being no floor boards to the sheds, i.e., the ground, if soft, will have to be rolled over to make it firm.

Carpenter and Joiner's Work. - The scantling timbers for framed work, also boards for sheeting sides of buildings and roofing boards, will be supplied to the contractor on the spot or site of buildings; but in case timbers have to be cut up, then contractor to state in his tender a price per thousand feet B.M. for sawing same out of logs or squared timber, to suit scantlings required; also a price for haulage per 1,000 feet B.M. per mile of haulage. As the work has been arranged so that each part is a duplicate of the other (i.e., each particular kind), great facility in erection is given.

The whole work to be well framed and put together in the best manner; and to sizes marked; sill plates to be in long lengths, and where butting against each other, then to be halved, say 1'0"

long, over a picket, and pinned with 2" hard-wood pin.

Pickets to be fixed at, say average distance centres, of six feet, thick end down, well squared off at top, and levelled throughout.

Posts to be two sticks or pieces of 5" x 1/2" or 5" x 2" each, separated by thickness of divisional boards, and well pinned together with 1 1/4" thick hard wood pins. Boards of divisions to be laid on edge or flat, and ends to be slipped between posts thus. Where longitudinal and transverse divisions meet, the posts to be grooved out on one side 1 inch deep by the thickness of board; externally the sheeting to be up and down, well and strongly nailed to plates, firts, and sill plate; the water table or plinth to be, say one inch thicker than boards, be splayed or chamfered on top, and boards to fit on same correctly. Fillets

2 1/2 x 1/2 inch, to be nailed over joints of boards; nails driven into one board only.

Roof to be put together, as shewn; timbers to be half dove-tailed to each other, checked half inch and pinned, as strength, and not appearance, is required; the struts will go on reverse sides of each of these principals; these to be fixed, say 4'0" average centres, but made so to suit length of boards, without extra waste; at bottom to be firmly spiked on to place. First piece to be half checked and 1/2 shouldered. Portions of roof over dwellings No. 7,9,23,24, to bridged from plate to ridge, X on plan, with 5" x 2" stuff, nailed or spiked at either side of principals, being butted against but not checked into them; horizontal braces, say 10 feet long, of 5" x 2", to be fixed on to, and between plates, and strutting braces on vertical parts (as usually and generally done), at angles of buildings and extra ditto in two places on the length, each side.

The whole of the roofs to be shingled with best split shingles, not less than 14 inches in length, to shew not more than 4 inches to the weather, and be well nailed down with shingle nails, of the proper and requisite length. Provide and fix on ridges and hips proper and good cappings.

Roof boarding under, to be laid in bays, or made to break joint, say every 3 feet in length of spar, so that ends will not all occur on same principal; to be well nailed down with 3" cut nails, not less than 7 nails to each board.

Provide and fix in each compartment, raised platforms, as shewn; bevelled on top, and enclosed down to floor; boards to be grooved and tongued, nailed on to runners or beams; small ditto fixed on to division to carry ends; fix on these of inch stuff, a box with loose top, to serve as such, or for a bolster.

WINDOWS. - To be inch grooved and tongued boards, with ditto cross-bars behind, made to slide sideways on a rib of wood grooved out, with similar ditto at top; these ribs to be hard wood. Water table to be 2" laid on bevel; linings external, to be inch -- all made so, that rain water will not work its way in.

Note. Windows in gables, with lattice blinds, fixed dead.

DOORS. - To be 1 1/4 inch grooved and tongued stuff, with No. 3 rails behind, screwed to boards, hung upon one pair strong "T" hinges, well screwed with long screws, and fastened with each, one strong hand made thumb latch; 1 square hand made bolt; and one good strong iron rimmed lock; casing to be 2 inch thick, with stop planted on, and hard wood sill weathered, projecting well over the line of front and throated.

Internal doors to be similar to above except thumb latch and hard wood sill, so far as its projection is concerned.

At all angles of buildings and around doors and windows, provide and fix facings, say 5 wide and one inch thick.

In each cook house build upon 4" x 4" or similar stuff, a small flue 12" x 12" inside, 8" brick all round, set in good mortar, with two rows of brick at bottom, laid upon 2 inch stuff, which

will connect uprights together; in each flue insert No. 3 pipe rings with tin stoppers fixed at different levels, one of which to serve as a sweep door, at top to be arranged as shewn; to be plastered inside with mortar mixed with cow dung; between uprights fix, say 5 shelves of inch stuff and case two sides. No timber of framing to go nearer flue than 4 inches, and boards inch.

Doors to be the same height as lining shewn, to be hung each upon one pair strong "T" hinges and fastened with good strong hand made thumb latch; (style of work equal to outer doors specified) with hard wood capping on top.

CLOSETS OR PRIVIES. - Box under seats to be out of 2 or 3 inch stuff, well in length. Where it projects as at ends, then to have covers of similar stuff, made to take off-and-on this cover to be fixed 1"0' below the level of ground; seats and risers to be of hardwood, pierced with holes as shewn, riser not to go as low as floor. Divisions to be as shewn, going as high as plate of roof, to have good bevelled and grooved capping, latter for boards to slip into Doors to be fixed to each division, to come within 18 inches off the floor, be hinged on strong T hinges, and have good slide bolts of hard-wood, fixed inside; doors to be as front doors of building but 1 inch thick. Lucarnes, as shewn in roof, to have fixed laths. Provide and fix 2 ventilators as shewn of inch stuff, made very tight and close, with a division in the centre (dividing box into 2 parts) grooved into the sides, one half to go well into the box at one end, and the other to finish under the seat; at top to have inch cover falling four ways.

PAINTER &C., WORK. - Doors and Windows both sides, together with their frames or linings to be painted 3 coats good oil paint, tops and sides of Platforms to be also painted.

The whole of the external and internal wood work of all the buildings seen, to be whitewashed or colored, 2 coats good work; for outside work, salt and umber to be mixed in.

NOTE. - Shingled Roofs to be included.

The whole of the works required, to be done and executed to the satisfaction and approval of the Honorable the Minister of Public Works or of any person that he may appoint, and will have to be finished complete and ready and fit for occupation on or before the day of one thousand eight hundred and seventy-two.

A bulk sum to be named for the completion of the works. Prices for sawing and haulage extra, as before mentioned.

Thos. S. Scott
Chief Architect

Department of Public Works
Ottawa, 22nd March, 1872.

APPENDIX B

Rolling Stock and Freight of the
Canadian Northern Railway

	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>
Length of line		
- Completed	382.19	
	-	
	-	
- Steel Rails	382.19	
Mileage	75,367	3,281.30
Passengers	24,564	1,268,296.
Tons of freight of 2000 lbs	68,220	3,869,856.
Flour (tons)	2,692	61,916
Grain (tons)	18,169	1,079,122.
Livestock (no)	3,496	41,126 (tons)
Lumber (tons)	10,646	671,857.
Man. Goods (tons)	1,224	
Firewood (tons)	8,815	
All other articles	24,710	

SOURCE: Canada. Sessional Paper #20, Railways and Canals, Annual Report.

Earnings of the
Canadian Northern Railway

	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>
Mileage	216.70 mi.	-
Passengers	\$ 51,802.77	\$ 2,631,993.57
Freight	125,738.58	10,105,206.93
Mail & Express	2,876.81	NA
Other	3,055.64	1,095,861.13
Total (Gross)	183,473.80	18,833,061.63

SOURCE: Canada. Sessional Paper #20, Railways and Canals, Annual Report.

Capital of the Canadian Northern

	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>
Total Capital		8,110,000.
- Subscribed	9,246,480.	
- Paid up	8,990,480.	
Floating Debt	-	
Cost of R.R. & Rolling Stock	18,600/mi.	

SOURCE: Canada, Sessional Papers. Sessional Paper #20, Railways & Canals,
Annual Report.

Earnings of the Northern Pacific & Manitoba Railway

	<u>1890</u>	<u>1895</u>	<u>1900</u>
Mileage	263.30 mi.	265.64 mi.	316.07 mi.
Passenger	\$ 37,438.39	\$ 44,393.36	\$ 96,986.49
Freight	120,706.96	144,434.04	284,554.18
Mail & Express	2,046.00	8,753.27	9,229.28
Other	140.92	1,944.14	1,177.45
Total (Gross)	160,332.27	199,524.81	391,947.40

SOURCE: Canada, Sessional Papers. Sessional Paper #10B, Railways & Canada, Annual Report.

Capital of the Northern Pacific & Manitoba Railway

	<u>1890</u>	<u>1895</u>	<u>1900</u>
Total Capital			
- Subscribed	1,533,300.	7,543,300.	7,643,800.
- Paid up	7,542,250.	7,542,250.	7,642,750.
Floating Debt	-	-	-
Cost of Railway	5,072,535.63	4,154,071.28	4,556,698.16

SOURCE: Canada, Sessional Papers. Sessional Paper #10B, Railways & Canals, Annual Report.

Rolling Stock and Freight of the Northern Pacific & Manitoba Railway

	<u>1890</u>	<u>1895</u>	<u>1900</u>
Length of Line			
- Completed	263.30	265.64	316.07
- Under Const.	-	-	-
- Iron Rails	-	-	-
- Steel Rails	263.30	265.64	316.07
Engines	9	9	
1st Class Cars	4	4	
2nd Class Cars & Emigrant Cars	3	5	
		Baggage, mail & Express -	9
Cattle & Box Freight	288	286	
Platform Cars	180	178	
Other	9	-	
Mileage	144,621	207,700	273,005
Passengers	26,668	29,961	93,197
Tons of freight of 2000 lbs.	114,402	127,578	306,828
Flour (tons)	628	641	1,423
Grain (tons)	16,474	55,119	137,233
Livestock (no)	427	735	6,820
Lumber (tons)	-	7,619	30,361
Man. Goods (tons)	-	7,329	25,773
Firewood (tons)	-	21,001	40,514
All other articles (tons)	211,500	35,465	67,773

SOURCE: Canada, Sessional Papers. Sessional Paper #10B, Railways & Canals, Annual Report.

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