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AN URBAN ENVIRONMENT: THE PROCESS OF GROWTH IN WINNIPEG 1874 - 1914

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At any given time the arrangement of streets, buildings, and neighbourhoods in a large city represents a compromise among many diverse and often conflicting elements. Winnipeg was no exception. Its heritage of river lot farming and fur trade routes determined to a large degree the City's street patterns. Winnipeg's rapid rate of growth and large foreign-born population played important roles in shaping the City's distinctive neighbourhoods. The Red and Assiniboine Rivers and the lack of effective intra-urban transportation for a time prevented the spread of the City beyond the distance a man might walk in a short time. Only when new modes of transportation, such as the bicycle and street railway, came into general use could Winnipeg's areal growth continue unhindered into the surrounding countryside. Winnipeg's role as the railway center of the West also affected the City's physical appearance. Together these factors combined to turn Winnipeg into a series of self-contained enclaves; "a sprawling, gap-toothed collection of ghettos."¹

One of the first issues that confronted City Council after incorporation in 1874 was the lay-out of Winnipeg's streets.² Main Street was already well established as the most important street in the City. This former trail along the Red River, which had been a main route of travel between the early Selkirk Settlement and the Hudson's Bay Company's post of Upper Fort Garry, was never straightened, however, and its crookedness was to cause City Council many headaches over the years. But the adoption of a 132 foot right-of-way for Main Street and for Portage Avenue partially compensated for these streets' irregular course. The width of Portage Avenue and Main Street was not dictated by visions of eight-lane traffic but was based on the mode of travel of the early Red River carts. The carts tended to move in a rough echelon pattern which took up a great deal of space. There were reasons for this: a long single file of carts would have been vulnerable to ambush, and by traveling in a random fashion the deep, muddy ruts of the carts ahead could be avoided.³ In any case, the heritage of the rivers and the fur trade routes that followed them were clearly apparent in Portage Avenue and Main Street.

The familiar and historic pattern of long, narrow strips of land fronting on the river provided the basis for new street plans. Thus all the streets north of Notre Dame, which ran west from the Red River and crossed Main Street, closely followed the boundary lines of the early lots. Similarly, in the area between Notre Dame and the Assiniboine River, the streets ran north from the latter, meeting Notre Dame at a sharp angle (See Maps 1 and 2).

In these early years Notre Dame was intended to become — after Main Street — the most important street in Winnipeg. Notre Dame Avenue acted somewhat like an axis, for streets leading north from the Assiniboine River swung east at Notre Dame and then ran out at right angles across those running west from the Red River. Significantly, in these early plans Portage Avenue (then called Queen) and the area south of it were unplanned and undeveloped.

Given this real and planned importance of Main Street and Notre Dame Avenue it is not surprising that the residential sections of the City tended to group around them. In the area between Main Street and the Red River were located most of the residences built before 1874. Point Douglas — surrounded by the River on three sides — was, prior to the coming of the railroad, one of the most desirable locations in the young community. Many of the “founders” of Winnipeg had homes there, including James H. Ashdown, W.G. Fonseca, Robert and Stewart Mulvey, Dr. Schultz, and others.⁴ Close to Main Street was also the desired location of a large number of boarding houses which were a very prominent feature of the growing City. The lack of sufficient space in hotels and the shortage of housing for the large “floating” population had led many homeowners to provide accommodation to meet the great demand.⁵ The streets leading to the waterfront and wharves were also dominated by boarding houses. Finally, it was in the area west of Main Street, and particularly along the streets running parallel to and adjoining Notre Dame Avenue, that most of the post-incorporation residences were situated.

Prior to 1877, then, the built-up portion of the newly incorporated City comprised only a small fraction of its political extent; probably about one-fifth of the administrative area of Winnipeg. This concentration was largely the result of the speculative manipulations of the Hudson’s Bay Company. The H.B.C. had opposed incorporation since it would have had to pay large amounts of taxes on the 450 acres of land that it owned within the proposed City’s boundaries.⁶ Following incorporation the Company at first sold only a very limited number of lots in its “reserve” in the area bounded by Notre Dame Avenue, Main Street, and the Assiniboine River. Consequently, up to

1877 Winnipeg tended to spread north of Notre Dame, leaving this southern section almost untouched. After 1877 the Company sold a large number of lots in the reserve and by 1883 had apparently reaped profits of over \$2,000,000.⁷ This area quickly developed and became the most desirable residential district in the City. Soon H.B.C. officials, government officials, and successful businessmen either located or relocated (moving from Point Douglas) here, giving the district a certain eminence.⁸ The land values were higher, the lots larger, and the houses bigger than in other parts of the City.

With this rapid development between 1877 and 1884 of a "desirable" residential location on the H.B.C. Reserve it became possible to distinguish somewhat between the different areas of the City. In very general terms, most of the middle-class residences were situated on streets north of Notre Dame or east of Main Street where the lots were smaller and the houses simpler. In the Reserve area the normal lot size at this time was 50 by 120 feet with a 20 foot lane. Indeed, the H.B.C. in an effort to keep land values high, stipulated that lots could not be any smaller. Conversely, lots north of Notre Dame were sold in a size 66 by 99 feet, without lanes. And many of the lots in this area were subsequently sub-divided into 33 by 99 foot lots.⁹ In addition to the advantages created by regulation, the land in the H.B.C. Reserve afforded some natural advantages; it was at a somewhat higher level than land to the north of Notre Dame and was less liable to flooding. It must be emphasized, however, that at this time there was no pronounced lower-class residential district anywhere in Winnipeg. This development did not take place until the appearance of more industry and the routing of the mainline of the C.P.R. through Point Douglas.

In this early period there was little residential segregation of ethnic groups. The preponderance of the British and Ontarians precluded any significant cultural conflicts that might have been manifested in residential segregation.¹⁰ At incorporation Winnipeg had been divided into four Wards — North, South, East, and West¹¹ — but these divisions generally served only as convenient electoral and administrative boundaries and none of them acquired the distinctive characteristics that would mark the different wards of the City in a later period.

The commercial and industrial development of the City tended to follow the spatial patterns established by residential building. The part of Main Street between "Portage Road" and Point Douglas had most of the commercial establishments located on it and even as early as 1875 the corner of "Portage and Main" was the center of most

commercial activity. The southern part of Main Street was dominated by Upper Fort Garry, the walls of which cut across the southern end of the street. This was the chief reason why there were only a few commercial buildings here. By 1881, however, Fort Garry had lost much of its reputation as the major component in the commercial life of "the Forks" and during the boom of 1882 all the Fort except for one gate was torn down to make way for more "profitable" land use.

The industries of the City during this period consisted mainly of saw and grist mills which were located on the waterfront of the Red River. Two breweries occupied sites at a considerable distance from the built-up area, and a distillery and a soda water factory were located in the center of Winnipeg. To complete the industrial picture mention need be made only of several carriage and wagon factories and two foundries.¹²

At the beginning of 1881 Winnipeg was a thriving yet relatively small settlement with very tenuous connections with its hinterland and the eastern provinces. But all this changed with the routing of the C.P.R. through the City. The real estate boom and the great influx of newcomers after 1881 had marked effects on the urban landscape of Winnipeg.¹³ One of the most obvious changes that occurred was the expansion of the City's boundaries and the adoption of a new ward system. Winnipeg was divided into six wards in 1882 (a seventh was added in 1906).¹⁴

In the years following the real estate boom of 1881-1882, there developed in Winnipeg a series of distinctive environments. The clustering of economic activities, the segregation of classes and ethnic groups, the unequal distribution of municipal services, and different types of residential construction: all created a considerable variety of specialized and unique districts within the City. Indeed, the presence of neighbourhoods of distinctive character — the business district, the "foreign quarter," the "sylvan suburb," and so on — distinguished the large City of Winnipeg from its more jumbled predecessor, the small, almost rural community of 1874-1884.

It is impossible in a brief canvass to survey all the variations of neighbourhood which existed in Winnipeg in the years 1884-1914, but by dividing the City into three large districts, the most important variations can be observed and analyzed. In general, Wards 2 and 4 became the Central Core; Wards 5, 6, and 7 became the North End, and Wards 1 and 3 formed the South and West Ends, respectively. These districts, radiating as they did from Portage and Main, reflected the general directions of growth that Winnipeg took in this period.

THE CENTRAL CORE

The intersection of Portage and Main had become by 1885 — and thereafter remained — the core of the City's commercial district. Commercial land use spread along Main Street and on streets east and west of this major thoroughfare. Buildings in residential use prior to 1885 eventually gave way to this growing commercial district.¹⁵ In the central portion of the City real estate prices were relatively high, and in the years after 1885 only business enterprises could afford to purchase lots here. In general, lots on Main Street were priced about twenty times higher than those on the fringe of the central business district. As an example, a lot twenty-eight feet wide on Main Street was assessed at \$19,600 in 1885 while one on the eastern fringe of Ward 3 was assessed at only \$1,000.¹⁶

Besides a large number of retail stores and service oriented establishments (such as real estate agencies), Winnipeg's central core was dominated by the institutions connected with the grain and wholesale trade. With the construction of a Grain Exchange Building near City Hall in 1882, Winnipeg became firmly established as the headquarters of the western grain trade. This new function in the economic structure of the City resulted in the establishment of grain companies, facilities for handling the grain, and new and larger financial institutions. By the early nineties there were the beginnings of a concentrated financial section in the vicinity of City Hall. By 1901 no less than twenty-six companies and brokers dealing in grain had their offices in the Grain Exchange Building, and three banks opened branch offices in the neighbourhood. And as a complement to the grain trade a marked concentration of dealers in agricultural implements appeared in the vicinity of the Grain Exchange Building. In 1901 there were eleven such dealers, including Massey-Harris Co. Ltd. and the McCormick Harvesting Machinery Company.¹⁷

In 1906 a new Grain Exchange Building was built close to the corner of Portage and Main and this move resulted in a similar step being taken by banks, stock-brokers, and grain merchants. By 1914 more than twenty-five buildings used exclusively for banking and stock-broking were concentrated on Main Street, just north of Portage Avenue.¹⁸ This district was the headquarters for the financial and grain marketing operations of the Canadian West and over the years it gained international recognition.¹⁹

With the emergence of retail stores in the new agricultural communities along the railway lines, Winnipeg merchants began to profit from an extensive wholesale trade. With a short time after 1885 this

trade assumed a dominate position in Winnipeg's economic structure — in 1890, for example, there were over eighty wholesale firms in the City doing an aggregate turnover of \$15 millions annually.²⁰ And the establishments of the wholesale dealers were almost entirely located in the central core, in the area just west of City Hall.

In the choice of a location for their premises the wholesale companies tended to avoid main thorough-fares such as Main Street and Portage Avenue. The loading and unloading of goods required space which could hardly be obtained in suitable amounts and at a reasonable cost on these streets. Yet a central location was still required, preferably close to the local concentration of retail stores and not too far from the railroad. Consequently the streets branching off Main Street were considered the most suitable. Big buildings were erected here, especially adapted to the wholesale trade. As Winnipeg and Manitoba grew, this wholesale district expanded so greatly that structures previously in residential use were torn down and replaced by warehouses.²¹

This particular concentration of the wholesale trade in the core was encouraged by two other developments. In 1904 the C.P.R. built a spur from its main line into the heart of the district to serve the many wholesale firms located there. And between 1910 and 1912 the Midland Railway was also constructed to serve this district. Its right-of-way ran almost the whole length of Ward 4 and warehouses were built astride the tracks. Thus even the western portions of Ward 4 became marked by extensive development of the wholesale trade.²²

In terms of industrial development the central core did not dominate the City as it did in retail and wholesale trade. Most of Winnipeg's "heavy" and "medium" industry was located in other districts. Light industries — such as the garment and printing industry, cigar manufacturing, saddleries, etc. — were, however, spread throughout the central area of the City. Unlike heavy and medium industry which needed both extensive space and close proximity to transportation facilities, the only requirement of light industry was that it be near the central business district and the wholesale and retail companies that it served. Thus they frequently took up a few rooms in an office building or warehouse, or made use of buildings on the fringe of the business district. A particular concentration of these light industries occurred just west of City Hall, in the heart of the whole district. In 1914, for example, there were seven clothing manufacturers established here.²³

It was in the central core as well that the great majority of Winnipeg's other non-residential structures were located. Ward 2 had within its boundaries the Legislative Buildings, Fort Osborne Barracks, the University of Manitoba, the Court House, Provincial Gaol, Post Office and numerous other administrative structures. Here, too, were many of the City's leading hotels and clubs including Hotel Fort Garry and the prestigious Manitoba Club. Similarly, Ward 4 contained a large number of administrative structures, hotels, theatres, and so on. These included City Hall and the Winnipeg General Hospital.

This concentration of such a large amount of Winnipeg's non-residential structures in the central core tended increasingly after 1890 to give this area a distinct commercial character. This development was a mixed blessing in terms of the core as a residential area. On the one hand it was certainly an advantage in the early years of the "walking city" for citizens to live close to the central business district where a good deal of the residents worked. On the other hand, the rapid growth of this district as the commercial and administrative heart of the City had its disadvantages for it brought with it noise, dirt, and overcrowding. All of these characteristics tended to reduce its appeal as a prime residential area.

Encroachment of the residential areas of the central core by railways was perhaps the most notable development after 1900. Besides the C.P.R. spur track and the Midland Railway in Ward 4, the Canadian Northern Railway yards and station took up a good deal of desirable waterfront land in Ward 2. In 1904 this development resulted in the closing of one of the Wards major streets (Broadway), and thereafter the upper-class residents who remained in the Ward tended to live close to the Assiniboine rather than the Red River.²⁴ This development is an important one for it hastened the growth of a north-south split in Winnipeg, with desirable residential locations concentrating around the Assiniboine River.

While railway development thus affected the eastern areas of Ward 2, general expansion of the business district encroached on the area between Notre Dame and Broadway. Expansion westward along Portage Avenue had been sparked by the building of a huge retail store by the T. Eaton Company in 1905. With this development other commercial establishments, particularly retail stores, began to fill in the space between the store and Main Street. By 1914 retail trade had extended along Portage Avenue well into the West End and soon land values here exceeded the land values along Main Street. Portage Avenue, with its newer stores and office buildings became more attractive than the central part of Main Street where the commercial

establishments were older, and often too small for the increasing number of customers.²⁵

The decline of the central core as a residential area was also a result of the City's rapid population growth. While it is true that the proportion of the City's population residing in this district declined after 1890, it was only a relative decline (Table I).²⁶ In 1885 the core contained only 12,000 residents. By 1912 this had increased to 63,000. This much larger number of persons in the same geographical space meant that the residential areas of this district took on a new appearance. In 1887, for example, a local newspaper carried a series of articles on the homes situated on the H.B.C. Reserve. In every case the large size of the lots and the generally spacious appearance of the area was stressed.²⁷ But as more and more people came to Winnipeg and the demand for homes increased, earlier limitations on lot size were disregarded and vacant lots were occupied. Individual real estate agents had not the long-term interest in keeping land values high by lot restrictions; concern for quick profits was met with subdivision of lots until by 1914 a large majority of the lots in the area were less than fifty feet wide.

TABLE I
Population Distribution by Districts, 1885-1912

Years	Central Core		North End		South and West Ends	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1885	11,793	59.7	6,880	34.9	1,063	5.4
1890	13,778	60.0	7,819	33.9	1,403	6.1
1895	16,211	47.5	12,164	35.6	5,749	16.9
1900	18,160	46.1	14,592	36.8	6,782	17.1
1906	32,252	31.9	43,527	43.1	25,278	25.0
1212	63,009	34.1	62,503	33.8	59,218	32.1

This process of sub-division was not confined to land for many of the reserve's handsome structures were themselves divided and their rooms rented. A survey of one area of Ward 2 in 1918 revealed that that of 416 homes inspected, 122 were improperly occupied as tenements by from two to eight families.²⁸

Ward 4 also suffered from this sub-division of land and houses in the years after 1885, although the process was not so marked. Since Ward 4 had never reached a high-point as “the most desirable residential district” of the City, residential blight was never so apparent as in Ward 2.²⁹ Even before the pressures of an expanding business district and a rapidly growing population began to affect Ward 4, lots were of a smaller size than in Ward 2 — usually thirty-three feet wide. This in itself prevented further division. Thus in the 1918 survey this area fared much better in terms of overcrowding than did the previously more prestigious Ward 2.³⁰

The gradual deterioration of the residential areas of the central core was not caused only by business encroachment and population pressure. It is highly likely that the upper-class of Ward 2 and the middle-class of Ward 4 would not have moved out were it for the development of other accessible and “desirable” residential locations. “Accessible” was the key word for it was not until Winnipeg’s rivers had been bridged and the bicycle and street railway came into general use that the South and West Ends — both far-removed from the central business district — developed significantly.

Finally, if Winnipeg had not enjoyed “boom times” throughout most of the period, it is possible that the original residents of the core would have been held to their old neighbourhoods. In other words, the long period of economic prosperity enjoyed by Winnipeg promoted rapid class turnover in old central city housing and large scale migration to the new upper-class and middle-class wards and suburbs.

To refer to “old central city housing” in a City as young as was Winnipeg in 1914 is not, of course, perfectly accurate. Naturally some of the homes built in the seventies and eighties had deteriorated by that date. But a large number of the original homes, built as they often were for quite well-to-do persons, remained fine, useful structures which continued to command substantial rents and prices. Thus as original inhabitants moved out, their places were not quickly filled by the lower-class for whom the rents and prices remained too steep. Rather, the residential areas of the central core declined very gradually. The result was that Winnipeg escaped a core of poverty simply because of its newness as a settled community. The growing working-class and the large numbers of disadvantaged immigrants tended to gravitate to the North End, where land was cheap and a large number of “working-class homes” were constructed in the years after 1895. In general, then, Winnipeg’s spatial growth was marked by a core of middle and working-class elements, surrounded on the south by the upper-class, on the west by the middle-class, and on the north by the

working lower-class.

These general trends show up in the type of residential construction that went on in the various districts (Table II).³¹ The central core had fewer middle and lower class homes being built after 1900 than did either of the other districts, but it still accounted for a significant percentage of the new upper-class structures. In most cases these brick homes were located in the southern part of Ward 2, close-by the Assiniboine River. Excluding brick dwellings, the central core was the

TABLE II
New Residential Construction By Districts, 1900-1912

District	Modern Brick Dwellings		Modern Frames Dwellings		Non-Modern Frame Dwellings	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Central Core	86	20.6	264	8.4	145	8.8
North End	63	15.4	861	27.7	1,067	62.8
South and West Ends	266	64.0	1,992	63.9	483	28.4
Totals	415	100%	3,117	100%	1,695	100%

slowest growing area of the City by 1900 in terms of residential construction. The fact that its population was still increasing indicates that many of the dwellings in the core were being put into multiple family use, or converted into rooming houses.

The ethnic mix of the central core changed little between 1886 and 1916. Like all districts in Winnipeg in 1886 it was dominated by those of British-Ontario stock, with this group comprising 85.6% of the area's population. But the Central Core did have substantial numbers of Scandinavians (5.5%) and Germans (2.4%) and a smattering of Slavs (0.5%) and Jews (0.5%).³² In the years between 1886 and 1916 the British remained the core's dominant group with 81.3% of the district's population of that origin in 1916. And while all the other ethnic groups except for the Scandinavians increased their percentage of the district's population during this period, the core's general ethnic mix was substantially retained.³³ Thus, without attempting to account for all the variations that occurred in this thirty year period, it can be

noted that in terms of ethnic composition the central core was the "middle" district of Winnipeg. For while it contained fairly large numbers of all the City's ethnic groups, none except the Germans had a majority of their group located in this district. The great majority of the Slavs, Jews, and Scandinavians were situated in the North End, and it was the South and West Ends that had the greatest percentage of British by 1901. In brief, in the trend to ethnic segregation in Winnipeg the central core was the City's most unremarkable and stable district.

THE NORTH END, "FOREIGN QUARTER"

Wards 5, 6 and 7 comprised the North End, a label that then and since has carried with it a good deal more than geographic meaning.³⁴ The North End was a synonym for the "Foreign Quarter," "New Jerusalem," and "C.P.R. Town." Perhaps the best example of the image conjured up in the minds of Winnipeggers when the North End was mentioned exists in a novel written about that area. The central character, an East European immigrant, lives amid the "mean and dirty clutter" of the North End; "a howling chaos, . . . an endless grey expanse of mouldering ruin, a heap seething with unwashed children, sick men in grey underwear, vast sweating women in vaster petticoats."³⁵ Another Winnipegger remembered that "the so-called foreigners occupied one gigantic melting pot north of the C.P.R. tracks."³⁶

The image of the North End as an undesirable residential location for prosperous Anglo-Saxons was not, of course, formed overnight. Indeed, in the years before the coming of the railroad and the great influx of immigrants, Point Douglas in Ward 5 was the most prestigious residential location in Winnipeg. But this designation did not survive the routing of the C.P.R. main line through Ward 5. By 1895 the North End had in fact become dominated by the working-class and by large groups of "foreign immigrants." Moreover, in 1906, at the peak of immigration into Winnipeg, the North End which comprised less than one-third of the City's geographical area contained 43% of the population.³⁷ In short, population pressure also contributed to the North End's deterioration for it was accompanied by considerable overcrowding.

The development of railway facilities in the North End went through two stages. Between 1882 and 1884 the C.P.R. built its yards, shops and roundhouse in Ward 5. These original facilities did not last beyond 1903. In that year the C.P.R., in response to the growth of Winnipeg as the commercial and grain center of the Canadian West, began a vast expansion program that brought their facilities to the

size shown on Map 2. This "most remarkable advance" in the fortunes of Winnipeg as a railway city was hailed as a great boost to the City's economy, as indeed it was. By 1911 over 3,500 persons were employed by the C.P.R., "more than in any other institution in the West." The actual expansion project, moreover, was a great windfall for the City's construction and building supplies industry. But the intrusion of "the longest railway yards in the world" into what was the geographical center of Winnipeg had profound effects on the North End as a residential area.³⁸

The role of the C.P.R. in changing the character of the North End was apparent in four general areas. The construction of a large station, locomotive shops, stores and office building, foundry, freight car shops, power house, scrap yard, and immense marshalling yards (120 miles of tracks and space for 10,000 cars) represented a considerable industrial development in their own right. The huge C.P.R. facilities were, in short, the dominant physical feature of the North End. No one could enter that portion of the City without being vividly aware of a maze of buildings and tracks, noise, dirt, and smell. In contrast to the Central Core and the South End, which also had considerable railway facilities located within their boundaries, the C.P.R. yards were in the heart of the North End and not on the extremities.

The continuing development of Winnipeg as a major railroad center also meant that the railways, and particularly the C.P.R., employed thousands of Winnipeggers. And these working-class elements located themselves in the vicinity of their place of work — on either side of the tracks in Wards 5 and 6. Thus the designation "C.P.R. Town." The growth of the North End as a working-class area was also a result of the role the railway played in attracting heavy and medium industry. Easy access to the railroad, as the predominant means of transport, was of vital importance for most of these industries. This factor became so important that old established companies left their sites on the Red River and moved west to locations astride the railway tracks. In 1901, for example, north Point Douglas was the location for the Ogilvie Flour Mills, Vulcan Iron and Engineering Works, and several saw mills. And by 1914 the location or relocation of medium and heavy industry on both sides of the tracks from Point Douglas to the western boundary of the City was most apparent. Medium industries, such as the manufacturing of carriages and wagons, farm implements, electrical appliances, and malt liquors occurred in the vicinity of Higgins and Jarvis Avenues. Heavy industries, such as bridge and iron works, machine shops, and concrete companies also located on both sides of the tracks, particularly in

the western areas of the North End. Although harmful and unsuited to the residential districts around them, these industries, and particularly those in the Point Douglas area, remained in their locations long after it was obvious that more suitable sites were available on the outskirts of the City. The large capital investment and high expenses involved in moving prevented the relocation.

Finally, the running of the C.P.R. main line across Ward 5, followed by growth of that company's facilities and the attraction of other industries, effectively cut-off the North End from the rest of the City. The result of this large area of industrial development was described in 1912:³⁹

For many years the north-end . . . was practically a district apart from the city. . . . The true cause of this isolation was the level railroad crossing intersecting Main Street. The traffic grew immensely; there were many passenger trains constantly going in and out of the station just east of Main Street, and in addition hundreds of freight trains choked the tracks to such an extent that traffic on Main Street was often blocked for hours. The street cars did not cross the tracks and passengers for the north-end had to transfer at the crossing, often waiting many minutes in all kinds of weather. Naturally, with such conditions, . . . those who located north of the tracks were not of a desirable class.

This major impediment to a free movement of residents in and out of the North End was overcome only slowly. By 1914 only two overhead bridges and two subways provided access to the North End. And it was not until after 1908 that the City's street railway had more than one crossing of the C.P.R. yards. In general, then, the extensive development of the street railway system in the North End encouraged spatial growth there, but discouraged social contact between that area and the rest of the City.

This partial isolation of Winnipeg's residents meant that the image of the North End held by those living in the rest of the City was rarely disturbed by reality. In such a circumstance exaggerated tales of "bestial orgies" and "un-Christian activities" thrived.⁴⁰ The North Enders, moreover, rarely traveled to the other districts. A thriving retail and service trade grew up along North Main and Selkirk Avenue and with this and the proximity of their places of work, North Enders had little reason to leave. Such isolation was not conducive to the assimilation process and Winnipeg in 1914 was a severely divided City; both geographically and socially.

The general character of the North End as the home for the working-class and immigrant was encouraged by Winnipeg's developers and real estate agents. Since Winnipeg had no large stock

of old housing to accommodate the thousands who entered Winnipeg in the years after 1896,⁴¹ a great demand arose for new and cheap dwellings. To meet this demand, large tracts of land in the North End were purchased, developed, and sold to the newcomers. But, in order to make large profits, the developers pinched on land. Thus when a vast construction boom got underway after 1896 too much structure was set on a disastrous land plan — the average lot in the North End was only 25 or 33 feet wide. Not one of the rules of good design were followed: the grid street pattern was dull and monotonous; the narrow lots presented a terribly cramped appearance since houses were built on the very edge of the property; the facade of the dwellings showed little diversity of building styles; and parks and playgrounds were conspicuously absent since land was meant to be used, not “wasted.” In later years streets could be widened, sewers laid, new schools constructed, and stores and offices moved into the area only with the greatest difficulty and expense. Because the land was so crowded with structures, modernization could only be achieved by the enormously cumbersome, disruptive, and expensive process of urban renewal.⁴² The irony of this private building process was that at the very moment the building was going on developers knew how to build better, and Winnipeg had a plentiful supply of land and a dynamic street railway company to permit more spacious development. But Winnipeg’s civic and commercial leaders were so committed to the immediate need for growth and profit, that they did not allow commonsense or long-range goals to interfere.⁴³

The working-class nature of the North End is apparent in the type of residential dwellings built in the district. It was here that in the years after 1900 the vast majority of the City’s non-modern frame dwellings (63%), and a sizeable number of modern frame dwellings (28%), were constructed. The North End was noticeably lacking in the construction of the more affluent brick homes (9%, Table II). The large number of laborers in the North End is accounted for by the presence of the shops and yards of the C.P.R. and the large concentration of heavy and medium industry. As was true throughout much of the City, employees tended to live near their place of employment.⁴⁴

The North End was also sharply different from the rest of the City in terms of municipal services. As Table III⁴⁵ illustrates, less than half the dwellings in the North End were connected with the City’s water-works system. One effect of this disparity in water services is revealed when the infant mortality rates for Winnipeg are examined by districts.⁴⁶ In 1913 — when Winnipeg’s waterworks system was even worse than in 1905 — the North End had a mortality rate of 248.6

TABLE III
Distribution of Water Works by Districts, 1905

Districts	Habitations	Water Works	
		Number	Per Cent
North End	4,757	2,009	42.0
Central Core	4,160	3,362	80.8
South and West Ends	2,973	2,291	79.4
Totals	11,890	7,662	64.5

deaths per 1,000 births, while in the Central Core it was 173.1, and in the South and West Ends 116.8⁴⁷ Unfortunately for North End residents, only the City Health Department recognized the connection between these mortality rates and the waterworks situation. Most civic officials and politicians attributed the poor showing of the North End to the ignorance, laziness, and immorality of the North End's "foreign" population, and attempts to improve municipal services in this area were few and inadequate.

The validity of the image of the North End as Winnipeg's "Foreign Quarter" cannot be questioned. In the early years immigrants tended to concentrate in the vicinity of Point Douglas where, because of this area's relative age, some old and cheap housing was available. Their early example was followed by others and by 1916 the North End was unquestionably cosmopolitan. Here were located 87% of the City's Jews, 83% of the Slavs, 67% of the Scandinavians, and 22% of the Germans.

The economic factors already mentioned — the lack of a sufficient quantity of old cheap housing in the Central Core, the rapid development of a supply of cheap homes in the North End, and proximity to places of work — played the largest role in attracting the "foreign" immigrant to this area. But in time, as churches and lay institutions were located in the North End to serve the "foreigner," these became by themselves one of the factors attracting the newcomer. The presence of Jewish stores in the North End, for instance, at the moment when Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian immigrants started to arrive in masses was among the factors that resulted in the area becoming inhabited by these groups. The owners of the stores, natives of Eastern European countries, could speak, or at least understand, the immigrant language. Moreover, "they used to sell commodities on credit in the way and under arrangements practised in the small towns" and

villages of Eastern Europe. "The Jewish merchant knew the likes and dislikes of the Slav immigrant and tried to meet them."⁴⁸

This "foreign invasion" of the North End by disfavored ethnic groups had a decided effect on the Anglo-Saxon residents of the area. As one contemporary noted, "The newcomers not only filled the empty spaces but in time displaced the original inhabitants of the district, most of whom moved to other parts of the City. . . ."⁴⁹

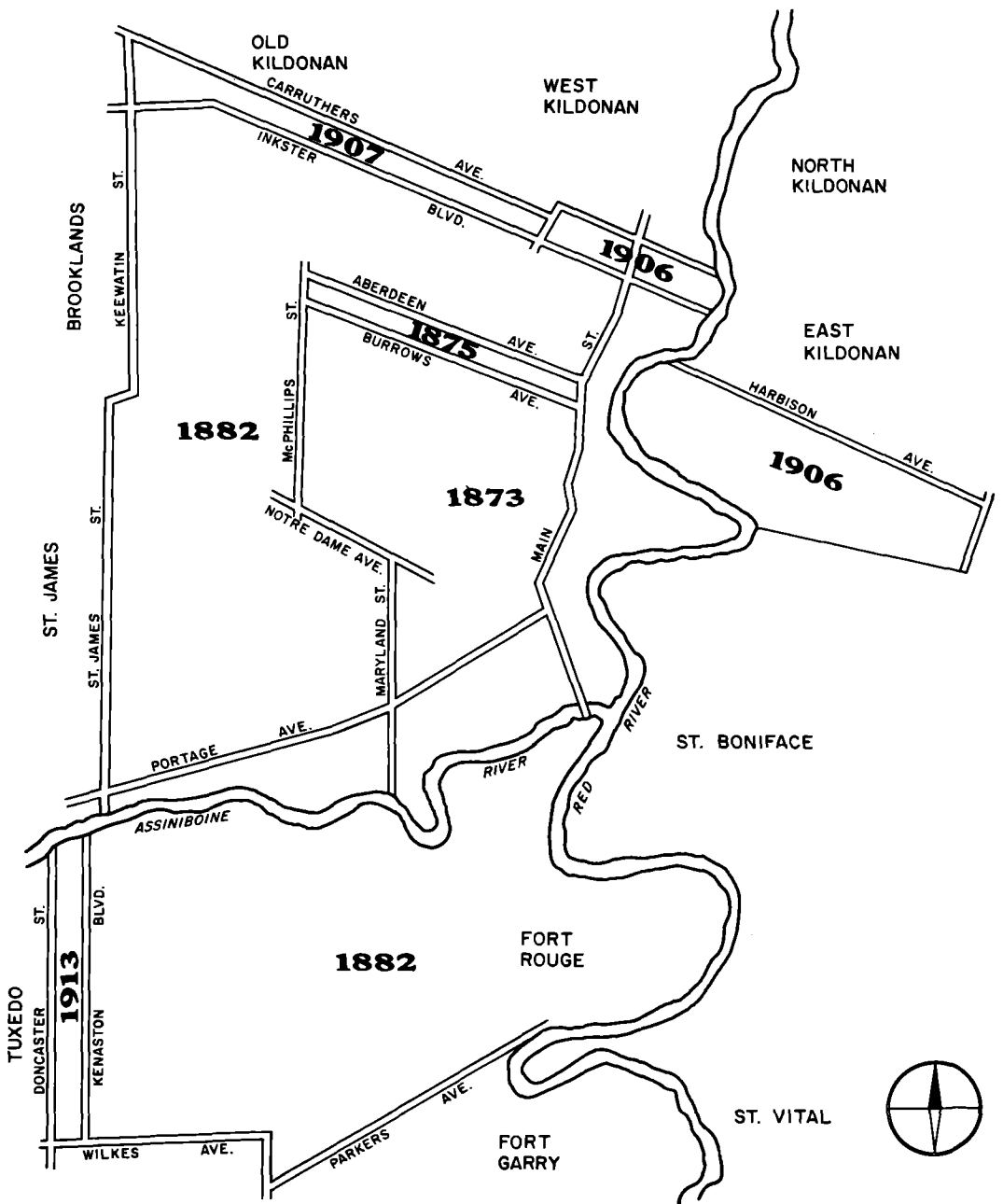
Despite the fact that the percentage of British in the North End steadily declined, this group remained throughout the period the largest ethnic group in the district.⁵⁰ This, of course, reflects their predominance in the City as a whole. In terms of residential segregation, however, the important point is that only 20% of the British population of Winnipeg were located in specific parts of the district; places that were as much "ghettos" as were areas where "foreigners" congregated. One of these concentrations was in the western portion of Ward 5, close-by the C.P.R. shops on Logan Avenue where railway employees lived. A more prestigious area — "a desirable location with refined associations" — was that east of Main Street in the vicinity of St. John's Park in Ward 6. Here an "exclusive well-to-do class with a yearning after the refined suburban life" was located "in the delightful sylvan district on the borders of the Red River."⁵¹ Most probably it was in the St. John's area that the majority of the brick homes built in the North End after 1900 were located.

In spite of Winnipeg's high incidence of ethnic residential segregation, it is significant that large numbers of the City's non-British citizens settled outside the foreign ghettos. These people accomplished their "Canadianization" without the immediate benefit or hinderance of a neighbourhood crowded with their fellow country men. Both the Germans and Scandinavians were proud of the fact that could point to their dispersal throughout the City.⁵² The differential that existed between these two groups and the Slavs and Jews suggests that Germans and Scandinavians not only had more cultural affinities with the British-Ontario group, but also that they had the financial resources and work skills to advance their economic status.⁵³ Unfortunately, the important question of whether or not these "outsiders" returned to the "ghetto" for special foods, entertainment, or the ethnic Church cannot be answered here.

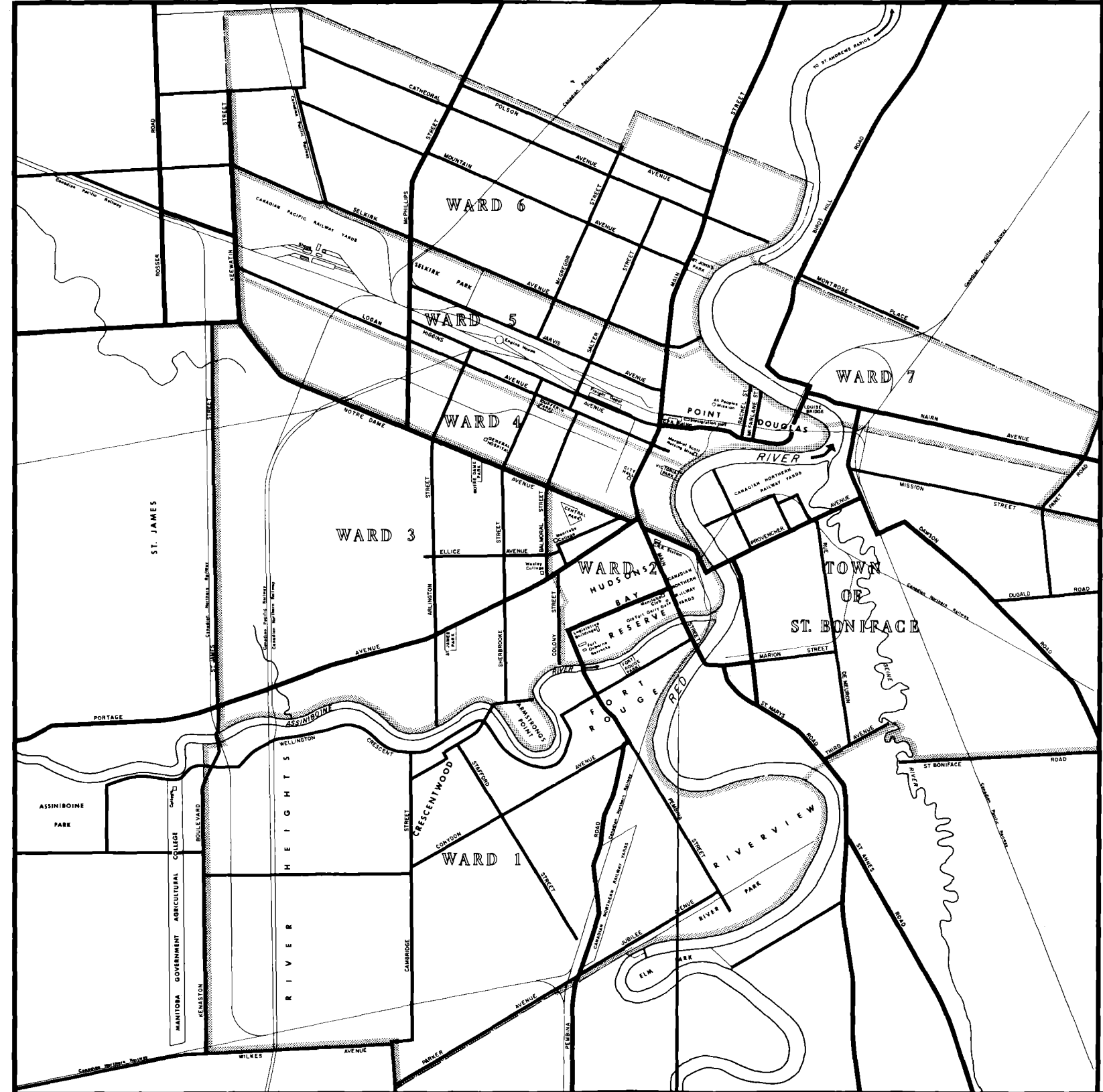
SOUTH AND WEST WINNIPEG

The South End — "home of the economic upper-crust" and the West End — the district of the prosperous middle-class — were the last areas of Winnipeg to fill up. The greatest periods of growth

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CITY OF WINNIPEG - 1907 -



in the West End were 1890-1895 and 1900-1912. In the South End it was only in the latter period that large numbers of persons moved into Fort Rouge.⁵⁴ In terms of population density both districts, but especially south Winnipeg, remained throughout the period the least built upon.⁵⁵

There are many factors that explain the relatively late development of South and West Winnipeg. Prior to 1895 there was sufficient room in the Central Core for a good deal of expansion and it was only in the years after that date that population pressure began to force residents of the core, and newcomers, to look for new areas in which to live. Coupled with this "push" factor was the development of new means of intra-urban transportation. An article in the *Manitoba Free Press* in 1899 noted:⁵⁶

No more remarkable development has been witnessed in our day than the growth in the use of the bicycle. It has furnished a new means of locomotion, has solved for a great many people the old problem of rapid transit in the cities.

More important than the growth of the use of the bicycle, however, was the aggressive expansion of Winnipeg's street railway system in the years after the turn of the century. During this time lines were not only considerably lengthened, but service was frequently increased and improved. Thus in 1900 less than 3½ million passengers were carried, in 1904 the paid fares had reached 9½ million, in 1908 20 million and in 1913 almost 60 million. These substantial increases were also reflected in the gross earnings of the Winnipeg Electric Railway Company for these jumped from \$28,000 in 1900 to over \$4,000,000 in 1913.⁵⁷ This continuous expansion of public transportation facilities had a cumulative effect on Winnipeg's spatial growth. The pace of centrifugation and suburbanization, at first slow, went forward with increasing acceleration until by 1910 it attained the proportions of a mass movement. In the period 1900-1912, for instance, South and West Winnipeg gained more new residents than did any of the other districts of Winnipeg.

The construction of bridges across the Assiniboine River also facilitated the growth of South Winnipeg. The Osborne Street Bridge was built in 1883, the Maryland in 1894, and the Main Street in 1897; the latter replacing a private toll bridge. Only two of these, however, were crossed by street railway lines before 1900.⁵⁸

Two other factors deserve consideration in the development of the South and West Ends. Unlike the other districts, these areas had relatively little commercial or industrial development. Although the

Canadian Northern Railway yards and the retail and service establishments along Portage, Ellice, and Sargent Avenues employed some residents, these districts were inhabited primarily by commuters who traveled long distances to places of work. Only with the development of intra-urban transportation and the willingness to use it could these areas grow. The second restraining factor on the development of these districts was that developers, in contrast to the North End, clearly thought of these areas as “desirable” residential locations. With wider streets, larger lots, and frequent building restrictions only the more affluent of Winnipeg’s residents could move to these areas.

The conscious desire to develop exclusive districts in West and South Winnipeg is apparent in the following advertisements placed in local newspapers. Referring to Armstrong’s Point in the West End, one advertisement read:⁵⁹

This most desirable resident portion of the City is now controlled by a syndicate who have authorized us to offer a limited number of Lots for Sale, with building restrictions, ensuring the construction of handsome residences. The improvements now being made by the city and those contemplated by the syndicate with the serpentine drive . . . will make the Point not only the finest locality for artistic and stately homes, but it will become . . . “The Faubourg St. Germain” of Winnipeg, the most fashionable drive in the city.

A similar description was given of Crescentwood in the South End:⁶⁰

Within and around the graceful crescent on the Assiniboine appears to be the spot which is destined to contain the most attractive residences of Winnipeg. . . . A large portion of Crescentwood is beautifully wooded with native elms, ash, oak, and balsams. It is well drained and is the highest part of the city. . . . Wellington Crescent . . . is now being widened to a hundred feet. For its whole distance of about two miles this Avenue will be lined on one side by river lots having a depth of 300 feet or more, and on the other side by large lots having a depth of from 200 to 300 feet, which will be sold only with building conditions. By the terms of the deeds, the houses will have to be set well back on lots and will be limited as to minimum of cost. With these advantages possessed by no other street, Wellington Crescent should soon become the best residential street in the City.

The restrictions, the advertisement explained, were that lots 300 feet deep were only for houses costing over \$10,000; all houses on the Crescent must cost at least \$6,000; and no house in the entire area could cost less than \$3,500.

Besides generous lot sizes, building restrictions, “magnificent trees,” and proximity to the river, both these areas had other attractive features that would have appealed to Winnipeg’s “economic upper-crust.” The peninsular configuration of Armstrong’s Point, for

example, kept rapid traffic from the streets and tended to give the area a sense of identity. Indeed, the Point's isolation from the City — and the privacy this afforded — was apparent in the fact that many Winnipeggers did not know the Point existed. And yet this privacy and isolation was coupled with easy access to the City and adjacent neighbourhoods.⁶¹

The combined effect of all these restrictions and natural advantages were described by one Winnipegger:⁶²

There were no houses in [Armstrong's Point]. There were only castles, huge castles three full stories in height, some with leaded glass windows, and all, certainly, with dozens of rooms. They were built in an assortment of architectural styles and peopled by names from Winnipeg's commercial and industrial Who's Who. I was awe-stricken by the sheer size of the houses.

Similar reactions were recorded by North Enders when they crossed the Assiniboine into Crescentwood and passed along Wellington Crescent. The following description caught both the tangible and intangible atmosphere of this area:⁶³

It was as though he had walked into a picture in one of his childhood books, past the painted margin to a land that lay smiling under a friendly spell, where the sun always shone, and the clean-washed tint of sky and child and garden would never fade; where one could walk, but on tip-toe, and look and look but never touch, and never speak to break the enchanted hush. . . . In a daze he moved down the street. The boulevards ran wide and spacious to the very doors of the houses. And these houses were like palaces, great and stately, surrounded by their own private parks and gardens. On every side there was something to wonder at.

The substantial numbers of brick dwellings built in South and West Ends (64%) confirms these districts as the home of Winnipeg's "economic upper-crust."⁶⁴ But building statistics also reveal that both areas had a large number of more modest structures as well. Indeed, the exclusive and upper-class nature of South and West Winnipeg must not be exaggerated. In the area between Notre Dame and Portage Avenue, for example, a great deal of development occurred that differed but little from that carried out in the North End. The area between Portage Avenue and the Assiniboine River, of course, yielded higher land prices because of closeness to the river, and a distinctly middle-class development occurred here. Thus a reporter in 1909 observed that homes north of Portage ranged from "Scores of shacks which have cost \$150 to \$200" to "new cottages and houses averaging \$3,000 a piece," while the area south of Portage homes "usually cost from \$3,000 to \$5,000." And, to complete this cost comparison, it was

further reported that in the "middle-class areas of central and southern Fort Rouge" homes ranged in cost "from \$2,000 to \$15,000."⁶⁵

Another dimension of the distinctive character of South and West Winnipeg is ethnic make-up. All of the South End and most of the West End was overwhelmingly inhabited by those of British origin.⁶⁶ It was only in the northern portion of the West End, particularly along Ellice and Sargent Avenues, that significant concentration of Germans and Scandinavians occurred. It was, moreover, usually the more successful of these groups who lived in these areas; those who by education or economic success had "graduated from Point Douglas to the West End."⁶⁷

With the development of South and West Winnipeg as the domain of Winnipeg's largely British upper and middle-class the City's spatial and social patterns were firmly established. In 1914 there was a distinct north-south dichotomy in Winnipeg which, despite the passage of more than fifty years, has changed but little. Indeed, the ethnic and class segregation of Winnipeg has survived almost intact into the 1970's.⁶⁸

* * *

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

The rapid growth of Winnipeg brought numerous other major changes. It was transformed from a city of pedestrians to one of bicycles, street cars, and even a few automobiles. The old residential area of 1874 had become by 1914 the principal zone of work — the industrial, commercial, financial and communications center of the Canadian West. At the same time the older dwellings of the central area that were not torn down for industrial expansion were on their way to becoming the homes of the lower-income half of the population. Beyond the central core three district areas of new houses had sprung up. To the south the more affluent and chiefly Anglo-Saxon elements of the population resided; to the west was a large middle-class area

of somewhat more mixed ethnic composition; and to the north was the working-class and "foreign ghetto."

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

The establishment of such patterns of growth had serious consequences for Winnipeg. In the short-run, of course, residential segregation had a pacifying effect. Class and ethnic segregation held conflicting groups apart. The upper-class of the South End, the middle-class and prosperous working class of the West End and Central Core were separated from the lower-class and foreigners of the North End. In general, each district had a neighbourhood homogeneity that gave a sense of place and community. But the social consequences of such patterns in the long-run were equally obvious. Many Winnipeggers never lived in mixed neighbourhoods and thus failed to develop the tolerance which must exist in such areas. In seeking the freedom of living informally among equals in certain districts of the City, many residents escaped the demands of respect for different goals and values. And, if any one characteristic stands out in such events as the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919, it is this lack of any willingness to understand the point of view of others.⁶⁹ From this one example it is apparent that decisions made by City officials, businessmen, and home builders in one era had a profound effect on future events. Indeed, many of the ideas, values, and residential patterns that emerged in Winnipeg between 1874 and 1914 have never disappeared.

NOTES

¹ James H. Gray, *The Boy From Winnipeg* (Toronto, 1970), p. 4.

² For general background material on Winnipeg during the period under study see R.C. Bellan, "The Development of Winnipeg as a Metropolitan Center," unpublished Ph.D. thesis for Columbia University, 1958; and A.F.J. Artibise, "The Urban Development of Winnipeg, 1874-1914," unpublished Ph.D. thesis for the University of British Columbia, 1971. Both contain extensive bibliographies of Winnipeg's history.

³ G.F. Reynolds, "The Man Who Created the Corner of Portage and Main," *Transactions of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba*, Series III, No. 26 (1969-1970), pp. 21-22.

⁴ Anne M. Henderson, "From Fort Douglas to The Forks," *ibid.*, No. 23 (1966-67), pp. 15-32; *Manitoba Free Press*, 19 Aug. 1911; and City of Winnipeg, *Urban Redevelopment Study No. 1: South Point Douglas* (Winnipeg, 1959), pp. 1-4. See also J.M.S. Careless, "The Development of the Winnipeg Business Community, 1870-1890," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 4th Series, 1970, pp. 239-254.

⁵ A. Begg and W.R. Nursey, *Ten Years in Winnipeg* (Winnipeg, 1879), p. 188. Begg and Nursey state that in 1875 there were over 5,000 people in Winnipeg while City Assessment Office figures show only 2,061.

⁶ J. Steen and W. Bryce, *Winnipeg, Manitoba and Her Industries* (Winnipeg, 1882), p. 68. The role of the H.B.C. in Winnipeg's incorporation controversy is also dealt with in Artibise, "Urban Development of Winnipeg," pp. 13-18.

⁷ Steen and Bryce, *Winnipeg and Her Industries*, p. 68.

⁸ M. McWilliams, *Manitoba Milestones* (Toronto, 1928), p. 119.

⁹ H.A. Hosse, "The Areal Growth and Functional Development of Winnipeg from 1870 to 1913," unpublished M.A. Thesis for the University of Manitoba, 1956, p. 100.

¹⁰ A detailed analysis of population growth and change in Winnipeg during this period is contained in Artibise, "Urban Development of Winnipeg," pp. 190-223.

¹¹ The boundaries of these Wards are detailed in Begg and Nursey, *Ten Years in Winnipeg*, p. 77.

¹² *Ibid.*, *passim*; and Hosse, "The Areal Growth and Functional Development of Winnipeg," pp. 85-86.

¹³ The real estate boom of 1881-1882 is discussed in some detail in Bellan, "Development of Winnipeg," pp. 45-70. See also W.L. Morton, *Manitoba: A History* (Toronto, 1967), pp. 199-204.

¹⁴ The Ward Boundaries for the period 1882-1909 are those shown on Map 2. In 1909 and again in 1910 the boundaries for Wards 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 were changed. In 1909 By-Law # 5556 (passed 11 May) altered the boundaries from those shown on Map 2 as follows: Ward 2 — western boundary moved to Maryland Street; Ward 3 — eastern boundary becomes Maryland Street; Ward 4 — northern boundary moved to center line of C.P.R. main line; Ward 5 — southern boundary becomes C.P.R. main line and northern boundary moved to Burrows Avenue; Ward 6 — southern boundary becomes Burrows Avenue. In 1910 By-Law # 5895 (passed 4 Feb.) changed the boundaries of Wards 2 and 3 as follows: Ward 2 — western boundary moved to Spence Street; Ward 3 — eastern boundary becomes Spence Street. To avoid confusion all references to Wards in this paper will refer to boundaries as shown on Map 2 and will not take into account the changes of 1909 and 1910.

¹⁵ A good illustration of the growth of Winnipeg's business district and its encroachment of residential areas is given in a series of maps produced in *M.F.P.*, 4 March 1911.

¹⁶ Hosse, "Growth and Development of Winnipeg," p. 118.

¹⁷ *Henderson's Directory of Winnipeg, 1901*.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 1914.

¹⁹ Winnipeg's metropolitan role is discussed extensively in Bellan, "The Development of Winnipeg As A Metropolitan Center."

²⁰ *M.F.P.*, 20 Dec. 1910.

²¹ City of Winnipeg, *Urban Renewal Study No. 2* (Winnipeg, n.d.), pp. 3-5.

²² The Midland Railway yards are not shown on Map 2 since they were not constructed until 1911. They were located in the western portion of Ward 4.

²³ *Henderson's Directory of Winnipeg, 1914*.

²⁴ *Winnipeg Tribune*, 10 June 1910. In the trend to residential segregation according to class, four divisions have been used. They are upper class, middle class, working class, and lower class. The divisions are based on occupations. The upper class would include successful professionals, grain brokers, financiers, manufacturers, real estate agents, etc. The middle class includes many of these same categories, although at a less successful stage. But it would also include managers, foremen, and some artisans and

tradesmen. The working class includes the rest of the work force excepting those with no skills. The latter, of course, are the laboring or lower class. Thus, as an example, in the category of railway employees all four classes would be found: managers and officials; foremen and superintendents; brakemen and trainmen; and laborers.

It is obvious, of course, that no strict divisions can be made between the districts and my comments are meant to be general observations only. They are, however, supported by contemporary newspaper accounts. Thus the *M.F.P.*, 17 Aug. 1907, reported: "Wellington Crescent is now the most desirable residential portion of Winnipeg, and it is here that many of the City's merchant princes and financial men have their homes"; and "[Ward 7] is essentially a small house district, being chiefly peopled by workers in the manufacturing districts of Point Douglas and St. Boniface."

It should be noted also that these class divisions were balanced by many other factors: religious, ethnic, political, and so on. I have concentrated only on two in this study — class and ethnic distinctions. Here is an area of investigation that deserves more intensive study.

²⁵ *M.F.P.*, 20 April 1905 and 3 June 1911.

²⁶ The data for this table is taken from local newspapers. There are no "official" figures available.

²⁷ *Manitoba Sun*, 1 Oct. 1887 and 8 Oct. 1887.

²⁸ City of Winnipeg, *Report on Housing Survey of Certain Selected Areas* (Winnipeg, 1918), p. 5. It should also be noted that although the development of apartment blocks in Winnipeg prior to 1914 was not very extensive, those that were constructed were most frequently located in the central core. See, for instance, *M.F.P.*, 30 Oct. 1905.

²⁹ It must be emphasized that the labelling of certain areas of the City at certain dates as "desirable" residential locations was a common habit of Winnipeg's newspapers. This was particularly true of newspaper advertisements. See, for example, *M.F.P.*, 20 June 1903. See also an article entitled "The Progress of Winnipeg's Best Residential Districts From Point Douglas to Tuxedo in Sixty Years," in *Winnipeg Tribune*, 26 February 1930.

³⁰ *Housing Survey*, 1918, p. 21.

³¹ These statistics are taken from the *Annual Reports* of the City of Winnipeg Building Inspector. They are totals for the years 1900, 1904, 1908, and 1912 and do not include every year between 1900 and 1912. For Ward 7 there are figures available only for 1908 and 1912. In these two years there were 4 brick, 128 modern, and 192 non-modern frame homes built in this Ward. It should be noted that these Building Reports contain a wealth of material; much more than could be included here. Future and more detailed studies of Winnipeg's spatial growth would do well to examine these closely.

The difference between modern and non-modern frame homes is that the former have plumbing and concrete foundations; the latter do not.

³² *Census of Manitoba, 1885-1886*.

³³ Census of Canada, 1901; and Census of the Prairie Provinces, 1916. In 1886 and 1901 the data for the Central Core corresponds to Wards 2 and 4; for the North End, Wards 5 and 6; and for the South and West Ends, Wards 1 and 3. In 1916 ward statistics were not available and the figures for this date are not entirely accurate. However, the divisions used in the 1916 census — Winnipeg South, Center, and North, follow the districts I discuss fairly closely.

My use of the word "foreigner" in this study closely follows its contemporary usage. All non-Anglo-Saxons (and Anglo-Saxons included British, American, and Canadian) were grouped together as "foreigners." The attitude of the Anglo-Saxons to Europeans — and particularly Jews and Slavs — was epitomized by the canvassers for *Henderson's City Directory*. When they came to a family with an unpronounceable name, or an "unspellable" name, they simply used the word "foreigner" which seemed to satisfy everybody. See Gray, *Boy from Winnipeg*, pp. 3 - 4.

Finally, the Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian groups are included in the category "Slav." I recognize that this usage is not strictly accurate, but the important point is that the dominant British-Ontario group in Winnipeg would not have made any distinction. They consistently grouped the Russians, Poles, and Ukrainians into the broad category of "Slavs" or "Galicians."

³⁴ G.F. Chapman, "Winnipeg: The Melting Pot," *The Canadian Magazine*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 5 (Sept. 1909), p. 410. Chapman notes that "The main line of the

Canadian Pacific Railway . . . is generally accepted as a division, the foreign section being to the north. The 'north-end' has become significant definition in the City."

³⁵ John Marlyn, *Under the Ribs of Death* (Toronto, 1957), p. 11. Marlyn arrived in Winnipeg in 1912 as a young child and grew up in the City.

³⁶ Gray, *Boy From Winnipeg*, p. 3.

³⁷ See Table I.

³⁸ The growth of the C.P.R. yards can be followed in the following sources: *M.F.P.*, 17 Sept. 1898, 19 Dec. 1903, 26 Nov. 1904, and 9 May 1905. The detrimental effect of these facilities on the North End was recognized by the *Winnipeg Tribune* in 1900. See *W.T.*, 4 Dec. 1900. Winnipeg's City Planning Commission, which reported in 1913, also criticized the manner in which the C.P.R. and other railways "cut up" the residential areas of Winnipeg. See *City Planning Commission Report* (Winnipeg, 1913).

³⁹ "Tide of Winnipeg's Population Pouring Northward," *The Dominion*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (October 1912), pp. 13-14.

⁴⁰ "See, for example, G.F. Chapman, "Winnipeg: The Refining Process," *The Canadian Magazine*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 6 (Oct. 1909), pp. 548-554; and *Winnipeg Tribune*, 15 Sept. 1906.

⁴¹ According to Federal Census figures, Winnipeg's population rose from 31,649 in 1896 to 90,153 in 1906, and to 136,035 in 1911. The City's own population figures were, of course, much higher, being 37,983, 101,057, and 151,958, respectively. See Artibise, "Urban Development of Winnipeg," p. 191.

⁴² See, for example, City of Winnipeg Urban Renewal and Rehabilitation Board, *Urban Renewal Study No. 5: Selkirk Avenue — C.P.R. Yards — Salter Street — Main Street* (Winnipeg, 1960), *passim*. The development of parks in Winnipeg and the rise and demise of a city planning movement in the years before 1914 are dealt with in Artibise, "Urban Development of Winnipeg," pp. 405-427.

⁴³ The role of Winnipeg's leaders in shaping the City's growth is examined in Careless, "Winnipeg Business Community," and in Artibise, "Urban Development of Winnipeg."

⁴⁴ *M.F.P.*, 30 Oct. 1905, 6 Dec. 1906, 6 March 1908, and 18 Dec. 1909.

⁴⁵ The figures for this table are taken from the *Winnipeg Tribune*, 23 June 1905.

⁴⁶ It is obvious that infant mortality is the result of many other things besides lack of waterworks. But it was recognized then that the lack of a plentiful supply of pure water was a major factor in infant mortality. See City of Winnipeg Health Department, *Annual Report*, 1913.

⁴⁷ *City Planning Commission Report*.

⁴⁸ V. Turek, *The Poles in Manitoba* (Toronto, 1967), p. 109.

⁴⁹ W.J. Sisler, *Peaceful Invasion* (Winnipeg, 1944), p. 13.

⁵⁰ In 1916, for example, the British comprised 39% of the district's population. The figures for the other groups are as follows: Slavs-30%, Jews - 20%, Scandinavians - 6%, Germans - 2%, and others - 3%. *Census of the Prairie Province*, 1916.

⁵¹ Gray, *Boy From Winnipeg*, pp. 2-4 and "Tide of Winnipeg's Population Pouring Northward," *The Dominion*, Vol. 4, # 1 (Oct. 1912), p. 13.

⁵² *M.F.P.*, 16 Nov. 1912 and 7 Dec. 1912.

⁵³ See, for example, Turek, *The Poles in Manitoba*, pp. 103-104. In reference to pre-1914 Polish immigrants Turek states that "no more than about a hundred . . . could secure employment of a higher standard, i.e. requiring some training and better remuneration. All the rest had to take up the most exacting kinds of manual work, and on that account the general visage of the Polish urban group in Manitoba had to have an overwhelming working-class character of the lowest wage standard and most humble social class."

⁵⁴ See Table I.

⁵⁵ *Winnipeg Telegram*, 1 April 1911.

⁵⁶ *M.F.P.*, 29 March 1899.

⁵⁷ *A Handbook to Winnipeg . . . prepared for . . . British Association for the Advancement of Science* (Winnipeg, 1909), pp. 51-52; Winnipeg Electric Railway Company, *Annual Reports*, 1910-1915.

⁵⁸ Hosse, "The Areal Growth and Functional Development of Winnipeg," pp. 133-134.

⁵⁹ *M.F.P.*, 20 June 1903.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 13 Sept. 1902.

⁶¹ A.J. Lundy and K.C. Hurley, *Armstrong's Point: A Historical Survey* (Winnipeg, 1969), *passim*.

⁶² Gray, *Boy From Winnipeg*, pp. 119-120.

⁶³ Marlyn, *Under the Ribs of Death*, pp. 64-65.

⁶⁴ See Table II.

⁶⁵ *M.F.P.*, 6 Nov. 1909. See also *ibid.*, 13 Nov. 1909 and 23 March 1912.

⁶⁶ The ethnic make-up of the South and West Ends in 1901 and 1916, as a percentage of the district's population, was as follows: British 79%, and 86.5%; Scandinavian, 13.2% and 1.2% and German, 2% and 2.2%. See *Census of Canada, 1901* and *Census of the Prairie Provinces, 1916*.

⁶⁷ W. Kristjanson, *The Icelandic People in Manitoba* (Winnipeg, 1965) p. 212.

⁶⁸ See R.D. Fromson, "Acculturation or Assimilation: A Geographic Analysis of Residential Segregation of Selected Ethnic Groups: Metropolitan Winnipeg, 1951-1961," unpublished M.A. Thesis for the University of Manitoba, 1965. See also Ed Reed, "The Beautiful People of Winnipeg," *The Manitoban*, 3 March 1970.

⁶⁹ For one account of Winnipeg's class and racial problems after 1914 see M.K. Mott, "The 'Foreign Peril': Nativism in Winnipeg, 1916-1923," unpublished M.A. Thesis for the University of Manitoba, 1970.