Patterns of Population Growth and Ethnic Relationships in Winnipeg, 1874-1974

by Alan F.J. ARTIBISE*

An account of Winnipeg's evolution into a modern cosmopolitan metropolis does not easily divide itself into periods of victory and defeat, progress and decline. The patterns of population growth and the ethnic relationships of the people during the years 1874-1974 are not easily described or analysed. The rate of population growth and the nature of ethnic relationships in the city were, on the one hand, the result of conscious decisions made by the residents. Population growth, for example, was often encouraged — if not initiated — by various groups in the city. On the other hand, Winnipeg was also the passive recipient of immigrants through larger regional, national, or international forces. The ethnic relationships of Winnipeg residents at any given time were in part a reflection of the age of the community, the state of technology, and general economic conditions. Furthermore, the conflict, confusion, and tension that were inescapable facts of life in the city were often juxtaposed with examples of co-operation, order, and harmony. But although it is impossible in this short space to deal with all the events, decisions, and trends that shaped the character of Winnipeg by 1974, it is possible to outline the major patterns that the city experienced.

At the outset, however, two general observations are necessary. First, Winnipeg's population growth rate was not constant throughout the past century. Rather, the city grew spasmodically, with bursts of activity interspersed with periods when the city grew very slowly, if at all. Each surge of growth was greeted with predictions that the city would become the "Chicago of the North," rivalling that major American city in size and enterprise, while every setback or slowdown in the growth rate was considered the prelude to decline or stagnation and was usually countered by programs designed to promote population growth. Winnipeggers, like their counterparts in other North American cities, were fascinated with the growth of their community. The city's politicians, businessmen, and newspapers were constantly measuring the progress of the community in quantitative terms — miles of streets and sewers, value of manufacturing output, dollars of assessment, and so on. But the one index that stood out above all others was that of population growth. The number of residents the city had at any particular time was considered to be of paramount importance, especially in comparing Winnipeg's advancement with that of other cities.[1]

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[1] It must be noted at the outset that not all Winnipeggers consistently or enthusiastically supported immigration. Organized labour tended to look upon immigrants as cheap labour and their recruitment as a plot by the "plutocracy" to reduce wages. See, for example, *The Voice*, 24 Jan., 1902 and 23 April, 1903.

Second, the reaction of established Winnipeggers of "British" origin to the changing ethnic composition of the community went through various phases, depending on the source and volume of immigrants arriving in the city during particular periods. For although most Winnipeggers were firm believers in the virtues of immigration, they did not easily reconcile themselves to the resultant polygot population. The pride that came with the sharp rise in population was diminished by the knowledge that much of this growth was caused by "foreign" elements. Only in the years after World War II did the vast majority of residents view the cosmopolitan make-up of Winnipeg as an advantage; a point-of-view that was adopted only after decades of outright discrimination against "foreigners."[2] The transformation of Winnipeg from a small, compact and ethnically homogeneous city to a large, sprawling and cosmopolitan metropolis is thus best understood by dividing the years 1874-1974 into several fairly distinct periods of population growth and ethnic adjustment.

The Formative Years, 1874-1899

During the first quarter century of its history as an incorporated city, when Winnipeg was growing from a small cluster of wooden stores and residences housing 1,800 citizens to a major Canadian city of 40,000 people, three significant population trends were established. First, with the exception of a sharp increase in population in the early 1880s following the arrival of the Canadian Pacific Railway, growth was steady and unspectacular before 1900. Second, virtually all the growth achieved during this early period resulted from the influx of immigrants — natural increase and the extension of the city's boundaries added relatively few citizen's to Winnipeg's population count. Third, the flow of immigrants into Winnipeg had its origin in two main sources — Great Britain and Ontario. Of the three trends, the last was most significant for this early influx of British and Ontario immigrants early established the essentially Anglo-Canadian nature of the city — a quality that was not to be seriously challenged until the post-1945 era, despite massive increases in the number of "foreign" migrants.

The rate of population growth in Winnipeg was from the outset far greater than the population growth rate of Manitoba and the other western provinces.[3] At an early date Winnipeg became and thereafter long remained the largest urban centre in all of western Canada. By 1901, for example, Winnipeg's population count surpassed its nearest western rival, Vancouver, by more than 15,000.[4]

[2] The word "foreign" as it is used here and elsewhere in this paper refers to those residents of Winnipeg who were not born either in Canada or Great Britain and whose origin was other than "British." While this usage is not strictly accurate — persons born in Britain are, from one point of view, also "foreigners" — it corresponds to the manner in which the word was used in Winnipeg until the 1960s.

[3] In the decade 1881-1891, for example, Winnipeg's population increased by 221% while Manitoba's increased by 144%. The rate for Canada was 12%.

[4] The population of the six major western cities in 1901 are: Winnipeg — 42,340; Vancouver — 27,010; Calgary — 4,392; Edmonton — 4,176; Regina — 2,249; and Saskatoon — 113. Vancouver did not surpass Winnipeg until the 1920s. General discussions

Before 1880, the population of Winnipeg increased slowly from about 2,000 in 1874 to just over 6,000 six years later. This was followed by a short burst of activity in the early eighties when the population of Winnipeg climbed to over 20,000 by 1886 (see Table I). By this time, however, the boom had already collapsed and for the balance of the period growth was moderate.[5] It was not until the late 1890s that all the conditions necessary for rapide population growth were in place and a sustained boom could take place.[6]

Table I: POPULATION GROWTH IN WINNIPEG 1871-1971

Year	*Year*	*Population*	*Numerical Change*	*Per Cent Change*
	1871	241		—
	1881	7,985	7,444	3,624.1
	1886	20,238	12,253	153.4
	1891	25,639	5,401	26.7
	1896	31,649	6,010	23.4
	1901	42,340	10,691	33.8
	1906	90,153	47,813	113.0
	1911	136,035	45,882	50.7
	1916	163,000	26,965	19.8
	1921	179,087	16,087	9.9
	1926	191,998	12,911	7.2
	1931	218,785	26,787	13.9
	1936	215,814	−2,971	−1.4
	1941	221,960	6,146	2.8
	1946	229,045	7,085	3.2
	1951	235,710	6,665	2.9
	1956	255,093	19,383	8.2
	1961	265,429	10,336	4.1
	1966	257,005	−8,424	−3.2
	1971	246,270	−10,735	−4.2

Sources: *Censuses of Canada*, 1871-1971; *Census of Population and Agriculture of the Northwest Provinces*, 1906; and *Censuses of the Prairie Provinces*, 1916-1946.

The growth Winnipeg achieved during this period was primarily because of immigration. Despite the fact that the city's boundaries were

of population growth in western Canada can be found in the following: K. LENZ, "Large Urban Places in the Prairie Provinces — Their Development and Location," in R.L. GENTILCORE, ed., *Canada's Changing Geography* (Toronto: 1967), pp. 199-211; L.D. MCCANN, "Urban Growth in Western Canada, 1881-1961," *The Alberta Geographer*, No. 5 (1969), pp. 65-74; Paul VOISEY, "The Urbanization of the Canadian Prairies, 1871-1916," *Histoire sociale-Social History*, Volume VII, No. 15 (May 1975): 77-101; and Paul PHILLIPS, "Structural Change and Population Distribution in the Prairie Region: 1911-1961," (unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1963). See also Norbert MACDONALD, "Population Growth and Change in Seattle and Vancouver, 1880-1960," *Pacific Historical Review*, Volume XXXIX, No. 3 (August 1970): 297-321.

[5] Detailed accounts of Winnipeg's Development during this period are: R.B. BELLAN, "The Development of Winnipeg as a Metropolitan Centre," (unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Columbia University, 1958); and Alan F.J. ARTIBISE, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1914* (Montreal: 1975).

[6] See K.H. NORRIE, "The Rate of Settlement of the Canadian Prairies, 1870-1911," *Journal of Economic History*, Vol. XXXV (June, 1975), pp. 410-427.

twice enlarged — in 1875 and 1882 — these annexations did not substantially increase Winnipeg's population. Combined with other boundary extensions made in 1906, 1907, and 1913, they added only about 3,500 persons to Winnipeg's population count.[7] Another possible source of growth — natural increase — was also of relatively minor importance during this period when compared to the growth Winnipeg achieved through immigration. In the decade from 1891 to 1901, for example, when Winnipeg grew by 16,701 persons, only 4,870 or 29% was due to natural increase. The remainder — over 70% — was due to the arrival of immigrants (see Table II).[8] Indeed, the importance of naturai increase in the population growth of Winnipeg was quite secondary to that of immigration until the outbreak of World War I halted immigration. Two of the many reasons for the relative unimportance of natural increase during this period — aside from the large influx of immigrants — were the shortage of women in the city (see Table III) and high infant mortality rates.[9] Natural increase would become important as the major factor in population growth only as the city became older, as immigration declined, the sex-ratio gap closed, and health services became more widespread.

Not only was Winnipeg's growth principally owing to immigration, it was immigration of a very particular kind. With the exception of small numbers of Jews. Scandinavians and Germans, the bulk of the immigrants arriving in Winnipeg came from Ontario and Great Britain. An analysis of the population according to birthplace in 1891, for example, shows that well over half of the residents of Winnipeg came from these sources. By 1901, this had declined only slightly to 44% of the population (see Tables IV and V). The essentially Anglo-Ontarian character of Winnipeg during this early period is further comfirmed by examining the ethnic origins of the population. Table VI indicates that by 1901, well over seventy percent of the population gave their ethnicity as "British".

Table II: NATURAL INCREASE IN THE POPULATION GROWTH OF WINNIPEG

Decade	*Total Population Increase*	*Births*	*Deaths*	*Natural Increase*
1891-1901	16,701	11,021	6,151	4,870
1901-1911	93,695	26,975	24,417	2,558
1911-1921	43,052	57,544	23,093	34,451
1921-1931	39,698	50,856	19,217	31,639
1931-1941	3,175	39,829	19,535	20,294
1941-1951	13,750	62,469	23,894	38,575
1951-1961	29,719	86,436	27,603	58,833
1961-1971	19,159	77,559	30,626	46,933

Source: Vital Statistics Department, City of Winnipeg.

[7] ARTIBISE, *Winnipeg*, Chapter 8.

[8] Data was not available for the pre-1891 period. The overwhelming importance of immigration of Winnipeg during this period is also confirmed by birthplace statistics. In 1891, only 5,510 or 21.4% of Winnipeg's population had been born in Manitoba. The figures for Winnipeg, of course, would have been even smaller. By 1901, this figure had risen to 13,322 or 31.5%. See Table IV.

[9] Winnipeg's infant mortality rate during this period was one of the worst in North America. See ARTIBISE, *Winnipeg*, Chapter 13.

Table III

NUMBER OF MALES PER 1,000 FEMALES IN WINNIPEG, 1881-1971

Year	*Ratio*
1881	1393
1891	1095
1901	1075
1911	1207
1921	1004
1931	1006
1941	961
1951	913
1961	952
1971	924

Sources: *Censuses of Canada*, 1881-1971.

These facts are extremely important in understanding the character and tone of Winnipeg society since the "British" early established themselves as the city's dominant or charter group.[10] The entry of Manitoba into Confederation in 1870 was followed by a mass influx of British and Ontario migrants into the province and as early as 1880 the original make-up of the community at Fort Garry — a balance of English, French, and Indian-Métis — was dramatically altered. The new majority of anglo-protestants quickly and effectively established their economic, social, political, and cultural beliefs as the norm. Thereafter, all newcomers were expected to conform to the established Anglo-Ontarian mould.[11]

This is not to say that the "British" majority was a completely homogeneous group. Encompassing, as it did, Ontarians, English, Irish, and Scots elements, the charter group was at one level culturally diverse. Yet what was more important than this apparent diversity was the fact that the British-Ontario group felt themselves to be no less a unity than was Britian or Ontario. The diversity that existed was almost completely obscured by the fact that the various elements were bound together by their common language and British heritage.[12] The fact that most members of the charter group were also united by their Protestant religion was also important — by 1891, for example, over 70% of the population of Winnipeg were Protestants (see Table VII). Though distinctions between various Protestant churches were quite apparent, they were not nearly so significant as those between, say, Roman Catholics and Methodists. Finally, the various elements of the charter group were further united by common experience: they had all migrated to Winnipeg and were work-

[10] "British" generally refers to native-born Canadians of British origin and to the English, Irish, and Scots born in Great Britain.

[11] A useful analysis of the Manitoba experience that follows the model put forward by Louis HARTZ in *The Founding of New Societies* (New York, 1964), is J.E. REA, "The Roots of Prairie Society", in D.P. GAGAN, ed., *Prairie Perspectives* (Toronto: 1970), pp. 46-55.

[12] A SMITH, "Metaphor and Nationality in North America," *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. LI, No. 3 (September 1970): 247-275.

ing together to build a new community at the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers.

Even more important, perhaps, than these common traits and experiences was the fact that those immigrants who arrived in Winnipeg in the 1870s and 1880s had been a united group even before they immigrated to Manitoba. For they were in large part the "Clear Grits" of Ontario and as such held several basic beliefs with utmost conviction, in particular their conception of the future of Manitoba and the Northwest. To them Manitoba was the new frontier; it was to be a second Ontario or, rather, a second Canada West.[13] This meant that their ideas about the separation of church and state and the absolute need for no special privilege for any group were extended to Manitoba. In other words, unlike some of their contemporaries in eastern Canada — where sheer geographical propinquity, the presence of vocal minority groups, and the demands of political necessity demanded some accommodation between French and English — the charter group in Winnipeg neither believed in nor subscribed to a bilingual or bicultural (much less multilingual or multicultural) view of Canada. On the contrary, cultural uniformity, based, of course, on British traditions, was to be the order of the day.

Thus, very early in Winnipeg's history, two fundamental facts had been established that were to affect all future immigrants. First, the dominance of the British-Ontario group meant that there was a fundamental difference between various immigrants. Those who arrived in Winnipeg from Britain and Ontario quickly resumed familiar routines and easily merged in interests and activities with established residents. But for those who came from other countries and whose memories and traditions held no trace of recognition for their new surroundings, adjustment was achieved only with the utmost difficulty. Many of these "foreigners" faltered, hesitated, and were overwhelmed since in the whole span of their previous existence they found no paralled to guide them in their new life. The sense of alienation experienced by the "foreign" newcomer is clearly revealed in the following penetrating comment on the ethnic divisions of Winnipeg society, a comment made by a Hungarian immigrant:

[13] REA, "Roots of Prairie Society;" and V. JENSEN, "The Manitoba Schools Question," unpublished paper.

Table IV: Birthplace of Winnipeg's Canadian-born Population 1881-1961

Birthplace	1881		1891		1901		1911		1921		1931		1941		1951		1961 (b)	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Maritimes (a)	354	4.4	733	2.9	888	2.0	2775	2.0	3075	1.7	2855	1.3	2509	1.1	2554	1.0	3365	1.3
Quebec	576	7.1	1146	4.5	1365	3.2	2799	2.1	3083	1.7	2818	1.3	2540	1.1	2302	1.0	2580	1.0
Ontario	3395	42.5	7242	28.2	10419	24.6	20564	15.1	21402	11.9	19301	8.8	16415	7.4	14002	5.9	13859	5.2
Saskatchewan	—	—	—	—	—	—	587	.4	1969	1.1	4245	1.9	7643	3.4	10196	4.3	11907	4.5
Alberta	—	—	—	—	—	—	221	.2	618	.3	1150	.5	1833	.8	2162	.9	3008	1.1
B.C.	8	.1	25	.1	32	.1	175	.1	450	.2	579	.3	828	.4	1539	.7	2328	.8
Yukon & Territories	31	.4	57	.2	325	.8	52	.1	20	.1	14	.1	20	.1	36	.1	98	.1
Manitoba	1032	12.9	5510	21.4	13322	31.5	31849	23.4	62961	35.2	92524	42.3	112649	50.7	131667	55.8	152569	57.5
Total Canadian-Born	5387	67.5	14713	57.3	26351	62.2	59967	44.1	93584	52.4	123634	56.5	144437	65.0	164458	69.7	189714	71.5
Total Population	7985	100	25639	100	42340	100	136035	100	179087	100	218785	100	221960	100	235710	100	265429	100

Notes: a) Includes Newfoundland in 1951 and 1961.
b) Detailed figures are not available for 1971.
Sources: *Censuses of Canada*, 1881-1971.

Table V: Birthplace of Winnipeg's Foreign-born Population 1881-1971

Birthplace	1881		1891		1901		1911		1921		1931		1941		1951		1961		1971	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Great Britain	1697	21.2	7196	28.1	8202	19.4	39999	29.4	49970	28.0	47644	21.8	38244	17.2	28574	12.1	21945	8.3	15170	6.2
United States	365	4.6	877	3.4	1405	3.3	5798	4.3	7052	3.9	5902	2.7	5242	2.4	4272	1.8	3717	1.4	3180	1.3
Scandinavia (a)	32	.4	1193	4.6	2199	5.2	3669	1.4	2857	1.6	4008	1.8	2896	1.3	2263	1.0	1923	.7	—	—
Germany	37	.5	339	1.3	699	1.6	1866	1.4	641	.3	1241	.6	767	.4	1540	.6	7599	2.9	4545	1.8
Russia (b)	—	—	477	1.9	1445	3.4	19478	14.3	18429	10.3	15895	7.3	15054	6.8	14577	6.2	12240	4.6	8940	3.6
Poland	—	—	23	.1	—	—	—	—	2776	1.6	16164	7.4	11971	5.4	11584	5.0	10133	3.8	7975	3.2
Italy	10	.1	13	.1	99	.3	517	.4	689	.3	685	.3	569	.2	591	.2	2461	.9	4000	1.6
Asia	—	—	16	.1	119	.3	757	.5	919	.5	1136	.5	783	.4	853	.4	1145	.4	2715	1.1
Other	457	5.7	805	3.1	1821	4.3	3984	2.9	1900	1.1	2476	1.1	1997	.9	6998	3.0	14552	5.5	14765	6.0
Total Foreign born	2598	32.5	10926	42.7	15989	37.8	76068	55.9	85233	47.6	95151	43.5	77523	35.0	71252	30.3	75715	28.5	61290	24.9
Total	7985	100	25639	100	42340	100	136035	100	179087	100	218785	100	221960	100	235710	100	265429	100	246270	100

Notes: a) Scandinavia not listed in 1971.
b) Russia includes the following: 1901-Romania; 1911-Bukovina, Galicia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary; 1921-Ukraine, Galicia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Jugo-Slavia; 1931-Ukrainia, Rumania, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Jugo-Slavia; 1941-Bulgaria, Rumania, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Jugo-Slavia; 1951 1961, 1971-U.S.S.R.

Sources: *Censuses of Canada*, 1881-1971.

Table VI: Ethnic Origins of Winnipeg's Population 1881-1971

Ethnic Group	1881		1901(a)		1911		1921		1931		1941		1951		1961		1971	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Asian	2	.1	121	.3	597	.5	849	.5	1060	.5	1029	5	1653	.7	2325	.9	4485	1.8
British	6679	83.6	31230	73.8	84552	62.1	120569	67.3	132416	60.5	130394	58.7	119367	50.6	113615	42.8	100420	40.8
French	450	5.6	1379	3.3	3695	2.0	3944	2.2	4970	2.3	6969	3.1	9898	4.2	13945	5.2	13850	5.6
German	186	2.3	2283	5.4	8912	6.5	4762	2.7	13209	6.0	12170	5.5	17461	7.4	30249	11.4	26710	10.8
Italian	26	.3	147	.3	769	.6	1311	.7	1664	.8	1609	.7	1743	.7	4216	1.6	6770	2.7
Jewish	4	.1	1156	2.7	9023	6.6	14449	8.0	17236	7.9	17027	7.7	15552	6.6	11690	4.4	10815	4.4
Netherlands	5	.1	92	.2	535	.4	1236	.7	1641	.8	2644	1.2	4146	1.8	6814	2.6	5080	2.1
Polish	—	—	—	—	4743	3.5	5696	3.2	11228	5.1	11024	5.0	13889	5.9	16573	6.2	14335	5.8
Russian (b)	6	.1	1771	4.2	5016	3.7	11714	6.5	5792	2.6	5170	2.3	5105	2.2	9812	3.7	1160	.5
Scandinavian	409	5.1	3322	7.8	4956	3.6	6147	3.4	8945	4.0	9177	4.1	9261	3.9	10093	3.8	7790	3.2
Ukrainian	—	—	—	—	3599	2.6	6381	3.6	18358	8.4	22578	10.2	32272	13.7	35975	13.6	33200	13.5
Indian & Eskimo	9	.1	8	.1	30	.1	44	.1	51	.1	24	.1	210	.1	1082	.4	4945	2.0
Others	209	2.6	831	1.9	10608	7.8	1985	1.1	2215	1.0	2145	.9	5153	2.2	9040	3.4	16710	6.8
Totals	7985	100	42340	100	136035	100	179081	100	218785	100	211960	100.0	235710	100.0	265429	100.0	246270	100.0

Notes: a) No figures are available for 1891.
b) Russian includes the following: 1901-Austro-Hungrian, 1911-Austrian, Hungarian, Bulgarian, and Rumanian; 1921, 1931, 1941-Austrian, Czech, Slovak, Hungarian, and Rumanian; 1951 — Austrian, Czech, Slovak and Hungarian; 1961, 1971 — U.S.S.R.

Sources: *Censuses of Canada,* 1881-1971.

Table VII: MAJOR RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS OF WINNIPEG'S POPULATION 1881-1971

Religion	1881		1891		1901		1911		1921		1931		1941		1951		1961		1971	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Anglican	2373	29.7	6854	26.7	10175	24.0	31338	23.0	44359	24.8	45539	20.8	47405	21.4	40639	17.2	37043	14.0	30270	12.3
Baptist	349	4.4	1046	4.1	2055	4.9	5062	3.7	5092	2.8	5157	2.4	4857	2.2	4620	2.0	5966	2.2	4650	1.9
Greek Orthodox	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2736	1.2	4615	2.1	6142	2.6	9515	3.6	8085	3.3
Jewish	21	.2	645	2.5	1145	2.7	8934	6.6	14390	8.0	17153	7.8	16917	7.6	15959	6.8	12582	4.7	10255	4.2
Lutheran	292	3.7	2291	8.9	4253	10.0	11151	8.2	9931	5.5	14829	6.8	14434	6.5	15408	6.5	22424	8.5	17430	7.0
Presbyterian	2365	29.6	5952	23.2	10172	24.0	30367	22.3	44533	24.9	22210	10.2	17931	8.1	13058	5.5	9086	3.4	7825	3.2
Roman Catholic	1020	12.8	2470	9.6	5143	12.2	19729	14.5	24118	13.5	46990	21.5	32462	14.6	39467	16.7	58239	22.0	63300	25.7
Ukrainian Catholic (a)	—	—	—	—	230	.5	3411	2.5	9195	5.1	—	—	16310	7.3	21936	9.3	19746	7.4	17555	7.1
United Church (b)	1491	18.7	5360	21.0	8041	19.0	17473	12.9	19328	10.8	50608	23.1	59917	27.0	65562	27.8	71330	26.9	53985	21.9
Other & No Religion	74	.9	1021	4.0	1126	2.7	8570	6.3	8148	4.6	13563	6.2	7112	3.2	12929	5.5	19498	7.3	32915	13.4
Totals	7985	100	25639	100	42340	100	136035	100	179087	100	218785	100	221960	100	235710	100	265429	100	246270	100

Notes: a) Included with Roman Catholics in 1931.
b) Includes Congregationalists and Methodists until 1931.

Sources: *Censuses of Canada*, 1881-1971.

> "The English," he whispered, "...the only people who count are the English. Their fathers got all the best jobs. They're the ones nobody ever calls foreigners. Nobody ever makes fun of their names or calls them 'bologny-eaters', or laughs at the way they dress or talk. Nobody," he concluded bitterly, "cause when you're English it's the same as bein' Canadian."[14]

The second factor — that the charter group believed Winnipeg was, and should remain, British — meant that the concept of cultural pluralism (or a cultural mosiac), used so often to describe Winnipeg society in recent years, was not even contemplated in the city during this period. Rather, the charter group were determined to follow the melting-pot approach of the United States, and it was the "British" who were to "provide the recipe and stoke the fire."[15]

The melting-pot attitude explains the various reactions of the charter group to "foreigners". Germans and Scandinavians, for example, did not cause much of a problem. These Northern Europeans, with their familiar Protestant religions, were easily and quickly absorbed into the mainstream of Winnipeg society. The following quotations from the *Manitoba Free Press* makes the point:

> The German is of good stock, and therefore we expect good citizenship to display itself in this element of our foreign population. We look for the virtues of his sturdy teutonic stock to manifest itself in thrift, progressiveness, and prosperity.
>
> * * *
>
> Like the Scandinavian, the Germans are of the same racial type and original stock as ourselves and have, therefore, kindred habits and institutions and similar ideals and moral standards. They all enhance the value of prospective citizens. Blood will tell and the law of heredity is still active.[16]

In short, the essential nature of Winnipeg society prior to 1900 was the domination of the city's commercial, political, and cultural life by those of British origin. Led by a central core of Anglo-Ontarians who by 1899 had a full generation to establish themselves as community leaders, Winnipeg would remain in spirit, if not in fact, a "British" city for over fifty years. The experience of moving to the western Canadian frontier changed the attitudes of the British regarding "foreigners" very little, if at all. Although Winnipeg differed greatly from Ontario and British towns and cities in some things, the life-style and attitudes of the majority of its citizens were remarkably similar to those of these older centres.

Nothing sums up the nature of Winnipeg society in this period better than the reaction of its citizens to the Boer War. In 1899 thousands of Winnipeggers bid a rousing farewell at a mass rally on Main Street in front of city hall to fifty members of the Canadian contingent. The editor of Winnipeg's social newspaper, *Town Topics,* voiced the sentiments of the city's charter group when he declared:

[14] John MARLYN, *Under the Ribs of Death* (Toronto: 1957), p. 24.

[15] REA, "Roots of Prairie Society," p. 51. See also G.F. CHIPMAN, "Winnipeg: The Melting Pot," *The Canadian Magazine*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 5 (September 1909): 409-416; and CHAPMAN, "Winnipeg: The Refining Process," *ibid.*, No. 6 (October 1909): 548-554. 548-554.

[16] 16 November and 7 December, 1912.

> I know nothing that would bind the empire so strongly together as associations in an enterprise of this kind. It will show the world that... when we speak of the 'Soldiers of the Queen', we mean all who carry arms wherever the Union Jack waves from India to Australia, from Windsor Castle to [Winnipeg's] Osborne Street Barracks.[17]

Boom and Transformation, 1900-1913

While the years before 1900 witnessed relatively slow growth and harmonious ethnic relationships, the decade following the turn of the century was marked by a rapid rate of growth and a sharp increase in tensions between the "British" and the "foreigners." The growth of Winnipeg after 1900 was phenomenal. From a small city of 42,000 in 1901, it swelled to a sprawling metropolis of 150,000 by 1913 and rose from sixth place to third in the ranks of Canadian cities, surpassed only by Montreal and Toronto.[18] Throughout the decade, Winnipeggers witnessed the most spectacular increase their community would ever undergo in such a short period. James Gray, in his book *The Boy From Winnipeg*, described this period of the city's history:

> The Winnipeg of my boyhood was a lusty, gutsy, bawdy frontier boomtown roaring through an unequalled economic debauch [...]. In a single decade more than 500,000 immigrants found their way from the four corners of Europe to Western Canada. All of them passed through Winnipeg, and a good one in ten of them went no further [...]. All summer long, British and European immigrants trudged back and forth between the Canadian Pacific and Canadian Northern stations en route to their new homesteads. Carpenters, bricklayers, stonemasons, tinsmiths, plasterers, and painters worked from dawn to dusk putting up new railway shops, new warehouses for wholesalers, and new homes for the thousands of trainmen, machinists, retail store clerks, bank clerks, and bartenders who were flocking into town on every train from the east.[19]

The official census returns which recorded Winnipeg's growth throughout the period tell only part of the story. Winnipeg also had a "floating population." This group was made up almost entirely of single males who came west in search of work. Since Winnipeg served as the main recruiting centre for railway and bush contractors, farmers and manufacturers, nearly all of these men spent time in the city. Every summer, for example, easterners flocked west to help with the harvest; in 1912 there were 25,000 harvest excursionists in the city. Then, in the fall when the men were released from their summer occupations they again treked to Winnipeg in search of employment. A few received positions in bush camps through the efforts of private employment agencies. But job opportunities during the cold winter months were limited. Some of the slack was taken up by casual work; whether stoking furnaces, splitting wood, or shovelling snow. Others left Winnipeg for a milder climate. Yet this still left a large number who stayed in Winnipeg, encouraged to remain

[17] *Town Topics*, 17 July, 1899.

[18] A table ranking Canadian cities by size for the period 1871-1921 can be found in Artibise, *Winnipeg*, p. 132. A similar table, covering the period 1921-1971, can be found in G.A. Nader, *Cities of Canada*, Volume 1 (1975), p. 212.

[19] (Toronto: 1970), p. 2.

by the facilities of a large city — its pool rooms, theatres, cheap cafes and rooming houses, and brothels.[20]

Although Winnipeg's rapid population growth delighted most residents, it also presented an almost countless series of problems. The ebb and flow of transient workers had an unsettling effect upon Winnipeg's social life, while the rapid increase in the number of permanent residents meant that the maintenance of social order and the protection of the public welfare required endless attention. The difficulties of enforcing laws, safeguarding public health, providing municipal services such as sewer and water, and securing consensus on social values were all magnified as the population grew.[21]

Of all the problems faced during the decade, however, the question of assimilating large number of "foreigners" was uppermost in the minds of the city's British majority. The problems of absorbing large number of newcomers into the community was intensified when it was found that a large portion of immigrants arriving in Winnipeg after 1900 were Slavs and Jews; people who were feared as "strangers within our gates." This apprehension on the part of the city's charter group stemmed from the fact that these new arrivals, along with the inevitable difference of background, language, and religion, brought with them a sense of ethnic pride, born at once of oppression and the teaching of their leaders, that was new in Winnipeg. Moreover, large numbers of the newcomers tended to segregate themselves in "foreign ghettos" in the north end.[22] In brief, the overwhelming numbers, the ethnic nationalism, the different — even strange — religions, and the tendency towards marked residential segregation all led to profound feelings of fear and apprehension on the part of Winnipeg's British.

The dimensions of this hostility and apprehension can perhaps best be understood by recognizing that the dramatic increase in the number and variety of foreign-born in Winnipeg was a unique experience in Canadian urban development. While other cities were also receiving large influxes of immigrants, none received so many from such diverse sources in such a short period of time. The percentage of foreign-born in Winnipeg jumped from just under 38% in 1901 to over 55% by 1911, an increase of over 60,000 persons (see Table V). Moreover, a comparison of Winnipeg with other Canadian cities reveals that only two other centres (Victoria and Calgary) had larger proportions of foreign-born in 1911. And in both cases the higher percentages were the result of large numbers of British-born residents rather than European-born or other non-Anglo-Saxon persons.[23]

[20] For a discussion of Winnipeg as a labour market see R. Bellan, "Relief in Winnipeg: The Economic Background," (unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1941), pp. 46-62.

[21] A detailed discussion of these problems can be found in Artibise, *Winnipeg*.

[22] *Ibid.*, Chapter 9.

[23] The cities with which Winnipeg was compared were: Halifax, Saint John, Quebec, Montreal, Toronto, London, Hamilton, Ottawa, Regina, Saskatoon, Edmonton, Calgary, Vancouver and Victoria.

Comparisons of Winnipeg with other cities in regard to the birthplace and ethnicity of the population also indicates that Winnipeg was unique. In 1911, no other city had a higher proportion of European-born residents. Similarly, Winnipeg had the highest percentage of both Slavs and Jews. What is especially noteworthy, however, is that this high proportion of "European foreigners" was coupled with one of the lowest proportions of British of any Canadian city. Only three other urban areas — Quebec, Montreal, and Ottawa — had lower percentages.[24] Given these facts, it is hardly surprising that the question of assimilation loomed so large in Winnipeg in the years after 1900.

Winnipeg's charter group, however, was ill-prepared to meet the enormous challenge presented by the newcomers since they had experienced so little difficulty in their pursuit of a common nationality in the years before 1900. They were particularly unprepared for the large degree of group consciousness that the new wave of immigrants possessed, and this cohesiveness provoked a strong reaction among established Winnipeggers. The "British" majority became even more conscious of its own identity. The established society felt a severe sense of malaise because the new arrivals did not fit its categories, and resentment, because they threatened its desired cultural uniformity. Uneasy, the charter group attempted to avoid contact with the "foreigners" by withdrawing even farther into a solid, isolated group in the city's south and west ends. By the outbreak of war in 1914 Winnipeg was a partitioned city, separated on the basis of language, religion, and ethnic origin.

Open expressions of bigotry toward the Slav and Jew were voiced frequently in Winnipeg after 1900. "A Ukrainian wedding — that joyful expression of an intense sense of community — was attacked as a debased orgy." The "foreigners" use of alcohol offended many, especially the ladies of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, who invariably linked "foreigners, liquor dealers, and politicians in a chain of corruption and degradation."[25] Comments such as "the Slav has not thus far proved himself the equal of the northwestern European as an immigrant", and "they are the unfortunate product of a civilization that is a thousand years behind the Canadian," were both expressed and believed by the charter group.[26] Even J. S. Woodsworth, for all his progressive work among "foreigners," was obsessed with the difficulties facing Winnipeg in its attempt to absorb these immigrants who were "distinctly a lower grade."[27] Some Winnipeggers became so concerned over the presence of large

[24] The same cities listed above were used for these comparisons. Quebec, Montreal and Ottawa had a lower proportion of British because of the large number of French in these cities.

[25] REA, "Roots of Prairie Society," pp. 51-52. See also John H. THOMPSON, "The Prohibition Question in Manitoba, 1892-1928," (unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1969).

[26] *Manitoba Free Press*, 1 March, 1913; and CHIPMAN, "Winnipeg: The Melting Pot," p. 413.

[27] J.S. WOODSWORTH, *Strangers Within Our Gates* (Toronto: 1909), p. 132 and *passim*.

numbers of Slavs and Jews that in a rare abandonment of their belief in the merits of growth they advocated a policy of exclusion or, at the very least, a strictly controlled quota system. The following articles in the *Winnipeg Tribune* and the *Winnipeg Telegram* are typical:

> Increased population, if of the right sort, will be of great benefit [...]. But we should be careful that we do not bring in an imported population of such a character as will be an injury, not a benefit to our people [...]. Anglo-Saxons, Germans, and Scandinavians in general we can take in any number, but we cannot assimilate more than a limited number of immigrants of radically different race. The Galician is as yet an experiment; we do not know how he will turn out; and we cannot afford to make the experiment on too grand a scale.[28]
>
> * * *
>
> There are few people who will affirm that Slavonic immigrants are desirable settlers, or that they are welcomed by the white people of Western Canada. [...] Those whose ignorance is impenetrable, whose customs are repulsive, whose civilization is primitive, and whose character and morals are justly condemned, are surely not the class of immigrants which the country's paid immigration agents should seek to attract. Better by far to keep our land for the children, and children's children, of Canadians, than to fill up the country with the scum of Europe.[29]

Yet, in spite of these drastic statements, the majority of established Winnipeggers remained convinced that the Slavs and Jews could be assimilated if a sufficient amount of energy and determination was invested in the task.

The key agent in this assimilation process was the public school system. Most "British" Winnipeggers looked to the school "as the mightiest assimilation force for elevating the immigrant to the level of Canadian life."[30] The city's leaders felt strongly that on the school "more than any other agency will depend the quality and nature of the citizenship of the future; that in the way in which the school avails itself of its opportunity depends the extent to which Canadian traditions will be appropriated, Canadian national sentiment imbibed, and Canadian standards of living adopted by the next-generation of the new races that are making their homes in our midst."[31]

From the standpoint of Winnipeg's charter group, however, there were serious problems associated with using the public school system as an assimilating agent. First, there was the problem of providing adequate facilities and teaching staff to serve the rapidly growing student population.[32] But the second difficulty, that of language, was even more severe. It was difficult to train a sufficient number of teachers who could speak

[28] *Winnipeg Tribune*, 29 January, 1900.

[29] *Winnipeg Telegram*, 13 May, 1901.

[30] *Manitoba Free Press*, 7 December, 1912.

[31] "Public School Education in Winnipeg," *Souvenir of Winnipeg's Diamond Jubiless, 1874-1924* (Winnipeg: 1924), p. 65. See also F. GONICK, "Manitoba Public Educational Institution As An Inculcator of Social Values, 1910-1930," unpublished paper.

[32] Enrolment jumped from 7,500 in 1900 to 25,814 by 1914. See ARTIBISE, *Winnipeg*, p. 200.

both English and the language of the immigrants they faced in the classroom. The situation that developed was described by the principal of one North End school:

> Imagine if you can, a young girl, herself only a few years out of school, facing a class of fifty children, none of whom could understand a word she said; nor could the teacher understand a word spoken by her pupils. The children could not converse with each other, excepting in small groups of those who had learned the same language in their homes. Obviously the first task was to get teachers and pupils to understand each other.[33]

The city's charter group realised, moreover, that they had to reach more than school-age children if the process of assimilation through education was to be successful. Accordingly, Mayor J. H. Ashdown was instrumental in having the Winnipeg School Board establish a system of evening classes in 1907. During that year ten English-language evening classes were opened for foreigners and six more were soon added, twelve of which were north of the C.P.R. tracks. To attract students to the classes advertisements were run in the city's numerous foreign-language newspapers and handbills in five languages were printed and widely distributed.[34]

The efforts of the Winnipeg School Board to use the educational system as an assimilating agent were frustrated by problems other than facilities and language. One of these was the tendency of the city's ethnic groups to take upon themselves the task of educating their children in their own language and culture. This was true for almost every nationality, be it Scandinavian, German, Slavic or Jewish. It was estimated that in 1911 at least three thousand "foreigners" were attending private or separate schools in Winnipeg. Thousands more attended evening or weekend classes conducted by the religious and cultural organizations of the various ethnic groups.[35] In short, it was apparent to all but the most casual observer that many foreigners were either not being "Canadianized" at all, or they were being assimilated at a rate deemed unsatisfactory to the city's Anglo-Saxons.

There were still other problems faced by the charter group in Winnipeg in their attempt to assimilate the "foreigner" through education. The Public Schools Act of Manitoba permitted multilingual instruction and did not provide for compulsory attendance, and these two issues led to a kind of open racism on the part of the city's charter group until these laws were overcome by new legislation during World War I.[36] The clauses

[33] W.J. SISLER, *Peaceful Invasion* (Winnipeg: 1944), pp. 19-20.

[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70. See also W.G. PEARCE, *Winnipeg School Days* (Manitoba Archives, 1951), pp. 24-25; and J.W. CHAFE, *An Apple for the Teacher: A Centennial History of the Winnipeg School Division* (Winnipeg: 1967), pp. 65-66.

[35] See, for example, H. HERSTEIN, "The Growth of the Winnipeg Jewish Community and the Evolution of its Educational Institutions," *Manitoba Historical Society Transactions*, Series III, No. 22 (1966-67): 27-66; V. TUREK, *The Poles in Manitoba* (Toronto: 1967), Chapters VII-IX; and M.H. MARUNCHAK, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History* (Winnipeg: 1970), pp. 151-153 and *passim*.

[36] Unfortunately, the Manitoba School Question is far too complicated to detail here. See L. CLARK, ed., *The Manitoba School Question* (Toronto: 1968). It contains a good bibliography.

of the Public Schools Act dealing with language of instruction had been enacted in 1897.[37] In the first few years of operation the legislation worked as it was intended, to allow French children to be taught in their mother tongue. But since even this compromise was less than satisfactory to most Winnipeggers, it became intolerable when instruction in languages other than English was sought not only by the French but by the Ukrainians, Poles, and others. The editor of the *Manitoba Free Press,* John W. Dafoe, noted with unconcealed horror, that this had led by 1907 to some thirteen different languages being used in provincial schools as the language of instruction.[38]

The hostile reaction of Winnipeg's charter group to the use of languages other than English in public schools was intensified when they saw their taxes being used to train teachers to meet the demands for non-English speaking teachers. During this period the provincial government established at least two special training schools for bilingual teachers: a Polish Teachers' Training School and a Ruthenian Training School. Indeed, much to the consternation of the charter group, the Ukrainian teachers even established their own teachers' organization, held conventions in the city and published a Ukrainian weekly newspaper,[39] a journal which the *Winnipeg Tribune* described in June 1914 as being "subversive and destructive of Canadian citizenship and Canadian nationality."

The reaction of the charter group to the lack of a school attendance law was equally hostile. Many Winnipeg children were receiving little or no education. To make matters worse, this was particularly true in the case of new immigrants who, because of economic need or just plain ignorance or fear, kept their children away from classes. Faced with this situation, there arose in Winnipeg a demand for compulsory education as an absolute necessity. The problem was explained as follows:

> [Immigrant] children are growing up without an education, save in wickedness. Every day they are becoming a serious menace to the country. The future, if this continues, is very alarming. There must be compulsory education. There must! The party, the parliament, the government which permits a venerable obstacle to stand in the way of this absolute necessity to the very safety of the Dominion, which permits love for office or power to delay the enactment or proper enforcement of proper legislation whereby every child shall be compelled to attend school had forefeited all right to the respect of the people,

[37] The "Compromise of 1897" provided that "when pupils in any school spoke French or any language other than English, the teaching of this was to be in French, or other such language, and English upon the bilingual system." W. L. MORTON, *Manitoba: A History* (Toronto, 1957), p. 271. It is important to note that Manitoba's school system had originally been bilingual but the "British" had succeeded in 1890 in replacing existing legislation with an act that called for unilingual (English) schools. It was this 1890 legislation that was changed by the compromise of 1897. See ARTIBISE, *Winnipeg*, Chapter 11.

[38] M. DONNELLY, *Dafoe of the Free Press* (Toronto, 1968), p. 57 and *passim*. In the period 1911-1915, Dafoe published a series of sixty-four articles on the education question in the pages of the *Manitoba Free Press*.

[39] TUREK, *Poles in Manitoba*, p. 220. See also J.H. SYRNICK, "Community Builders: Early Ukrainian Teachers," *Manitoba Historical Society Transactions*, Series III, No. 21 (1965): 25-34.

> and whatever its merits, must be replaced by those who have vision and courage to discern and do what is imperative.[40]

The opinions expressed here received widespread support among the English community in Winnipeg. In 1902, for example, a delegation headed by Mayor John Arbuthnot met with members of the provincial government "and strongly urged the necessity of compulsory education."[41] In 1909 a "Citizen's Meeting," attended by such well-known Winnipeggers as ex-mayors Ashdown and Ryan and Alderman Riley, reported that "thousands of children never attend a school and were growing up absolutely illiterate and that such a condition will work as a menace to the community. The opinion prevailed that the solution of the question [...] lay in the immediate passage by the provincial government of a compulsory education bill."[42] This demand for compulsory education was also supported by such organizations as the Canadian Club and the Orange Order. The Order even arranged a mass meeting to protest the provincial government's lack of a school attendance law. The Grand Master of the Orange Lodge in Winnipeg, ex-alderman J. Willoughby, was especially vociferous in his attempts to obtain compulsory education.

J. S. Woodworth also raised his voice and used his pen with growing insistence for a compulsory school law. In a 1912 report on the educational needs of children employed in shops and factories, he concluded with the blunt statement that "in nearly all cases the workers have very little education [...]." In an address to the Local Council of Women he stated:

> One-third of all the children in Manitoba do not attend school, only 25% pass through the entrance, 5% pass through the high school, and 1% go through college. All the rest are practically unprovided for as far as education is concerned. There are few free lectures, concerts and reading rooms. The only public amusements in North Winnipeg are the saloon, the pool-room, theatre and dance hall. The public schools should be put to larger use.[43]

The feelings of Winnipeg's Anglo-Saxon majority were perhaps best summed up, however, in the reaction of the city's school board to the Coldwell amendments of 1912. These amendments, if implemented, would have resulted in a major change in Winnipeg's public school system. The first amendment provided that for the purpose of the bilingual clause of the Public School Act, every classroom was in fact a complete "school," thus allowing almost every individual class in the public schools of Winnipeg to claim a bilingual teacher. Previously there had just been one or two bilingual teachers in each school. The next amendment compelled the school board to provide space for all children of school age in the city. This clause was intended to force the school board to assume the expense of running existing private schools. The third amendment would have allowed the segregation of children according to religion even during secular school

[40] *Winnipeg Tribune*, 22 August, 1908. For other representative opinions on behalf of the charter group see *ibid.*, 27 June, 1912; and *Manitoba Free Press*, 20 May, 1909 and 8 December, 1913.

[41] *Ibid.*, 12 June, 1909.

[42] *Winnipeg Tribune*, 20 May, 1909.

[43] Grace MacInnis, *J.S. Woodsworth: A Man to Remember* (Toronto: 1953), pp. 65, 80.

work. This last section would have led to a system diametrically opposed to that established in 1890.[44]

Reaction to the Coldwell amendments was predictable. The *Manitoba Free Press* and the Orange Lodge denounced them, while the Winnipeg School Board stated bluntly and publicly it would not implement the measures in the schools of the city. The strength of the feeling over the issue of bilingualism had come to the point of open defiance of provincial law.

Given this apparently unanimous agreement on the need for compulsory education and unilingual schools among the English majority in Winnipeg, it is necessary to explain why their views were not met by the provincial government. This is not the place for a detailed analysis of the complicated state of provincial politics in Manitoba in this period, but a few basic facts can be stated.[45] The Conservative government, headed by Premier Roblin, drew heavily on the ethnic vote to maintain its hold on office.[46] Indeed, Roblin had made a compact with the Roman Catholic Archbishop of St. Boniface that stipulated he would not disturb the *status quo* in return for the relatively small but powerful (in terms of provincial seats) French vote. The agreement was a good one for Roblin and served him well until 1915. The government's only efforts to appease the rising tide of protest in Winnipeg against this attempt to curry favour with the minority groups were the unsuccessful attack on truancy in the city by tightening the enforcement of the provincial Children's Act, and by the passage, in 1906, of flag legislation that symbolically required all provincial schools to fly the Union Jack during school hours.[47]

At the time, in a cynical reference to the lack of a school attendance law, the latter action was treated as a measure designed to make the ensign more visible to the young by not requiring that the flag be inside the school where it could not be so easily seen.[48] The inadequacy of such measures

[44] M. SPIGELMAN, "Bilingual Schools in Manitoba and their Abolition" (Manitoba Archives, unpublished paper, 1970), pp. 14-15.

[45] See L. ORLIKOW, "A Survey of the Reform Movement in Manitoba, 1910-1920," (unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1958).

[46] See T. PETERSEN, "Ethnic and Class Politics in Manitoba," in M. ROBIN, ed., *Canadian Provincial Politics: The Party Systems of the Ten Provinces* (Scarborough: 1972), pp. 69-115.

[47] MORTON, *Manitoba*, pp. 311-312. The ethnic minorities, particularly the Ukrainians and French, were opposed not only to the abolition of the bilingual clause but also to compulsory attendance legislation. The former were used to having sons and daughters help earn the family living, while the French were afraid such legislation would lead to "godless" institutions. Moreover, the lack of an attendance law meant that any changes in the school laws that were obnoxious could be resisted, at the expense of the children, be refusing to allow them to attend school.

[48] James A. JACKSON, *The Centennial History of Manitoba* (Toronto: 1970), p. 173. The Children's Act had some serious shortcomings. No child could be forced to attend school unless he was a "neglected child" whose parents ignored their "moral duties" in raising him. Only parents who contributed to "juvenile delinquency" could be prosecuted. Finally, any child apprehended had to be treated, under the provisions of the law, in the same manner as criminals, thus tempting the truant officers to ignore rather than arrest young offenders. In short, despite Premier Roblin's statements that the act was an effective alternative to a compulsory attendance law, it was only barely enforced in Winnipeg and not at all in rural areas.

in dealing with the main issue of non-attendance was revealed in 1911 when it was discovered — and widely publicized — that the percentage of illiteracy among foreign-born males in Manitoba (23.3) was the highest in Canada, with the exception of Quebec, and that Winnipeg stood in eighth place among all cities over seven thousand in its illiteracy rate.

In the face of this unsympathetic attitude on the part of Premier Roblin and the Conservatives many in the city turned to the provincial Libertal party and its leader, T. C. Norris, who took a firm stand on the education question. Shortly after a Liberal victory in 1915, the new provincial government established a "national" school system and passed a compulsory attendance law. Although the matter of bilingual schools has since remained an issue of some importance in Manitoba, the settlement achieved in 1916 is still in effect. In general, the legislation had the desired impact so far as the charter group was concerned and in subsequent years all immigrants of school age learned English as a matter of course. On the other hand, the heated rhetoric of the campaign itself impeded cordial social interaction in Winnipeg. While the merits of compulsory education and the difficulties of multilingual instruction (though not bilingual) are obvious, the controversy aroused in achieving these aims served to intensify racial divisions in Winnipeg for decades.

The attempts of Winnipeg's charter group to assimilate the "foreigner" were, however, only one side of the story. The other was the formidable adjustment problem faced by the immigrants themselves. From their perspective everything and everyone seemed different; the city was strange and the towns-people strangers. Notwithstanding their best intentions, direct and painless entry into the mainstream of Winnipeg's economic and social life was bound to be difficult.[49]

For the European immigrant emerging from the C.P.R. or Union Stations after a long railway journey from eastern ports, Winnipeg was both a wonder and a terror. The vast expanse of Main Street was a far cry from the winding alleys of European cities. But for the moment, despite the fact that the street was bustling with activity, it evoked memories of "home" and feelings of loneliness. A fortunate newcomer might have encountered someone who could have told him in his own language of the nearby immigration sheds where he could have stayed until he found more

[49] This paper makes no pretense about covering all the varied dimensions of the reactions of the "foreigner" to life in Winnipeg. I have, for example, been forced to rely on English sources because of the language barrier and, unfortunately, there are few secondary studies completed that base their findings in whole or in part on non-English sources. This is obviously an area where a great deal of primary research remains to be done. Fortunately, some of this work is underway. One of the products of this type of research, that indicates that not all "foreigners" in Winnipeg during this period accepted their fate in a passive manner, is Orest T. MARTYNOWYCH, "The Ukrainian Socialist and Working Class Movement in Manitoba, 1900-1918" (Manitoba Archives, unpublished paper, 1973). Another example of this type of research, which attempts to tell the story from the perspective of the immigrant, is R. HARVEY and H. TROPER, *Immigrants: A Portrait of the Urban Experience, 1890-1930* (Toronto: 1975). Although it portrays life in Toronto, many of the experiences depicted in this book could just as easily have been in Winnipeg.

permanent accommodation, or he might have had relatives or old countrymen whom he could board. More often the newcomers were alone and without much information. One Winnipeg immigrant, Mike Hruska, remembered the experience he shared with a friend:

> After standing there and looking around for a short while, I sat down on the curb, hoping for someone with the familiar sound of my own tongue to come by. Strangely enough, no one paid any attention to us [...]. Who cares who we were, where we are going? Nobody, we must have been looked upon as a part of the dirt on the street.
>
> What a country! In the midst of thousands of people in the big city nobody cared. I thought this would never happen in the old village. Our people were human. In our village someone would certainly stop to talk to strangers by the roadside [...]. Not here.[50]

Once in Winnipeg, the immigrant faced three distinct but related problems. The most pressing concern, of course, was to obtain employment. For those whose background had equipped them with a specific trade or skill there was little difficulty in adjusting to the economic conditions of their new surroundings. Many, however, were poverty striken peasants with neither training nor capital, and their problems were bound to be more severe. The second major area of adjustment was a broader and more complicated one and more difficult to achieve than was economic security. This was the matter of social and structural assimilation; a process that could be considered complete when the immigrant learned the language and social usages of the city well enough to participate in its economic, political and social life without encountering prejudice. The emphasis here was on external indices, such as the ability to speak English, and the adoption of the dress, manners, and the social ritual of the dominant group with whom the newcomer came in contact. Finally, and most difficult of all, was the matter of cultural assimilation; a process of interpenetration and fusion in which the immigrant acquires the memories, sentiments and attitudes of the city's dominant group, and by sharing their experience and history becames incorporated with them in a broad and all-embracing cultural life. Before 1914 Winnipeg only the process of economic adjustment was achieved to any great extent; social and structural assimilation was just beginning when the tensions of the war and the Winnipeg General Strike temporarily halted the process. Cultural assimilation, the most difficult and gradual process, usually requiring two or three generations, did not get underway until well into the thirties, forties, and fifties.[51]

In the process of economic adjustment all immigrants in Winnipeg were aided by the fact that the city enjoyed economic prosperity throughout the period. Except for a few severe but short-lived recessions — such as in 1907-1908 — employment opportunities were plentiful.[52] But finding

[50] Quoted in A.B. McKillop, "Citizen and Socialist: The Ethos of Political Winnipeg, 1919-1935," (unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba), 1970, pp. 24-25.

[51] 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, University of Manitoba, 1965).

[52] R. Bellan, "The Development of Winnipeg as a Metropolitan Centre," (unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Columbia University, 1958), pp. 71-227.

employment did not necessarily mean that the newcomer achieved economic security. A study conducted by a local minister, J. S. Woodsworth, in 1913 indicated that a normal standard of living in Winnipeg required an income of at least $1,200 per year. Yet, Woodsworth continued, "it is difficult to find an actual workingman's family budget which maintains a normal standard. Large numbers of workmen are receiving under $600 per year, many under $500, half of what is necessary."[53] These economic realities meant that many immigrants were forced to resort to drastic measures in their struggle for survival. Often families broke up as mothers and even children went to work to supplement the incomes of their husbands and fathers. The immigrant, already tested by the new conditions of life in Winnipeg, was further demoralized by the effects of low wages.

The fact that thousands of families had an inadequate standard of living in an apparently prosperous city was brought to the attention of City Council many, many times, particularly after 1900. Private charities, individual investigators, the Trades and Labour Council, and even the municipal health department reported on the manifestations of the maldistribution of income and called for improved health and building bylaws, municipal housing, fair wage schedules, public works programming, and a host of other progressive measures. For the most part these pleas were ignored. Although Winnipeg had a relief committee as early as 1874, its work never extended beyond aiding those in particularly desparate straits and in the period 1900-1913, for example, the city spent, on the average, only $6,200 a year on relief.[54]

There are several factors which help explain Winnipeg's failure to deal with its social problems in a progressive manner. First of all, the city's governing élite were obsessed with the need for growth and tended to discourage financial support for any institution which did not promote direct economic returns. The drain of capital — both public and private — into economic enterprises and promotional schemes, such as the Winnipeg Development and Industrial Bureau, left little for community services.[55] But there were other factors as well, such as the age-sex ratio of the city's population. The absence of a large older age-group during these early years may well have relieved the pressure upon health and welfare institutions but it also removed the steadying influence of tradition and deprived the community of the leadership of those not strenuously engaged in making a living.[56] Similarly, with relatively few children among the early settlers

[53] ARTIBISE, *Winnipeg*, Appendix D, pp. 308-319.

[54] *Ibid.*, Chapters 10-13.

[55] *Ibid.*, Chapter 7 and *passim*.

[56] In 1911, for example, when Winnipeg had only 1.5% of its population in the 65+ age group, only Calgary, Regina, and Edmonton had a lower percentage. The percentages for other cities are as follows: Montreal, 3.2%; Toronto, 3.3%; Vancouver 1.7%; Ottawa, 3.9%; Hamilton, 4.0%; Quebec, 5.0%; Halifax, 4.9%; London, 5.7%; Calgary, 1.1%; Saint John, 5.7%; Victoria, 3.2%; Regina, 0.7%; and Edmonton, 1.2%. Figures are not available for Saskatoon. A good discussion of the implications of the age distribution of the population can be found in C.B. DAVIDSON, H.C. GRANT, and F. SHEFRIN, *The Population of Manitoba* (Winnipeg: 1938), pp. 78-92 and *passim*.

extensive educational, medical and recreational facilities were not required in the early years. But when the situation changed rapidly with the heavy influx of persons in the child bearing group, causing a sharp rise in the number of young children, problems of maternity, infant welfare, and education quickly assumed considerable importance (see Table VIII).[57]

The predominance of males raised even more acute problems (see Table III).[58] The establishment of social organizations which could serve the needs of the female or child sections of the population were hardly the primary concern of often unmarried "men-on-the-make." In short, as Professor Lower has noted in his social history of Canada, Winnipeg was for much of this period in frontier form. It "was well supplied with frontier characteristics: its bars were numerous, long and rowdy. The men who frequented them were noisily gay with all the vulgarity familiar to anyone who knows the frontier at first hand [...]. The irresponsibilities which all males exhibit when adrift from the order imposed by kinship and association" were very present.[59]

Still another element that accentuated the city's social problems was the fact that those persons who had the strongest voice in the direction of institutional policies and community services were the very ones who were least exposed to the disturbing influences faced by the newcomers. Sheltered from the true conditions in their lavish homes in Armstrong's Point, Fort Rouge, and Wellington Crescent, and engaged in a social and business life centered around the Manitoba Club, the Board of Trade, and the St. Charles Country Club, the governing élite's callous stance was often the result of ignorance. While some of these people supported social improvement efforts such as mission work, for the most part they gave little serious thought to the problems growing in their midst. "Too often, social improvement was a mere fad or concerned itself with questions that hardly touched the life of the average worker or immigrant."[60] Temperance, direct legislation, the single tax, sabbatarianism, and women's suffrage were middle class diversions which ignored the pressing problems of poverty, over-crowding, and disease faced by the city's poor.

[57] Between 1901 and 1911, for example, the age group 0-14 grew by 58.3%, while the age group 15-44 grew by only 39.1%. The other age groups, 45-64 and 65+ also grew at a faster rate than did the 15-44 group. The increase for the 45-64 group was 52.7% over the period 1901-1911; for the 65+ group it was 73.4%. In short, all three groups that were in some sense more dependent on the community than the 15-44 group increased during this crucial period at a faster rate, causing severe strains on Winnipeg's already inadequate social and educational facilities.

[58] Comparable figures for other Canadian cities in 1911 are as follows: Montreal, 998; Toronto, 980; Vancouver, 1,499; Ottawa, 923; Hamilton, 1,059; Quebec, 858; Halifax, 927; London, 898; Calgary, 1,550; Saint John, 909; Victoria, 1,518; Regina, 1,892; Saskatoon, 1,507; and Edmonton, 1,270.

[59] A.R.M. LOWER, *Canadians in the Making: A Social History of Canada* (Toronto: 1947), p. 2.

[60] K. MCNAUGHT and D.J. BERCUSON, *The Winnipeg Strike: 1919* (Toronto: 1974), p. 2.

Table VIII: AGE COMPOSITION OF WINNIPEG'S POPULATION 1886-1971

Year	0 – 14	15 – 44	45 – 64	65 +	*Total Population*
1886	7,018 (34.7%)	11,375 (56.2%)	1,647 (8.1%)	194 (0.9%)	20,238
1891	8,734 (34.1%)	14,348 (56.0%)	2,252 (8.8%)	305 (1.1%)	25,639
1901	13,999 (33.1%)	22,602 (53.4%)	4,702 (11.1%)	871 (2.0%)	42,340
1911	38,002 (27.9%)	80,303 (59.9%)	13,698 (10.1%)	2,057 (1.5%)	136,035
1921	56,031 (31.3%)	94,102 (52.5%)	24,244 (13.5%)	4,457 (2.5%)	179,087
1931	53,226 (24.3%)	115,470 (52.8%)	41,394 (18.9%)	8,625 (3.9%)	218,785
1941	41,027 (18.5%)	114,168 (51.4%)	52,623 (23.7%)	14,142 (6.4%)	221,960
1951	50,084 (21.2%)	109,818 (46.6%)	52,266 (22.2%)	23,542 (10.0%)	235,710
1961	69,014 (26.0%)	112,650 (42.4%)	55,436 (20.9%)	29,329 (11.0%)	265,429
1971	54,695 (22.1%)	104,940 (42.6%)	54,830 (22.3%)	31,785 (12.9%)	246,270

Sources: *Census of Manitoba*, 1885-86; *Censuses of Canada*, 1891-1971.

Fortunately, the process of economic adjustment and assimilation did not rely exclusively on the inadequate agencies of the civic corporation. Both were aided by a host of voluntary associations. They included the Sons of England, the St. Andrews Society, the Irish Association, the German Society, the Icelandic (Progressive) Society, the (Polish) St. Peter and Paul Society, the Zionist Society, the Ruthenian National Society, and numerous others. Exclusive without being invidious, such clubs served as guideposts for the bewildered immigrant. They identified other residents with similar traits and interests and encouraged contact on shared grounds and participation in common activities. Coupled with the churches, the unions, and ethnic newspapers, membership in these organizations of a fraternal and benevolent nature alleviated economic insecurity by providing funds, assistance, and insurance in cases of destitution, illness, and dath. Finally, political and commercial bodies promoted aspirations in matters involving municipal authorities and even the federal government. Voluntary organizations often first introduced the immigrant to the community and afterwards linked him to it.[61]

The voluntary nature of these organizations also meant, however, that they had neither the inclination nor the means to help each immigrant, even if the newcomer belonged to a particular ethnic group. The general lack of affluent membership among the Jewish and Slavic organizations, for example, often meant that when need was discovered little could be done.[62] In Winnipeg, as in other cities, the void was partially filled by

[61] ARTIBISE, *Winnipeg*, Chapters 10 and 11. A good survey of the various ethnic newspapers in Winnipeg during this period is Canada Press Club, *The Multilingual Press in Manitoba* (Winnipeg: 1974).

[62] See, for example, H. HERSTEIN, "The Growth of the Winnipeg Jewish Community"; TUREK, *Poles in Manitoba;* and S. BELKIN, *Through Narrow Gates: A Review of Jewish Immigration, Colonization and Immigrant Aid Work in Canada, 1840-1940* (Montreal: 1966).

private charities organized to meet specific needs rather than to serve particular groups.[63]

Winnipeg was fortunate in having several such charitable agencies, led by what can only be called practical idealists. Although the best known was All People's Mission, others such as the Margaret Scott Nursing Mission and the Salvation Army were also active.[64] All People's was founded in 1898 by Miss Dolly McGuire to carry out traditional religious salvation work but by 1910, under the leadership of J. S. Woodsworth, it was doing far more than that. The actual work of the Mission was remarkable, both in scope and the number of people reached. A partial listing of its program includes the running of two kindergartens; visits to immigrants' homes; boys and girls classes and clubs; a fresh-air camp; the provision of swimming and gymnasium facilities; night classes in English and civics; Sunday schools; free legal advice; pressure for a Juvenile Court (established in 1908); hospital visitation; welcoming immigrants at the federal immigration buildings; mothers' meetings; dispensation of relief; concerts and debates; and numerous other activities.[65]

One of the chief values of the work of All People's, and other agencies like it, was the publicity its work gave to conditions in Winnipeg's "foreign ghetto." Winnipeg's daily newspapers gave generous space to the activities of the Mission and until the War — when charges of catering to "enemy aliens" were laid — praised Woodsworth unreservedly. Also, the work of All Prople's and other such missions is noteworthy since they were usually staffed, led, and financed by the "British." The genuine commitment of such agencies to Winnipeg's poor (of whatever ethnic origin) clearly indicates that not all of the city's charter group was concerned only with economic growth. Rather, those who supported and were involved in these agencies were dedicated to removing, or at least moderating, the depersonalizing and demoralizing aspects of urban life. By so doing they played the important role of communicating to the public at large the great need for caring for all the city's residents, regardless of class, religion, or ethnic origin. In short, through their actual work with the newcomer and in their effect upon established society, the city's private social service agencies helped in no small way to ease the impersonal materialism of the city. At the same time, however, it must be noted that these agencies were no less intent on assimilating the immigrant than was the Winnipeg School Board or the Orange Order. What distinguished these agencies

[63] D. McARTON, "75 Years in Winnipeg's Social History," *Canadian Welfare*, Volume 25 (October, 1949): 11-19.

[64] For discussions of the work of the Margaret Scott Nursing Mission see ARTIBISE, *Winnipeg*, Chapter 10; H. MACVICAR, *The Story of the Mission* (Winnipeg: 1939); and K. PETTIPAS, "Margaret Scott and the Margaret Scott Nursing Mission, 1904-1943" (Manitoba Archives, unpublished paper, 1970).

[65] For discussions of All People's Mission see ARTIBISE, *Winnipeg*, Chapter 10; K. MCNAUGHT, *A Prophet in Politics: A Biography of J.S. Woodsworth* (Toronto: 1959); and G.N. EMERY, "The Methodist Church and the 'European Foreigners' of Winnipeg: The All Peoples Mission, 1889-1914," *Manitoba Historical Society Transactions*, Series III, No. 28 (1971-1972): 85-100.

from others was the generally humanitarian and gentle nature of their proselytism.

A Divided City, 1914-1920

While the period from 1900 to 1913 was one in which intolerance and hostility toward the "foreigner" in Winnipeg increased, it was in fact an era of relative calm compared to what transpired in the years after the outbreak of World War I in August 1914. In the months and years following Canada's declaration of war a number of issues — some new, others predating the war itself — and events brought into very sharp focus the deep divisions that already existed in Winnipeg between the "British" and the "foreigner." For while the war was certainly a major contributor to the heightening of tension in Winnipeg, other forces also had a significant impact on social relationships between various ethnic groups in the city. Although issues such as temperance, sabbatarianism, compulsory and unilingual education, and unemployment, and events such as the Russian Revolution, the Red Scare and the Winnipeg General Strike had different and usually unrelated causes, they also all managed in their own way to increase or exacerbate ethnic divisions in Winnipeg.[66] Indeed, together with the war, they combined to make the years from 1914 to 1920 the worst in Winnipeg's social history: ethnic discrimination was rampart; "foreigners" lost their jobs and were disenfranchised and deported; property was destroyed; lives were threatened. Most important of all, the events of these years left scars on the tissue of Winnipeg society that took decades to heal.[67]

In the years prior to 1914, the charter group in Winnipeg had viewed the "foreigner" and his assimilation to a "British-Canadian" way-of-life as serious but ultimately solvable problems. The war, however, caused a dramatic change in this attitude. The outbreak of hostilities in Europe brought an immediate heightening of pro-British feelings among members of the city's charter group. At the same time the emotional hysteria that

[66] The defeat of the provincial government of Premier R. Roblin in 1915 by the liberals also added to the problem. Roblin had long relied on the ethnic vote for support while the Liberals, led by T.C. Norris, promised to accelerate assimilation of non-British groups. See T. Petersen, "Ethnic and Class Politics in Manitoba," in L. Robin, *Canadian Provincial Politics*, pp. 69-115. Furthermore, in the years after 1916, both the provincial Liberal and Conservative parties began to decline as effective forces. Since both had acted in their quest for political power "as bonds of society and agents of assimilation", their decline added to the general sense of malaise during this period. See Morton, *Manitoba*, p. 361 and *passim*.

[67] For this period see especially Morris K. Mott, "The 'Foreign Peril': Nativism in Winnipeg, 1916-1923," (unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1970). I want to acknowledge my debt to this piece of work for much of the material in this section. Also useful are: Thompson, "The Prohibition Question in Manitoba, 1892-1928"; and Orlikow, "The Reform Movement in Manitoba, 1910-1920." On the Red Scare of 1919-1920 see W. Preston, *Aliens and Dissenters: Federal Suppression of Radicals, 1903-1933* (New York: 1963); and S. Coben, "A Study in Nativism: The American Red Scare of 1919-29," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. LXXIX (March 1964): 52-75. Winnipeg's reaction to the Red Scare is apparent by examining the following: *Winnipeg Tribune*, 29 January, 1919; *Winnipeg Telegram*, 9 January, 1919; and *Manitoba Free Press*, 6 February, 1919.

was generated by the war made certain ethnic groups in Winnipeg automatic targets of attack. The most obvious result was that Germans — who had hitherto been regarded as worthy immigrants — were immediately placed on the list of "undesirable aliens."[68] During the course of the war the natural reaction of "British" Winnipeg to the "German enemy" was fed by crude but persistent propaganda until, by 1919, the charter group was proclaiming that the term "Anglo-Saxon" was a misnomer and that the proper term should be "Anglo-Celtic." The problem with "Anglo-Saxon," of course, was that it signified some relationship with the Germans and this was simply no longer acceptable. Thus the *Winnipeg Telegram* declared: "All Scottish, Irish and Welsh people, and most English folk, would do well to remember that they are not the descendants of an insignificant German tribe."[69]

Winnipeggers of German descent were not the only objects of derision during the period 1914-1918. War psychology brought everyone who was not obviously "British" under suspicion. The problems faced by European "foreigners" in Winnipeg were detailed in a letter printed in the *Winnipeg Tribune* in 1915. Written by a group of Ukrainians, it stated:

> Owing to the unjust classification of all Slavs as Austrians and anti-allies, and owing to irresponsible utterances in the press and otherwise, a certain degree of intolerance and hatred towards everything that is foreign has been transplanted in the public mind, resulting in indiscreet looting of property, distrubing divine service in the churches, raiding of private homes, and personal assaults of the gravest kind, to all those who have the appearance of foreign birth, thus rendering our lives endangered.[70]

The "alien problem" in Winnipeg was further intensified as a result of the Russian Revolution of 1917. When the Russian Bolshevists surrendered to the Germans in November, a "Hun-Bolshevist" conspiracy designed to destroy "the civilization of Anglo-Saxonism the world over" was immediately perceived, with predictable results for Winnipeg's Slavs.[71]

The intense feelings of hostility and hatred generated by the war did not soon subside after 1918. Instead, if anything, they became worse. There were at least four reasons for this. First, the months following the end of the war were marked by a mounting fear of a "combined alien-revolutionary threat" that plunged most of North American into the infamous Red Scare of 1919. In Winnipeg, manifestations of the general paranoia — fed by pro-alien and pro-revolutionary statements by Winnipeg labour leaders at the founding convention of the One Big Union in March 1919 — were more apparent than in most other cities on the continent.[72] Second, the months following the war saw a severe unemployment problem in Winnipeg, particularly among returned soldiers. "Frustrated by the fact that many of

[69] *Winnipeg Telegram*, 10 June 1919. On the question of anti-German propaganda see MOTT, "The 'Foreign Peril',", pp. 15-17.

[70] *Winnipeg Tribune*, 29 January 1915. See also MARTYNOWYCH, "Ukrainian Socialist and Working-Class Movement in Manitoba, 1900-1918," pp. 24-27.

[71] *Ibid.* See also MOTT, "The 'Foreign Peril," pp. 15-18.

[72] *Ibid.* See also J.E. REA, "The Politics of Conscience: Winnipeg After the Strike," *Historical Papers 1971*: 276-288.

them were unemployed while Germans and Ukrainians and other 'alien enemies' held down good jobs, it was they who most persistently demanded that the alien-pacifist-Red element be deported immediately."[73] This bitterness led to serious rioting in January 1919.[74] Third, the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919 was perceived by many in the city as a "revolution", led and supported by the same elements that had proven disloyal during the war. The fact that there was little evidence to support this view — there were no "foreigners" prominent in the labour movement in Winnipeg — mattered little, and the association between strikers and "foreigners" persisted.[75] Finally, throughout the period the supporters of prohibition, sabbatarianism, and compulsory and unilingual education generally perceived the "foreigner" as an opponent of their goals and these feelings provided a constant under current of anti-alien feeling well into the 1920s.[76]

But whatever the cause, manifestations of "anti-foreigner" feelings were apparent on many fronts during the years 1919 to 1920. Indicative of the mood of Winnipeg's charter group during these years was the fact that in January 1919 a group of war veterans and opportunistic hoodlums had prowled around the city, smashed the windows of stores in the North End, broken into homes in the "foreign" district and demanded that everyone who had even the appearance of an "alien" kiss the Union Jack. The club building of the Austro-Hungarian Society was literally left in ruins and the Edelweiss Brewery in Elmwood was made a shambles.[77] The city's Ukrainian residents were also a target.

> The attackers did not limit themselves to physical beatings of individuals [of German descent] but attacked the halls and centres of Ukrainian organizations. Drunk veterans broke into buildings, demolished the furniture, destroyed libraries and musical instruments, throwing them out into the street through broken windows. Attacking the Prosvita Reading Society premises, the hooligans smashed all the windows, destroyed the library and theatre costumes.[78]

Significantly, no charges were laid against the maurauders by the authorities.

Winnipeg thus entered the decade of the 1920s with the difficult problem of absorbing the "foreigner" into an all-embracing community life unresolved. When the city emerged from World War I it ran headlong into the question of ethnic relationships, for Winnipeg was best characterized at this time as a city of unassimilated, isolated, and frequently bitter ethnic groups facing a "British" majority with deeply ingrained feelings of pre-

[73] MOTT, "The 'Foreign Peril'," p. 23. See also D.C. MASTERS, *The Winnipeg General Strike* (Toronto: 1950), pp. 29-30; *Winnipeg Tribune*, 31 January 1919.

[74] MOTT, "The 'Foreign Peril'," pp. 23-26.

[75] See, for example, opinions expressed in the following: *Manitoba Free Press*, 20 June, 1919; *Winnipeg Telegram*, 3 June, 1919; and *Winnipeg Citizen*, 10 May, 1919.

[76] See, for example, MARUNCHAK, *The Ukrainian Canadians*, pp. 147-150; and MOTT, "The 'Foreign Peril'," *passim*.

[77] *Ibid.*, pp. 23-25. Other episodes of anti-foreigner feelings are recounted in Winnipeg's newspapers during this period and in the *Canadian Annual Review*.

[78] Peter KRAWCHUK, *The Ukrainians in Winnipeg's First Century* (Toronto: 1974), p. 37.

judice toward "foreigners." It was only slowly that the "British" in Winnipeg learned that the community could survive and even prosper through respect and tolerance.

THE SEARCH FOR COMMUNITY: 1921-1959

During the four decades stretching from the 1920s to the formation of Metropolitan Winnipeg in 1960, the struggle for harmonious relationships between ethnic groups was aided by several trends that affected both the city's growth rate and the ethnic characteristics of its population. Most important, perhaps, was the fact that during this period the city grew at a very slow rate compared to the pre-World War I era. The average five year growth rate during this period was only 5.6%, compared to an average rate of 45.4% between 1901 and 1921. Also, during the period 1931-1936, the city's population actually declined by almost 3,000 persons (see Table I). The reason for this sharp decline in the population growth rate was an abrupt end to the vast influx of immigrants which had in previous years swelled the city's population. There were, of course, periods when the city received substantial numbers of newcomers, particularly during the 1920s and 1950s, but these influxes were slight compared to the great movements of an earlier period. Furthermore, many of the people who came to Winnipeg during this period were migrants from rural parts of Canada rather than immigrants from abroad. The flow of Canadian-born migrants into Winnipeg was particularly marked in the post-1945 period as the prairie region experienced a sharp increase in its rate of urbanization.[79] Its importance for Winnipeg lay in the fact that in most cases the newcomers in the city had already gone through some of the stages of assimilation and could fit into the community with less difficulty than those who came directly from foreign countries.

The declining percentage of foreign-born residents in Winnipeg was also the result of the fact that natural increase played a role of increasing importance in the city's growth rate (see Table II). Continuing declines in the city's infant mortality rate, an increase in the number of females in the city (see Table III), and the drop in the number of immigrants all increased the importance of natural increase as a factor. The result was that increasing numbers of Winnipeggers were actually born in the city. Between 1911 and 1961 the city's foreign-born population declined from 56% to 28% (see Tables IV and V).

Together, these factors had much to do with a decrease in ethnic hostility in Winnipeg in the years after 1920. The proportion of British in Winnipeg as compared to other ethnic groups continued to drop throughout the period but as at a much slower rate than during the 1900-1913 era when it had declined by over 10% in one decade. The city's Anglo-Saxons, more secure in their own positions, were less prone to feel threatened as

[79] L.O. STONE, *Urban Development in Canada* (Ottawa: 1967), Chapter 2; and G.A. NADER, *Cities of Canada: Theoretical, Historical and Planning Perspectives* (Toronto: 1975), pp. 244-255. See also LENZ, "Large Urban Places in the Prairie Provinces"; and MCCANN, "Urban Growth in Western Canada".

the years passed and gradually lost most of the strident feelings of superiority that had been largely the response to a fear of being overwhelmed by masses of "foreigners". Indeed, as the years passed and the city's other ethnic groups became more settled and secure they too shed some of the protective coverings that had shielded them from the unknown in earlier years. As the immigrant stream slowed down and ethnic groups no longer received large numbers of fresh recruits from the mother country, the strength and vitality of the groups slowly waned and increasing numbers were submerged into the broader culture of the community. The Winnipeg-born offspring of the original immigrants identified more with Canada than their "mother country." They were more adaptive than their parents and easily learned the language and the social customs of the city and in time even began to participate in its economic, political and social life without encountering overt prejudice. Indeed, driven by an intense feeling of inferiority that resulted from the essentially English nature of the city, the immigrants' children could not adopt the ways of the city's British majority fast enough. Unlike their parents or grandparents, the second and third generation desired, above all, to be accepted by the Anglo-Saxons.[80]

One measure of this yearning for acceptance was the fact that many "foreigners" were humiliated by their own names and had them changed. In the novel *Under the Ribs of Death* by John Marlyn, set in Winnipeg during the 1920s, the central character changes his name from Sandor Hunyadi to Alex Hunter in an attempt to find acceptance in the "English World" of Winnipeg. The explanation given for his action says much about the nature of Winnipeg during this period. "No one stared, snickered, or gaped when this name was spoken; it came easily to the tongue. Eyebrows remained in place at its mention. A new name [...] seemed to absolve him of [...] his previous existence."[81]

Still other factors affected Winnipeg's relatively peaceful absorption of its immigrant population during this period. One was the rapid rate of suburban growth. Although the movement to the surrounding municipalities began in the early 1900s, it continued rapidly throughout the years after World War I. Outward urban migration arose from a desire on the part of different ethnic groups and classes to establish new residental subcommunities with church, school, and recreational areas distinct from older, more mixed, neighbourhoods.[82] The process was made possible by the advent of cheap urban transportation in the form of both streetcars and automobiles. The result of this migration of residents was an increasing

[80] See, for example, TUREK, *Poles in Manitoba*, Chapter X; and V.J. KAYE, *Participation of Ukrainians in the Political Life of Canada* (Winnipeg: 1957).

[81] MARLYN, *Under the Ribs of Death*, p. 117.

[82] While economics and the efforts of real estate developers obviously had something to do with patterns of residential segregation in Winnipeg, voluntary segregation on the basis of ethnicity and class was far more important. See W.J. CARLYLE, "Growth, Ethnic Groups and Socio-Economic Areas of Winnipeg," in T.J. KUZ, ed., *Winnipeg, 1874-1974: Progress and Prospects* (Winnipeg: 1974), pp. 27-42; and R.D. FROMSON, "Acculturation or Assimilation: A Geographic Analysis of Residential Segregation of Selected Ethnic Groups: Metropolitan Winnipeg 1951-1961," (unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1965).

differentiation of residential life in Winnipeg and the surrounding suburbs. Much of the growth achieved by Metropolitan Winnipeg in the years after 1921 was concentrated in the surrounding municipalities of Assiniboia, Charleswood, the Kildonans, Fort Garry, St. Boniface, St. James, St. Vital, Transcona, and Tuxedo, rather than in the city of Winnipeg itself (see Table IX and Map 2).

Table IX: POPULATION GROWTH IN WINNIPEG AND SUBURBS 1901-1971

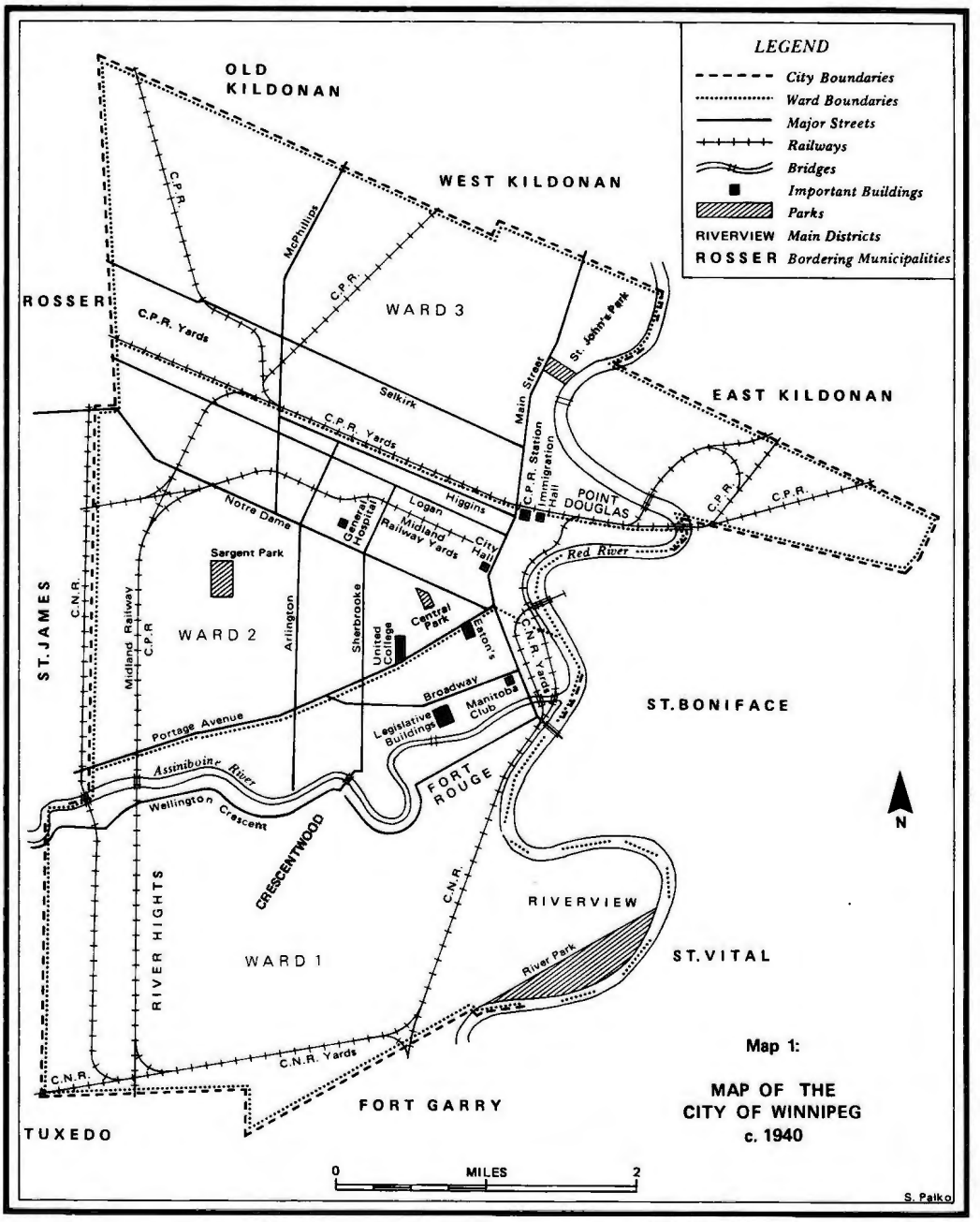
Suburbs	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971
Assiniboia	357	681	1,024	2,032	1,968	2,663	6,088	—(e)
Charleswood	450	701	869	1,226	1,934	3,680	6,243	12,185
East Kildonan	563	1,488	6,379	9,047	8,350	13,144	27,305	30,150
Fort Garry	730	1,333	2,401	3,926	4,453	8,193	17,528	26,135
North Kildonan (a)	—	—	—	—	1,946	3,222	8,888	17,715
Old Kildonan (b)	—	—	—	—	704	869	1,327	1,865
St. Boniface	2,019	7,483	12,821	16,305	18,157	26,342	37,600	46,750
St. James	257	4,535	11,745	13,903	13,892	19,569	33,977	71,385
St. Vital	585	1,540	3,771	10,402	11,993	18,637	27,269	32,940
Transcona(c)	—	—	4,185	5,747	5,495	6,752	14,248	22,745
Tuxedo (d)	—	—	277	559	777	1,627	1,627	3,260
West Kildonan	668	1,767	4,641	6,132	6,110	10,754	20,077	24,080
Winnipeg	42,340	136,035	179,087	218,785	221,960	235,710	265,429	246,270

Sources: *Censuses of Canada*, 1901-1971; *Metropolitan Plan for Greater Winnipeg*, "Background for Planning" (Winnipeg, 1946).

Note: a) Included with East Kildonan until 1941.
b) Included with West Kildonan until 1941.
c) Transcona incorporated in 1921.
d) Tuxedo incorporated in 1913.
e) Included with St. James.

Thus, by 1921, the area noth of the C.P.R. tracks — Winnipeg's "North End" — contained sixty percent of the city's Germans, eighty-six percent of the Ukrainians, eighty-four percent of the Jewish and seventy-six percent of the Polish. In the years after 1921 this pattern was extended to the suburbs as Ukrainians tended to congregate near people of the same background in the Kildonans and Transcona, as well as in the North End, while a large proportion of the Jewish group located in West Kildonan. The were, however, exceptions to this general pattern. Since 1951, there has been a significant movement of Jews from North Winnipeg to River Heights south of the Assiniboine River, and recent German immigrants have tended to locate in the city's west end. Also the main British group is found throughout the city, but relatively few live in the North End or in St. Boniface.[83] The net result of Winnipeg's high degree of ethnic segregation was that it held conflicting groups apart and had a pacifying effect since each district had a degree of homogeneity that gave a sense of place and community.

[83] CARLYLE, "Ethnic Groups of Winnipeg"; and FROMSON, "Acculturation or Assimilation." For a listing of studies, of suburban municipalities surrounding Winnipeg see D.L. SLOANE, J.M. ROSENEDER, and M.J. HERNANDEZ, eds., *Winnipeg: A Centennial Bibliography* (Winnipeg: 1974).


LEGEND
City Boundaries
Ward Boundaries
Major Streets
Railways
Bridges
Important Buildings
Parks
RIVERVIEW Main Districts
ROSSER Bordering Municipalities
OLD KILDONAN
WEST KILDONAN
EAST KILDONAN
ROSSER
ST.JAMES
ST.BONIFACE
ST.VITAL
TUXEDO
FORT GARRY
RIVERVIEW
CRESCENTWOOD
RIVER HEIGHTS
FORT ROUGE
POINT DOUGLAS
WARD 1
WARD 2
WARD 3
C.P.R.
C.N.R.
C.P.R. Yards
C.N.R. Yards
McPhillips
Selkirk
Main Street
St. John's Park
C.P.R. Station
Immigration Hall
Notre Dame
Logan
Higgins
Midland Railway Yards
City Hall
General Hospital
Red River
Sargent Park
Arlington
Sherbrooke
United College
Central Park
Eaton's
Broadway
Manitoba Club
Legislative Buildings
Portage Avenue
Assiniboine River
Wellington Crescent
Midland Railway
River Park
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MILES
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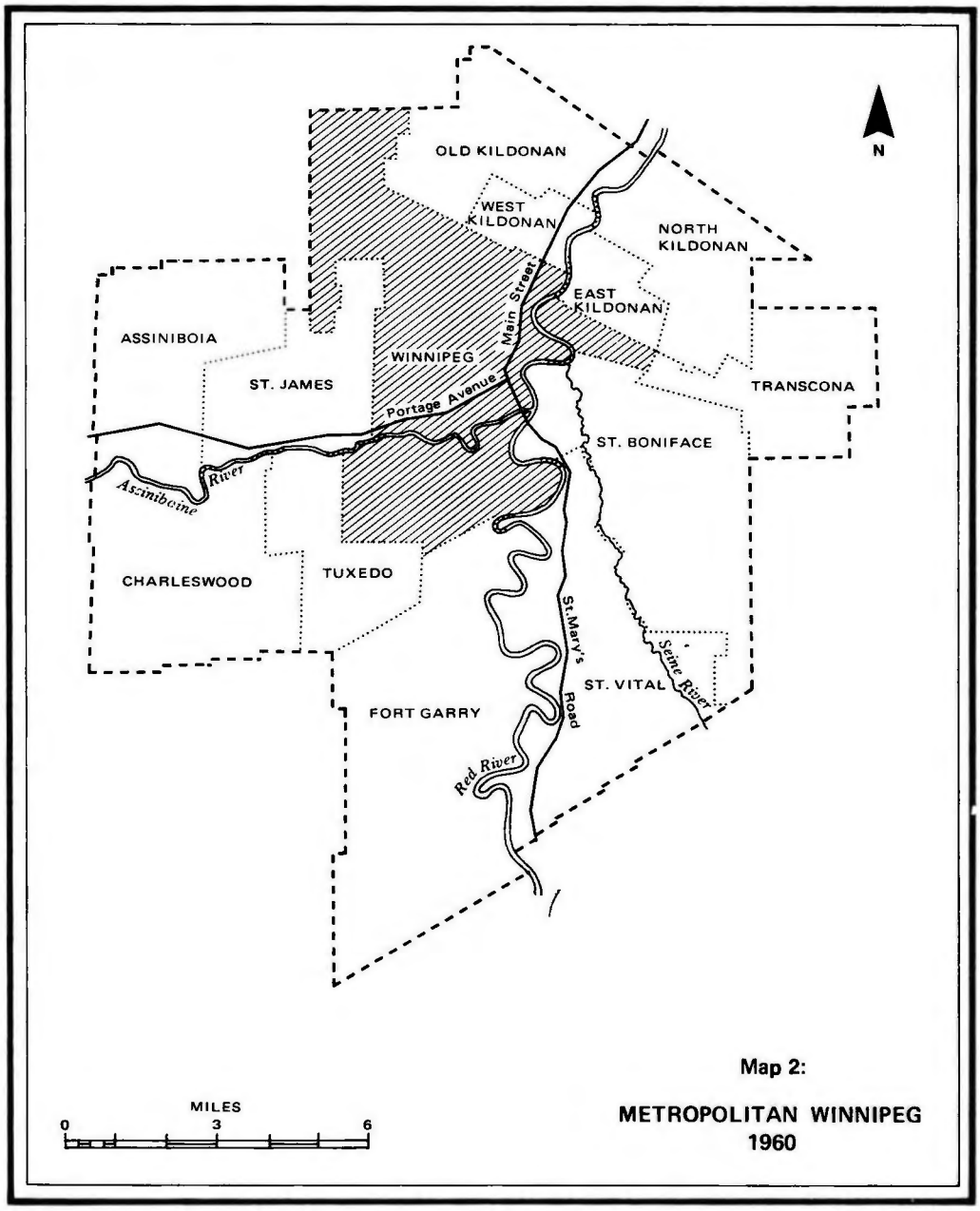
Map 1:
MAP OF THE CITY OF WINNIPEG
c. 1940
S. Palko



Map 2:

METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG
1960

Ethnic tensions in Winnipeg eased also owing to the fact that the immigrants who arrived in Winnipeg in the post-1921 period were of a distinctly different type than those who had come earlier. A wider variety of ethnic origin categories, social classes, and occupations were included in this final phase of immigration. This phase also included many immigrants who came as refugees displaced by political disruptions in their homeland. These disruptions had a great impact upon persons from all social and economic levels; many of them came from urban centers and were generally well-educated people with professional training, artistic talents, and linguistic skills, along with experience in business or government, or a skilled trade. Possessing better education and training these recent immigrants were better able to adjust to their new surroundings and caused no major disruptions in the community.[84]

Taken together, the decline in Winnipeg's growth rate and the changes in the ethnic composition of its population in the years after 1920 generally had the effect of improving the relationships between various groups in the city. But the process was a slow one and no great changes were evident overnight. By the end of the 1920s, however, the overt hostility of Winnipeg's Anglo-Saxons toward "foreigners" that had characterized the years between 1914 and 1920 had come to an end and discrimination tended to take more subtle forms. A quota system, for example, was established at the Manitoba Medical College during the 1920s. Its goal was to keep Slavs and Jews out of the medical profession, regardless of their scholastic achievements. This system operated effectively and without much contradiction until the end of World War II. The penetrating nature of intolerance in Winnipeg in the 1920s indicated by this and other forms of discrimination has been described by James Gray, a native of the city, in his book *The Roar of the Twenties:*

> The 'whites' in Winnipeg seldom rode the Selkirk streetcars that traversed the main street of Winnipeg's North End. The foreign labourers came to the public transport with their clothes reeking of the railway shops, the abattoirs, and the dust from the streets. Once aboard they exhaled a garlic-laden fog that would collapse Anglo-Saxon olfactory receptors at a dozen paces [...]. [The foreigners'] incurable addiction to garlic drove [the Anglo-Saxons] to distraction. "Cooking with it? My God, they couldn't stink like that just from cooking with it! They'd have to bathe in the stuff." Eaton's shopgirls, claiming the odor of garlic clung to their hair, would walk blocks in subzero weather to avoid riding on Selkirk and Dufferin streetcars [...]. When British Anglo-Saxons felt compelled to refer to the immigrant population, [the softest terms they used were] 'goddam hunkies' and 'lousy bohunks'.[85]

[84] "The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups," *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, Book IV, (Ottawa: 1969), pp. 15-32; W.E. KALBACH, *The Impact of Immigration on Canada's Population* (Ottawa: 1970); and Turek, *The Poles in Manitoba*, Chapter V. It should be noted, however, that some of the new arrivals did cause disruptions within their own ethnic groups. See, for example, Krawchuk, *The Ukrainians in Winnipeg*, p. 46 and *passim*. Conflicts within ethnic groups had also occurred earlier. See, for example, H.H. HERSTEIN, "The Growth of the Winnipeg Jewish Community and the Evolution of Its Educational Institutions," (unpublished M. Ed. Thesis, University of Manitoba), 1964, pp. 28-33 and *passim*.

[85] James GRAY, *The Roar of the Twenties* (Toronto: 1975), p. 233.

By the end of World War II, however, significant changes had occurred in the city. For while World War I had released emotions that victimized the city's non-Anglo-Saxons, the depression and the second war ameliorated their condition somewhat. The otherwise disastrous period of economic depression during the 1930s brought an abrupt halt to further immigration and gave those who had already arrived the opportunity to blunt the sharpness of differences which were so strikingly evident to the city's Anglo-Saxons. In addition, the years of the depression relieved the attention of the Anglo-Saxons to matters connected with the foreigners in the city as all groups simply struggled to survive the decade.[86] Then, during the second world war, "the demand for manpower knew no ethnic limits."[87] The war also brought human rights issues to the fore for the combatting of genocide and totalitarianism aroused a new spirit in Canada which led eventually to a demand that it set its own house in order.[88] Furthermore, in the post-war period, and particularly during the 1950s, large numbers of non-Anglo-Saxons acquired a relative degree of affluence and were accorded increasing degrees of respect and tolerance. Remembering the fear and insecurity of earlier times the "New Canadians," as they were now called, were determined to enter the mainstream of Winnipeg society even if it meant abandoning their culture. "The rush to assimilate, especially among second and third generations, intensified."[89] Although tensions between groups in the city did not disappear completely, they were greatly moderated.

The increasing acceptance of "New Canadians" in Winnipeg during the 1950s was apparent on many fronts. Status occupations, such as law and medicine, which had long been closed to non-Anglo-Saxons, were opened and were quickly filled. For the first time in the city's history a non-Anglo-Saxon mayor came to office. The election in 1956 of Stephen Juba, a Ukrainian, was an indication of the increasing influence of "New Canadians" in Winnipeg life. This was no isolated incident or accident. Not only was Juba returned in every subsequent election, he was joined by increasing numbers of other non-Anglo-Saxons on city council and in other public positions.[90] By the 1950s there were growing signs that the discrimination towards "foreigners" which had for so long been a part of Winnipeg's social environment was ending.

[86] The depression did not bring an abrupt and complete end to discrimination. See, for example, L. CARPENTER, "Deportation of Immigrants During the Depression" (Manitoba Archives, unpublished paper, February 1973).

[87] REA, "Roots of Prairie Society," p. 53.

[88] M. DAVIS and J.F. KRAUTER, *The Other Canadians: Profiles of Six Minorities* (Toronto: 1971), p. 128 and *passim*.

[89] REA, "Roots of Prairie Society," p. 54.

[90] For an analysis of Juba's election see M.S. DONNELLY, "Ethnic Participation in Municipal Government: Winnipeg, St. Boniface and the Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg," in L.D. FELDMAND and M.D. GOLDRICK, eds., *Politics and Government of Urban Canada* (Toronto, 1969), pp. 61-71. On the larger question of non-Anglo-Saxon's participation in public life see KRAWCHUCK, *The Ukrainians in Winnipeg;* Lloyd STINSON, *Political Warriors: Recollections of a Social Democrat* (Winnipeg: 1975); and TUREK, *Poles in Manitoba.*

RECENT TRENDS, 1960-1974

During the years from 1960 to 1974 the trends in population growth and change, underway in the post-1945 period, were in general maintained. The population of the city of Winipeg — as distinct from that of Metropolitan Winnipeg — actually declined, although increasingly throughout the 1960s the entire area came to function — and to be perceived by both residents and others — as one large city (see Table X). Following the formation of the Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg in 1960, the city became more and more integrated with the surrounding municipalities until in 1972, with the creation of Unicity, all the legal distinctions between the various municipalities and cities of the area were entirely removed and a new, super city was created.[91] Thus the developments that have taken place in the last decade and a half are best considered in the context of the Greater Winnipeg area rather than in terms of the old city of Winnipeg itself.

The 13% growth rate that was experienced by Metropolitan Winnipeg between 1961 and 1971 was considerably less than the increases in population in other metropolitan areas during the same period (see Table XI) Metropolitan Edmonton, for example, had a population increase of 47%.[92] This reflects the fact that Metropolitan Winnipeg had reached a point of self sustaining growth; a period when most of the growth achieved was the result of natural increase rather than through the arrival of newcomers either from other parts of Canada or from abroad. Furthermore, all the growth during this period occurred outside the boundaries of the city or Winnipeg in the surrounding municipalities. These areas of Metropolitan Winnipeg grew at the expense of the old city of Winnipeg primarily because the city no longer had land available for development. Families seeking residential accommodation and companies seeking industrial locations were forced to move to the surrounding municipalities.[93]

The ethnic composition of Metropolitan Winnipeg was not noticeably different from that of old city of Winnipeg, with one exception (see Table XII). The inclusion of the city of St. Boniface within Metropolitan Winnipeg meant that Greater Winnipeg had the largest concentration of French-speaking Canadians outside the Province of Quebec. But the French group was still surpassed in number among Winnipeg's non-

[91] There is a great wealth of material on the formation of metropolitan government in Winnipeg. In particular see E.W. THRIFT, "Greater Winnipeg," *Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*, Vol. 23, No. 11 (November 1946): 222-275; S. George RICH, "Metropolitan Winnipeg, 1943-1961," in A.R. MCCORMACK and Ian MACPHERSON, eds., *Cities in the West: Papers of the Western Canada Urban History Conference* (Ottawa: 1975), pp. 237-268; T.J. PLUNKETT, *Unicity: A New Form of Unified Municipal Government for Greater Winnipeg* (Winnipeg: 1971); and GOVERNMENT OF MANITOBA, *Proposals for Urban Reorganization in ten Greater Winnipeg Area* (Winnipeg: 1971). For further material see SLOANE, ROSENEDER, and HEINANDEZ, *Winnipeg: A Centennial Bibliography*.

[92] NADER, *Cities of Canada*, I, pp. 201-260.

[93] T.J. KUZ, "Metropolitan Winnipeg: Inter-Urban Relationships," in KUZ, ed., *Winnipeg, 1874-1974*, p. 7-20.

Table X: Population Change in Metropolitan Winnipeg 1961-1971

Area	1961	1971	*Numerical Change*	*Per Cent Change*
Charleswood	6,243	12,185	5,942	95.2
North Kildonan	8,888	17,715	8,827	99.3
Old Kildonan	1,327	1,865	538	40.5
East Kildonan	27,305	30,150	2,845	10.4
West Kildonan	20,077	24,080	4,003	19.9
Fort Garry	17,528	26,135	8,607	49.1
St. Boniface	37,600	46,750	9,150	24.3
St. James — Assiniboia	40,065	71,385	31,320	78.2
St. Vital	27,269	32,940	5,671	20.8
Transcona	12,248	22,475	10,227	83.5
Tuxedo	1,627	3,260	1,633	100.4
Winnipeg	265,429	246,270	−19,159	−7.2

Sources: *Censuses of Canada*, 1961-1971

Table XI: Population Growth in Metropolitan Winnipeg (1901-1971

Year	*Population*	*Numerical Increase*	*Per Cent Increase*
1901	48,488	—	—
1911	156,969	108,481	223.7
1921	229,212	72,243	46.0
1931	276,441	47,229	20.6
1941	290,540	14,099	5.1
1951	354,069	63,529	21.9
1961	475,989	121,920	34.4
1971	540,262	64,273	13.5

Sources: *Censuses of Canada*, 1901-1971.

Table XII: Ethnic Origins of the Metropolitan Winnipeg Population, 1901-1971 (%)

Ethnic Group	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971
Asian	.3	.4	.5	.4	.4	.6	.7	1.4
British	71.2	61.0	67.4	61.4	59.2	51.4	45.0	43.0
French	6.5	4.3	4.9	5.0	5.8	9.3	8.3	8.6
German	5.2	6.3	6.2	5.1	5.4	7.7	10.6	11.5
Italian	.3	.5	.7	.7	.7	.6	1.2	1.7
Jewish	2.6	6.2	6.5	6.0	6.0	5.1	3.9	3.4
Netherlands	.2	.4	.9	1.0	1.5	2.4	3.1	2.8
Polish	—	3.3	2.7	5.0	4.5	5.0	5.2	4.8
Russian	1.4	1.1	1.9	1.0	.9	.9	.9	.4
Scandinavian	7.5	3.5	3.3	3.8	4.0	3.7	3.8	3.2
Ukrainian	—	2.5	3.1	7.3	9.1	11.2	11.3	11.9
Others	4.8	10.5	1.9	3.3	2.5	2.1	6.0	7.3
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Sources: *Censuses of Canada*, 1901-1971.

Anglo-Saxon ethnic groups by the Germans and Ukrainians. The other changes of importance during this period were the significant increases in the members of Italians, Native Indians and Métis in the metropolitan area. Both added a new dimension to Winnipeg's cosmopolitan character. Incidentally these groups, especially the Native Indians and Métis, were to experience the kind of discrimination that had in earlier periods been reserved for the Slavs and Jews.[94]

The increase in the number of Italians, Indians and Métis in Winnipeg fits into the pattern of development that the city had experienced since 1900. Since the beginning of the century Winnipeg had become more cosmopolitan in character with each succeeding decade until by 1971 the non-Anglo-Saxon population of the city had reached almost 60% of the total population. Winnipeg thus had one of the most pronounced ethnic mixes of any urban area in Canada and, with the exception of the French and Italian groups, had a larger percentage of all ethnic groups represented in the metropolitan area than in the country itself.

These figures present a somewhat distorted picture of the nature of Winnipeg, however, since they establish the cosmopolitan nature of the city on the basis of statistics only. The visitor to modern Winnipeg would in fact find less evidence of its cosmopolitan character today than in previous decades. For example, the English language is spoken almost universally, value systems are common to all ethnic groups, and there is very little dissimilarity in dress throughout the city. Although non-English language shop signs are still evident they are almost universally used in conjunction with the English language. Furthermore, individual members of the various ethnic groups are present in almost every facet of the economic and political life of the city. When these aspects of Winnipeg are weighed against the picture presented by statistics, it would appear that the cosmopolitan character of Winnipeg had decreased rather than increased during the past half century.

There is other evidence, however, that suggests that what has occurred in the relationship between the ethnic minorities and the dominant Anglo-Saxon group in Winnipeg is not total absorption. For while political and economic integration of the ethnic groups had taken place, these groups still retain a strong feeling of ethnicity. The ethnic groups in the city still maintain their own networks of clubs, organizations, and institutions which tend to confine many of their contacts within their own groups. Inter-ethnic contacts take place in considerable part only at the level of employment and the political and civic processes. The city's groups are separated by the invisible but powerful barriers of ethnic identification and belief and tend to carry out their intimate life with members of their own group. Also, residential segregation according to ethnicity has remained throughout Winnipeg's history very much a part of the social landscape.[95]

[94] See INDIAN AND MÉTIS FRIENDSHIP CENTRE, *The Indian-Métis Urban Probe* (Winnipeg: 1971); "Heart of a City," *Winnipeg Tribune*, 22 August, 1975; and CARLYLE, "Growth, Ethnic Groups and Socio-Economic Areas of Winnipeg."

[95] *Ibid.* See also FROMSON, "Assimilation or Acculturation."

Furthermore, during the past ten years there has been an increase in the awareness of the city's various ethnic groups. Such recent events as the celebration of Canada's, Manitoba's, and Winnipeg's centennials and the publication of the Bilingualism and Biculturalism *Report* (which included a volume on "The Cultural Contributions of Other Ethnic Groups"), have made people more aware than at any other time of the contributions the various ethnic groups have made to the city. This increased awareness has fostered a new interest among young members of ethnic groups in their language and culture as genuine support for the idea of a cultural mosaic has been forthcoming for the first time. An enthusiastic affirmation of Winnipeg's cosmopolitan nature has, since 1970, been present in an annual week long ethnic festival called Folklorama.[96]

Recent trends in Winnipeg thus suggest the continued evolution of a cosmopolitan community. But overriding the decrease in instance of discrimination, the increase in political and economic integration, and the fact that ties of common origin are still strong, is the dominance of an Anglo-Saxon culture. This, of course, is largely a result of the fact that the Anglo-Saxons are by far the single largest group in the city. Yet it is also a result of that groups' continued determination to meet the challenge of immigration. What has evolved in Winnipeg is a culture which is more diverse but not fundamentally different from that established in Winnipeg by 1900. The premises of the city's Anglo-Saxons, and the social institutions which they planted, have generally remained intact.

[96] See, for example, CANADA PRESS CLUB, *The Multilingual Press in Manitoba* (Winnipeg: 1974): and *Winnipeg Centennial Souvenir book: 1874-1974* (Winnipeg: 1974), pp. 132-133 and *passim*.