THE EVOLUTION OF MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT
IN THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES AND SASKATCHEWAN:
THE CASE STUDY OF REGINA 1883 - 1920

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THE LE OF TIlE THESIS The Evecution of Municipal Government in the North-West Territories and Saskatchewan: The Case Study of Regina, 1833-1920

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Abstract

The settlers who came to Regina in the 1880's thought of themselves as Central Canadians involved in westward expansion. Left by the Dominion Government, C.P.R. and C.N.W.L.C. to fend for themselves, however, they were soon cast adrift of this romantic notion, and developed municipal government as a means to control their own destiny. In the process, these influential pioneers shaped municipal institutions throughout the North-West Territories.

Regina's unique municipal evolution continued to influence the forms and powers of civic governments, though this lessened with the coming of prosperity and the dramatic urban growth which accompanied it.

After 1913, Regina's civic government again played a leading role in the development of municipal institutions, establishing a powerful Commission form of government and an effective civic administration. By 1920, Regina was a leading influence in the development and practices of Saskatchewan municipalities.
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Introduction

This thesis attempts to trace the evolution of municipal government in the North-West Territories, and then Saskatchewan, using Regina as a case study from 1882 to 1920. It also attempts to assess the forces which shaped the form and character of early Western Canadian municipal governments by examining the historical development of Regina's civic institutions.

Regina is well-suited as a model for examining the evolution of Western municipal institutions because of the leading role its citizens took in establishing and developing civic government. Its pioneer settlers helped draft the 1883 Municipal Ordinance, the legislative instrument which enabled all Territorial centres to become incorporated municipalities. Regina became the first incorporated town in the North-West in 1883, and only its second city in 1903.

Regina was also a typical Western urban centre. Its growth, and the development of its civic services were tied to the expansion of the region's wheat economy. Regina's town and city councils, as in hundreds of other prairie centres, were composed of merchants, speculators and professionals. From 1903 to 1913, Regina and other Western centres experienced unprecedented expansion which led to civic over-spending and ultimately, to a loss of autonomy to provincial authorities. From 1913 to 1920, Regina established commission government, a form found in other large prairie cities.1
Regina's municipal evolution underwent four distinct phases from 1882 to 1920. The first, from 1882 to 1889, was characterized by the settlers' desire to establish in Regina the municipal institutions and social attitudes of their urban Ontario up-bringing. The pioneer merchants, professionals and their families saw themselves as Central Canadians involved in westward expansion, and they came West to establish cities. Naturally, they adopted Ontarian legislation as their framework for establishing municipal institutions. Regina's first town councils attempted to emulate the grandeur of Eastern cities by building themselves a Town Hall and by styling themselves the "City Council". Citizens looked to the Dominion Government, the Canadian Pacific Railway (C.P.R.) and the Canada North-West Land Company (C.N.W.L.C.) for recognition and financial investment. When these "outside interests" failed to invest in, or even to recognize Regina's ambitions, citizens turned to their local government for support, and town councils assumed a more pragmatic and inclusive approach to town administration.

The second phase, from 1890 to 1902, saw town councils begin to address community needs and promote social and economic development regionally. There was little institutional change, but councils wrested some degree of financial independence from the outside interests who owned the townsite, and used these revenues to establish municipal services and develop urban-hinterland ties. The 1890 council constructed a large-scale sewer system in response to community demand for improved sanitation. In 1895, the town council supported the hosting of the Territorial Exhibition, an event promoting agricultural interests in Regina and its surrounding districts. Councils also invited local
capitalists to establish an electrical utility in the townsite, a service which the municipality regulated into submission before acquiring at a bargain price in 1904.

The third phase, from 1903 to 1913, witnessed tremendous physical growth matched by an increase in the size and complexity of civic administration. Within a decade, Regina grew from a frontier town of 3,000 inhabitants to a modern city of 30,000, increasing fourfold in area amidst a real estate boom. Regina also gained a city charter in 1906, a City Commissioner in 1912, and a range of municipally-owned utilities and services. Much of this physical development was geared to the continuation of boom conditions. City councils acquired and extended services such as waterworks and the electrical utility, but also spent lavishly on street railway service. Rate-payers were burdened with near-ruinous debt when the boom ended abruptly in 1913. Fortunately, the rapid expansion of civic services also produced an able group of administrators, and this influential body of civil servants helped to lead Regina through difficult economic times.

Finally, the period from 1914 to 1920 brought a steady erosion of Regina's municipal autonomy due to the interventionist policies of the Saskatchewan Government. In 1913, provincial authorities prohibited the municipal practice of "bonusing" industries. As municipalities found their bonds impossible to sell amidst a world-wide depression, the Government again stepped in, regulating municipal finances and scrutinizing all bond offerings. The combination of increasing provincial encroachment and deteriorating economic conditions created
new demands on civic administrators. Regina's city government responded to these conditions by establishing a two-tiered council-elect. Aldermen formed the legislative body and appointed commissioners became the executive body. This modified form of commission government allowed for a division of responsibility. Local issues were given a forum of responsive, representative government; inter-governmental relations, utility operations and other civic resources were handled by professional administrators. Commission government enabled Regina's council to maintain traditional practices of addressing community needs and promoting regional interests. It also allowed Regina to contribute substantially to the development of municipalities throughout Saskatchewan. By 1920, Regina was again a leading influence in the establishment and development of Western Canadian municipal institutions.

It is the examination of Regina's municipal evolution, and of the forces which shaped its character, that will form the basis of this thesis. Where necessary, the experiences of other Western centres will be discussed, if only to illustrate the influential nature or uniqueness of Regina's own municipal evolution.

The tracing of Regina's influential municipal evolution goes beyond the sweep of metropolitan forces or bare legislative records to encompass a variety of individuals, groups, organizations (and their social and economic activities) which comprised the developing city. Bearing this in mind, this thesis will also attempt to assess the contribution which certain pioneers, some town and city councillors, and
a handful of dedicated civic servants made to Regina's municipal history. After all, as Regina's municipal newspaper was fond of proclaiming: "The people are the City."
Chapter 1

Civic Men 1882-1889

"Civic man stood on the prairie and reared his little cities...and after the first burst of excitement was over, he began to ask himself how was he governed?"

_Ottawa Citizen_ 21 April 1884

Regina became the first incorporated town in the North-West Territories on December 1, 1883. Settlers favouring incorporation were products of a mid-Victorian, Central Canadian urban society. They arrived from Ontario towns and cities, were familiar with municipal institutions, and wanted to establish cities in the West. Early Regina reflected the heritage of its settlers: Methodist and Roman Catholic churches, public schools, even billiard parlors bespoke Central Canadian institutional and cultural influence. The C.P.R. line and station, the Massey Manufacturing agent and the Bank of Montreal demonstrated Central Canada's (and Britain's) willingness to invest in the development of the new region. The Council Chambers, Dominion Government offices and various land companies reflected Regina's administrative function. All testified to the metropolitan forces which created Regina- and hundreds of other villages, towns and cities- in the emerging urban West.

The establishment of Regina's independent municipal authority, however, brought disappointment with the "outside interests" who created the townsite and controlled its development. The C.P.R. refused to
accede to the demands of the mayor and residents for increased investment in rail facilities and branch lines. The Dominion Government would not intervene to coerce the company into further construction, nor would it grant the region immediate parliamentary representation. The 1885 rebellion temporarily renewed interest and spending in the townsite, but provided no new impetus for urban growth and left only a lingering and contentious issue regarding the payment of military scrip to a Regina militia corps. Finally, the C.N.W.L.C. trustees, land speculators and administrators representing the property interests of the Dominion Government and the C.P.R., refused to pay municipal taxes on their monopoly townsite holdings. The subsequent shortage of tax receipts limited municipal action and authority. Creating viable urban centres in the North-West was critical to the development of a wheat-producing economy in the region; yet Regina residents had their own metropolitan ambitions ignored, their military efforts shunned, and their attempts at self-government restricted- all by familiar "outside" interests.

The resulting disillusionment at the hands of the National Policy makers, and the trustees' actions, caused residents to seek autonomy through their civic affairs. In 1883, Regina was content to be an extension of mid-Victorian, urban Central Canada. By 1889, however, residents began to turn away from, and find alternatives to, their cultural and institutional heritage. The priorities of town councils ceased to be those serving and emulating Central Canadian urban forces. Instead, councils concentrated on promoting the social and economic welfare of its citizens. By the late 1880's and early 1890's, a distinct
prairie urban society began to emerge in Regina, and elsewhere in the Territories.

The desire to acquire and develop the vast area of Rupert's Land and the North-West Territories was one of the forces uniting Canada during the Confederation era. By 1869, the Dominion Government was able to purchase the former Hudson's Bay Company (H.B.C.) lands and began immediately to organize them. Survey parties were sent, homesteads established, and claimant policies were delineated in the 1872 Dominion Lands Act. The North-West Mounted Police marched west in 1874, negotiating peace treaties with various Indian tribes and instituting law and order. Organization of the Territories was rapid, partly because the federal government retained control of the land in order to achieve its expansionist goals without local interference. Only eight years after Confederation, the North-West Territories Act gave the region an administrative framework.

The 1875 Act established a simple governing body while providing for eventual expansion. A federally-appointed lieutenant-governor and a small body of chosen advisors were empowered to install Justices of the peace, sheriffs, and magistrates, and to enact ordinances of an administrative nature. As Territorial population increased, these councillors would become an elected assembly. From 1876 to 1882, the body remained small and met infrequently at the thriving trading post of Battleford. Initially, there was little to administer: non-natives in the Territory numbered only around 7,000 and aside from a few H.B.C. and N.W.M.P. posts- and some trading hamlets along the North
Saskatchewan River - the entire region was essentially rural. In late 1882, however, the Canadian Pacific Railway brought thousands of settlers to the North-West, establishing townsites and forever changing the settlement pattern of the region.

Constructing a transcontinental railway was another of Confederation's principal aims and an integral part of Central Canada's westward expansion. The C.P.R. was the physical bond uniting the prairies and Central Canada; tracks were laid across the breadth of the Territories by late 1883. The Federal Government gave the C.P.R. generous subsidies and land grants to meet construction costs and the Company became, (along with the H.B.C. and various Indian tribes), one of the principal land owners in the North-West Territories. In spite of the substantial public backing, the Company faced important economic decisions regarding construction. A route had to be selected which avoided high construction costs, yet remained positioned to service a future wheat economy, and townsites had to be situated along the route to maintain company operations. Government and C.P.R. officials realized that successful urbanization was necessary for Canada's westward expansion. Without large and numerous service centres there could be no significant agricultural development; without large-scale agricultural development there would be no profitable transcontinental railway; and without a viable railway there would be no permanent Canadian presence in the North-West. Thus, the selection of a route and the subsequent development of townsites along it was critical to the Territories' (and Canada's) political viability.
The C.P.R.'s decision to construct across the southern plains rather than through the northern park-belt altered the Territories' existing settlement pattern. It created significant centres out of bald prairie and it atrophied established communities situated on the historic trading routes along the North Saskatchewan River. A prime example of the railroad's influence was Regina's creation and Battleford's relative decline. In the spring of 1882, the site of Regina consisted of three canvas tents surrounded by limitless prairie. After the line went through, however, the townsite was established, chosen as Territorial capital, and shortly thereafter became the first incorporated town in the North-West. By contrast, Battleford lost its status as Territorial capital in March, 1883, was not incorporated as a town until 1904, and never achieved its metropolitan aspirations. Similar patterns of sudden growth and atrophy were repeated throughout the North-West.

The C.P.R. also altered Western urban development because of growing financial difficulties. The Company chose its route and received 25 million acres of land ("fairly fit for settlement") on alternating sections, and on either side of the railway to a total depth of 24 miles. This land grant had to pay for construction costs and accommodate strategically-located townsites, but the Company also intended to capitalize on its landholdings by floating millions of dollars' worth of land grant bonds. By mid-1882, however, the London and New York markets were saturated with such securities. In June, the directors were faced with a critical cash shortage, and responded by deeding a portion of their land grant- 13.5 million acres, (including 1/2 of their interest
in 47 townsites between Brandon and British Columbia's eastern border) - to the Canada North-West Land Company. The C.N.W.L.C., a consortium of British and Canadian investors, agreed to promote and administer lot sales in the townsites in return for half of the profits. In effect, the consortium became a land office for the railway company.\textsuperscript{14} Townsite promotion in the Territories was no longer in the hands of the C.P.R.- it rested instead with foreign investors and local speculators.

The arrival of the transcontinental rail link, the promotion of townsites and the presence of determined settlers and speculators boosted land values and lot sales in 1882-83. The C.N.W.L.C. consortium, hoping to capitalize on these conditions, appointed townsite trustees to oversee the administration and sale of lots.\textsuperscript{15} Tory politician and Toronto-based capitalist W.B. Scarth was the most active trustee. He travelled West in 1882, set up land offices and organized promotional campaigns. The consortium's initial success attracted the attention of the Dominion Government. In October 1883, the Government offered the C.N.W.L.C. its holdings in four townsites- 1/2 of the lots in Virden, Regina, Moose Jaw and Qu'Appelle- if the trustees would remit 1/2 of the sales' proceeds to the Federal Treasury. The consortium agreed, and the four townsites were placed entirely under Scarth's administrative control. Of the four, Regina appeared to offer the greatest promise of speculative profits.\textsuperscript{16}

Regina's potential for yielding speculative profits was evident before the C.N.W.L.C. trusteeship controlled the townsite. The C.P.R.'s imminent arrival prompted the removal of the Territorial capital from
Battleford to a site along the railroad survey. In June 1882, Dewdney and C.P.R. General Manager Van Horne situated the new capital on the proposed line, and it was christened "Regina" in honour of Queen Victoria. Dewdney chose the new site not for aesthetic reasons, but because he was speculating in nearby property. Regina townsite had been located on sections 19 and 30, township 17, range 19, and on sections 24 and 25, township 17, range 20, west of the second meridian. Dewdney held an interest in section 26, and he used his political connections to have the Lieutenant-Governor's residence, Council Chambers and N.W.M.P. barracks erected near his own section. [See Map 1.1] Dewdney was attempting to influence the direction of Regina's future development in order to capitalize on his speculative landholdings. His plans failed, however, because of strong resistance from another influential landholder, the C.P.R.

C.P.R. officials resented such interference with their share of speculative profits, and resorted to retaliatory measures which affected Regina's development. First, they erected the railway station on their own section of the townsite, two miles east of Dewdney's land. Secondly, officials complained to the Dominion Government about Dewdney's speculation, and Prime Minister John A. Macdonald pacified the railway company by locating the Customs and Post offices next to the Union Station, (so named because of plans by the Qu'Appelle, Long Lake & Saskatchewan line, a proposed private branch, to share the facility with the C.P.R.). Thirdly, the C.P.R. made Moose Jaw its divisional point, and attempted to boom that townsite instead. As a consequence of these actions, Regina's administrative and commercial districts were separated
by 2 miles of open prairie, and the new Territorial capital now had to contend with urban rival Moose Jaw. Regina was victimized by competing outside interests even before it became an incorporated entity.

Dewdney's costly speculation did not weaken the residents' resolve to establish Regina as an important metropolitan centre. The 900 or so settlers arriving in 1882-83 saw themselves as agents of westward expansion.20 They overlooked Dewdney's corruption because they initially welcomed a strong Dominion Government presence, and they praised developers and investors such as the C.P.R. and the C.N.W.L.C..21 Their initial acceptance of dominating outside interests stemmed, in part, from an overly romantic notion of their own self-importance:

...The Great North-West region is a kingdom in extent, resources, and underdeveloped wealth, and fitted for the prosperous and happy homes of millions...the foundation of a great western nation is being solidly laid by the sturdy pioneers of a once Great Lone Land.22

The settlers who brought the urban institutions of Central Canada to the prairies also laboured under the false impression that they would continue to receive the economic support of the interests who created the urban West. As events soon proved, however, Regina's pioneers were deluded as to the degree of support they would receive from those who owned and controlled their townsite.

The majority of settlers populating Regina townsite in 1882-1883 arrived from such urban centres as Goderich, Niagara, Brampton and Ottawa.23 They joined the metropolitan interests in bringing the financial, social and cultural institutions to the townsite. In close
proximity to the C.P.R. station, Dominion Post and Customs offices, merchants erected wooden stores selling clothing, hardware and dry goods. Near the Bank of Montreal were a handful of hotels, saloons and livery stables; all huddled along two blocks of South Railway Street. Bordering the rudimentary commercial district were the Roman Catholic, Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian churches, a private and public school, and a growing number of private residences. These were surrounded by scattered farms and Regina's sole industry, Reilly's Rolling and Planing Mill. Over a mile west stood the Territorial Council Chambers, and further still the Lieutenant-Governor's residence and the N.W.M.P. barracks.

From the arrival of the C.P.R.'s first train in August, 1882 until mid-1883, Regina's development was rapid and aided by C.N.W.L.C. investment. The trustees spent $14,342.35 to grade streets, construct plank sidewalks, dam Wascana Creek and install townsite pumps.24 Most of this expenditure went to grade the townsite's five major streets—South Railway, Victoria, Albert, Broad and Dewdney. A small portion was used to secure a domestic water supply for residents. This spending ended abruptly, however, with the collapse of the real estate boom in mid-1883.

News of the C.P.R.'s financial difficulties alarmed investors, and caused a dramatic drop in land sales. The railway company experienced critical cash shortages during the early 1880's, and British investors reacted by refusing to buy townsite lots, or by demanding refunds on lots already purchased. Scarth offered purchasers rebates and refunds in
an attempt to maintain investors' confidence, but the measure was unsuccessful, and lot sales plummeted across the Territories. In Regina, the decline was particularly spectacular—proceeds fell from $462,194.66 in 1883 to $4,223.34 in 1884. As a consequence of falling sales, C.N.W.L.C. investment in townsite development ceased, and the trustees abandoned efforts to provide further townsite services. Even rudimentary services were no longer maintained by the trustees and, as in the case of Regina's water pumps, were soon in a state of disrepair. This loss of benevolent leadership alarmed settlers who demanded some form of remedy. The lack of vital services, however, was a problem as old as the settlement itself.

Dewdney's selection of Regina's location was criticized by contemporaries for several reasons, not the least of which was the site's poor natural water supply. Regina is not served by a river, nor has the surrounding area any appreciable bodies of water. Wascana Creek skirted Regina on its southwestern boundary, and even when dammed, was adequate only for watering livestock. Artesian springs did occur about five miles north of the townsite, but these remained inaccessible to residents until 1903. The trustees' townsite wells found some underground sources, though the supply was unreliable and the water tended to be highly alkaline. Nevertheless, these pumps and Wascana Creek provided settlers with their entire water supply, and its uncertainty caused settlers a great deal of concern over the town's ability to withstand the threat of fire. To worsen matters, most of the townsite's buildings were constructed of wood and stood in close
proximity to one another. The threat of fire, therefore, held consequences for the entire population. 28

In December 1882, a group of merchants called a town meeting to propose that a fire brigade be established, equipped with $1,000 worth of pails, ladders, hooks and salvage gear, and that a body of commissioners be publicly elected to organize the brigade. This "company" was to raise the funds to equip the brigade through assessment or subscription, and, in the absence of a legitimate civic authority, "to look after the public interest and affairs of the town in the same manner and to the like extent as a council of an incorporated city." 29

Seven commissioners were elected; grocer D. Mowat, mill owner James Reilly, lawyer D.L. Scott, real estate agent W.H. Gibb, contractor J.A. McCaul, J.D. Moulton and Percy Pope; a portion of the money was raised, and some fire-fighting equipment was purchased. The goal of fully equipping a fire brigade was never achieved, however, because the commissioners lacked the legal power to tax. And with Scarth administering the townsite in an autocratic manner, 30 the company had little chance to represent the public interest. Frustrated by their failure, the commissioners tendered their resignations at a public meeting on 14 July 1883.

The failure of the company coincided with the C.N.W.L.G.'s withdrawal of improvement expenditure, and created a desperate need for leadership. A second group of settlers hastily elected a "Citizen's Committee" on July 16. 31 The Committee was chaired by future town mayor D.L. Scott, and consisted of Secretary John Secord, builder McCaul,
merchants J.A. Kerr, J.H. Benson and A. Fergusson, land agent W.H. Gibb, speculator James Hambly, newspaper editor N.F. Davin, lawyer W.C. Hamilton and Dr. Lafferty. This second "informal town" government had no more legal powers than its predecessor; but set about to obtain legitimate civic authority.

Regina's successive "informal" town governments represented the two separate reasons behind the settlers' drive for incorporation. First, citizens needed such services as fire protection and a reliable water supply, and realized (through failure) that a legitimate local government was the only means to achieve them. Secondly, those who settled the Territorial townsites wanted to establish them as important metropolitan centres, and civic incorporation was generally viewed as a critical first step towards this goal. In August or September of 1883, the Citizen's Committee petitioned the Territorial Council for a city charter. This request was passed over, however, because the Council was contemplating the enactment of municipal legislation applicable to all North-West communities. Committee secretary John Secord then sent a draft of suggestions regarding municipal legislation to the Territorial Council, and they proved receptive to the Committee's suggestions.

The Committee's suggestions demonstrated a conscious emulation of Ontario's municipal legislation. Written mostly by Secord, (himself a lawyer from urban Ontario), they borrowed the philosophy, institutions and responsibilities of Ontario's Municipal Act - itself based upon Robert Baldwin's Municipal Corporations Act of 1849. Baldwin, an Upper Canadian Reformer, believed that municipalities had a right to
responsible self-government. Such a local government, however, was based upon certain conservative principles. First, that land-owners should be given the highest degree of political power to ensure their control over decisions regarding their property; secondly, that local government should have "...the effect of creating a school of practical statesmen...". Baldwin's Act stated that when a settlement reached a certain size and population, it could petition a senior government for the right to incorporate. If incorporated, relatively wealthy property-owners could stand for election, less prosperous property-owners would elect them to a council, and the council was empowered to appoint public officials, assess and tax property and income, and be responsible for the maintenance of roads, bridges and other public works. Secord wanted Western municipalities to have all of these same characteristics, with some significant additions.

In particular, Secord and the Committee felt that Regina (and other soon-to-be created Territorial municipalities) would need broader jurisdictions to allow for the problems of establishing urban centres on the frontier. Specifically, new and financially-limited municipalities in need of public works would be able to summon citizens for a period of statute labour. Also, Western towns would need greater powers to grant bonuses and tax exemptions to private (and public) companies to establish an industrial base. Secord combined the socio-cultural institutions of settlers' heritage with practical considerations for establishing urban centres in the undeveloped prairie region.
These suggestions were adopted by the Territorial Council, and on 4 October 1883, the **Municipal Ordinance** established the form and jurisdictions for all future North-West municipalities, (which included rural municipalities, towns, cities and afterwards, villages and local improvement districts).\(^{38}\) Regina became the Territories' first incorporated town on 1 December 1883, followed by Moose Jaw and in late 1884, Calgary.\(^{39}\)

The **Municipal Ordinance** established the structure, powers and limitations of Territorial municipal governments. When a settlement reached a specified size and population, its citizens applied to the Territorial Council for incorporation under the **Ordinance**. To be incorporated as a town, for example, a settlement had to possess an area of 320 acres and contain a population of 300. The Lieutenant-Governor was then empowered to specify the date and number of councillors to be elected, (one mayor and four councillors in the case of a town). Once in office, mayor and council could appoint administrative officials (clerks, assessors, treasurers, etc.), assess property, assign taxation rates, collect taxes, construct and maintain public works and provide specified services such as; police and fire protection, poor relief, aid to agricultural societies, control of nuisances (waste) and agricultural abuses, and the licensing of draymen, hotels and travelling shows. To stand for election as a Councillor, a resident had to be a British male subject over the age of 21, with a freehold assessment of $600 or greater, and an elector $300 or greater.\(^{40}\) (These qualifications were occasionally adjusted so that by 1906, a Regina councillor needed a freehold assessment of $500, and an elector $200.)\(^{41}\) The **Ordinance** also
empowered councils to tax all real property (land), personal property, and income above $200 within the townsite.42

There were, however, significant limitations regarding the types of property a municipality could legally tax. Property belonging to the Crown was exempt in perpetuity, and all C.P.R. lands comprising the land grant were exempt from municipal taxation for twenty years.43 (The Dominion Government did provide grants to the Territorial Government in lieu of tax payments, but these were so rare that municipalities could not rely upon them.) Other properties entitled to exemption included Indian lands, property used for educational purposes, municipal property, jails, courts and poor houses, public libraries, incomes of farmers derived from farms, grain in transit, household effects (including books and clothes) and personal property invested in municipal debentures.44

Consequently, Regina and other Territorial municipalities wielded little economic power because civic revenues were drawn from small tax bases. Townsites were chosen by the joint agreement of the Dominion Government and the C.P.R., and since both of these parties were entitled to differing forms of tax exemption, councils found little taxable property within their boundaries. When the C.N.W.L.C. obtained 1/2 of the C.P.R.'s townsite landholdings in 1882, including the townsites of Regina, Qu'Appelle, Moose Jaw, and Virden in 1883, they also claimed an exemption based upon a contractual association with the other parties. The only townsite properties that were indisputably taxable were those purchased outright by settlers and other private parties such as
absentee land-owners. The number of private, taxable lots was relatively small, and remained so following the land bust of 1883.

The municipalities of the North-West nevertheless possessed a large measure of political autonomy. Municipal by-laws could not be overridden by Territorial legislation; there were no Territorial government departments responsible for municipal affairs; grants and subsidies to municipalities were so rare as to preclude reliance upon them. From 1883 to 1905, for example, Regina's town (and city) council was legally, administratively and financially independent of the Territorial (and Provincial) government.\textsuperscript{45} The exercise of such autonomous power, however, had to await changes in economic circumstances, and in the attitudes of settlers.

Having qualified for incorporation as a town, Regina held its first civic election in January, 1884. Election issues were a holdover from the "informal" town government days, and centred on establishing an economical civic administration which would provide modest public works. These issues reflected the dilemma facing settlers; the end of the land boom created a depression in the townsite which heavy municipal taxation would only exacerbate, yet public works, (a main impetus for incorporation), were needed. Not surprisingly, the election results reflected the diversity of opinion. The mayor and three of the successful candidates had pledged to run "an efficient and business-like administration".\textsuperscript{46} The fourth councillor was elected on a program of ambitious public works construction.
The 1884 council was composed of three groups- professionals, merchants and speculators- whose members regularly enjoyed success in Regina's civic elections.\textsuperscript{47} Mayor D.L. Scott and Town Clerk John Secord were amongst the first lawyers enrolled in the Territories. Both hailed from urban Ontario, and both were active in Regina's "informal" town governments. Their role in establishing and directing Regina's earliest municipal government inspired other lawyers (and professionals) to join future councils. Grain merchant J. Sibbald and rival hardware store owners J.W. Smith and J.A. Kerr represented the council's merchant element. Merchants often gained office because their vested interests in the town made them a politically aware and active group, and because their ideology of "running town government as a business" found almost universal voter appeal. The third group found on town councils was speculators. Real estate agent J. Hambly sought office in 1884 to further his own interests. He left Regina in the wake of the land bust, his seat on council was declared vacant,\textsuperscript{48} and he was never heard from again. Speculators tended to gain office intermittently, were mainly self-interested and transitory parties, and were mostly obscure and insignificant historical figures.

Regina's council held its first meeting on 21 January 1884, establishing procedural rules and civic departments which lasted throughout the town era. Meetings were held twice monthly, and the first order of business was to draft some "Rules of Order".\textsuperscript{49} The council's second task was to establish a series of standing committees overseeing the various aspects of town administration. Three councillors formed a standing committee, while the mayor was a member of all committees. Four
standing committees were created; Finance, Assessment and Printing, Fire and Water, the Board of Works and Licenses, and the Health and Relief Committee. 50

Regina's town councils operated by their own procedural rules and within the powers granted in the Municipal Ordinance, but the political process itself was rarely rigid and formal. Mayors and councillors were often acclaimed, and tended to be like-minded and cooperative in office rather than adversarial and obstructive. This happened not only when the mayor was elected by acclamation, but also when mayor and council races were hotly contested. The reasons for such cooperation were fourfold; councils had the same composition of merchants, professionals and speculators from year to year, and their ideology of economical civic management remained dominant; secondly, there were no political parties in civic politics during this period, so a non-partisan spirit generally prevailed; thirdly, the tremendous apathy which usually surrounded municipal elections assured that traditional practices and assumptions would not be challenged; finally, council unanimity was necessary on the final reading of a proposed by-law before it could be enacted. Dissension was rare, but when it did occur, a dissenter might be subjected to political isolation and public criticism. 51 Mostly, however, councillors backed their mayors, supported programs as one, and "...conducted [town government] on the same principle as a shrewd man would carry on his own business." 52

Regina's achievement of municipal government, however, was soon overshadowed by a pressing need for renewed investment in the town. The land bust, which had depressed the town's economy, reached crisis
proportion by January 1884. C.P.R. officials and tradesmen had long since moved on with the completion of the line and the railway station, booming communities such as Moose Jaw and Calgary instead. The Dominion Government installed civil servants in Regina, but added no new public buildings. Townsite promoters had promised prospective settlers that Regina would be a C.P.R. divisional point, contain branch lines and become a major service centre. When settlers arrived with notions of finding an aspiring metropolis, they found instead that none of these promises were fulfilled. The pioneer community looked to its leaders, the newly-elected town council, to represent their financial, social and political needs to the controlling outside interests.

On January 30, Mayor Scott called a public meeting to organize a citizens' protest aimed at securing favours, (or as most viewed it, "fulfilling promises"), from the outside interests who controlled the townsite's development. The demands, known collectively as the Regina Memorial, asked that the district surrounding Regina be granted parliamentary representation, that Regina be reinstated as a divisional point, and that the promoters of a proposed branch line to Prince Albert commence construction immediately. Led by the mayor, a delegation of citizens took the Memorial to Ottawa. Scott's party met with Prime Minister Macdonald in March, asking that the issue of representation be introduced in the House of Commons and that Macdonald persuade the C.P.R. to reinstate Regina as a divisional point. (On the branch line issue, the delegation received promises from the promoters that construction on the line would begin in 3-5 years' time.)
By appealing directly to Ottawa, the delegation revealed something of their social and cultural orientation. Regina's settlers perceived themselves as Central Canadians involved in westward expansion, and they looked first to the Dominion Government and its agents of National Policy - the C.P.R. and other railway promoters - for support. The idea of asking the Territorial Council to help represent their claims did not appear to have crossed the delegates' minds. Instead, mayor and citizens sought assurances from the familiar interests which had created the Regina townsite, and which controlled its future development.

The Memorial failed to renew metropolitan interest or investment in Regina. Macdonald received the delegation politely, paid lip service to their requests, and did little else. The representation issue was debated briefly, dismissed as premature, and four years passed before Regina and district elected its first M.P.. The C.P.R. never seriously considered moving its divisional point from Moose Jaw. And construction of the branch line to Prince Albert did not begin until the late 1880's. Regina's prospects for immediate economic growth, political recognition or even improved transportation capabilities were no greater after the Memorial than before it. Instead of gaining Central Canadian support for their civic aspirations, the delegation produced exactly the opposite effect; Ottawa viewed Regina as a pretentious and ungrateful child.

Undaunted, Scott returned to Regina to address issues pertaining to the town's administration. The machinery of local government was slowly being assembled, and by July the council had appointed officials,
established an assessment rate of 1%, and passed several regulatory by-laws dealing with fire prevention, sanitation and licensing. The limited tax base impeded the construction of ambitious public works, though the council managed to purchase and install fire-fighting equipment in October. By November, however, the civic treasury was exhausted, and the council authorized the sale of $10,000 worth of municipal debentures. Regina's first year of town government ended with a failed attempt at reviving investor interest, the acquisition of minimal public works, and substantial civic indebtedness.

The outbreak of the Riel Rebellion in the spring of 1885 succeeded, where the Memorial had failed, in renewing Dominion Government interest in Regina. Following the Duck Lake skirmish in March, the Montreal Garrison Artillery was dispatched to Regina, and spent the remainder of the campaign camped on the Wascana's west bank. Their need for foodstuffs and other provisions was met by local merchants, improving the town's sluggish economy. Riel's arrest and subsequent trial also brought federal spending by emphasizing the need for jail and courthouse construction. These public buildings alone accounted for 60% of Regina's total construction values in 1885.

With national attention focused on Regina during Riel's trial, citizens attempted to gain credibility along with renewed federal spending. Settlers used their moment in the national limelight to demonstrate (again) that Regina was a prosperous "city" with Central Canadian institutions and ambitions. With the Regina Leader being read throughout Canada, and a new telegraph link to Eastern Canadian centres,
Regina's town council created a facade of urban civility. Plank sidewalks were built in the commercial district, plans for a modest combination Town/Fire Hall were hastily approved, and to no one's objection, town council meetings were reported as proceedings of the "City Council." 60

The desire to prove themselves also encouraged citizens and council to take an active role in the Riel Rebellion. In late March, Mayor Scott and Councillor Daniel Mowat, (who held militia ranks of lieutenant-colonel and major respectively), organized 75 volunteers into the Regina Blazers militia corps. Concerns over imminent Indian or Metis attack brought the Blazers into existence, and some saw action while guarding provisions enroute to Batoche. Mostly, however, the corps drilled daily in front of the courthouse, while Mayor Scott, acting for the Crown, was inside helping to prosecute Riel. 61 The Blazers played a minor role in the Rebellion, but felt afterwards that their patriotic reaction and tenure of service entitled them to the payment of military scrip.

The return of Dominion Government benevolence, brought about by the conditions of the Riel Rebellion, raised citizens' hopes only to have them dashed once again. Merchants probably recognized that the economic stimulus was temporary, and created only by extraordinary conditions. What caused disappointment, however, was that attempts at establishing credibility in the eyes of Central Canada proved expensive and fruitless. The town council's effort to emulate larger Eastern cities was little more than a costly lesson in pretentiousness. Regina's
municipal expenditures exceeded tax receipts by 100% in 1885, and the council was forced to issue $2,500 in debentures simply to cover the construction costs of the plank sidewalks and the Town/Fire Hall. The military efforts of the “citizen-soldiers” were also ignored. The Blazers felt that they had responded quickly to protect their “democratic country”, yet the issue of scrip payment remained contentious and unresolved until July, 1891. Despite these shows of urban development and patriotism, Central Canadians still regarded Regina as a frontier outpost, and the flow of metropolitan capital ceased once again.

The return to depressed economic conditions following the Rebellion meant the continuation of financial difficulties for Regina, and for Territorial municipalities generally. The small number of taxable townsite lots provided little civic revenue, yet the situation appeared unlikely to improve. Dominion Government and C.P.R. property within a municipality was exempt, and the C.N.W.L.C. also claimed exemption status for its vast landholdings. Following Regina’s failure to attract federal support or outside investment, however, acquiescence to these interests waned. Citizens and councils no longer appealed to metropolitan interests first; instead, municipal programs centred on establishing a viable town administration and acquiring civic services. The first priority of such a town council was to wrest financial control of the townsite from the trustees by challenging their claim to exemption.
Regina’s council led the municipalities’ struggle against the trustees’ claim. By the end of 1884, the town assessed all of the C.N.W.L.C.’s landholdings in the townsite and had attempted to enforce the payment of property taxes on them. The trustees refused to pay, and the Rebellion intervened to diffuse the issue temporarily. Soon after Riel’s trial, however, Regina’s town council resumed its opposition to the C.N.W.L.C. claim. Town Clerk Secord was instructed to write the councils of Moose Jaw and South Qu’Appelle and ask for their cooperation in obtaining legal advice "... as to whether the lands of the trustees of Regina and Moose Jaw townsites were liable to taxation." The town of Calgary went one step further; in October, Calgary’s council successfully sued the C.P.R. and C.N.W.L.C. for unpaid property taxes.

The North-West Council noted the municipalities’ frustration with the C.N.W.L.C.’s claim and, in December 1885, passed a resolution denouncing the agreement between the consortium and the Dominion Government. The following April, Territorial Councillors Ross and Wilson read the resolution to the House of Commons:

That the position of several townsites in the Territories, in which the Crown is interested, proves from year to year more unsatisfactory owing to the impossibility of collecting taxes from unsold lots therein, which are increased in value owing to the expenditure of taxes paid by the residents of such towns, the Crown thereby benefiting without sharing any of the burdens of taxation. And as great difficulties are met with establishing and sustaining ...municipal organizations in such townsites, in the opinion of the Council, it is advisable that the Government should at once dispose of their interests in such townsites so that the same may be made available for taxation.
As in the cases of the Memorial and the scrip claims, however, the Dominion Government did nothing. The Territorial Council continued to offer the municipalities moral (and some financial) support, but possessed little political influence in the matter. Any resolution to the tax exemption issue would have to be initiated by the towns themselves.

The municipalities suffered another set-back in 1886 when Calgary's suit was overturned on appeal. Regina again assumed the lead in the fight against the consortium, assessing and levying taxes against the trustees' land-holdings, and threatening legal action. 68 Neither Regina nor the C.N.W.L.C. desired costly litigation, however, and a tentative agreement was reached in August 1887. Regina would forgive all back taxes and exempt all C.P.R. lands administered by the consortium if the C.N.W.L.C. would pay 1887 taxes of $1,986, formally acknowledge the town's right to assess C.N.W.L.C. property, and furnish the council with a complete list of lands held and sold by them. 69 This last concession revealed the council's weak bargaining position; the town's assessment rolls were prepared after the consortium took over the administration of Regina townsite, and the council did not know which of the trustees' lands belonged to the Government and C.P.R., (and therefore were exempt), and which belonged to the C.N.W.L.C. (and might be liable to taxation). Scarth and his solicitors exploited this situation, retreated from the agreement and stalled negotiations for another two years. 70

An agreement was finally concluded in August 1889, after Regina threatened another lawsuit. The C.N.W.L.C. would pay 25% of taxes from
1887 to 1889, if the same rate would apply to all future taxes. In consideration of the trustees' townsit improvement expenditure, the town had to forgive all taxes prior to 1887 and abide by the terms of the agreement for an indefinite period of time. By avoiding legal action, Scarth had persuaded Regina to accept an inequitable tax deal. Without the factual examination a trial would have provided, the council remained unaware that the entire townsit had been deeded to the trustees in 1883, and that they were liable to taxation on all of their joint landholdings. The mayor, council and acting Town Solicitor T.C. Johnstone had simply accepted Scarth's assertion that the Government and C.P.R. lands held by the trustees were unquestionably exempt, and that the consortium's lands may have been also. Years later, the mayor was forced to admit that "...we hardly knew the legal and proper way to assess them [the trustees], and to get a settlement for the future we accepted...25% or 1/4."

In the meantime, however, the town's 1889 agreement with the consortium stood, and the trustees' first tax payment of $4,000 bolstered Regina's municipal revenues.

Other municipalities hailed Regina's 1/4 tax agreement as a victory, and pressed the trustees for similar arrangements. Within a few months, fractional tax payment deals were concluded with the councils of Moose Jaw, Calgary, and Medicine Hat. Although the "victory" was a partial one, the new tax revenues helped remove the greatest existing impediment to Territorial municipal development. No longer completely subservient to the whims of metropolitan investors, Regina and other North-West towns would soon be able to upgrade their rudimentary services and extend their influence into the countryside.
In 1883, Regina was an extension of mid-Victorian, urban Central Canada. By 1889, however, residents challenged this role by altering their institutions and beliefs. First, a series of disappointments at the hands of familiar outside interests disillusioned settlers, and cast them adrift from their role as Central Canadians involved in westward expansion. Citizens then began to turn inward, and Territorial municipalities resulted as a means to organize local government and services. The trustees then impeded municipal development, causing a new evolution in Territorial municipal institutions. Thereafter, town councils became the rallying point for disputes with outside interests. Finally, the struggle for economic independence helped councils exercise and develop their autonomous powers.

Regina's settlers played a leading role in establishing Territorial municipal institutions and in developing the town council as an instrument of autonomy. Nevertheless, from 1883 to 1889, North-West municipalities evolved mostly because of Central Canadian neglect and exploitation. By the 1890's, however, some Territorial towns would achieve greater stature by dominating their own hinterlands and expand by their own successes. Regina, as might be expected, was in the vanguard of these emerging Western cities.
REGINA: 1882-1883

(Source: J. William Brennan, "Business-Government Co-
operation in Townsite Promotion in Regina and Moose Jaw,
of Western Canadian Urban Development, Canadian Plains
Studies #10, University of Regina: Canadian Plains Research
Centre, 1981, p.101.)
Chapter 2
Municipal Evolution 1890-1903

"There is an inspiration in considering them [Territorial municipalities], for they mean that a system of self-government is being adapted year-by-year to the requirements of a region of great area and of great political and economic possibilities."

Morley S. Wickett
"Municipal Government in the North-West Territories"

The North-West Territories developed slowly during the late 1880's and 1890's. Agriculture suffered from low grain prices and severe droughts. Immigration languished with poor crops and the offer of free U.S. homesteads. There was little metropolitan investment in the region. Urban centres poised along the C.P.R. line grew gradually. Civic schemes for promoting urban growth were also held in abeyance; councils were content to pass regulatory by-laws, build modest works and balance their budgets. Boards of Trade formed and attempted to promote the growth of their respective towns, but their efforts waxed and waned with the economic cycles. The lack of taxable municipal property also retarded Territorial urban development.

By 1900, however, the Territories began to experience rapid growth and development. Crop production increased annually, immigrants sought homesteads in record numbers, and outside investment in the region escalated. Territorial towns such as Regina, Moose Jaw, Calgary (and later, Saskatoon and Edmonton), grew in response to massive rural settlement.¹ Their emergence from hundreds of rival settlements was due, in part, to the foresight, ambition and promotional skills of their civic councils and Boards of Trade.² These two bodies combined to form ruling "civic elites"³, made generous use of public resources to give
bonuses to industry, attract railways and court immigration, and enable some centres to establish control over agricultural hinterlands. Elites were preoccupied with spending civic resources on promoting urban growth, however, and programs not related to commercial expansion—sanitation, health and relief—were often ignored. The exclusive promotion of urban growth, also known as "Boosterism", characterized the civic affairs of most Western communities after 1900.

Regina's municipal character was not determined by the arrival of prosperity, however, but by two decades of struggle preceding it. From 1883 to 1889, failed attempts at attracting outside investment, and the presence of the exploitative trustees, produced an independent town council. This independence fostered a series of policies balancing municipally-directed development with meeting community needs. From 1890 to 1895, Regina's council up-graded municipal services, attracted utility operations and supported agricultural interests. From 1896 to 1900, councils maintained (or expanded) services due to successful efforts at increasing administrative efficiency. Early failures at exclusive self-promotion convinced councils to abandon a preoccupation with "growth for growth's sake". From 1889 onwards, safeguarding the public health was as great a priority with Regina's municipal government as was attracting industry or aiding regional development.

Like several Territorial townsites, Regina was created by outside interests to be a service centre for its agricultural hinterland. Unforeseen by its creators or settlers, however, the town and district achieved little growth during the 1880's and 1890's. Only handfuls of
settlers claimed homesteads at the Dominion Lands Office, purchased supplies and farm implements, and returned with agricultural produce for shipping or processing. Consequently, Regina's role as a service centre was limited and its urban growth was static. By 1891, population in the townsite numbered around 1,000; and from 1885 to 1891 the population of the surrounding Assiniboia district increased from 22,083 to 30,372.6

The gradual establishment of an agriculturally-based economy in the North-West was not the only impediment to Regina's urban development. The trustees' 1/4 tax agreement left residents to bear high taxation rates and do without many civic amenities. In 1885, citizens paid $1967 in taxes for such rudimentary services as a volunteer fire brigade, pump repairs, and a garbage collector. Five years later, these same services (and some additional public buildings) cost rate-payers $5,641.7

Regina's geographical location also increased the burden of municipal development. The townsite was situated on a broad plain and contained a dark, clayish soil. After a heavy rainfall (or during spring run-off), this soil became a thick "gumbo", impeding transportation and forming large sloughs throughout the townsite. These sloughs increased the cost of garbage collection because the town's "nuisance grounds" had to be established in a drier, more remote location.

By 1891, however, the stop-gap measures of regulatory by-laws, nuisance grounds, and a "scavenger" (with a horse-drawn cart to remove sewage from the town), had ceased to be an effective expedient.
Accumulated surface waters began to combine with townsitewastes, forming unsightly bodies of water which bred cholera, typhoid and diphtheria. Through letters, petitions and editorials, citizens demanded that the town council solve the problem of urban wastes.

Mayor R.H. Williams and his 1891 council responded to community demands by constructing Regina's first large-scale municipal work. Before undertaking construction, the council sought expert advice from Winnipeg's Civil Engineer J. Ruttan. Ruttan's proposal combined sewer lines, man-holes and catch basins, and was capable of draining both sewage and accumulated surface water from the town. The proposal was unveiled and debated at a public meeting and in May, rate-payers endorsed the council's plan by a vote of 104 to 1.

Regina still had to rely on outside investment to finance the system's construction, but the municipality retained ownership by issuing town debentures. In 1891, Regina's income was $17,358, expenditure totaled $15,203, and its credit balance was $2,455. This amount was insufficient to finance the sewerage system independently, but having done without previous substantial public works, the town could afford modest debenture interest rates. Debentures were underwritten in Winnipeg, Toronto and Montreal, and were probably sold to British investors. The town limited the role of private, outside capital to liability investment (bonds and debentures) as opposed to equity investment (shares). The council also minimized construction costs by inviting several tenders, and although former mayor J.A. McCaul and future mayor J.H.C. Willoughby vied for the contract, it was awarded to
the lowest bidder, the Winnipeg firm of Doigne & Company.\(^{15}\) Economy, not patronage, guided council's decision to award Regina's first large-scale municipal contract.\(^{16}\)

Regina's first municipal work was exemplary. It resulted in response to community needs, was expertly designed and provided efficient service. The sewer system was a modest one, but it was adequate for townsite needs and affordable to rate-payers.

Other urban centres were less fortunate in the building of their public works. Moose Jaw was unable to afford water or sewer mains until after 1900,\(^{17}\) and Calgary's acquisition of a sewerage and waterworks system met few of Regina's criteria. With a larger population, major C.P.R. repair shops, branch railways and the beginnings of a cattle industry, Calgary enjoyed greater growth and commercial development than other early Territorial communities. Consequently, Calgary possessed a broader tax base than most other centres. Perhaps because of its larger size and economic prosperity, Calgary's council tended to be more influenced by the "booster" mentality when deciding issues regarding urban development. In 1887, local businessmen petitioned the town for the right to install a waterworks system. Two years later, a prominent Calgary entrepreneur named George Alexander raised the necessary venture capital in Britain. Alexander agreed to construct a privately-owned waterworks system if the Town Council would construct a complimentary sewerage system. The combined underground water and sewage system was a much more ambitious undertaking than Regina's simple open gravity flow
design. Though still a frontier town, Calgary's council agreed to the plan and construction on the projects began in 1889.

For over a decade, Calgary was burdened with an inefficient and poorly-designed private waterworks system. In 1895, a fire at future mayor W.H. Cushing's factory could not be extinguished because of inadequate water pressure. A short water supply was a perennial problem. Eventually, acrimony characterized the relations between Alexander and the council and lawsuits resulted. In 1900, Calgary purchased the antiquated system, and, convinced of the advantages of municipal ownership, ran the service as a civic utility.18

Regina councils also encouraged local investors to aid in municipal development, but maintained a cautious, heavy-handed approach. In 1890, Mayor J.A. McCaul and his council entertained two offers from private utilities wishing to build an electrical utility in the townsite. The council stipulated conditions of local ownership, guaranteed a monopoly in exchange for fixing rates, and promised street lighting contracts.19 The bid was awarded to the Regina Electric Light & Company, a group of prominent local businessmen headed by Gerald Spring-Rice, an entrepreneur and agriculturalist from nearby Pense. Spring-Rice was optimistic about the company's prospects, and began construction on a plant in November, 1890. The central generating plant, (which boasted a coal-fired 75 horsepower engine and was capable of handling 900 lights), cost between $14,000 and $20,000.20
The establishment of a modern, privately-owned publicly-regulated utility resulted from investors' optimism and cautious council policy. Capitalists seized opportunities to build electrical utilities because they often aided their own industrial enterprises. Also, acquiring a monopoly, particularly in an area of great potential growth, offered the prospect of handsome returns. Less than 10 years after the world's first generating stations began in London and New York, three such plants served residents in Prince Albert, Regina and Moose Jaw. Territorial municipalities, limited in resources anyway, were hesitant to gamble rate-payers' money on a new and unproven technology. Regina's council encouraged private capitalists to take the risk of establishing a plant, regulated rates as a measure of protection, and could always purchase the plant if it proved successful.

Wary of monopolies because of their recent experiences with the trustees, Regina councils skillfully manipulated the utility for municipal interests. The council fixed rates to ensure low charges to the town, though the service was expensive and attracted few private subscribers. By June 1893, Spring-Rice's company was barely covering costs, and he offered to sell out to the town for $14,000. The council refused, leaving the company no viable option but to continue service with little financial gain. The 1895 Territorial Exhibition temporarily brought profits with municipal street lighting contracts, but these were discontinued when the Exhibition ended, and the utility struggled on for another decade. In 1904, the city purchased the plant for $10,000, and thanked Spring-Rice for his "pioneer contribution".
Regina's councils encouraged private investment to gain utility service, then waited to buy the proven product.\textsuperscript{27}

Town councils from 1890 to 1895 were engaged in other developmental policies, such as building public works and expanding municipal authority. Aside from sewer construction, councils built sidewalks, graded roads, provided fire protection, and supplied street lighting and relief. Assessment rates were increased to afford such services, but to avoid exorbitant property taxes, councils turned to other sources of revenue. Lots reverting to the town through delinquent taxes were auctioned to the highest bidder.\textsuperscript{28} Licensing and market fees, Town hall rentals and poll taxes also added to municipal income. Finally, officials resorted to issuing debentures. In 1890, issues equaled $12,500 and cost Regina $750 in annual interest charges. By 1894, however, these totals had risen to $67,500 and $4,150 respectively.\textsuperscript{29} Councils financed their policies through increased debenture borrowing, and though this depended upon outside investment, the restrictions on private investment and the acquisition of a public utility demonstrated greater municipal autonomy.

Greater civic autonomy, however, was not limited to funding public works and services. Councils also supported local and regional economic development as a measure of extending Regina's metropolitan influence. In March 1892, the council granted the Farmers' Elevator Company a property tax exemption.\textsuperscript{30} Though in need of revenue, the council felt that encouraging local agricultural interests was more important to Regina's long-term economic development. For this same reason, the
council spent $10,000 to host the 1895 Territorial Exhibition. This expenditure significantly increased the town's debenture indebtedness, but civic officials recognized the importance of fairs to Regina's social and economic development.31

Hosting agricultural exhibitions enabled aspiring service centres to establish ties with their farming community as a measure of extending the town’s influence. Farm implement representatives and manufacturers demonstrated their products to the agricultural community, managers of processing industries assessed produce for its commercial value, bankers and insurance agents offered their services to prospective rural clients. Each of these relationships tied the surrounding agricultural hinterland to its centre through reciprocal economic exchanges, and allowed an urban centre to expand its influence throughout the countryside. Regina’s town council was not alone in recognizing the importance of hosting fairs; Calgary’s council had offered to spend $25,000 for the privilege of staging the 1895 Territorial Exhibition.32

Exhibitions also benefited agriculturalists in an number of ways. First, farmers improved their livestock through keen competition. Secondly, lecturers and Dominion Experimental Farm "circulars" educated producers on the latest developments in domestic science. Finally, the fairs were significant social and cultural events; extolling the virtues of a rural lifestyle, providing risque forms of entertainment, and acting as agents of assimilation.33
Regina's council supported the 1895 Territorial Exhibition in spite of limited civic resources. The town spent 37% of its budget erecting buildings, pens and stables, (acquiring permanent fair grounds through a donation by the trustees). The town also agreed to house 1,000 of the estimated 3,500 visitors, and increased spending on civic utilities. The Exhibition did not immediately improve agricultural prospects in the Assiniboia district, nor did it create urban growth. It did, however, foster social and economic relationships between Regina and its agricultural hinterland, and at the same time, encouraged significant social and cultural expression. After 1895, councils funded annual exhibitions based upon recommendations made by the Regina Agricultural Association. Several councillors also served on the Association's Board. After 1899, Regina held exhibitions annually.

Council's developmental policies from 1890 to 1895 created a substantial municipal deficit, and after 1895, retrenchment became a "civic necessity". In 1896, the town council recorded its second consecutive deficit, and felt growing pressure to balance its budget. (That is, to meet current expenditures without issuing debentures.) From 1896 to 1900, mayors W.F. Eddy, F.N. Darke, J.K. Mcinnis and their respective councils neither initiated large-scale municipal projects nor issued debentures. They simply curbed expenditures by lowering administration costs and by reducing public works' spending. Instead of automatically re-appointing salaried officials, incoming councils reviewed candidates for the position. If chosen, new officials were given lower salaries than their predecessors. Public works were also targets of retrenchment. Plank sidewalks were "patched up" instead of
being replaced and, as mentioned, street lighting was reduced immediately after the Territorial Exhibition. There was some new civic spending; an annual council grant helped the Local Council of Women establish a 20 cot hospital in 1898. Fiscal stringency prevailed, however, and by ridding themselves of "self-serving" officials, repairing public works and reducing non-essential services, the town’s debt was eliminated. By 1900, the municipal budget showed a modest surplus of $886.

Regina’s civic retrenchment coincided with the region’s rapid agricultural development, and its rural and urban population growth. Cultivated acreage in the the agricultural district immediately surrounding Regina and Moose Jaw (Assiniboia West) increased from 27,901 in 1891 to 96,487 in 1901. The number of farm implement dealers in Regina trebled, and homestead entries rose from 921 in 1901 to 2,438 a year later. There was urban growth as well; by 1901 Regina’s population reached 2,249, Moose Jaw’s 1,558. Calgary, incorporated as a city in 1893 and the centre of a profitable livestock industry, contained 4,398 inhabitants.

In spite of the region’s economic agricultural development and corresponding urban growth, Regina remained a small centre of rudimentary services and sparse resources. There was a modest Town/Fire Hall, a few plank sidewalks in the business district, and private utilities such as electric lighting and a local telephone system. A citizen obtained water from a townsite well, (indoor plumbing was non-existent), garbage was removed by sewers and a "scavenger", adequate
fire protection was available, and after 1898 there was a small hospital. These few services cost rate-payers approximately $9 per year.45

The blame for relatively high tax rates and few civic amenities did not lie with the town councils. They administered municipal affairs in a sound, non-partisan manner, and covered a myriad of responsibilities with limited means. In the wake of large-scale immigration and commercial activity, however, greater tax receipts were needed. Municipal services began to show signs of strain and citizens soon felt the effect of overburdened resources. In 1901, councils attempted to implement curfews in order to lower policing costs, a policy which proved very unpopular with residents.46 In 1902-03, a more serious problem arose with an outbreak of diphtheria.47 Increasingly, the revenue for suitable municipal servicing could not be found, though the impediment to civic progress and safety was readily identifiable.

At the root of inadequate municipal financing was the C.N.W.L.C.'s 1/4 tax payments. The trustees had consistently refused to pay taxes in proportion to their landholdings, binding councils to the 1889 agreement. From 1890 to 1899, only $10,013 of $40,325 in levied property taxes was collected by Regina officials.48 Public criticism of the trusteeship increased with the strain on municipal resources. The Leader, once supportive of the trustees, accused the C.N.W.L.C. of showing a "...shameful disregard of the public interest..." and concluded that the trusteeship system was "...a flagrantly unfair handicap to place on municipal pioneers."49
Dissatisfaction with the C.N.W.L.C. was neither new nor limited to Regina. Regina and the most affected townsites- Moose Jaw, Virden and Qu’-Appelle- had petitioned the Dominion Government to end the consortium in 1886. The 1889 1/4 tax agreement quieted widespread criticism for about a decade, but with growth and development imminent, protest surfaced with renewed vigour. J.H. Ross, a pioneer Moose Jaw rancher, Territorial Councillor and former Federal Liberal candidate, led the townsite’s cause.

Ross had witnessed first-hand the trustees’ handicapping of municipal development. Moose Jaw and Regina had similar 1/4 tax agreements with the C.N.W.L.C., but because of a smaller area and population, Moose Jaw had a smaller tax base and even fewer services than Regina. In 1898, this prompted Moose Jaw’s council to petition the Dominion Government to terminate the consortium, but they met with no more success than a similar request had in 1886. In 1900, however, Ross travelled to Ottawa to press the issue and discovered, (along with the Deputy Minister of the Interior James Smart), that the trustees had misrepresented their status as deed-holders and had no legitimate claim to a 3/4 tax exemption. In March, Ross returned west and informed the councils of Regina and Moose Jaw of his discovery. Public opinion grew so outraged that within three months, the Dominion Government appointed a Privy Council Committee to investigate the trustees’ activities.

The Privy Council Committee examined “all matters connected with the administration and sales of lands comprised within the townsites of
Unfortunately for the townsites, the inquiry was little more than a political tool to discredit the former Conservative Government. Commissioners James Smart and Crown Timber Agencies Inspector Edwin Stephenson were Liberal appointees and supporters, and since the C.N.W.L.C. had strong Conservative connections, every effort was made to criticize the trustees' actions. The committee was thorough, however, and addressed every instance where the trustees had overstepped their authority or misappropriated Dominion Government funds. After sifting through tax records, testimony of town officials, and the trustees' accounts, the commissioners recommended that it would be "desirable" to end the consortium in the near future. They suggested that the unsold townsite lots be auctioned off to the highest private bidders, and that the revenue from such sales be returned to the towns' treasuries. That the towns had been "systematically defrauded" of municipal taxes was of no concern to the Privy Council Committee, nor did they attempt to redress the townsites' cumulative losses. Moreover, the Government could not act upon the recommendation until the C.P.R.'s tax exemption on its land grant expired in 1903. The trustees continued their 1/4 tax payments in 1901 and 1902, leaving the towns to wait out the exemption and hope for speedy federal intervention.

Regina gained little satisfaction from the Privy Council investigation, and returned to the task of day-to-day civic administration. Anticipation of the C.N.W.L.C's imminent dismantling (and irregularities in the assessment rolls) prevented the town from suing the trustees. In the meantime, population growth confronted the
council with a need for greater servicing, and provided a slightly broader tax base to accomplish it. Programs initiated in 1902-03 were a continuation of those begun in the 1890's; namely, municipally-directed development and expanded public works.

Pioneer merchant J.W. Smith returned as mayor in 1902-03, directing developmental policies to ensure that Regina reached its potential as a metropolitan centre. His plans for Regina's economic expansion included significant public works expenditure and coordinating lobbying strategies with the Board of Trade.\(^5^6\) In 1902, the council spent 27% of its budget on a "civic beautification" scheme.\(^5^7\) Several streets in the business district were boulevarded and graded to improve the town's appearance, and to accommodate the influx of settler traffic. Secondly, the town council and Board of trade combined their resources and lobbying skills to negotiate with C.P.R. officials for more favourable freight rates and branch lines. (The talks were only partially successful. C.P.R. officials were impressed by Regina's "orderly appearance" and in June 1902, promised to build a branch line to Pipestone.\(^5^8\) The issue of freight rates became a contentious one, however, and was only resolved in Regina's favour after a Supreme Court test case in 1910.)\(^5^9\) Nevertheless, Central Canadian and regional warehousers, distributors and manufacturers such as the Western Manufacturing Co., Massey-Harris, J.L. Case, Ackerman's and the H.W. Laird Co. began to locate in Regina after 1902, and the town's function as a service centre began to take shape.
Smith's second policy was to discourage private utility operations
in favour of municipal ownership. Possibly because of his experience
with the trustees, (he was mayor when the 1/4 tax agreement was
negotiated in 1889), Smith was a firm believer in publicly-owned and
operated utilities. His 1903 council voted down Spring-Rice's
application for a twenty year extension of the electrical service, and
rejected a similar offer from another company. Instead, Smith promised
that Regina would acquire its own electrical and waterworks utilities
when finances permitted and would "not be at the mercy of any man or
monopoly".

Merchants and other residents embraced Smith's belief in municipal
ownership. Businessmen supported the measure not necessarily for
ideological reasons, but because it would help to keep their costs down
and attract urban settlers. After nearly two decades of struggling to
provide themselves a suitable urban environment, citizens realized the
importance of independent civic administration, and municipal ownership
seemed its ultimate form. A 1902 Leader editorial summed up the town
council activities and glimpsed its potential:

We have not much of Municipal Socialism
in Regina: that is sure. The town council looks
after the streets, or is going to; it provides
for the education of a rising generation; it
supplied a place of burial, it provides also for
protection against fire, for the prevention of
disease, it has a market...there are means for
recreation, for the prevention of crime and the
promotion of morality. That is about all, though
there have been whisperings about running the
electric light. No slur is cast on Regina in that
it touches Municipal Socialism so gingerly. All
other North-West municipalities are alike in this
respect...if municipalities are justified in
providing for the convenience and recreation of
the people...why should they not go much further?
...more or less socialists then we are fast becoming. And there is a great deal to be said on behalf of the system. Free libraries and reading rooms are the best competition to the saloon, as are public recreation grounds with gymnasium and means for cricket, baseball, football and lacrosse; free baths mean a clean people and a clean people mean a clean town: franchises owned by the city such as lighting, water supply, trams-ways and many other things mean more economical management, reduction of taxation from profits and greater convenience to the public. A great deal is to be said in favour of these things and we ought not to be scared by the word "socialism" being flaunted in our faces or drawn across our path.

Timely political intervention provided Regina’s civic government with the means to expand upon its notion of "municipal socialism". In 1903, the Dominion Government was about to act upon the Privy Council recommendations by dissolving the trusteeship and offering the federal share of the townsit lands for public auction. Walter Scott, member for Assiniboia West and long-time Regina resident suggested an alternative. Scott felt that the unsold trusteeship lots should be given to the towns as compensation for lost tax revenue. The Liberal Government endorsed this suggestion, and Regina and Moose Jaw received title to 4,000 and 800 lots respectively. This 'gift' allowed these centres to provide amenities and construct services they had long been denied.

From 1889 to 1903, Regina’s town councils adopted three significant policies which fulfilled community needs while promoting regional economic development. They initiated the pattern for building large-scale municipal works; regulated private capital and utility operations within the town; and supported agricultural concerns through exhibition-hosting and tax exemptions. These policies grew in response
to the challenges of administering an urban centre amidst a slowly developing agricultural frontier.

The balanced, independent nature of Regina's municipal policies also owed something to the presence of an exploitative, monopolistic consortium. The trustees' self-interest made councils (and citizens) aware that their community's fate rested within their own hands. Thus, while other civic elites after 1900 were blindly courting outside investment exclusively to promote urban growth, Regina continued its cautious, municipally-directed approach to civic development by inaugurating an urban beautification scheme, expanding utilities and services, and maintaining metropolitan-hinterland ties. Promoting urban growth never preoccupied Regina's councils because the town's unique historical development necessitated community-oriented policies, distinguishing Regina's municipal evolution from almost every other Western Canadian urban centre.

In 1889, the challenge facing Regina's town councils was to create a suitable urban environment and to establish links with its agricultural hinterland. By 1903 they had succeeded, and for the next decade, had to maintain such a balance amidst tremendous physical expansion.
Chapter 3
Uneven Urban Development 1904-1913

"What staggering problems of city organization the fathers of those [Western Canadian] cities had to face...and most of the time did not face them particularly well."

Richard Allen
The Background of the Social Gospel in Canada

From 1903 to 1913, the North-West Territories experienced political maturity, large-scale agricultural expansion and unprecedented immigration. The provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta were created in 1905, and from 1901 to 1911, farm acreage in these areas increased from 3,833,434 to 38,099,207 and from 2,735,630 to 17,355,333 respectively. Saskatchewan's rural population increased from 77,013 to 361,037; and its urban population from 14,626 to 131,395 over this same period. Alberta's growth was no less dramatic; its rural population grew from 54,489 to 236,633; and its urban population from 18,353 to 137,662.¹

Prairie urban growth was facilitated by the metropolitan forces stemming from the powerful commercial centres of London, New York, Toronto and Montreal. These cities supplied the capital, industry and expertise necessary to organize the economies of Western Canadian municipalities. It was left to the civic elites of these aspiring prairie centres to compete for investment, railways, industries (and immigrants); and by 1913, five clear winners emerged.² Winnipeg, Regina, Saskatoon, Calgary and Edmonton succeeded in attracting three transcontinental railways, millions of dollars (and pounds sterling)³ of investment, and hundreds of foreign and Central Canadian-based manufacturers, distributors and financial institutions. In turn, the
councils and Boards of Trades of these Western cities used these resources to gain sway over their own agricultural hinterlands, becoming sub-regional metropolises in their own right.4

The Western metropolises were so successful in controlling commercial activities within their hinterlands that they restricted the growth of other large urban centres and helped determine the pattern of prairie urbanization. Smaller cities such as Moose Jaw, Prince Albert and Medicine Hat emerged; however, their development was due to specialized roles within the region's economic geography. About twenty larger towns (population of 2,500+) were situated 70-100 miles apart by rail, and provided a fairly broad range of services. After these were the smaller towns (1,000+), located 40-80 miles apart by rail, and having less specialized services than their larger counterparts. Finally, there were about 900 villages (100+) situated centrally within agricultural districts, consisting of a grain elevator, a general store, and perhaps a blacksmith.6 All of these centres were linked through an interdependent network of economic support in spite of urban rivalries.7

Urban rivalry also contributed to uneven civic development. Civic elites used the resources of local government to compete for metropolitan investment with which they hoped to promote their growth over that of a neighboring rival. This civic promotion, however, was essentially self-serving. Elites were composed of merchants, speculators and large property-owners who benefited materially from the rise in population and land values accompanying urban development. Consequently, they directed civic policies to suit their own interests; public
utilities were acquired to attract industry; elite residential areas were serviced first; changes to tax schemes and political structures favoured large property-owners (at the expense of average rate-payers and to the exclusion of tenants); "non-growth" programs such as health, relief and sanitation were neglected or under-funded. All of these policies were carried out in the name of urban rivalry, and in the optimism of the prevailing boom conditions. This civic preoccupation with exclusive promotional schemes, known as "Boosterism", characterized Prairie urban development from 1900 to 1913. Western cities controlled by booster elites burdened themselves with staggering debt loads and by 1913, had developed haphazardly. 8

While Regina's economic development can be explained within the framework of metropolitanism, its civic affairs were not initially pervaded by the "booster mentality". The town's early history had proven the futility of exclusive growth schemes and policies had evolved to balance development with community needs. Public utilities, acquired soon after Regina's incorporation as a city, were responsive to community demands. Civic land use policies assured orderly growth and servicing. Increasingly, however, exclusive policies and excessive civic spending produced very uneven urban growth. The 1906 City Charter changed tax and political structures in favour of large property-owners, though these were mitigated by cautious, municipally-directed development. Spending on sanitation, health and relief programs remained a council priority, but elites began to exploit their favoured economic and political status, increasing existing socio-economic disparity and burdening Regina with expensive services. Municipally-directed
development lost its historical caution and balance; instead, policies were undertaken in the name of urban rivalry and services were acquired on the basis of optimistic growth predictions. The most glaring example of boosterism was Regina's acquisition of a street railway service in 1911. Though Regina escaped some of the largesse and haphazard growth afflicting Western Canadian cities, and emerged "...far less overdeveloped than other comparable Western cities..."9, civic overspending created substantial indebtedness by 1913.

Regina became the North-West's second incorporated city on 19 June 1903.10 The reasons for incorporation were identical to those of the town era; namely, greater borrowing powers allowed for the acquisition of necessary services and achieving city status was a step toward urban "progress".11 Regina could borrow up to 20% of its net taxable assessment (total assessment minus improvements and other exempt properties) as a city, and as a town only 10%, however, there were few other changes to the municipal structure. The mayor and councillors (now aldermen) continued to be elected "at large", formed standing committees to run the various civic departments, and decided issues by a majority vote.12 Professionals, merchants, and land speculators continued to enjoy success in civic elections.

This continuity was also evident in the person of the mayor, and in the city council's first few policies. J.W. Smith was mayor in 1889 and 1902, and had contributed to Regina's development in the face of poor economic conditions and the C.N.W.L.C. trusteeship. Consequently, his 1903 council acquired municipally-owned services for the same reasons, and in the same manner, as the town's only large-scale public
work. The council responded to community demands for modern civic amenities by hiring an expert consultant, Toronto engineer John Galt. Galt's report estimated that the cost of expanding the sewer system, constructing a waterworks utility, and purchasing and up-grading Spring-Rice's electrical plant at $200,000. The aim was to provide services which were affordable to rate-payers and responsive to community needs. Nearly 20% of rate-payers voted on the utility acquisition, supporting the measure by a margin of 144-4. With the $30,000 purchase and expansion of Spring-Rice's plant in 1904, Regina's first modern civic service began its operations. Aldermen promised that the rates would be low enough to allow everyone in Regina to have light in his home, and although the plant was practically obsolete, rates were competitive with those offered by the public utilities in Moose Jaw and Prince Albert.

Other cities were less successful in providing themselves affordable and publicly-responsible power systems. Saskatoon erected a new municipal electrical plant in 1906. The utility produced reasonably-priced power, but public officials had dramatically underestimated demand, and a costly new plant had to be built in 1929. R.B. Bennett and a group of wealthy Central Canadian businessmen organized the Calgary Power Company in 1909, financing the construction of an elaborate, $3 million power system. Rates were so high initially, however, that Calgary's city council feared industrial development would be restricted because of them.
Regina's sewer system and waterworks utility were constructed quickly and economically, but also compared favourably to other cities' systems. The sewer construction undertaken in 1904 minimized costs by incorporating the existing lines (built in 1891) into its network. The waterworks system also lessened costs by utilizing the naturally-occurring artesian wells which fed Boggy Creek, (situated 7 miles north-east of the city centre). The Creek was dammed, pipes were lowered into its banks to save on pumping costs, and water was piped into Regina by a pumping station. Service was provided first to the city centre, and after 1911, to annexes (sub-divisions) within the expanded city limits. Both systems were operating by January, 1905. By contrast, Edmonton began constructing its sewer and waterworks systems three years earlier. Of a population of about 11,000, however, only 405 citizens, residents in an elite sub-division, enjoyed utility service by 1905. Saskatoon began constructing its utilities in 1906, but a bitter and prolonged strike by municipal labourers delayed their completion until 1909. Poor garbage disposal methods also added to Saskatoon's problems, contaminating the city water supply and forcing immediate hospital construction in 1907.

As in its town era, Regina's civic government constructed utilities which were relatively affordable, expertly-designed and successful in bringing the advantages of modern amenities to the entire community. Few comparably-sized municipalities could make that same claim.
Civic officials were aware that acquiring efficient, municipally-owned utilities enhanced Regina's ability to compete with urban rivals. Alderman H.W. Laird urged the council to undertake "...any other necessary improvements to retain the North-West capital's standing and position...", and consultant John Galt told a Board of Trade meeting that with the proper civic development, Regina "...had the potential to be the fairest City of the Plains." Early city councils had to choose between impulsive policies motivated by urban rivalry, or maintaining traditional practices of municipally-directed development balanced by meeting community needs.

The land use policies of Mayor Laird and his 1904-05 councils revealed that in most areas, traditional municipal attitudes guided urban development. In 1904, the city received title to 4,000 former Federal lots. A private party offered the council $70,000 for the land, but Regina had no intention of reverting to monopoly ownership of its townsite. Instead, the council decided to auction off blocks to the highest private bidder, and to use the proceeds to finance servicing and utility construction. The blocks closest to the city centre were sold first, thus avoiding a sprawling urban pattern likely to multiply servicing costs. The city also set aside lands (north of the C.P.R. tracks, east of Albert Street) for industrial use; implemented a building permit system; defined fire limits and delineated construction codes. By July, 1905, about 1,000 of the city lots had been sold, netting the civic treasury $127,000. This careful management of a valuable civic resource enabled Regina to remain a compact, "well-ordered" city. It also benefited citizens by confining industrial
development to a designated area, limiting its encroachment into residential districts. [See map 3.1]

At the same time, however, Laird's councils granted free city lots to companies choosing to locate in Regina. In 1904, the Western Manufacturing Company received 20 free lots and tax exemptions on its plant, machinery, lands and buildings, in exchange for a $23,000 capital investment. Rate-payers endorsed this and similar bonuses, though some aldermen sharply criticized council policy. The city adopted wise land use policies and planning practices, but favoured "...securing an industrial base by reasonable assistance of tax exemptions or free sites...", to less costly options of leasing or deferred payment schemes. This generous bonusing policy was short-lived, however, as the council's bargaining position improved with the westward flow of capital. By 1905, Regina's councils no longer had to "...bargain away [its] resources..." in attempting to establish an industrial base, though inexpensive lots and deferred payment schemes remained after 1905 to compete with other Western urban centres.

The Territories continued to develop, and their subsequent need for federal funds resulted in the creation of Saskatchewan and Alberta in 1905. Regina and Edmonton were named provisional capitals of the new provinces, pending confirmation by their respective legislatures. This delay allowed rivals Saskatoon and Calgary time to mount challenges through ambitious promotional campaigns, but neither was successful. Territorial history determined Regina's continuance as a capital; Edmonton's confirmation resulted from effective political lobbying.
Provincehood marked the end of an era for former Territorial municipalities, in addition to stirring urban rivalries. Local governments steadily lost their autonomy as they became subject to the provinces' legislative, administrative and financial controls. In Saskatchewan, provincial encroachment generally benefited municipalities, regulating their finances and instituting uniform accounting practices. Regina's continuance as a capital did not effect its municipal evolution, though it added from 5% to 10% more workers to the city's labour force. Regina nonetheless yielded slowly to provincial authorities, preferring to wield the autonomous powers which had sustained it for more than two decades.

In 1906, Regina's municipal government adopted a city charter which dramatically altered taxation policies and political structures.38 An Act Respecting the City of Regina, based on Edmonton's 1904 document, departed from practices established under the Territories' Municipal Ordinance. Personal property tax was largely replaced by a business tax based on floor space (with rates varying depending on the type of business). The most significant feature of Regina's new municipal tax structure, however, was its heavy reliance upon the "single tax"; that is, taxation based on the value of unimproved land.39 Such a taxation system was ideal for Western cities; as long as land values continued to rise, councils did not have to tax improvements and thereby discourage investors. Special assessments for local improvements existed, but these were exempt up to 40% per annum, and councils could raise this by another 15%.40
The charter also altered Regina's electoral process by creating a ward system. The city was divided into five wards, each ward elected two aldermen for two year terms, and five retired annually. The ward system was designed to encourage broader political participation by guaranteeing local representation, however, other charter provisions mitigated this intent and account for the real motive behind its adoption. Voters' qualifications were lowered to a $200 freehold assessment, but rate-payers (now burgesses) were entitled to vote in any ward in which they owned sufficient property. Thus, representation became more a matter of sufficient property-holdings than one's area of residency, and the cumulative voting clause served to increase the political power of large land-holders.

All of these changes benefited the large property-owners. First, by eliminating taxes on personal property other than land; secondly, by lowering the cost of owning property through generous improvement tax exemptions; and thirdly, by granting them increased political representation. Average property-owners bore the brunt of these tax policies, while tenants remained excluded from the political process. The 1906 charter was a measure passed by, and for, Regina's civic elite.

Regina's population trebled from 1901 to 1906. The council sold more of its lands to developers to accommodate the growing numbers, and to bolster the civic treasury. Again, wise planning practices prevailed; Mayor P. McAra and his council auctioned lands from the centre outward, making $240,000 from land sales but recommending servicing and
improvements of $437,500 to the new areas. The mayor, Aldermen J. Balfour and R. Sinton, and former town councillor J.M. Young were amongst the principal buyers and developers of the city lots, however, and used their positions to enhance their speculations. These officials bought blocks of the lands, sub-divided them into residential lots, then sold them to Regina's growing number of immigrant settlers. The charter's generous improvement exemption, (and the fact that the council did not introduce taxes for water and sewer improvements until 1911), meant that the average burgess bore the cost of servicing these sub-divisions, while the large property-owners kept the substantial speculative profits for themselves. The servicing of sub-divisions nonetheless conformed to the pattern of land sales; utilities were extended from the city centre outward.

The new residential areas created by the developers expanded Regina along socio-economic lines. Each of the new areas was located outside the city limits, though a sub-division's proximity to desirable residential locations such as Wascana Creek, or, alternatively, a location near the C.P.R. tracks, determined its price. Immigrants' socio-economic status determined in which sub-division neighboring the city they lived. Generally speaking, pioneer residents and Anglo-Canadian immigrants lived in pretentious developments such as "Lakeview" or "Washington Park", paying $1,000 for a 125' lot.[See Map 3.2] Poorer residents and immigrants, mainly Central and Eastern Europeans, crowded into developments such as the "Eastern Annex". [See Map 3.3], purchasing (or renting) 25' lots for $50. From 1905 to 1909, 12 new sub-divisions
appeared, trebling the number established between 1883 and 1904. [See Map 3.4]

This pattern of settlement was typical of prairie cities. Developers purchased lands adjacent to urban centres, varied lot prices according to the sub-division's perception as a desirable residential area, and immigrants located according to their means. Servicing these areas also tended to be a matter of socio-economic preference. In Calgary and Edmonton, elite residential areas were the first to receive utility operations, yet in their respective "workingmen's" districts "...the provision of services...lagged far behind residential construction...". Calgary's council provided services to areas reserved for industrial development. Consequently, small enclaves of workers resided in industrial districts. In Regina, councils did not base their provision of services on immigrants' wealth or ethnicity. Unfortunately, in the city's "East End" sewer mains could not be connected because the houses lacked plumbing. Tax and political structures favoured large property-owners, and some members of the civic elite took advantage of these. McAra's council also spent generously on civic promotion; giving the Board of Trade $5,000 to conduct a publicity campaign on the city's behalf.

Amidst Regina's development and optimistic civic spending were signs of increasing social disparity. The Regina Relief Society held its first annual meeting in 1907, while the council's Health & Relief Committee reported "keeping 7-8 families" in 1908. The Board of Works' Committee received a number of petitions from unemployed city labourers demanding the creation of jobs on civic projects. The councils of
Laird and McAra directed orderly urban growth, but had failed to address rapidly-changing community needs.

J.W. Smith's 1907-08 councils redressed the growing unevenness of Regina's municipal policies. The 1907 council spent $100,000 on civic projects, hiring unemployed local labourers "...to keep money in the pockets of citizens...". Work on the projects began in early spring, specifically to alleviate the problems of seasonal employment. Regina's responsiveness to municipal workers' needs contrasted with Saskatoon's experience, where 150 city labourers struck over low wages, poor safety, sanitation and working conditions from 1906 to 1909.

Smith's councils also introduced measures which improved Regina's health care facilities, instituted city-wide sanitation practices and "cleaned up" urban pollution. The 1907-08 councils voted the Grey Nun hospital $20,000, assumed control of the Victoria Hospital, and spent $100,000 on new hospital construction. The council also passed a comprehensive health by-law making water and sewer connections obligatory, and specifying that saleable milk be sealed and all bread wrapped. These measures helped to stem outbreaks of cholera, and the by-law was quickly imitated in Saskatoon. Finally, the city built an incinerator, (north of the C.P.R. tracks), facilitating the removal of garbage formerly strewn in back lanes, and burning it at an economical cost of 50 cents per ton.

Smith's councils also encouraged orderly physical growth and metropolitan-hinterland development by establishing a municipally-owned
spur track system. In January 1907, council asked City Engineer Angus Smith to design a system of tracks centralizing rail facilities on the site reserved for industrial use. This was not a municipal street railway system, but a series of tracks linking the transcontinental lines to local warehouses. In December 1908, the council concluded an arrangement with its two transcontinental lines— the C.P.R. and the Canadian Northern Railway (C.N.R.)— whereby the railways provided Regina with trackage facilities in exchange for a small annual rental fee. With the aid of a rudimentary zoning by-law, the spur tracks helped to confine industrial development to its intended district. The spur tracks also organized most of the rail facilities in the city, allowed warehousing firms direct links to transcontinental service, and (eventually) generated civic revenue. Moose Jaw began a similar, municipally-owned spur track system in 1905, and along with its location on the Soo line and its proximity to Chicago and Milwaukee markets, it developed as a substantial meat-packing and milling centre despite intense competition.

In spite of the success and emulation of Smith's policies, councils began to replace cautious development balancing community needs with self-serving civic promotions fueled by urban rivalry. In June 1909, Mayor R.H. Williams and his council approved "Fair Wage Clauses" for civic contracts. These clauses obliged contractors to pay workers "...the rate of wages current in Regina...". This seemingly gracious act was actually intended to hold down municipal labour costs. Wages of Regina labourers were well below the regional average, and these clauses prevented Regina workers from seeking wage parity with
counterparts in Calgary, Edmonton or Winnipeg. A month later, however, the council offered to give the city's Stanley Park site to the C.P.R. if the company would construct a union station, and provide track facilities for itself, the C.N.R., the Grand Trunk Pacific (G.T.P.) and one other line. (The C.P.R. refused and the matter was referred to the Board of Railway Commissioners.) Holding down municipal workers' wages while offering free city lands to a powerful railway corporation were disparate acts which provoked organized labour, and may have been a factor in Regina suffering a building strike by 500 members of the Trades and Labor Council the following spring.

Williams' councils were also plagued by problems arising out of urban rivalry. In December 1909, a civic inquiry was called to investigate irregularities in the sale of spur track sites. Alderman Wilkenson had sold a site to the Campbell Brothers & Wilson Company, a grocery warehousing firm seeking to locate in the West. The company subsequently discovered, however, that their new site did not allow it to purchase the right-of-way necessary for rail access. They complained to council about the sale, whereupon it was learned that Wilkenson had conducted the transaction himself, without consulting the council Finance Committee. At the inquiry, Wilkenson admitted his wrong-doing, claiming to have acted rashly for fear a delay would induce the firm to locate in Saskatoon. There was public speculation over the possible damage to Regina's reputation as a warehousing centre, but the firm stayed in Regina and the affair ended without incident.
Whether prompted by the problems of labour unrest and civic mismanagement or not, Williams' council initially returned to sound municipal practices. First, they decided to up-grade and extend Regina's sewage system, instructing City Engineer L.A. Thornton to prepare a report on the matter. Thornton recommended that the city spend $476,275 to extend sewer mains to the annexes, and replace septic tanks with a modern disposal system which filtered into Wascana Creek. The report was adopted by council and supported by burgesses. Secondly, council passed a by-law enumerating the services of a city commissioner. Provisions of the 1906 charter empowered councils to appoint "...one or more commissioners..." whose duties were to submit estimates on civic projects, exercise broad powers of supervision over all civic departments, administer the budget and advise councils on policy. Commissioners held office at the pleasure of the council and could be dismissed by a majority vote of aldermen. The proliferation of municipally-owned services from 1904 to 1912 created the need for expert civic management, and it was perhaps natural that such a position evolved from the city's Engineering Department. It may have been that councils were already relying on the expert advice of civic officials, accounting for the six year delay in appointing commissioners. L.A. Thornton became Regina's first City Commissioner in 1912, and held the post until 1928.

One of Thornton's first duties was to oversee the construction of a municipally-owned railway. The council originally intended to acquire street railway service by granting a franchise to a private Winnipeg firm, reasoning that Regina could not afford its own service.
Burgesses rejected this proposal by a margin of 371-182, however, and though a second proposal for a municipally-owned line was ratified by a relatively small group of civic boosters.  

Construction on a rudimentary 6-mile, 6-car line began in early 1911 and was completed by July.  

Regina's principal reasons for constructing a street railway system were to compete with rival centres and to impress visitors to the 1911 Dominion Exhibition. Every aspiring Western city possessed street railway service; even smaller centres such as Moose Jaw, Medicine Hat and Lethbridge acquired them by 1913. As host to the largest exhibition since 1895, Regina was not about to be outdone. Council's hosting of the 1911 Exhibition was similar to that of 1895. The city generously supported the exhibition, spending $35,000 (about 2% of its 1911 budget) to construct fair buildings and to provide additional services for visitors. Extra services were discontinued after the 1895 fair, however, because the town could not afford street lighting, and was unable to purchase utility service until 1904. In 1911, civic elites abandoned prudent utility acquisition, hastily constructing a service which soon proved expensive and impractical.

The 1910 council proposed to pay for the street railway service out of the proceeds of city land sales, but their actions belied other motives. In December, they took steps to extend the city boundaries from 3 to 12 sections. With the "...probable increase of the assessment and consequent increase in borrowing powers...", the city could finance the railway through debenture borrowing. There were other reasons
supporting boundary extensions; the city needed proper sewage and drainage facilities beyond its present limits; councils could exert more control over railroad routes entering the city; and residents of the outlying sub-divisions, Wascana Park, Lakeview, C.P.R. Annex, Belvedere, Parkdale, Washington Park, Eastview, Eastern Annex, Arcola and Broder Annex [See Map 3.4] wanted municipal services.83 The council maintained that extensions were needed to support street railway operations.84 Thus, the acquisition of a street railway determined Regina's physical expansion.

City boundaries throughout the West were extended to increase borrowing powers, support street railway operations, promote growth and assimilate outlying sub-divisions. Such civic policies were based on overly optimistic assessments of future growth and fueled by urban rivalries. Urban centres used the most expedient methods available to obtain street railway service,85 enumerating its track mileage and boasting of future growth in promotional pamphlets.86 The Financial Times' assertion in 1912 that "...there is no sound reason why the cities of the prairies should reach to dimensions which the literature they circulate indicate as probable..."87 proved prophetic. Sound reasoning, however, did not always guide civic policy.

By 1913, Saskatoon's population reached 28,000 and its city limits covered 40 square miles. Councils undertook extensions to increase borrowing powers and to include sixty neighboring sub-divisions built from 1910 to 1912. Encompassing areas created by the decade-long real estate boom produced a sprawling urban pattern with low population
densities and relatively high servicing costs. Optimism over continued growth also inflated assessment figures and distorted city finances. "By 1914, Saskatoon was a very spread out and somewhat haphazard city...".88

In Edmonton, new sub-divisions and amalgamation with Strathcona brought population totals to 53,383, and induced councils to extend city limits to 39.88 square miles by 1913. As in Saskatoon, extensions were undertaken to increase assessments but also produced urban sprawl, a low population density and added to servicing costs. Edmonton's council exacerbated this problem by allowing municipally-owned streetcar operations to precede urban settlement. Its McKernen Lake line ran a mile past empty city lots to a small enclave of houses belonging to university professors. Such spurious development was costly, and continued to plague rate-payers for decades.89

Calgary's development also produced a sprawling urban pattern burdened by overly-optimistic civic utility acquisition. In 1911 its population was 43,704,90 city limits reached 36 square miles by 1912, and some sub-divisions were nearly 10 miles from the city centre.91 A local newspaper story illustrated the ridiculousness of the city's physical development with the following story:

...At the real estate office [a farmer] explained his desire to get away from the hardships of country living, and declared an interest in selling the farm and buying a city lot. With characteristic impetuousness, the agent whisked him away to see some "good buys". Together they drove for miles, and finally, with well-practiced flourishes, the agent proclaimed: "There- wouldn't that be a lovely place for you and your wife to build your city home?" Then, after the slightest pause, the agent asked: "By the way, where is the farm you want to sell?"

"My farm?", the man from the country answered.
"Why we passed a couple of miles back, nearer Calgary." 92

Council increased the cost of expansion by extending street railway operations to some of the far-flung sub-divisions. The Bowness Line rumbled across open prairie, its only practical function to deliver dairy milk back to the city centre. 93

Regina was a well-ordered, compact urban centre in contrast to comparably-sized Western cities. Its population reached 30,213 by 1911, 94 and even after its expansion, density was roughly twice that of the other centres. 95 The city was also "thoroughly-well provided" with municipally-owned utilities. 96 Much of the credit for its orderly physical development was due to municipal land policies introduced in 1904. The acquisition of a street railway broke from traditional council policies, however, and its subsequent expansion placed Regina in the same precarious financial position as other Western cities.

McAra's 1911 council borrowed up to 99 1/2% of its powers, mostly to pay for street railway construction. 97 Assessment increases in 1911 and 1912 allowed for even greater borrowing, and councils issued $4 million in street railway debentures to extend the lines in 1912-13. 98 A small group of civic boosters supported these policies. The acquisition of a municipally-owned line was endorsed by a majority of the 11% of burgesses who voted, and only a majority of 5% of voting rate-payers supported the line's expansion. 99 Extending the street car operations produced revenue by levying taxes on residents served by the lines. Regina's compact development meant that few residents actually used the
service, however, and the street railway lost $313,845 in its first three years of operation. 100

The multiplication of Regina's debenture debt, from $87,500 in 1903 to $10.6 million in 1913, was half due to the street railway's acquisition, accounting for $5.3M of the sum. Other major expenditures included the construction of the Power Plant, waterworks expansion and street paving. 101 Where Western municipal debentures had found easy markets before 1913, however, the onset of depression, and then war, "made municipal bonds impossible to sell" by August 1914. 102 Regina and other Western cities suddenly found themselves unable to borrow money, burdened by capital charges on existing loans, and strapped with expensive services. Such conditions brought hasty intervention from provincial authorities and eroded municipal autonomy.

Regina experienced uneven urban development from 1903 to 1913. One critical observer rendered the following summation in 1913:

Regina- a progressive city in a progressive province has been the general conclusion. Public-spirited citizens, municipally-owned utilities, well-paved and well-kept streets, good buildings- such assets cannot but arrest the attention of even the casual visitor. More intimate acquaintance shows that these are fair expressions of the civic spirit. The other side- for there is another side- the narrow lots, the park corner granted to a railway corporation and the neglected East End are indications that civic regeneration is not yet complete. 103

A decade of uneven development nonetheless illuminated three important factors distinguishing Regina's municipal evolution from other Western cities. First, traditional council policies insured Regina's
Map 3.1

Wascana Park (See Map 3.4) was an example of an elite sub-division. 
(Source: Regina Leader, 26 April 1906.)
Highland Park (See Map 3.4) was an example of a "workingmen's district". Note its location north of the proposed 1911 expansion of city limits. (Source: Regina Leader, 26 April 1906.)
Note City Limits as they were prior to 1911 expansion. (Source: Saskatchewan Archives Board, Map Collection, G41, Kerr Land Company Map of Regina, 1910.)
The Municipal Railway routes had already pushed beyond the pre-expansion city limits to the south by 1911. By 1912, the Street Railway went beyond the old limits to the south, west and east. (Source: Colin K. Hatcher, *Saskatchewan's Pioneer Streetcars: A History of Regina's Municipal Railway*, Montreal: Railfare Enterprises, 1974, p.60.)
orderly expansion. Secondly, sound city planning practices evolved from traditional policies, allowing Regina to be "...well provided with all necessities for a city its size, [and] ...much less overdeveloped than many other Western cities...". Thirdly, the appointment of a City Commissioner hastened the addition of unbiased technical advice to council policies, marking a tentative step toward the establishment of commission government. It was this form of municipal government which would allow Regina to recover financially, and to resume its role as a leader in municipal development.
Chapter 4
Civic Regeneration 1914-1920

"The People are the city."
Regina Municipal News, 1 September 1916

Western Canadian municipalities experienced a series of economic crises from 1914 to 1920. The boom of the previous decade had collapsed, establishing the wheat economy's urban infrastructure and leaving little room for post-1913 development. Real estate markets crashed, construction halted and assessment values declined dramatically. The advent of World War I restricted metropolitan capital, temporarily ended immigration, and depopulated urban centres. Municipalities had geared their borrowing, spending, tax structures and utility acquisitions to the continuation of boom conditions, but were faced instead with unsaleable debentures, substantial per capita debt loads, shrinking tax bases and overextended services. Urban centres reacted by reducing municipal work forces and by levying improvement taxes, but these measures could neither address years of overdevelopment nor correct near-ruinous fiscal practices. Such conditions demanded hasty provincial intervention.

Former Territorial municipalities came under their respective province's jurisdiction in 1905. In Saskatchewan, supervision increased with the passing of the 1908 City Act. Following a nation-wide trend towards Provinces' attempting to centralize power, Saskatchewan's Act replaced individual city charters, specified council powers and required cities to report to a provincial official on matters of debt, audit and finance. The poor state of municipal finances induced Saskatchewan's
government to introduce draconian remedying legislation in 1913, combining legislative, administrative and financial controls with the creation of the Local Government Board (L.G.B.). The L.G.B. was a pioneer in the supervision of municipal borrowing.3

The Board was responsible for overseeing "...all borrowings by local authorities...".4 Board commissioners imposed strict guidelines for municipal bond issues in exchange for provincial guarantees.5 The province also passed "anti-bonusing" legislation, first limiting bonuses to free sites and 10 year tax exemptions, then outlawing the well-established municipal practice of encouraging the establishment of new firms altogether.6 Financial crises and subsequent provincial intervention signaled an end to the autonomous financial practices of Saskatchewan municipalities.

Regina was also burdened with unsaleable debentures, heavy per capita debt loads and a shrinking tax base. Civic borrowing was immediately curtailed by the Local Government Board, forcing civic officials to conform to rigid provincial standards. Regina possessed substantial civic resources, however, and these allowed councils some economic independence with which to restructure city finances. Municipally-owned utilities were transformed into revenue-producing "enterprises".7 City-owned lands and spur tracks were administered as a public trust, and by stipulating capital and employment quotas, officials were able to circumvent anti-bonusing legislation and attract industry.8 Finally, Regina invested large amounts of its Sinking Fund to purchase the debentures of rural municipalities. This allowed smaller
urban centres to finance their development while Regina’s civic assets increased.

The exigencies of civic finances notwithstanding, Regina’s city councils were also required to carry out traditional policies, legislating for the "...peace, order, good government and welfare of a city."9 One such "duty" perceived by aldermen was to continue supporting annual exhibitions.10 Another was to improve sanitation practices and facilities.

The increasing diversity of civic administration brought changes to municipal government. Regina took tentative steps toward establishing commission government by appointing a City Commissioner in 1912. (Mayors were ex-officio commissioners.) Commissioners initially did little more than oversee utility construction. The collapse of Regina’s economy and subsequent provincial encroachment broadened the scope of this office, however, and by 1913 commissioners represented Regina in inter-governmental relations, administered and negotiated the dispensation of civic assets, and advised councils on policy. After the abolition of aldermanic standing committees in 1916,11 commissioners also held supervisory and regulatory powers over utility operations. Commissioners gave direction, expertise and administrative continuity to civic governments- becoming its executive body. Aldermen formed the legislative body, dealt with local and non-technical issues but were not bound by commissioners’ advice.12 Elected officials were ultimately responsible for determining civic policy, but acknowledging superior
technical and administrative expertise, few councils rejected commissioners' recommendations.

The adoption of the two-tiered civic government enabled Regina to cope with provincial regulations, strengthen metropolitan-hinterland ties and provide community-responsive services. Saskatoon also adopted commissioners, attempted to stream-line utility operations\(^\text{13}\) and invested in rural municipal debentures. Regina's city government led the way, however, and it was this leadership which facilitated the physical development of municipalities across the province.

Saskatchewan municipalities faced declining assessments and a scarcity of investment capital after 1914. Regina's assessment (on land values only) fell from $82 million in 1914 to $47M in 1917; Saskatoon's from $54M to $34M; Moose Jaw's from $35M to $20M, and Prince Albert's from $28M to $12M over this same period.\(^\text{14}\) Reliance on the single tax narrowed tax bases, a condition exacerbated by heavy fixed liabilities (resulting from utility construction) and by urban depopulation. Smaller centres also faced the financial hardships associated with falling assessments. Many of them had created "...public utilities suitable for municipalities several times their size..." and with the "...financial panic following the outbreak of war...", found that bond dealers had repudiated their contracts.\(^\text{15}\) Cities were able to turn to other sources of revenue, levying annual improvement taxes of 25% in Saskatoon, 30% in Regina, and 45% for Moose Jaw.\(^\text{16}\) Smaller municipalities lacked such recourse, however, and were placed in difficult economic circumstances. All municipalities experienced a high number of tax defaults as absentee
land-owners abandoned their properties. When a crop failure in a portion of the province caused several municipalities difficulty in meeting due debenture coupons, the province was poised to intervene.17

The original L.G.B. was chaired by A.J. Mcpherson and consisted of commissioners S.P. Grosch and J.R. Dunn. The Board supervised all municipal borrowing, establishing strict criteria for prospective debenture issues. Every application for municipal borrowing had to be backed by a "tangible asset", deemed affordable to rate-payers, and represent works undertaken out of necessity.18 The practice of issuing debentures to cover annual expenditures, a common one prior to 1913,19 was thus sharply curtailed. Successful debenture applications received provincial guarantees, and as the market for these securities gradually improved, municipal development was allowed to continue. From 1913 to 1918, only 5 of 649 municipalities defaulted on their debentures.20 The province's intervention into the field of municipal borrowing, dictated by questionable fiscal practices and severe economic depression, generally benefited Saskatchewan municipalities.

Regina's borrowing practices had to conform to the Board's guidelines. The issuing of treasury bills to relieve 1913 and 1914 taxpayers, only to burden future rate-payers, was ended by the Board. In 1914-15, applications for public works' borrowing had to be reduced, resulting in amounts comparable to those allowed Saskatoon and Moose Jaw.21 Estimating the cost of civic requirements- from annual maintenance to periodic construction and unique acquisitions- required technical expertise nonetheless, and it was City Commissioner L.A.
Thornton who possessed the skills to negotiate with the L.G.B. on behalf of Regina council.\textsuperscript{22} Negotiations seldom changed the Board's rigid requirements, however, and Regina was forced to reduce civic costs without resorting to borrowing. One way in which councils sought to economize was by stream-lining utility operations; again, the city commissioner was called upon to facilitate council goals.

The majority of Regina's services and utilities were expertly designed, comparably efficient and responsive to community needs. These characteristics continued after 1914, aided by the addition of technical expertise and dedicated officials to city administrations. E.W Bull began as an assistant at the Spring-Rice plant in 1905, and served as head of Regina's Electric Light and Power department for 38 years.\textsuperscript{23} In 1914, Bull and Thornton designed and supervised the construction of a new city power plant. The coal-fired plant supplied residents with cheaper power than Moose Jaw, though at slightly higher rates than in Saskatoon.\textsuperscript{24} The plant's location on Wascana Lake complimented the surrounding park area because the heat from its boilers provided waterfowl a year-round sanctuary. In its first year of operation, the utility produced a surplus of $54,779 and its annual profits helped to subsidize municipal tax rates.\textsuperscript{25} The Winnipeg Street power plant was built with "remarkable foresight" and handled consumer demand into the 1950's.\textsuperscript{26}

The relative ineffectiveness of commissioners in Saskatoon, however, led to poor utility planning. Saskatoon adopted Commission Government in 1911, appointing Chas. Curtiss and W.B. Neil to advise
councils in a similar capacity as Regina’s office.27 There was considerable aldermanic opposition to this change in the municipal structure, however, and the 1912 council moved to limit commissioners’ powers. Instead of requiring 2/3’s of the council’s opposition to a commissioner’s report to overturn its recommendations, aldermen amended the by-law to require a council majority.28 This action caused Mayor J. Clinksick to remark, “My anticipation as to the responsibility of the commissioners acting as managers of the Civic Business was short-lived.”29 Friction between the council and Commissioner Curtiss also caused the latter to resign in 1912. The subsequent lack of administrative and technical expertise led directly to councils’ underestimating city power requirements, and forced Saskatoon into premature electrical plant construction.30

Moose Jaw’s council privatized its electrical utility in 1929 hoping to reduce power rates, lower mill rates and attract industry. Moose Jaw’s city commissioner was not involved in the decision and not surprisingly, the move failed on all accounts and ended with integration into the province’s power grid in the 1960’s.31

Regina civic officials also introduced progressive and innovative measures “to make the rails pay”.32 The street railway’s hasty acquisition and the “lavish” expenditure on its expansion “...were the most important factors contributing to the heavy taxation...and shortage of cash...” plaguing rate-payers and councils after 1914.33 Thornton and D.W. Houston, Street Railway Superintendent from 1914 to 1945, reduced costs by slack-peak scheduling, selling advertising space on trams, and
shutting down unprofitable routes. Two-men crews were later replaced by one-man cars. (The provincial government disallowed this proposal in 1917, claiming that it jeopardized passenger safety. It was still considered an innovation when passed in 1921.) On lines serving industrial areas, labourers could purchase 8 tickets for 25 cents, while regular adult fares were 5 cents per ride.

Some of these same policies also invited controversy. Reducing crews and eliminating routes cost some municipal workers their jobs. The union representing street railway employees unsuccessfully opposed these measures, then attempted to discredit Houston by alleging a misappropriation of fare revenue. A judicial inquiry examined the operations of the street railway in 1918, cleared Houston and his staff from the charges, and concluded that Regina's line was among the best managed in Western Canada, and compared in efficiency to more established Eastern Canadian lines. By 1919, Regina's street railway produced an operating surplus of $72,235. Though the line was unable to pay for its capital charges, expert civic management nonetheless succeeded in making the service more affordable to rate-payers while it remained responsive to community needs. [See Map 4.2]

Another task which fell to city commissioners was negotiating with companies interested in acquiring spur track sites and other city lots. Stipulating investment and employment quotas allowed Regina to circumvent provincial "anti-bonusing" legislation and to use municipal resources as they saw fit. From 1914 to 1920, negotiators achieved some notable successes, particularly from 1916 to 1918, when two large mail
order warehouses and an Imperial Oil refinery located in Regina.\textsuperscript{38} There were also some controversial practices, the most noteworthy being the sale of the Dominion park site to the T. Eaton Company in 1917.\textsuperscript{39} On the whole, however, it is difficult to assess the influence of commissioners on Regina’s economic development. Roughly 1/2 of the $33M in building values from 1910 to 1920 represented warehouse, factory, store, hotel and business block construction.\textsuperscript{40} Whether or not negotiators influenced these totals, and to what extent (if any), remains very much an open question. Regina did manage to consolidate its position as the service centre to southern Saskatchewan, however, and it was city commissioners who were entrusted with the administration and dispensation of valuable city property.\textsuperscript{41}

While administrators were tending to utility operations and land negotiations, aldermen were involved with the more visible problems relating to Regina’s particular development. The massing of over twenty different immigrant groups into the dilapidated dwellings and 25’ lots of the city’s East End had created slum conditions. [See Map 4.1 "Arcola" area.] Over 1/2 of Regina’s typhoid case were reported from this area and only 48 of 599 houses had plumbing. Poor sanitary practices contributed to disease and urban pollution; garbage and human wastes were simply strewn into back yards and alleys.\textsuperscript{42} The 1913-14 councils took immediate steps to correct these problems. First, the council sent health officials to instruct immigrants on safer disposal practices and in the use of sanitary facilities. Where advice met resistance, fines were imposed. Where proper sanitation facilities could not be afforded, however, the city supplied them freely. Inspectors were
"patient yet strict and efficient school-masters". Secondly, the council sponsored an annual "Clean-Up Day", encouraging a city-wide effort to curtail urban pollution. Thirdly, the city integrated its incinerator into the street railway operation - a service unique in Canada. All of these measures had an immediate impact on community health standards. In 1914, there were 92 reported typhoid cases resulting in 16 deaths. By 1916, typhoid was eliminated in Regina. By contrast, Saskatoon’s Medical Officer reported that dozens of cases were still present in that city.

Regina councils attended to other traditional policy areas after 1914, giving particular importance to the hosting of agricultural exhibitions. Though the Fair Grounds doubled as army barracks from 1914 to 1918, exhibitions continued to be held annually. When Moose Jaw’s council announced that it could not afford to host its yearly exhibition in 1916, Regina’s council vowed to "assist in carrying the province through the present war conditions", spending over $10,000 per year to stage agricultural fairs. Councils were undeterred by war-time restrictions or fiscal restraint; fairs were supported as significant socio-cultural events and were necessary to maintain metropolitan-hinterland relationships.

Maintaining past policies proved increasingly burdensome for Saskatchewan municipal governments. Tremendous servicing and utility expansion prior to 1914 provided larger cities with sufficient works, allowing councils to retrench finances by curtailing public works' expenditures, taxing water and sewer frontages and economizing utility
operations. Paying for the previous decade's development proved a more difficult task. By 1917, Regina's per capita debt was $313, (nearly triple that of Winnipeg), Saskatoon's figure was $290 and Moose Jaw's finances were "probably worse". Prince Albert's situation was definitely worse, as they defaulted on debenture payments in 1917-18. Capital charges on heavy debenture borrowing swallowed up civic revenues; 48% of Saskatoon's 1917 budget went to pay for interest rates or the Sinking Fund, and Regina was forced to buy its own debentures which had not found acceptable markets. Rural municipalities faced more stringent retrenchment, partly because of higher interest charges forced on them after the economic crises of 1913-14. Lacking large tax bases or revenue-producing utilities, smaller centres tied their financial structures to crop revenues. Relatively poor harvests in 1918 and 1919, (and the Borden Government's abandonment of wheat marketing in 1920), had the effect of restricting rural municipal development during these years.

Regina came to the aid of smaller municipalities, purchasing their debentures out of the city's Sinking Fund and thereby financing their development. Regina began its Sinking Fund in 1898, after an amendment to the Municipal Ordinance made councillors who had failed to provide one personally liable for due debentures. The 1898 Fund totaled $4,000, and moneys accruing from its investment were applied to debenture interest and principal. The Fund grew as debenture borrowing increased, reaching $185,165 by 1912. Under Commissioner Thornton's trusteeship, the Sinking Fund was invested wisely, netting the City good returns on investments. The Fund was increased to $538,137 by 1914,
doubled by 1916, and reached $1.8M by 1918. Part of this increase was due the city's practice of buying its own issues which market conditions had rendered virtually unsaleable. A greater portion of the Fund, however, was used to purchase the debentures of smaller Saskatchewan centres. [See Table 4.1.]

Table 4.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regina Sinking Fund Assets</th>
<th>1919</th>
<th>1918</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Regina Stock and Debentures</td>
<td>($301,110</td>
<td>($278,538</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sask. Rural Telephones</td>
<td>500,155</td>
<td>404,804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sask. Rural Munic. Debentures</td>
<td>11,000</td>
<td>9,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sask. Villages Debentures</td>
<td>2,041</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sask. School Board Debentures</td>
<td>111,192</td>
<td>2,411</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Bonds</td>
<td>858,225</td>
<td>766,007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misc. Securities</td>
<td>53,150</td>
<td>64,650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subtotal</strong></td>
<td>1,836,874</td>
<td>1,525,411</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accrued % on Investment</td>
<td>51,294</td>
<td>45,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1,988,339</td>
<td>1,759,106</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: *City of Regina Financial Statement 1919*, n.p. 1919, p.56.)

The purchasing of municipal debentures continued after 1920, forming over 50% of Regina's $4.1M Sinking Fund by 1927. Saskatoon followed this practice on a smaller scale, having invested $.9M of its $3.3M Fund in such securities by 1927.

While the purchase of rural debentures may have seemed unimaginative, or at the very least self-serving, it nonetheless drew praise from the Local Government Board:

...that the people of Saskatchewan are ready to demonstrate their confidence in its
municipal institutions by investing their money in them is certainly gratifying, and has been of invaluable assistance in enabling officials of local authorities to obtain the funds necessary for financing the various civic requirements of the country... 

This practice also contributed to "...a steady and substantial betterment in the conditions of Saskatchewan's municipal institutions..." by 1925.64

The economic depression which enveloped Western Canadian municipalities after 1913 was compounded by European War and post-1917 crop failures. Saskatchewan's municipalities were particularly affected by these events, and the province intervened to mitigate the financial crises which resulted. These developments placed tremendous pressures on local governments. In Regina, the civic government adopted significant structural changes to cope with poor economic conditions and provincial intervention.

The policies of Regina's Commission government produced favourable results. By 1920, Regina had reduced its per capita indebtedness to $223; slightly higher than Moose Jaw's figure of $222, but lower than those for Saskatoon ($238) and Prince Albert ($421). Regina also had the highest assessment values of the four cities and the lowest building and improvement levy percentages. Finally, Regina's citizens paid the lowest mill rate of any Saskatchewan city dweller, and the second lowest per capita taxes. (See Table IV, Appendix.)

Regina's municipal evolution was unique and influential. The implementation of a two-tiered city council allowed commissioners to
negotiate with provincial authorities, manage civic resources and direct investment while councils maintained traditional policies of safeguarding the public health and encouraging metropolitan-hinterland relations. This form of city administration, and some of its policies, were imitated in Saskatoon. This evolution also created financial autonomy which Regina officials used to facilitate the development of municipalities throughout Saskatchewan.

Just as its leading citizens helped to shape the powers and structures of municipal governments since 1883; so did Regina's civic officials encourage the material development of Saskatchewan municipalities in the post-World War I era. By 1920, Regina's municipal government had reached its pinnacle of influence. Civic regeneration was complete.
The date or origin of this map is unknown. An approximate date would be between 1911 and 1914, since the map shows the City's Wascana Sewage Disposal Plant, begun in 1911, but does not show the municipal Power Plant, constructed in 1914. Compare the city's growth with that shown in 1910, Map 3.4. (Source: Public Archives of British Columbia, Map Collection, Map of Regina, Saskatchewan, undated, CM/401.)
Map 4.2

Note the tremendous expansion of Regina's Street Railway System after 1912. (Source: Hatcher, History of Regina's Municipal Railway, p. 60.)
Conclusion

In 1883, settlers from Ontario's urban centres came West to establish cities. Full of optimism but lacking necessary legislation, they established the municipal institutions of their past and adapted them to the frontier conditions. The following year, Regina elected a mayor and 4 councilors to the first Territorial Town Council.

Thirty seven years later, Regina's civic government consisted of a mayor, 10 aldermen, city commissioners, a solicitor, medical health officer, engineer, utility superintendents, sanitary inspectors, a clerk, assessor and a treasurer. The growth of civic administration paralleled Regina's development as a prairie city. The 1884 council presided over a frontier town consisting of a population of 800-900, a few dozen wooden buildings, and the C.P.R. main line. By 1921 Regina was a modern Canadian city, had a population of 34,432, hundreds of residences, several business blocks, industries, schools, churches, publicly-owned utilities, and supplied services to the southern half of the province. The need for a more complex city government had grown apace.

From 1883 to 1889, Regina's citizens and councils attempted to attract the attentions of Central Canadian metropolitan centres. After this ended in failure, councils from 1890 to 1903 concentrated on establishing a suitable urban environment and on developing economic links with the surrounding agricultural hinterland. A decade of tremendous physical expansion created uneven urban development as councils abandoned the caution and balance of past policies. From 1914
to 1920, financial crises and provincial intervention restricted municipal development. Regina was able to resume developmental policies and maintain community needs by evolving into a commission government. The effect of such an evolution was felt in municipalities throughout Saskatchewan.

Each period of Regina's municipal history produced figures who created influential changes. Ontario lawyer John Secord was a leading figure in establishing municipal government in Regina, and his suggestions regarding the forms and powers of local governments helped to shape all future Territorial municipalities. J.W Smith was mayor in 1889, 1902-03 and 1907-08. In both town and city eras, Smith led councils to financial independence, passed several progressive measures and helped Regina acquire significant publicly-owned utilities. L.A. Thornton symbolized the significant role played by appointed officials after 1914. His contributions as City Commissioner enabled Regina to re-establish its financial independence; with which the city facilitated the physical development of municipalities throughout Saskatchewan.

In 1883, civic man asked himself how he would be governed. The contribution of Regina citizens, politicians and administrators to the evolution of municipal government determined this answer by 1920: "The People are the City."
Notes to Introduction


5 The Regina Municipal News often carried the quotation (from Coriolanus, Act III, Sc.1) under its banner.
Notes on Chapter 1


10The C.P.R.'s preference for the southern route has several possible explanations; 1) Officials accepted a more optimistic assessment of the prairies' agricultural potential, 2) The Company could avoid established interests, build the railway on its own terms and keep speculative profits to themselves, and 3) "...to prevent American inroads into the Canadian West." (See W.A. Waiser, "A Willing Scapegoat: John Macoun and the Route of the C.P.R.", Prairie Forum, Spring 1985, p.77.)


12Ibid., p.94.


Four trustees were appointed—Donald A. Smith and R.B. Angus represented the C.P.R., E.B. Osler and Scarth the C.N.W.L.C.

Saskatchewan Archives Board (hereafter S.A.B.), Records of the Privy Council, Order in Council #2778, photocopies, 29 December 1900, p.13. During the trusteeship, Regina's lot sales totaled $254,485.92, while those of Moose Jaw, Virden and Qu'Appelle were $114,606.36, $46,939.14 and $36,249.81 respectively.


Settlers initially praised the "outside" interests; articles and editorials praising C.N.W.L.C. activities in the townsite appeared frequently in the Regina Leader. As depression set in, town councils and Boards of Trade appealed to those interests in a spirit of cooperation. Finally, animosity characterized Regina's relationship with the C.N.W.L.C., and, at various times, the C.P.R. and Dominion Government as well.

Powers, History of Regina, p.93.

This assertion is based upon available biographical accounts of the pioneers, which are few. Some prominent merchants, mayors and councillors are mentioned in newspapers, and in Norman Fergus Black's History of Saskatchewan and the North-West Territories, (Regina: Saskatchewan Historical Company, 1913) and John Hawkes' Saskatchewan and Its People, (vol.iii, Regina: Leader Publishing Company, 1912).

S.A.B., Order in Council #2778, p.109.

Ibid., pp.101-02.


Regina Leader, 1 May 1884.


S.A.B., Order in Council #2778, pp.6-7.

Reid, "Informal Government", p.88.


*Debates of the Legislative Assembly of United Canada*, vol.viii, parts 1 & 2, 1849, p.1574.


*NorthWest Territorial Consolidated Ordinances*, "An Ordinance Respecting Municipalities", Regina: King's Printer, 1895, pp.5-36.


"Municipal Ordinance", sections 25, 27 and 30, pp.8-10.


Section 16 of the C.P.R.'s charter states: "The C.P. Railway, and all stations and station grounds, workshops buildings, yards and other property, rolling stock and appurtenances required and used for the construction and working thereof, and the capital stock of the company, shall be for ever free from taxation by the Dominion, or by any province hereafter to be established, or by any municipal corporation therein: and the lands of the company, until they are either sold or occupied, shall also be free from such taxation for twenty years after the grant thereof from the Crown." In 1911, the Privy Council decided that unoccupied lands were not taxable until 20 years after the actual grant of letters patent to the settler, and that lands sold on the installment plan were not taxable until all installments were paid. Harold A. Innis, *A History of the Canadian Pacific Railway*, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1923, pp.263n, 305-306.


In spite of this, the status of becoming the Territorial capital meant little to Regina in terms of economic or political benefit. See also A.N. Reid, "Functions of Urban Municipalities in the North-West Territories; Public Works and Public Utilities", *Saskatchewan History*, vol.x, Winter 1957, p.83.
A biographical examination of town councils is almost impossible due to the lack of sources available, and also because of the large numbers of councillors and their lack of continuity in office. From 1884 to 1897, Regina Council had 43 different members—23 for one year, 12 for 2, 5 for 3 terms, 2 for 4 years and 1 for 6 terms. Only once, in 1891, was an entirely inexperienced council elected. (See A.N. Reid, "Urban Municipalities in the North-West Territories; Their Development and Machinery of Government", Saskatchewan History, vol.ix, Spring 1956, p.55.)

Regina Leader, 10 January 1884.

Regina Council Minutes, 1884-1929, (hereafter, Minutes), 5 May 1884.


Minutes, 21 January 1884.

The case of Regina Councillor (and future Mayor) J.K. Mckinnis is most instructive. In 1896, Mckinnis criticized the council's spending as being too extravagant, and on any by-laws dealing with council expenditure, refused to give consent to the by-law's third reading. This move "deadlocked" the council, Mckinnis was constantly ruled out of order by the chairman, and was characterized in the Leader as being "bombastic" and an "arctic whale". Eventually, however, Mckinnis was able to sway council opinion, town expenditures were reduced, and he became elected mayor in 1898. (Leader, 23 January 1896, 18 June 1896 and 15 December 1898).

Mayor Eddy quoted in Regina Leader, 23 January 1896.

Regina Leader, 7 February 1884, 6 March 1884, 1 May 1884.

Canada, House of Commons Debates, 3 March 1883, pp.598-602.

An article in the Ottawa Citizen reflected the Government's attitude toward the Regina demands. It read: "...the Government in this matter behaved most generously to Regina, whose prospects were never brighter than they are today...it says something for the Government and Constitution of Canada that the railway whistle had hardly started for the first time the wide silence of illimitable plains, when a quasi-representative assembly was deliberating in the capital of the North-West, and passing an ordinance for the establishment of municipal institutions." Ottawa Citizen, 21 April 1884. Macdonald and his cabinet felt that they had already fulfilled their promises by naming Regina as capital, and were not prepared to do anything further. See Macdonald's reply to Cameron, Debates, 23 January 1884, p.38.

Minutes, 18 February, 7 April, 9 April, 5 May, 2 June, 21 July 1884.

Ibid., 28 October 1884.

Ibid., 24 November 1884.
59 Regina Leader, 1 October 1885. (Calculations my own.)

60 Ibid., 6 August 1885.

61 Powers, History of Regina, pp. 34-37.

62 Minutes, 23 July 1885, "Correspondence with Major-General Middleton".

63 M.F. Davin, Regina and area's (Assiniboia West) M.P. was sometimes referred to by colleagues as the "member from the Wild, Wild West". See C.B. Koester's Mr. Davin, M.P., Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1980.

64 Minutes 18 December 1884.

65 Ibid., 3 January 1885.

66 Regina Leader, 29 October 1885.


68 Minutes, 6 August 1885.

69 Ibid., 23 August 1887.

70 Ibid., 10 January 1888, and Order in Council #2778, "Testimony of Regina Town Solicitor G.W. Brown", p.53.

71 Regina Leader, 20 August 1889.

72 Order in Council #2778, p.68.

73 Regina Leader, 20 August 1889.
Notes on Chapter 2


5Ibid.


7Regina Town Council Minutes, 31 December 1885 and 6 January 1886. (Hereafter, Minutes.)


9Minutes, 20 March 1888, Leader, 11 August 1891 and 4 July 1892, for example.

10Minutes, 6 January 1891.

11Ibid., 3 February 1891, 24 February 1891 and 16 March 1891.

12Ibid., 26 May 1891.

13Ibid., 5 January 1892.

14I am indebted to Dr. Regehr for his lucid explanation of municipal financing.

15Minutes, 21 July 1891.

16Ibid., 28 July 1891.

17Brennan, "Townsite Promotion", pp.112-114.

19Minutes, 2 December 1890.


22White, "Electrical System", p.12.

23There was no record of debate on this issue in the Council Minutes, however, stories regarding similar English municipal practices appeared frequently in the Leader, and councillors were probably aware of them. See also Thomas P. Hughes, Electrification in Western Society, 1880-1930, Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1983.

24Leader, 11 May 1904.

25Minutes, 8 June 1893.

26Leader, 11 May 1904.

27The town paid $10,000 for a plant originally costing between $14,000 and $20,000.

28Long lists of these appeared in the pages of the Leader during the 1880's and 1890's. See, for example, 18 June 1896.

29Minutes, 7 July 1894.

30Ibid., 1 March 1892.

31Ibid., 18 October 1894, "Correspondences Between the Town Clerk of Regina and the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Territories".

32Foran, Calgary, p.32.


34Leader, 9 January 1896. (Calculations my own.)

35Ibid.

36Ibid., 19 December 1895.

37Ibid., and Minutes, 6 August 1896.

38Leader, 30 July 1896.

39Ibid., 8 December 1898.
Minutes, 11 April 1901.

Canada, *Census of Canada 1901*, vol. iv, Ottawa: King's Printer, 1901, p.112.

Leader, 25 December 1902.

Canada, *Census of the North-West Provinces 1906*, Ottawa: King's Printer, 1907, p.100.


Minutes, 1 December 1895.

Leader, 18 July 1901.

Ibid., 1 January 1903.

S.A.B., *P.C. #2778*, p.130.

Leader, 1 December 1898.

Brennan, "Townsite Promotion", p.112.

S.A.B., *P.C. #2778*, p.3.

W.B. Scarth, C.N.W.L.C. Managing Director from 1883 to 1895, was also a Conservative M.P. from Winnipeg, 1887-1891. E.B. Osler, an active trustee, was elected as a Conservative M.P. for Toronto West in 1896. See Arnold J. Magurn, ed., *Canadian Parliamentary Companion 1905*, Ottawa: J.Durie & Son, 1905.

S.A.B., *P.C. #2778*, pp.2-81.

Ibid., pp.2-4, and Leader, 22 March 1902.


Leader, 9 January 1902.

Minutes, 5 January 1903. (Calculations my own.)

Leader, 12 June 1902. Despite the involvement of Smith's council in 1902, Regina's municipal government had little to do with attracting branch lines. Lobbying for more lines and better rates was undertaken by the Board of Trade.


Minutes, 13 January 1902.

Leader, 9 January 1902.
62 Ibid., 12 June 1902.
63 For an interesting account of this concept, see Hughes' *Electrification in Western Society*, p.186.
Notes on Chapter 3


3Financial Times of Canada, "Canadian Municipal Debts to England 41,000,000 pounds", 26 July 1913, p.15:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Loans to Date (pounds sterling)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Calgary</td>
<td>1,906,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edmonton</td>
<td>2,892,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moose Jaw</td>
<td>447,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regina</td>
<td>981,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saskatoon</td>
<td>818,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winnipeg</td>
<td>5,575,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4J.M.S. Careless, "Metropolis and Region: The Interplay Between City and Region in Canadian History", Urban History Review, no.3-78, February 1979, pp.99-119.

5Voisey, "Urbanization of the Prairies", pp.77-101

6Ibid.

7Careless, "Metropolis and Region", pp.99-103.


10 Calgary became the Territories' first incorporated city in 1893.

11Regina Leader, 22 January 1903. (Hereafter Leader.)


13Leader, 9 July 1903.

14For these reasons the council quashed a scheme to supply water through expanding existing wells. The plan was less costly, but the water was only adequate for industrial use. Regina Town Council Minutes, 7 May 1903. (Hereafter, Minutes.)

15Leader, 5 August 1903.
16Ibid., 11 May 1904.


18Ibid., p.94.


20Minutes, 9 July 1903, Leader, 4 January 1905, Moser, "Development of Regina", p.35.


22Hanson & Kerr, Saskatoon, pp.100-102.

23Ibid., pp.90-92.

24Leader, 1 January 1903.

25Ibid., 7 May 1903.

26Minutes, 10 December 1903.

27Minutes, 22 August 1904.


29Minutes, 12 July 1905.


31Minutes, 1 June 1904 and 22 June 1904.

32The Regina Planing Mill & Supply Co. and the Regina Brewing & Malting Co. also received council bonuses. Minutes, 18 May 1904 and 25 May 1904.

33Minutes, 18 May 1904, 1 June 1904 and 16 November 1904.

34Mayor H.W. Laird quoted in Leader, 13 January 1904.

35Suggested by Alderman Mccarthy and adopted by future councils.

36Minutes, 1 June 1904.


40 Ibid.

41 Regina Charter, p.436.

42 Ibid., p.437.


44 Ibid.

45 Minutes, 20 March 1906, 24 April 1906, 22 May 1906.

46 See sub-division advertisements, Leader, 31 March 1906.


50 Foran, Calgary, pp.89-90.

51 Minutes, 20 March 1906.

52 Ibid., 7 January 1908 and Leader, 13 October 1907.

53 Ibid., 2 June 1908.

54 Leader, 30 November 1907 and 2 June 1908.

55 Macintosh & Hyde, "Regina Financial Statement", p.34.

56 Hanson & Kerr, Saskatoon, pp.100-102.

57 Minutes, 3 July 1907, 11 February 1908.

The first engineering services were undertaken by consultants. Angus Smith was appointed Regina's first City Engineer, 12 February 1906, followed by L.A. Thornton in February 1910, R. Potter in April 1912, J.K. Allen in June 1912, F.A. Macarthur in July 1912, J.P. Ellis in July 1915 and D. McAnel in the spring of 1917. With the exception of Thornton, little or no biographical information exists for these civic servants. See May Whiteford Neal, ed., Regina: Queen City of the Plains, Regina: Western printers, 1953, p. 60.


Moser, "Development in Regina", Chapter 2 "Incipient Land & Planning Controls 1903-1914."

Richan, "Urban Rivalry", pp. 138-158.

According to Census figures for 1911, construction labourers in Regina earned an average weekly salary of $3.32, Edmonton workers made $4.68, Calgary workers $8.34. This disparity held true for almost all trades. See Canada, Census of Canada 1921, vol. iii, Ottawa: King's Printer, 1925, table 6, p. xx.

Leader 2 November 1909.

Ibid., 9 May 1910.

Ibid., 2 December 1909.

Ibid., 7 December 1909.


Minutes, 3 December 1910.

Dr. J. William Brennan suggests this occurred in 1910. Thornton was appointed City Commissioner in April 1912, though he likely exercised broader administrative powers while still the city's Engineer.

"Regina Charter", Section 192.
When he resigned to become Chairman of the Saskatchewan Power Commission.

Minutes, 5 April 1910. (The O'Grady construction firm.)

Ibid., 12 May 1910.


Ibid.

Leader, "Mayor's Address", 4 January 1911.


Moser, "Development in Regina", pp.41-49.


Moose Jaw provides such an example, see Richan "Urban Rivalry", p.113.

For example, see S.A.B. Pamphlet Collection, Regina. The Capital of Saskatchewan, Canada, Regina: Board of trade, 1911, and Regina: City of Certainties, Regina Board of Trade 1912

Financial Times of Canada, 6 July 1912.

Hanson & Kerr, Saskatoon, p.145.

Mcgregor, Edmonton, pp.194-200.

Canada, Census of Canada 1921, Ottawa: King's Printer, 1925, p.833.


Foran, Calgary, pp.94-101.

Census of Canada 1921, p.234.

Hanson & Kerr, Saskatoon, p.110. (Calculations my own.)


Ibid., p.12.
98Ibid.

99Ibid., p.10.

100Ibid., p.43.


102Financial Times of Canada, 29 August 1914, p.5.


Notes on Chapter 4


5 Ibid., pp.8-9. A bond offering approved by the L.G.B. was backed by the province, and usually commanded more favourable rates.


10 Regina Municipal News, 1 May 1916.


18 Ibid., pp.6-9.


20 A.M Hillhouse, Municipal Bonds, p.205.


22 For a brief, incomplete biographical sketch of Thornton see Clinton O. White, Power for a Province: A History of Saskatchewan Power, Canadian Plains Studies #5, University of Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1978, p.29.


25 Ibid., 20 September 1916 and Macintosh & Hyde, Regina Financial Statements, p.55. Surplus utility profits were governed by the City Act (sections 259-280) and were applied to the Sinking Fund.

26 Neal, Queen City, p.47.

27 Saskatoon Narratives, p.80.

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid., pp.80-82.

30 Ibid. See also Kerr & Hanson, pp.282-284.


35 Ibid.

36 Ibid.


Moser, "Impact of Council's Decisions", pp.57-58. Regina's commissioners may have been unduly criticized for their attempt to sell off the Dominion Park reserve. Regina, as Mawson's Report pointed out, was well provided with parks, having 257 acres of them in 8,048 acres of city area. Saskatoon, having an area of 25,600 acres, had 400 acres of park, proportionately much less. Commissioners presumed that Regina needed more large commercial enterprises than park space.


J.S. Woodsworth, Report of a Preliminary and General Social Survey of Regina: September 1913, made by the Department of Temperance and Moral Reform of the Methodist Church and the Board of Social Service and Evangelism of the Presbyterian Church, n.p., 1913, p.37.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Hatcher, Municipal Streetcars in Regina, p.24.


Kerr & Hanson, Saskatoon, p.277.

Regina Municipal News, 1 May 1916.

Kerr & Hanson, Saskatoon, p.125.

Hillhouse, Municipal Bonds, p.205.

Kerr & Hanson, Saskatoon, pp.125-127.


Regina Leader, 7 July 1898.
The propriety of investing Sinking Fund moneys in the securities of the same City is a subject on which opinions differ. For short-term securities and with a moderate limit on the amount we do not take exception to the practice...Since these securities were allocated to the Sinking Fund, it has become necessary to submit propositions of this kind to the Local Government Board and that body can safely be relied upon to take all proper precautions to ensure that the Sinking Fund does not become overburdened with City securities." Mactintosh & Hyde, Regina Financial Statements 1909-1914, p.39.


Ibid.


Ibid.
Notes to Conclusion

1 Regina, City of Regina Municipal Manual, Regina: Caxton Press, 1921, p. 5.

2 Canada, Census of Canada 1921, Ottawa: King's Printer, 1925, p. 234.

3 Ottawa Citizen, 21 April 1884.

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b) Committee Minutes. October 1914-December 1915.
c) Council Minutes. 25 Volumes. 1884-1929.
e) Court of Revision. November 1912-1931.
g) Finance Committee Minute Book. 1914-1915.
i) Health Committee 1920.
j) Index to Council Minutes. 1916-1917.
k) Index to Files. 1893-.
l) Influenza Sub-Committee. October-November 1918.
o) List of 1912, 1913, 1914 Contracts.
p) Minutes of Advisory Committee on Finance. 1920-1922.
q) Minutes of Commissioner's Meetings. 1917-1924.
r) Minutes of Unemployment Relief Committee. 1920-1922.
s) Records of Documents Loaned to Various Departments. November 1913-July 1915.
u) Regina City Amateur Hockey League. 1910-1911.
v) Special Committee Minutes Book. Council of City of Regina on Waterworks and Electric Lighting. 1903-1905.
w) Special Committee Minutes Book. 1916.
x) Wascana Valley Sewer Claims Sub-Committee. 1917-1918.

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*Narratives of Saskatoon*. Saskatoon: University Book Store, 1927.


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----------. "Boosterism and the Development of Prairie Cities". -----


Careless, J.M.S. "Metropolis and Region: The Interplay Between City and Region in Canadian History". Urban History Review. no.3-78. February, 1975.


Voisey, Paul. "In Search of Wealth and Status: An Economic and Social Survey of Entrepreneurs in Early Calgary". Rasporich & Klassen. *Frontier Calgary*.


Appendix

Population of Regina (Table I)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1911</th>
<th>1916</th>
<th>1921</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2,249</td>
<td>30,213</td>
<td>26,127</td>
<td>34,432</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Census of Canada 1921, p.234.)

Saskatchewan Municipalities (Table II)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th># of Cities</th>
<th>Towns</th>
<th>Villages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>344</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Census of Canada 1936, p.359.)

Comparative Statement of Regina Tax Rates 1904-1923 (Table III).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Net Tax Assessment</th>
<th># mills for Public school supporter</th>
<th># for private school supporter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>1,872,630</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>11,426,574</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>73,776,833</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>42,478,390</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>36.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>42,812,210</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>41.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Henderson's Regina Directory 1929, p.83.)
Comparative Financial Statements of Saskatchewan Cities 1920-21 (Table IV)

City
Moose Jaw North Battleford Prince Albert Regina S'toon Swift Current

Population
23,000 4,500 8,500 40,000 30,000 3,600 4,200

Net Total Assessment (millions)
$22.9 $3.71 $7.89 $43.2 $29.7 $5.38 $4.84

Net Debenture Debt (millions)
$5.11 $.967 $3.58 $8.90 $7.15 $1.15 $.732

Total Taxation (millions)
$1.04 $.199 $.335 $1.75 $1.31 $.289 $.244

Mill Rate (Public School Supporter)
41.60 48.87 38.75 36.50 40.40 52.00 49.00

Buildings and Improvements Levy (Assessed at % of Value)
45% 45% 45% 30% 35% 60% 30%

(Source: S.A.B., Annual Report of the Department of Municipal Affairs of the Province of Saskatchewan for the Financial Year 1920-21, Regina: King's Printer, 1921, pp.34-37.)

Mayors of the Town of Regina (Table V)

1884- D.L. Scott, Q.C.
1885- D.L. Scott, Q.C.
1886- Dan Mowat
1887- Dan Mowat
1888- W.Cayley Hamilton, Q.C.
1889- J.W. Smith
1890- J.A. McCaul
1891- R.H. Williams
1892- R.H. Williams
1893- J.H.C. Willoughby, M.D.
1894- Robert Martin
1895- G.T. Marsh
1896- W.F. Eddy
1897- W.F. Eddy
1898- F.N. Darke
1899- J.K. McKinnis
1900- W.T. Mollard
1901- W.T. Mollard
1902- J.W. Smith
1903- J.W. Smith

(Source: Municipal Manual of Regina, Regina: Caxton Press, 1921, p.20.)
Mayors of the City of Regina (Table VI)

1903- J.W. Smith
1904- H.W. Laird
1905- H.W. Laird
1906- P. McAra, Jr.
1907- J.W. Smith
1908- J.W. Smith
1909- R.H. Williams
1910- R.H. Williams
1911- P. McAra, Jr.
1912- P. McAra, Jr.
1913- Robert Martin
1914- Robert Martin
1915- James Balfour, K.C.
1916- W.D. Cowan, D.D.S.
1917- W.D. Cowan, D.D.S.
1918- Henry Black
1919- Henry Black
1920- James Grassick


Comparative Revenue Accounts of Prairie Street Railways for 1914. (Table VII)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Revenue per Passenger Carried (cents)</th>
<th>Revenue Per Car (cents)</th>
<th>Revenue Per Mile (cents)</th>
<th>Revenue of Track $</th>
<th>Revenue Car Mile</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Regina</td>
<td>4.26</td>
<td>18.42</td>
<td>7.329</td>
<td>4.32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saskatoon</td>
<td>4.66</td>
<td>22.17</td>
<td>9.331</td>
<td>4.75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calgary</td>
<td>4.20</td>
<td>22.20</td>
<td>9.894</td>
<td>7.80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edmonton</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>11,733</td>
<td>7.95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lethbridge</td>
<td>4.21</td>
<td>12.87</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>2.94</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Macintosh & Hyde, Regina Financial Statements, p.45.)

Note: In 1914, Regina's Municipal Railway carried 4,677,505 passengers and produced an operating surplus of $5,173.85- though capital charges and depreciation created an actual net deficit of $7,968.24. By 1919, the Street Railway carried 6,943,124 passengers, and produced an operating surplus of $72,235.93. (Figures compiled from May Whiteford Neal, ed., Regina: Queen City of the Plains, Regina: Western Printers, 1953, p.116 and Macintosh & Hyde, Regina Financial Statements, p.43.)