

**MAKE  
HISTORY.**

Preserve Manitoba's Past.

## Economic History Theme Study

# A HISTORY OF GRAIN ELEVATORS IN MANITOBA

### PART 1: A HISTORY



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## INTRODUCTION

The economy of Manitoba has traditionally been dominated by wheat, and although this cereal grain characterizes agricultural production in Manitoba less today than it did in the past, it was very much responsible for the early development of this region.<sup>1</sup> "The prairie west," as Friesen has demonstrated, "was intended to be Canada's settlement frontier," and the process of settlement was so successful that by the late 1920s the "wheat economy" was "firmly established", and the wheat landscape was firmly built.<sup>2</sup> Wheat has become "the keystone in the arch of Canada's national policy. Its production and sale made possible the construction of transcontinental railway systems, and the extension of political control across the continent to the Pacific."<sup>3</sup> The economic potential it offered attracted settlement to the prairies, sustained the people who colonized the region, and led to the transformation of the cultural landscape.

This report will discuss the growth of the major landscape features of the Manitoba grain trade by concentrating on the growth of the "commercial machine" that has been dedicated "to moving the prairie produce onto the world's markets."<sup>4</sup> It will thus focus on the physical expressions that have resulted from the grain trade, and will detail particularly the grain companies, and their most common symbols, the grain elevators.<sup>5</sup> Necessarily, however, some mention will be made of the railways that grew in tandem with the grain companies, often called these businesses into being, and allowed them to grow and dominate on the prairies. For the railways were a "matter of life and death" to elevator companies as they were to the trading centres of the province.<sup>6</sup> Reflecting the development of the grain trade landscape (ILLUSTRATION ONE), a concentration will take place on the years up to 1930, by which time the development of the grain trade in Manitoba had reached a watershed, and wheat had become the country's Number One" export.<sup>7</sup> The story will be continued where appropriate past that date, however, and the present status of the trade will also be reviewed.

## THE INITIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE GRAIN-STAPLE ECONOMY

Wheat growing in Manitoba dates back to the settlers in Lord Selkirk's Red River settlement which was established in 1812.<sup>8</sup> The Selkirk colonists had their first successful harvest of spring wheat in 1815, but it was not until 1831 that a normal harvest yielded a marketable surplus, enabling the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) to discontinue importing flour from England.<sup>9</sup> But as the HBC was the single available market for the farmers, and could absorb only a small amount of wheat, twenty years later, in 1851, Red River settlers were described as "smothering in their own fat" by the Governor of Minnesota.<sup>10</sup> Thus despite its potential, the "West was held stationary in the grip of a "production limit" governed by actual "home consumption."<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately the answer to this problem -- exports -- and the landscape transformations that would accompany this solution could not be initiated until there was an external demand for prairie wheat, as well as a means of supplying it. This demand did not come until prairie wheat was needed as a milling grain in Ontario and Quebec (and then the rest of the world), and this itself had to follow a demonstration that Red Fife wheat could be successfully grown in Manitoba.

This all-important wheat variety, although originally grown in Eastern Canada,<sup>12</sup> had diffused to Manitoba by about 1870 from the United States along a routeway through the northern tier of states, then the most common way of moving from eastern to western Canada. Its passage via farms and grain dealers in the United States took some ten years,<sup>13</sup> but it was soon to "replace the prime beaver" as an economic staple for the prairies.<sup>14</sup> The excellent quality of Manitoba wheat grown from Red Fife seed was acknowledged in 1876 after the Ontario Red Fife crop failed. Following this misfortune, R.C. Steele, of Steele Brothers of Toronto (a seed company), took the American route (by rail to St. Paul and then to Fisher's Landing in Minnesota, and then overland) to Winnipeg. As a result the "grain trade of the western provinces made its first hesitant step" on October 21, 1876 when 857 1/6 bushels of Red Fife wheat were "sold for export" to Ontario for seed.<sup>15</sup>

This first export shipment of Canadian prairie wheat necessarily took a route to eastern Canada through the United States. It was shipped from Winnipeg by the Red River steamer, S.S. Minnesota (which was owned by a company dominated by future St. Paul railway magnate James J. Hill<sup>16</sup>). It went south to Fisher's Landing and was then shipped "by rail to Duluth, by vessel from Duluth to Sarnia, and by rail from Sarnia to Toronto."<sup>17</sup> Further wheat surpluses in the late 1870s continued to move south along the Red River, but a need for a better route became evident, in order to avoid the constraints inherent in the production and transportation systems, to curtail "emigration to the American frontier, and to accelerate the emergence of wheat as the Canadian export staple."<sup>18</sup>

The cultivation of spring wheat in the Canadian prairies (and adjoining American areas) was also encouraged by a revolution in the milling industry between 1870 and 1880. Red Fife wheat had not originally enjoyed favour with millers because its flinty kernels would not produce the kind of flour desired.<sup>19</sup> In 1870, however, the first La Croix "purifier", based upon a French invention (which separated branny particles from middlings), was introduced to Minnesota to solve this problem. In addition, during the seventies the introduction of "the gradual reduction process, involving the substitution of chilled iron rollers for the traditional millstones, brought about a veritable milling revolution."<sup>20</sup> Together, these innovations led to larger, lower-cost structures that produced a superior product. These changes were incorporated into Winnipeg mills in 1882,<sup>21</sup> gave impetus to the demand for spring wheat, and brought the crops of the prairies and the Dakotas "into high favor."<sup>22</sup> Red Fife wheat in particular, rose to premium rank, and the importance of milling proved to be so great that it seems certain that without the invention and diffusion of the new technology, the growing of spring wheat in the West and thus development of western Canada, might have been greatly retarded.<sup>23</sup>

**ILLUSTRATION ONE**  
**WHEAT ACREAGE, PRAIRIES, 1901-1961**

Source: Tyler, 1967: 97.

| <b>WHEAT ACREAGE, PRAIRIES, 1901-1961<sup>1</sup></b> |       |       |        |        |        |        |        |
|---|-------|-------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
|   | 1901  | 1911  | 1921   | 1931   | 1941   | 1951   | 1961   |
| <b>Manitoba</b>                                       |       |       |        |        |        |        |        |
| Total acres on farms (000)                            | 1,965 | 3,095 | 2,819  | 2,617  | 2,465  | 2,326  | 2,914  |
| Per farm  | 61    | 71    | 53     | 48     | 42     | 44     | 67     |
| <b>Saskatchewan</b>                                   |       |       |        |        |        |        |        |
| Total acres on farms (000)                            | 487   | 5,255 | 11,684 | 15,026 | 12,195 | 15,635 | 16,082 |
| Per farm  | 36    | 55    | 98     | 110    | 88     | 140    | 171    |
| <b>Alberta</b>  |       |       |        |        |        |        |        |
| Total acres on farms (000)                            | 43    | 1,640 | 4,886  | 7,943  | 6,556  | 6,424  | 5,633  |
| Per farm  | 5     | 27    | 59     | 82     | 66     | 76     | 77     |
| <b>Prairies</b>                                       |       |       |        |        |        |        |        |
| Total acres on farms (000)                            | 2,495 | 9,990 | 19,389 | 25,586 | 21,216 | 24,385 | 24,629 |
| Per farm  | 45    | 50    | 76     | 89     | 72     | 98     | 131    |

<sup>1</sup> Data for Table IV were abstracted from D.B.S. Catalogue No. 21-507.

By 1878, some prairie grain even made its way to Britain - but still as a result of the Red River connection. In that same year "great was the relief" of Winnipeggers when the first railway, the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba, entered the Province and provided effective rail communication with Minneapolis.<sup>24</sup> Notably, however, it came from the south and was controlled by the opportunistic James J. Hill.<sup>25</sup> "This new means of communication gave a direct connection between St. Paul in



Minnesota and the little town of St. Boniface on the right bank of the Red River."<sup>26</sup> . Unfortunately, although this railway was clearly "a great boon and formed a splendid link with the United States," it was obvious that "something was still lacking."<sup>27</sup> This deficiency was made up by the decision to build the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) line to connect eastern Canada with the west coast following an all-Canadian route, rather than running south of the border.<sup>28</sup> Apart from providing a more direct freight link with the eastern provinces, this action also had the effect of providing a means whereby a "Canadian settler no longer had to pass through Chicago and Minneapolis en route to the prairies, and was thus less likely to settle very far south of the Canadian border."<sup>29</sup> (ILLUSTRATION TWO).

Eventually, on Dominion Day, July 1, 1886, the first train from Montreal to Vancouver passed through Winnipeg. This ended the dominance of the western trade route through the United States, and led directly to the acceleration of grain growing on the Canadian prairies.<sup>30</sup> It also led to a rapid demise of the Minnesota connection "as Winnipeg emerged as the key city of the Canadian West,"<sup>31</sup> and "the converging point of a great wheat funnel, the spout of which [led] to the waterfront of Lake Superior,"<sup>32</sup> and thence to the world. The first grain cargo from western Canada, destined for overseas, was carried from the "Head of the Lakes" in the fall of 1883 following the completion of the CPR line.<sup>33</sup> Apart from stimulating grain exports, of course, this line and those that followed it became promoters of immigration and settlement, which in turn stimulated the grain trade and thus more railway building.<sup>34</sup> Although the competitive nature of this construction, particularly in Manitoba, meant that many areas of the Province, and perhaps most particularly southwest Manitoba, were soon overbuilt, this surfeit of railway lines first had to await the defeat of the CPR which tried to prevent branchline construction by companies other than itself. The monopoly clause in the CPR's agreement with the federal government was cancelled in 1888 as part of a refinancing deal, and subsequently a series of other railway companies appeared on the prairie landscape.<sup>35</sup>

ILLUSTRATION TWOWESTERN CANADA: THE LAND OF  
PEACE, PLENTY, AND PROSPERITY.

Source: Canadian Farm, April 1910.

# WESTERN CANADA

The Land of

## **PEACE, PLENTY AND PROSPERITY**

---

IT OUTRANKS ALL COUNTRIES IN ITS

|                           |         |         |                |            |
|---------------------------|---------|---------|----------------|------------|
| Grains                    | Markets | Grasses | Transportation | Facilities |
| Fuel                      | Laws    | Climate | Schools        | Water      |
| <b>General Conditions</b> |         |         |                |            |

In Quality its Wheat Averages the Highest in the World.

---

**FREE!** You can secure 160 acres in this LAND OF OPPORTUNITY **FREE!**

THE INDUSTRIOUS POOR MAN'S CHANCE. BE A PRODUCER.





**The Day of Canada's Prosperity is the Day of Your Opportunity.**

### THE BULK HANDLING OF GRAIN

If the American connection was a major characteristic of wheat shipments from Manitoba in the early years, so was the method of handling: bags. This was the traditional form of conveyance and it continued, although with diminishing importance, for some years. It was, however, quite inefficient, involving the loading and unloading of the bags, plus their emptying and filling, on several occasions during the journey. Although reusable, the bags had to be purchased -- at an additional cost to the financially strapped farmers (ILLUSTRATION THREE).<sup>36</sup> Even the first lake shipment from Port Arthur was loaded partly in bags, because no facilities existed at that time for bulk grain handling.

## ILLUSTRATION THREE GRAIN BAGS

Source: Canadian Farm April 8, 1910

| EATON'S "STANDARD" GRAIN BAGS   |  |  |  |
|---|--|--|--|
| PRICES LOW—QUALITY GUARANTEED   |  |  |  |
| <p>You will soon be needing grain bags, as this is the reason when you clean your seed grain and dispose of the surplus. The four varieties listed below are exceptionally good values. They are standard size and weight—are made from the best of raw material—have no seams—in fact there is no better grain bag manufactured to-day. Send us an order and when the bags arrive if they are not up to your expectations in every way—if they are not as good a bag, at a lower price, than you can obtain elsewhere—send them back at once and we will refund your money in full and pay the transportation charges both ways.</p> <p><b>WE DO NOT PAY FREIGHT ON GRAIN BAGS</b></p> |  |  |  |
|  <p><b>EATON'S A</b><br/>Our Price Per Doz.<br/><b>255</b></p> <p>NS-1. EATON'S A<br/>Furniture Grain Bag, capacity<br/>two bushels, weight<br/>14 pounds.<br/>Price per 100 20.25</p>   |  <p><b>EATON'S B</b><br/>Our Price Per Doz.<br/><b>295</b></p> <p>NS-2. EATON'S B<br/>Seedling Grain Bag, cleaned<br/>strong, capacity two bushels,<br/>weight 15 pounds.<br/>Price per 100 23.75</p> |  <p><b>EATON'S C</b><br/>Our Price Per Doz.<br/><b>348</b></p> <p>NS-3. EATON'S C<br/>Seedling Grain Bag, capacity<br/>two bushels, weight<br/>15 pounds in bag.<br/>Price per 100 27.75</p>  |  <p><b>EATON'S D</b><br/>Our Price Per Doz.<br/><b>359</b></p> <p>NS-4. EATON'S D<br/>Seedling Grain Bag, capacity<br/>two bushels, weight about 20<br/>pounds, strong and<br/>durable.<br/>Price per 100 28.75</p> |
| <p><b>THE Acme WALKING PLOW 10<sup>25</sup></b><br/>For Sandy or Light Soil</p> <p>The Acme No. 10 will turn a fine furrow in 12 to 14 days. It is made of the finest material and is built to last. It has a heavy cast-iron frame and is equipped with the best quality of steel. The plow is built to give a fine, straight furrow and is easy to handle. It is the best value for the money.</p> <p>So steady built that it will give you years of good service—runs easily and smoothly.</p>   | <p><b>NOTE EATON PRICES</b></p> <p>YOU KNOW, AT THE OUTSET, EXACTLY WHAT AN ACME PLOW WILL DELIVER TO YOUR NEAREST RAILWAY STATION. ON THE OTHER HAND IT IS EQUALLY AS CERTAIN THAT YOUR MONEY WILL BE REFUNDED IN FULL IF YOU ARE IN ANY WAY DISPLEASED WITH YOUR PURCHASE.</p>       | <p><b>THE Acme WALKING PLOW 10<sup>50</sup></b><br/>For Heavy Clay or Stoney Land</p> <p>The Acme No. 10 will turn a fine furrow in 12 to 14 days. It is made of the finest material and is built to last. It has a heavy cast-iron frame and is equipped with the best quality of steel. The plow is built to give a fine, straight furrow and is easy to handle. It is the best value for the money.</p> <p>An example of extremely high quality is a plow for almost any kind of work in Ontario or Eastern Canada.</p> |  |
| <p>Every Farmer can save money buying from our Grocery Catalogue.</p>   | <p><b>THE T. EATON CO. LIMITED</b><br/>TORONTO CANADA</p>  |  | <p>A copy of our Spring and Summer Catalogue should be in your home.</p>   |

Completion of the first "terminal" elevator by the CPR alleviated this situation in 1884, and the first shipment of wheat by an 'All-British' route from Brandon to Glasgow soon followed. In 1885 the first carload of western wheat left Winnipeg by railway for Montreal. The way was open for a larger export trade. The introduction of bulk handling of grain coincided with early railway connections to the Lakehead, but more importantly with construction of country elevators.<sup>37</sup> Although the railways kept out of the country elevator business, they were heavily involved in terminal elevators (and lake freighting) from an early stage. Prior to 1902, all terminal elevators at Fort William and Port Arthur were owned by the CPR. In that year the Canadian Northern Railway built a terminal elevator and leased it to a commercial company. A further change took place in 1904, when the first terminal elevators were erected by elevator companies to be operated in conjunction with their own line elevators established at country points, thus extending their vertical integration in the grain trade. Later the Canadian Pacific Railway gradually withdrew from the elevator business and leased its properties to commercial companies.

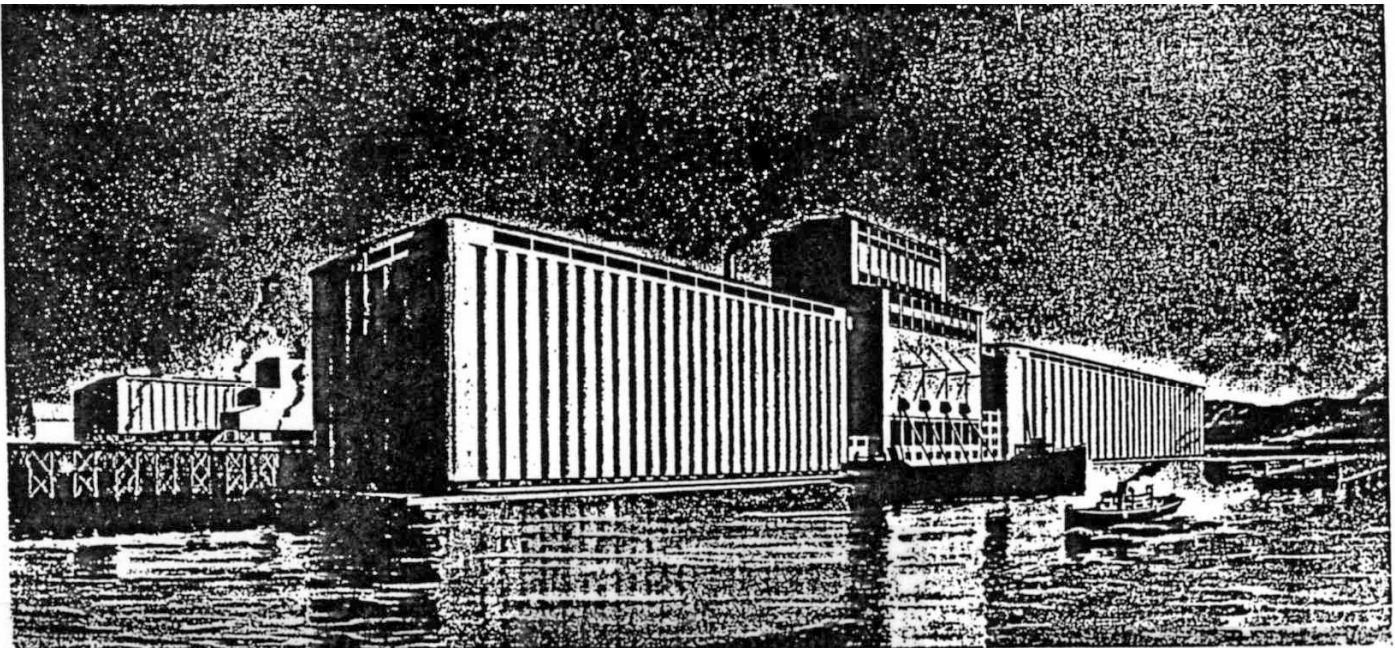
## STRUCTURES OF THE GRAIN TRADE

### A) TERMINAL ELEVATORS

The early terminals were all railway owned although some records indicate that one terminal elevator may have been leased by J.G. King from the CPR during the early 1890s (and perhaps later), and a warehouse by T. Marks and Co. in the middle part of the same decade). Total capacity as late as 1900 was about 5.5 million bushels. In the early 1900s the trend to non-railway owned and operated elevators at both Port Arthur and Fort William accelerated rapidly. Thus in 1911 there were 15 terminals, with only three owned (and operated) by the CPR -- with a capacity of under 16 million bushels. In 1932 there were 32 terminals, all operated by co-operatives or private companies, with a total capacity of nearly 95 million bushels. Capacity fluctuated over the years, rising as high as 107 million bushels in 1969. By 1976 it had dropped to 90 million [c. 4 million tonnes], and in 1989 was only 2 million tonnes. In 1989 Churchill had a 140,020 tonne terminal, in British Columbia there were six with a capacity of 1.1 million tonnes. Other interior terminals were located at Winnipeg, Moose Jaw, and Saskatoon, giving a total capacity in 1989 of 3.65 million tonnes -- only 55% of which was at the Lakehead (ILLUSTRATIONS FOUR AND FIVE).

#### ILLUSTRATION FOUR

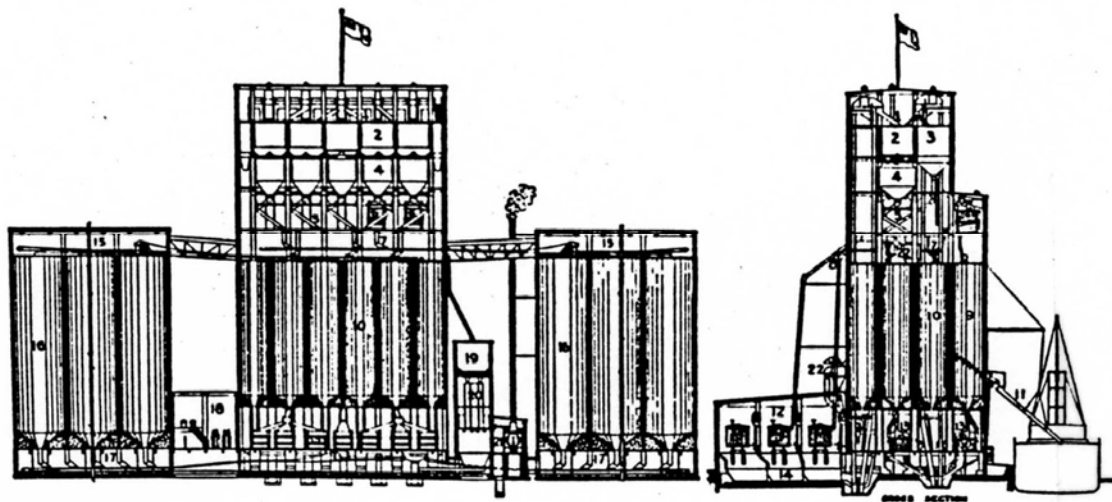
#### PHOTO OF UGG TERMINAL ELEVATOR, 1927



**United Grain Growers' new Terminal Elevator at Port Arthur, Ont., built 1927. The capacity of this elevator is 5,500,000 bushels. Its receiving capacity is 200 cars of grain per day, and its loading-out capacity 80,000 bushels per hour.**

Source: UGG Ltd., Twenty One Years. A farmers' Company Comes of Age (Winnipeg: UGG) 1927? ILLUSTRATION FIVE  
PLAN OF TYPICAL TERMINAL ELEVATOR

Source: MacGibbon, 1932:119.



Courtesy C. D. Howe & Co., Port Arthur, Ont.

- |   |                                  |                     |
|---|----------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1—Discharge spouts from elevator legs     | 9—Shipping bin                   | 17—Storage basement |
| 2—2500 bushel scale garner                | 10—Workhouse bin                 | 18—Substation       |
| 3—2500 bushel cleaner garner              | 11—Boat loading spout            | 19—Drier garner     |
| 4—2500 bushel hopper scale                | 12—Car unloading shed            | 20—Drier            |
| 5—Mayo and telescopic distributing spouts | 13—Receiving separators          | 21—Boiler house     |
| 6—Screenings separator                    | 14—2500 bushel receiving hoppers | 22—Dust Collectors  |
| 7—Loading spouts to storage belts         | 15—Storage cupola                |                     |
| 8—Car loading spouts                      | 16—Storage bins                  |                     |

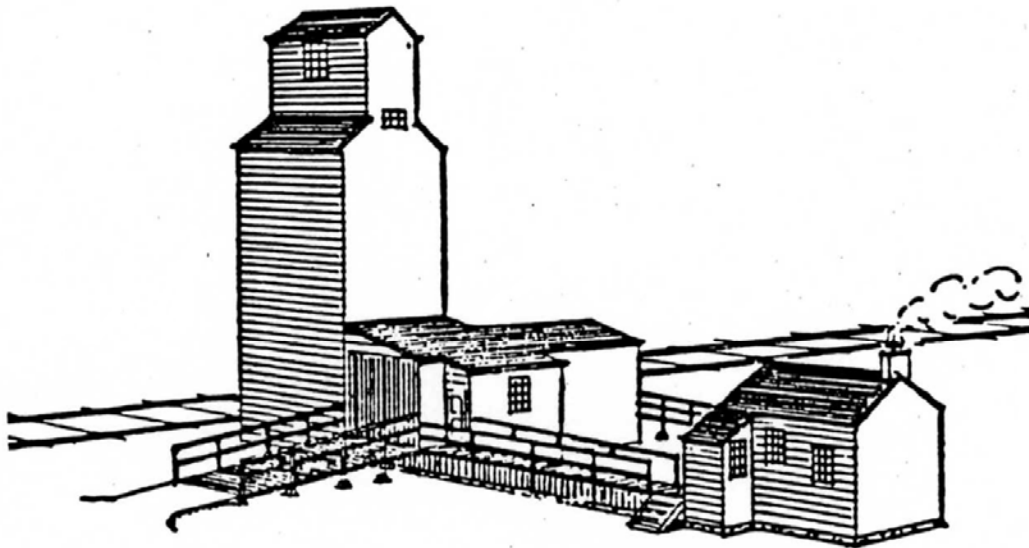
TYPICAL TERMINAL ELEVATOR, PORT ARTHUR AND FORT WILLIAM, ONTARIO

## B) THE FLAT WAREHOUSE, THE ELEVATOR, AND THE LOADING PLATFORM

As with so many features of Canadian cultural landscapes, the grain elevator originated in the United States. The first elevator, a terminal elevator, was built in Buffalo in 1841, but it was not the endless cup conveyor known as a "leg" (which is basically a rubber belt equipped with cups or buckets about 12 inches apart) was invented, "that the country elevator as it is now known came into existence."<sup>38</sup> It was designed for the efficient and economical handling of grain rather than with a view to architectural beauty, but regardless has become the architectural symbol of the prairies. Traditionally the cost of construction has been kept as low as possible. Consequently Canadian country elevators have been built of wood, and although this is no longer uniformly the case, the majority on the prairies are still of wooden construction, although the elevators have usually been constructed with galvanized iron plates on the outside. This covering served to keep out water and diminished the risk of fire.

ILLUSTRATION SIX  
SKETCH OF TYPICAL COUNTRY ELEVATOR

Source: MacGibbon, 1932: 88



*Courtesy of  
 Harper Construction Co. Ltd., Winnipeg, Man.*  
**TYPICAL COUNTRY ELEVATOR**

The technique of putting grain through a country elevator is simple and has changed little over time.<sup>39</sup> The farmer drives onto a dump scale where the load is analysed and ticketed. The grain is dumped into a hopper in a pan in the foundation below the scale (which also contains the foot of the elevating leg), and then is carried by power to the top of the cupola of the elevator where it is spouted into a bin (ILLUSTRATIONS SIX AND SEVEN). As Dondlinger indicates, the chief functions for the elevator "are storage; cleaning, drying and gathering wheat; and the vertical and horizontal transportation incident to these processes and to the processes of loading and unloading from wagons, cars and ships", but the great advantages of the elevator were its cheapness (in terms of use) and its convenience.<sup>40</sup>

ILLUSTRATION SEVEN

PLAN OF TYPICAL COUNTRY ELEVATOR

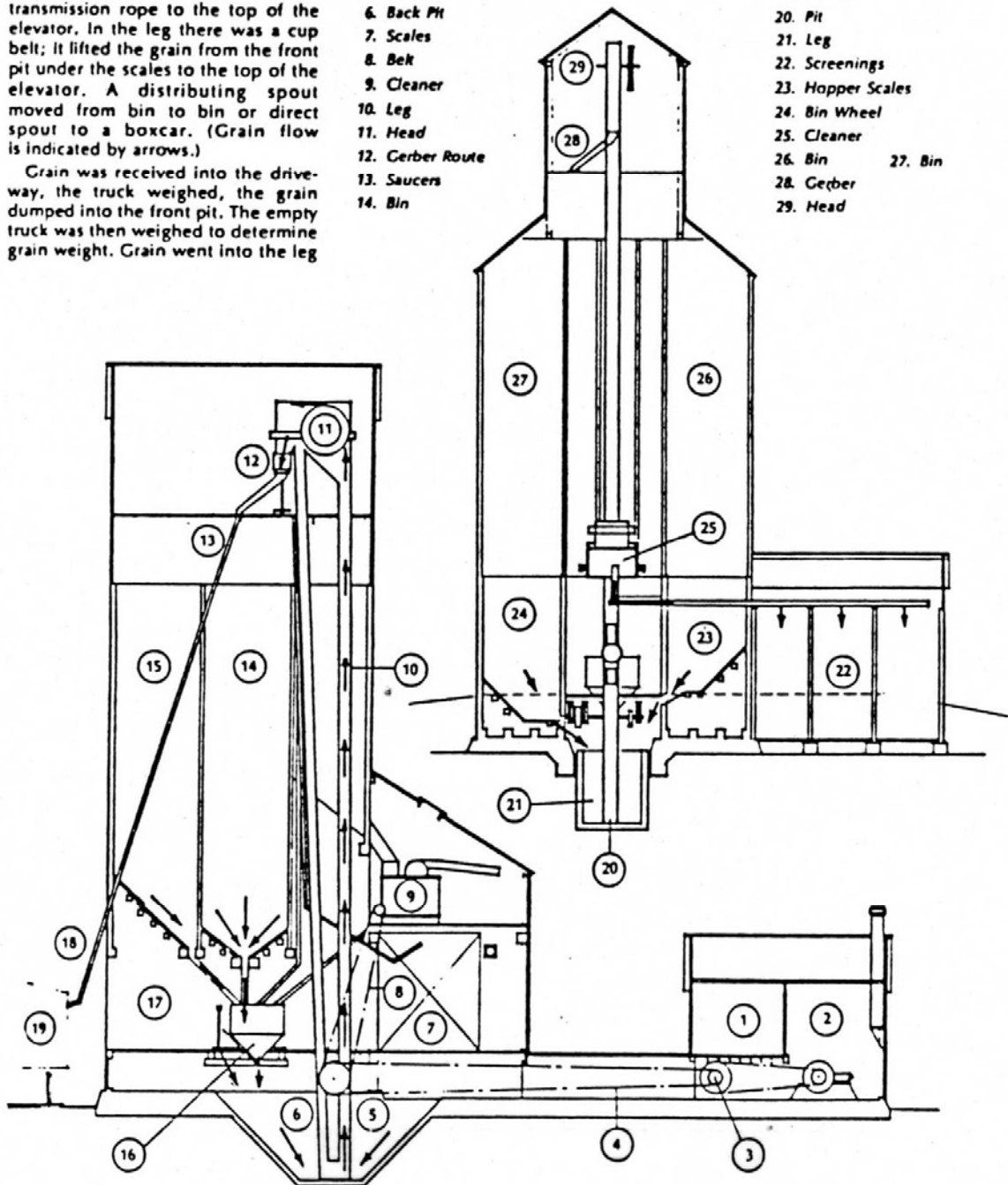
Source: UGG News

The scale model of a 1935 elevator with 30,000-bushel capacity shows that power was a Model Z Fairbank one-cylinder engine located under the office. It runs a long drive belt to a pulley on a shaft; it, in turn, runs a transmission rope to the top of the elevator. In the leg there was a cup belt; it lifted the grain from the front pit under the scales to the top of the elevator. A distributing spout moved from bin to bin or direct spout to a boxcar. (Grain flow is indicated by arrows.)

Grain was received into the driveway, the truck weighed, the grain dumped into the front pit. The empty truck was then weighed to determine grain weight. Grain went into the leg

- 1. Office
- 2. Z Fairbanks
- 3. Clutch
- 4. Belt
- 5. Front Pit
- 6. Back Pit
- 7. Scales
- 8. Bek
- 9. Cleaner
- 10. Leg
- 11. Head
- 12. Gerber Route
- 13. Saucers
- 14. Bin

- 15. Bin
- 16. Hopper Scale
- 17. Bin
- 18. Loading Spout
- 19. Boxcar
- 20. Pit
- 21. Leg
- 22. Screenings
- 23. Hopper Scales
- 24. Bin Wheel
- 25. Cleaner
- 26. Bin
- 27. Bin
- 28. Gerber
- 29. Head



Although grain handling without bagging was well known in the United States before the opening of the Canadian west, the use of bags survived on the prairies for another two decades, often combined with an intermediate stage, the flat warehouse. These were usually one-storey, gable-roofed, wood-framed structures built by small, often local, grain dealers -- such as the one in **Brookdale** (ILLUSTRATION EIGHT).<sup>41</sup> Farmers brought their wheat to these warehouses in bags, or in loose form, for sale and shipment to Winnipeg. Although these warehouses were not all the same in terms of their mode of operation, a description by Buller seems characteristic.

The flat warehouse was divided into two by a passageway running across the middle from front to rear, and each end was sub-divided into bins. The bottom of the bins was on a level with the ground. The machinery consisted of a scale in a passageway, a trolley for pulling the sacks, and a small four-wheeled cart for handling the wheat in bulk. The cart was propelled by hand along a light rail which ran through the passageway to the railway track. When a dealer wished to ship his grain away, he pulled or pushed it to a railway car in his grain cart.<sup>42</sup>

It usually took a whole day to fill a car from a warehouse.

**ILLUSTRATION EIGHT**  
**BROOKDALE FLAT WAREHOUSE**

Source: Everitt

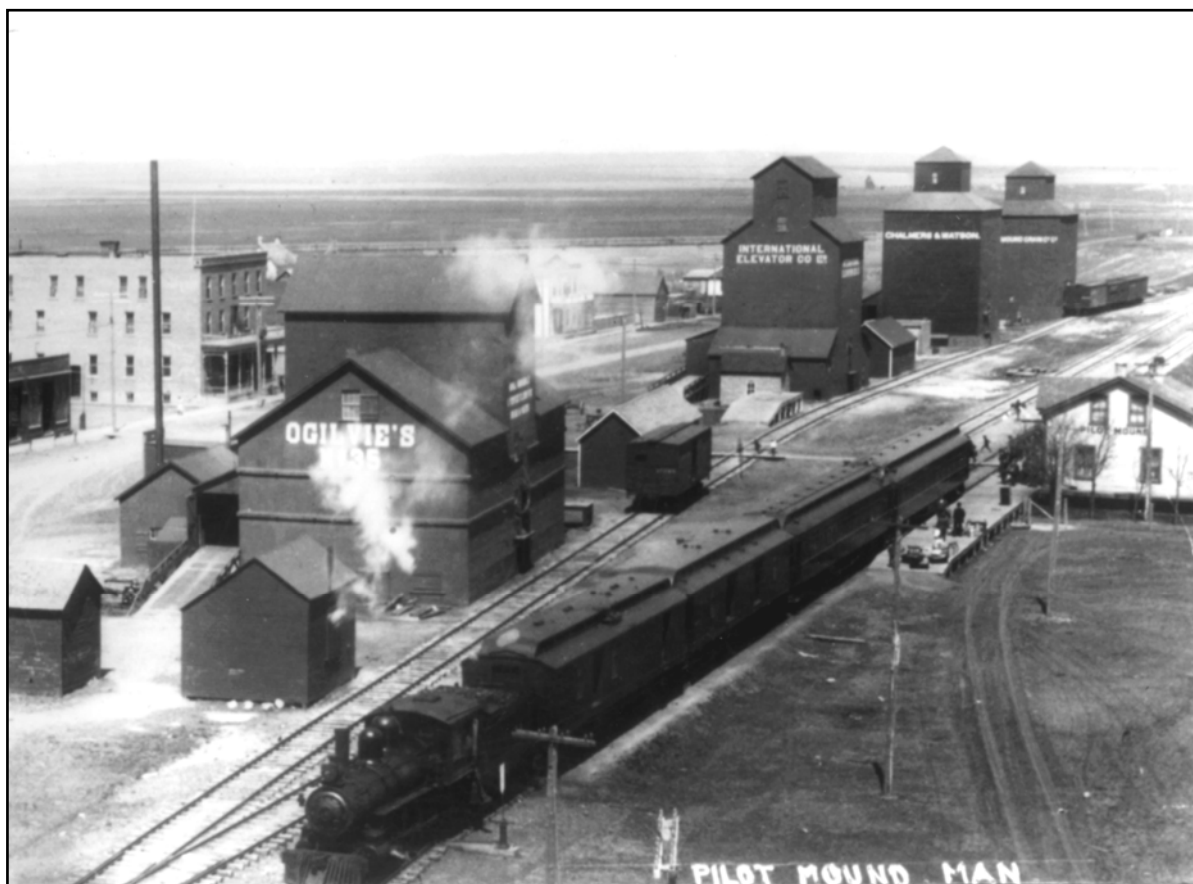




After considerable early use the flat warehouse had proven unpopular in the United States, and although initially exploited successfully north of the border, it was also soon rejected by the leaders of the Canadian grain trade because these buildings were labour intensive and relatively inefficient. This was because the essential element in the flat warehouse story was a negative one -- the structure was a flat building and not an elevator -- and consequently they eventually were discarded.

ILLUSTRATION NINE  
ELEVATORS AT PILOT MOUND, 1900

Source: PAC



The elevator system, however (also) "copied from the United States" appeared very early in the history of the grain trade in western Canada,<sup>43</sup> with the first of the 'standard' elevators - which were given preference in shipping by the CPR over warehouses - being built by the W.W. Ogilvie Milling Company at Gretna, Manitoba in 1881. A standard elevator was defined by the CPR as having not less than 25,000 bushels of capacity, and was meant to be equipped with both elevation and cleaning machinery.<sup>44</sup> Although these conditions were not strictly enforced in all areas at all

times, they did lead to a considerable standardization of grain elevators, and thus of the landscape of the prairies. This standardization in appearance (which led to elevators that were essentially the same as their contemporaries in the USA) was reinforced by the fact that many elevators were built by companies such as the Harper construction Company, Pearson and Burleigh, Nilsson Bros.,

**ILLUSTRATION TEN**  
**ELEVATORS AT RATHWELL, 1903**

Source: PAC



and Overgaard Bros., according to more-or-less standard designs.<sup>45</sup> These plans led to only slightly different styles, although some elevator companies achieved some degree of architectural distinction by using their own crews, and others by using a more rigid set of plans. Some of the early elevators were probably converted flat warehouses (see **Pilot Mound** Ogilvie elevator in ILLUSTRATION NINE).<sup>46</sup> But most country elevators were much taller and rectangular in appearance (see **Pilot Mound** International elevator in ILLUSTRATION NINE, and **Rathwell** Farmers' Elevator in ILLUSTRATION TEN) with others presenting a squarer profile (see **Rathwell**

Ogilvie elevator ILLUSTRATION TEN). Some elevators had annex-like features from the beginning, but most apparently did not; cupolas were differently sized or shaped, depending upon the builder, and these might be centred or offset on the tops of the elevators (see **Baldur** elevator in ILLUSTRATION ELEVEN). Elevators also had slightly different interior designs that worked with different degrees of efficiency, sometimes reflecting the (lack of) skills of the architect/builder, and sometimes a result of deliberate planning. For instance, elevators would have different bin plans for special binning, with bins -- a 30,000 bushel elevator had some 16 bins -- ranging from 600 to 3,200 cubic feet.<sup>47</sup>

**ILLUSTRATION ELEVEN**  
**BAGGED GRAIN BEING DELIVERED TO BALDUR ELEVATOR, 1895**

Source: Western Canadian Pictorial Index



However, the overall similarity in appearance also had a functional value, as it meant that repairs could be more easily constructed by local or itinerant labour. In some cases blueprints were probably unnecessary, if experienced builders were available. All these factors helped to increase the speed of construction, but at the same time reduce costs.

#### ILLUSTRATION TWELVE

#### ELKHORN POOL c. ELEVATOR, 1967

Source: PAM



Thus the overall variations in architecture appeared relatively trivial to the untrained eye, and probably even the trained eye, although these minor differences would be more clearly revealed in settlements with a line of several structures. Perhaps more interestingly few structural items of early elevator construction give clues to age, at least compared to other building types, and items that could signify age may have been removed or altered.<sup>48</sup> Thus Ogilvie elevators were quite distinctive, as were the similar Lake of the Woods Milling Company elevators (see **Elkhorn** Pool

"C" [once Lake of Woods] in ILLUSTRATION TWELVE, as they "looked" somewhat different from those of competing companies -- despite the fact that they functioned in basically the same fashion. But the date of construction of many individual houses is quite unclear. Similarly elevators constructed by the GGG Co./UGG used standardized blueprints,<sup>49</sup> and the first Canadian

ILLUSTRATION THIRTEEN

LINE OF ELEVATORS, CARBERRY, CIRCA 1900

THREE ELEVATOR SHAPES ARE ILLUSTRATED: MODIFIED WAREHOUSE,  
PYRAMIDAL, STANDARD PLAN

Source: PAM



Elevator Company elevators were built to a standard plan by the Tromanhauser Company of Minneapolis. But architectural design alone could not be counted upon to reveal the elevator's owner, although distinctiveness was often sufficient for the early Paterson elevators purchased from the Northern Elevator Company (see Paterson elevator at **St. Jean** -- ILLUSTRATION THIRTEEN, and Northern elevator at **Pettapiece** -- ILLUSTRATION FOURTEEN or from the

Young Grain Co. (see Paterson elevator [once Young Grain] at **Lena** -- ILLUSTRATION FIFTEEN) to be distinguished from those constructed by the Paterson company itself.<sup>50</sup>

**ILLUSTRATION FOURTEEN**  
**NORTHERN ELEVATOR, PETTTAPIECE**

Source: PAM



The dimensions of an elevator with a capacity of 35,000 bushels were given in a 1932 description as being,

30 by 31 feet. The walls to the eaves are 50 feet high. The rise of the eaves accounts for another four feet of elevation and the top of the cupola is 18 feet high. Allowing for the foundation the total height is approximately 74 feet

The walls were "cribbed", that is built of "two-by-four" or "two-by-six" deals, spiked together one on top of the other, with the ends overlapping and dovetailing together.<sup>51</sup>

The main foundations of the elevator are formed of two massive slabs of cement. These are 20 inches thick and are each 30 feet long and 10 feet wide. Between these two slabs down the centre there is an 11-foot interval. This space is

excavated to provide for the pan which contains the lower parts of the dump scale, the foot of the elevating leg and the lower parts of the hopper scale. This pan is from six to eight feet deep and the inner sides of the cement slabs extend down to this depth to form its walls. The walls of the elevator and of the bins are built of "crib," consisting of two by four inch deals laid on the flat, one on top of the other with the ends overlapping and dovetailing together.

The receiving shed adjoins the elevator proper and contains the dump scales. Nearby, a small building houses the power plant and the office. This is usually connected with the receiving shed by a platform which covers the transmitting power shaft. The hopper scales for outward shipments or for weighing up the elevator are located in the centre of the ground or work floor of the elevator. The power is transmitted into the pan and is applied there to the elevating leg. The bin plan ordinarily provides for a row of bins rectangular in shape along each side of the elevator, which go down the whole depth of the house and rest upon the concrete foundation. These are of different dimensions. There are also several bins placed in the centre over the work floor. The bins range in capacity from 600 to 3,200 cubic feet.<sup>52</sup>

ILLUSTRATION FIFTEEN  
PATERSON ELEVATOR, LENA, 1962  
BUILT FOR YOUNG GRAIN CO., EARLY 1900s

Source: PAM



Changes did, of course, take place in elevator design over the years. Originally the engine house/power plant and office were commonly (but not always) separated from the elevator (see Export elevator at **Swan River** -- ILLUSTRATION SIXTEEN), presumably to reduce the risk of fire when steam or gasoline provided the motive power (and when steam engines on trains were the norm), but eventually the buildings were integrated as single units. There were also differences in size; although most elevators were about 30,000 bushels in capacity, there was a considerable range around this average, and country elevators of up to 50,000 bushel capacity were built by the early 1880s. The size was based partly upon the territory tributary to the shipping point, partly upon the degree of competition from other elevators that had to be faced, and partly upon the economics of operation. An elevator with a capacity of over 40,000 bushels required more than one man to operate it efficiently during busy times. Unless the heavy autumn flow of grain was of sufficient duration to keep two men employed throughout most of the season, the smaller elevator gave better returns on investment.<sup>53</sup> By 1902 McCulloch and Herriott owned a 75,000 bushel elevator in Souris and the Treherne Farmers' Elevator Company had a 70,000 bushel structure. At the same time, however, Ogilvie Milling had 13,000 bushel elevators at Lauder, Melita and other locations, and the Northern Elevator Co. had 5,000 bushels "houses" at Varcoe and Pettapiece. (It is possible that these smaller structures were converted flat warehouses that had been equipped with elevating equipment as part of a transitional state before standard elevator construction. The **Pettapiece** "Northern" structure was later demolished and a standard elevator constructed in its place, see ILLUSTRATION FOURTEEN.)

American railway companies introduced standardization at about this same time. It is unclear as to whether independent invention or diffusion was the dominant process in this case.<sup>54</sup> Although many elevators did not strictly adhere to these so-called standards, the terminology became common as a way of describing most structures. The first elevator of any description, a circular one powered by two horses, was built at Niverville, Manitoba. It too was apparently owned by the Ogilvie Milling Company for most of its life, although it was probably built privately. It was made from specially treated wood that was shipped up the Red River from the United States.<sup>55</sup> The company bearing the Ogilvie name has changed its official title several times.



## ILLUSTRATION SIXTEEN

EXPORT ELEVATOR COMPANY, SWAN RIVER, 1903

Source: Western Canadian Pictorial Index

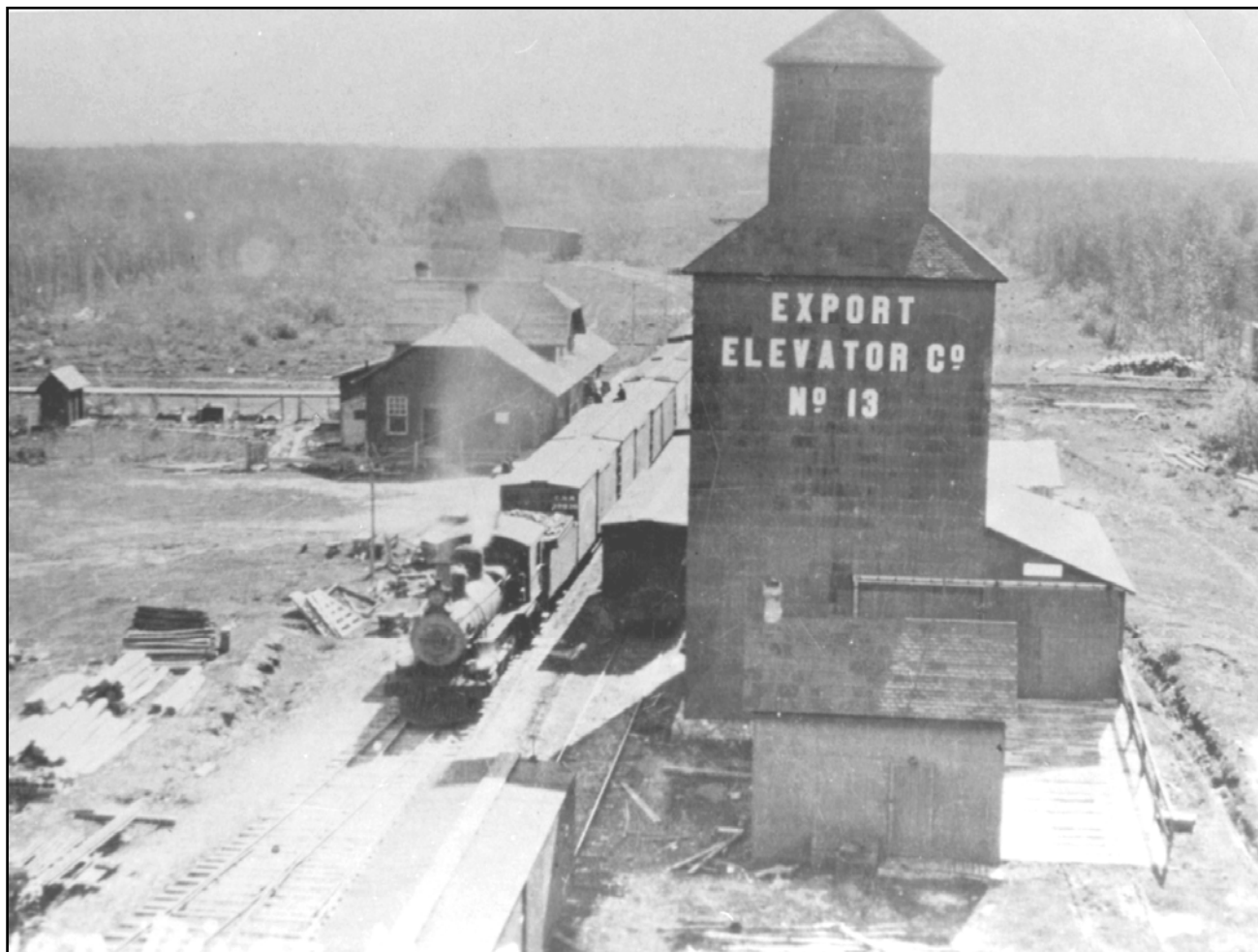
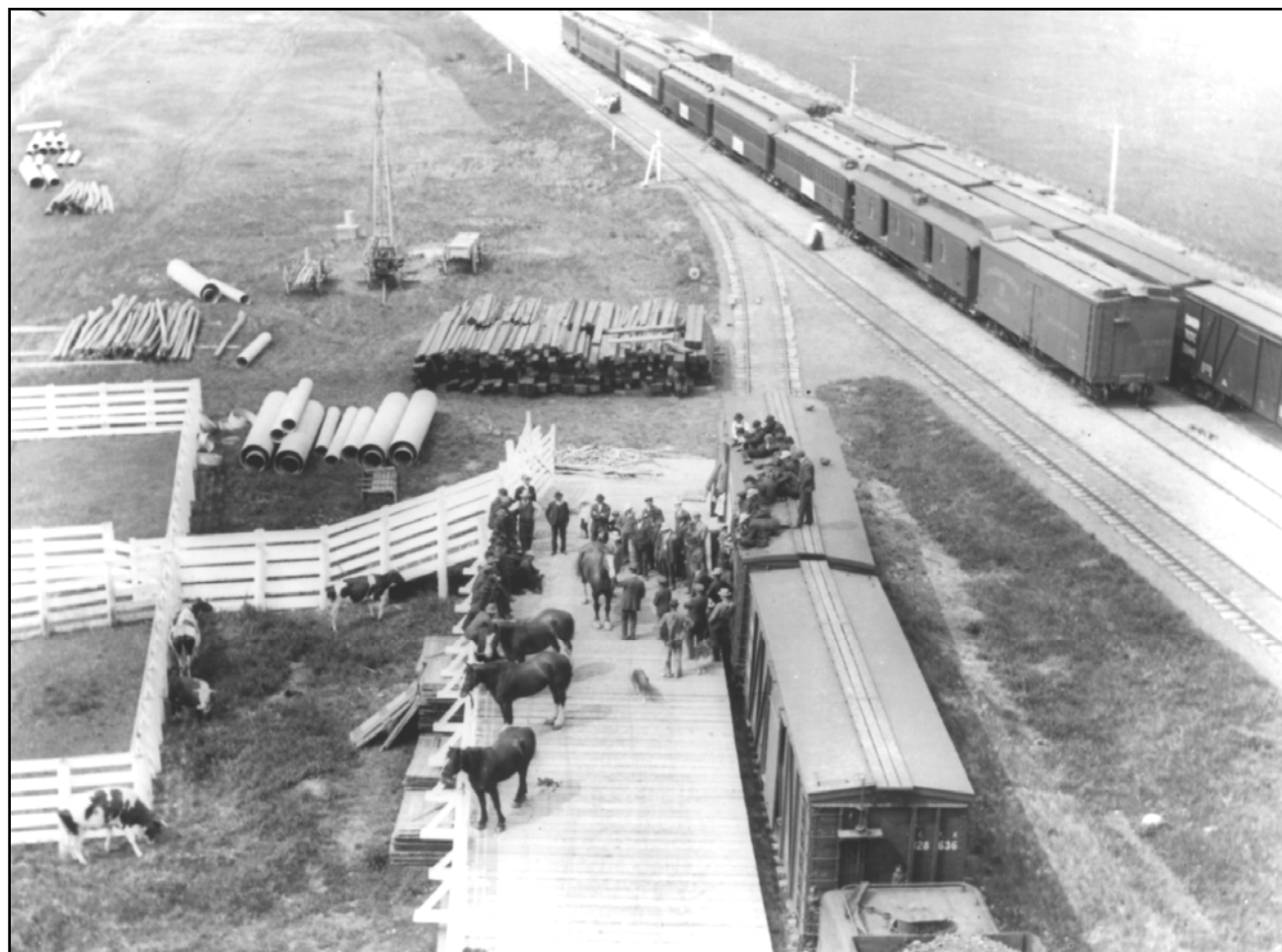


ILLUSTRATION SEVENTEEN  
LOADING PLATFORM, LAUDER, 1912

Source: PAC



In addition to flat warehouses, and farmer-owned or cooperative elevators, which are discussed in detail later in this report, the loading platform was also used by many farmers to circumvent the charges and restrictions of the line elevator companies (see **Lauder** loading platform -- ILLUSTRATION SEVENTEEN). The loading platform was a wood-sided earth-filled platform that enabled a farmer to drive his cart to box car grade. They were also used for loading and unloading cattle and equipment. Several of these remain around the Province, for instance at **Ethelbert** (see ILLUSTRATION EIGHTEEN) and **Souris** although they are now used for other loading purposes. The farmer then shovelled the grain into the car (a back-breaking task!!) and

avoided many of the costs normally associated with shipping. The 1900 Manitoba Grain Act made it compulsory for railways to supply loading platforms at sites requested by the producers, and make "producer" cars available to farmers for loading at these platforms. Often, however, (and despite other provisions of the Act) it was difficult to obtain a car, and it was hard to fill the car in the restricted time allowed, and thus this system was not popular with all farmers -- unless they were particularly anti-elevator by philosophy, or lived a long distance from the closest structure. The railway companies disliked them as they were felt to be inefficient users of cars, and the elevator owners also naturally viewed them with disfavour. However, at times a considerable amount of grain was shipped by this method (particularly from Manitoba) -- up to 30 per cent of the total in 1914, for instance, before the UGG and the Pools gave a satisfactory alternative to line elevator company operations.<sup>56</sup> This method of shipment persisted for many years, being improved upon by the new technology of the grain augur more recently.<sup>57</sup> The (by then) obsolete provision for loading platforms was dropped in the 1970 Canada Grain Act, although the producer's right to load a rail car directly was preserved.

**ILLUSTRATION EIGHTEEN**  
**LOADING PLATFORM, ETHELBERT, 1984**

Source: Everitt



## DEVELOPMENT OF GRAIN COMPANIES

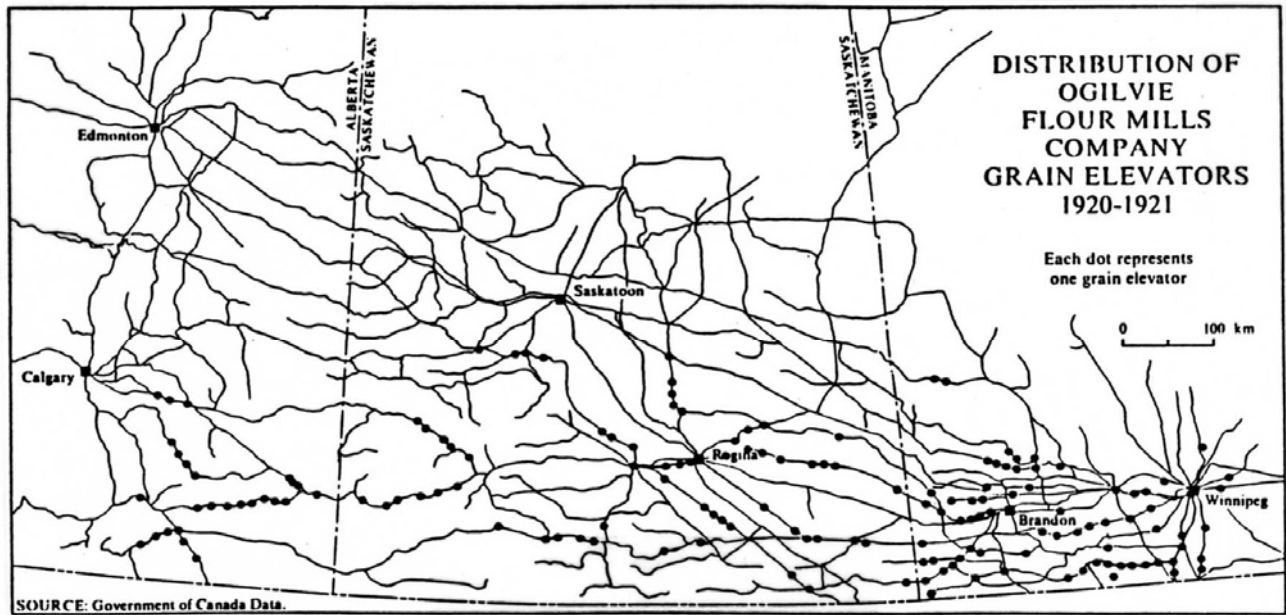
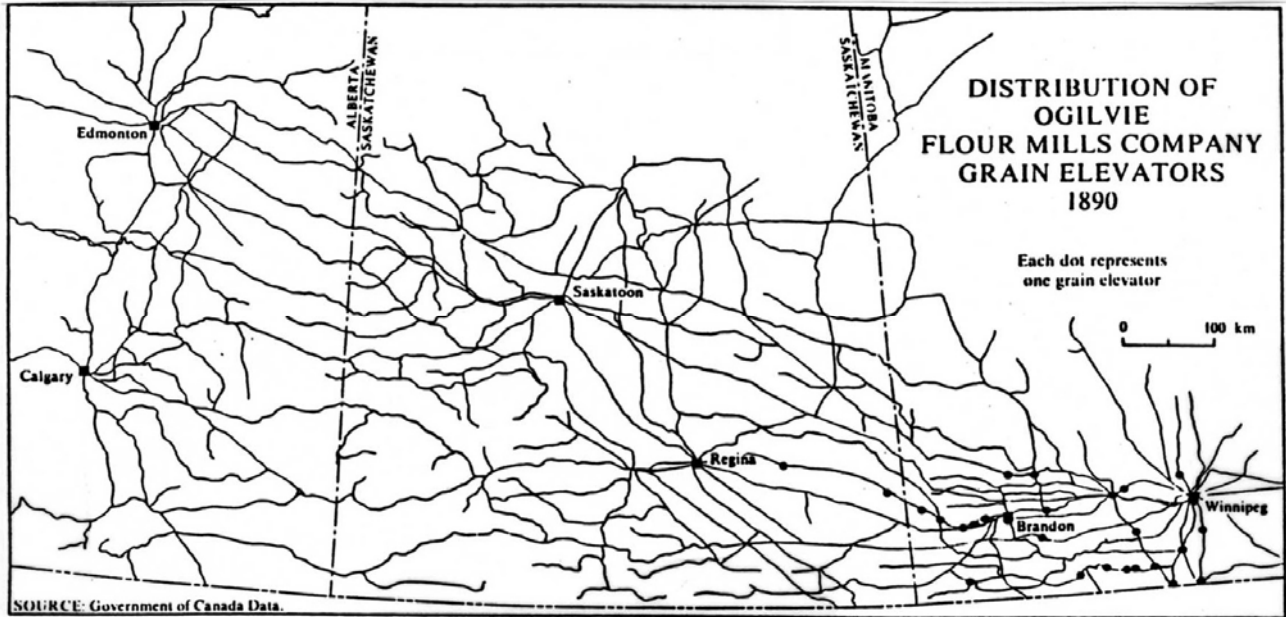
Because of problems of capitalization, the CPR "farmed out" the elevator business, although it "retained in its own hands almost all other services subsidiary to railroading."<sup>58</sup> The CPR, and later the Northern Pacific and Manitoba (NP&M), Great Northern (GN), Canadian Northern (Cnor), and Grand Trunk Pacific (GTP) systems, gave incentives for construction of "lines" of standard elevators, so country elevators began to spread across the prairies.<sup>59</sup> Groups of elevators under common ownership came to be known as 'line elevators' because they were commonly located along a single 'line' of railway, with the companies owning them being called 'line elevator companies'.<sup>60</sup> This terminology was never applied to farmer-owned, or cooperative elevators, although it has been used to describe the elevators owned by the major flour millers such as the Ogilvie Milling Company and the Lake of the Woods Milling Company which used 'lines' of elevators to obtain choice grain for their flour production. The line-type of elevator had been dominant in the United States since the mid-1870s. The corporate intertwining of railroad and elevator companies had a major landscape impact both in the countryside and in the small towns,<sup>61</sup> but the development did not take place uniformly. A number of distinct stages can be distinguished, and these affected Manitoba in quite different ways.

### a) CANADIAN ENTERPRISES DOMINATE

In the initial stages of development there were many grain trade entrepreneurs who built one or a few elevators and/or flat warehouses along the lines of the CPR (ILLUSTRATION NINETEEN).<sup>62</sup> Although the flat warehouses were mostly owned by small-scale operators, the majority of whom have been lost to history, they also provided a cheap entry level structure for dealers who became very important in the grain trade, and were often constructed at new stations to "test the waters" of the region, to make an immediate entry into the area, or because capital and/or equipment were not available for elevator construction (APPENDICES ONE AND TWO). For instance, in 1884, Nicholas Bawlf owned only a warehouse, and D.H. McMillan owned more warehouses than elevators (APPENDIX THREE). In 1890, Bawlf owned seven warehouses, leasing his first elevator in 1891, and subsequently buying it in 1892. It may have been the only elevator he owned prior to his 1893 organization of the Northern Elevator Company.

ILLUSTRATION NINETEEN  
DISTRIBUTION OF OGILVIE ELEVATORS, 1890 AND 1920-21

Ogilvie Mills' Line of Elevators grew from its Manitoba base across the southern Prairies, to peak in the early 1920s.

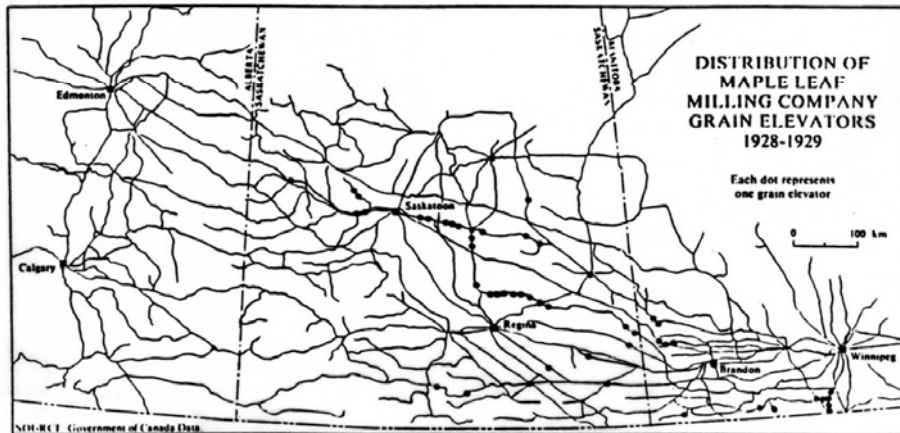
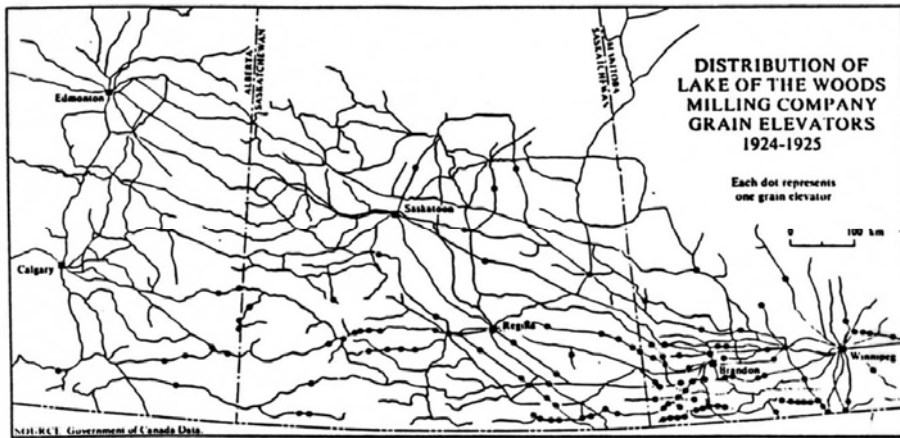
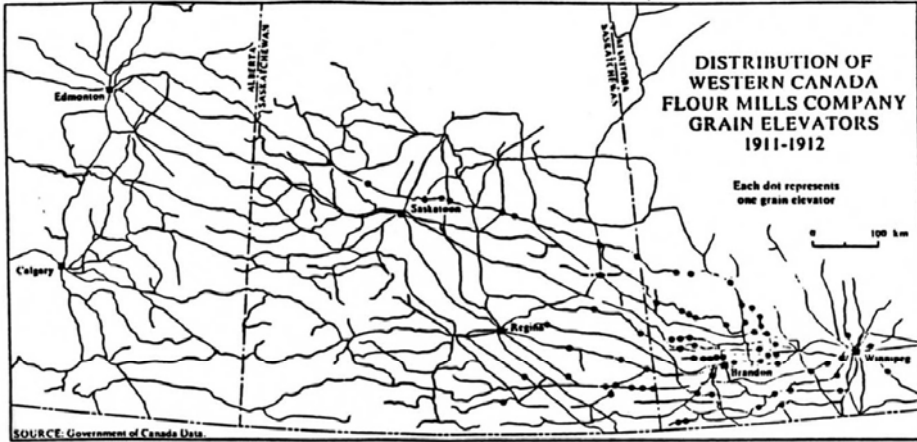


In the early years of grain trade development, the average elevator/warehouse owner had fewer than two structures, and only three had more than this number. Some were headquartered in Montreal, some in Winnipeg, and some in small rural settlements, but at this time they were apparently uniformly Canadian.<sup>63</sup> By 1884, the first records indicate that there were 28 owners of 39 "country (flat) warehouses", and 13 owners of 27 "country elevators", with three operators appearing in both lists.<sup>64</sup> The W.W. Ogilvie Milling Company, however, dominated, due to its greater capitalization and as a result of an agreement with the CPR that gave the company privileges denied to others.<sup>65</sup> By 1884, Ogilvie Milling owned over 29 percent of the structures, and had 38 percent of the storage capacity;<sup>66</sup> perhaps not the "monopoly position" ascribed to this company by many dissident farmers, but still holding a significant share of the market.<sup>67</sup>

The distribution of the grain storage capacity, not surprisingly, was dominantly Manitoban, with all but eight out of the twenty-seven of the stations being in this province, which points had sixty of the sixty-eight (88%) storage structures (57% warehouses and 43% elevators) and 90% of storage capacity. Little change was to be found in this overall pattern in 1890, when the CPR had been joined by the Manitoba and Northwestern Railway (M&NW)<sup>68</sup> and the Northern Pacific and Manitoba Railway,<sup>69</sup> as only the CP mainline extended into the Northwest Territories.<sup>70</sup> In this year, 87% of the structures and 94% of storage capacity were still in Manitoba.<sup>71</sup> The importance of the Ogilvie Milling Company continued, albeit at a lower level, with this enterprise still owning 13% of the storage structures (19% of capacity), and remaining as the largest elevator owner. In addition, the fact that up to 1889, "Mr. Ogilvie (had) purchased more than half of all the wheat grown in Manitoba and the North-West Territories" continued to give some credence to the claims of the farmers that a monopoly position existed.<sup>72</sup> The Ogilvie affiliation with the CPR also endured, even after the competing lines were completed, this company having 93% of its buildings on this railroad's lines in 1890. In 1900 all of the Ogilvie elevators were on CPR lines, or on lines of companies that were soon to be absorbed by it.<sup>73</sup> Even in 1911, when the majority of its elevators had been constructed, over 86% were still on the CPR (ILLUSTRATION NINETEEN).<sup>74</sup>

**ILLUSTRATED TWENTY**  
**WESTERN CANADA FLOUR MILLS (1911-12), LAKE OF THE WOODS (1924-25), AND**  
**MAPLE LEAF (1928-29) GRAIN ELEVATORS**

A number of major flour millers developed elevator lines to supply Their mills. Western Canada Flour Mills were dominant on Canadian Northern Railway lines, and Lake of the Woods and Maple Leaf on the CPR. All three had a presence in Manitoba. WCFM elevators were eventually sold to the Pool, Maple Leaf to Federal Grain, and Lake of the Woods to Ogilvie Milling.



By 1890, however, other major companies had begun to share in the elevator business, including the Lake of the Woods Milling Company [LofW] (with George Stephen and Sir William Van Horne, of CPR fame, among the original subscribers to its share capital), which was founded in 1887 (ILLUSTRATION TWENTY). Although having only 2.4% of the structures and 3% of capacity, it was the third largest elevator owner by 1890. It was destined to grow rapidly, and was also concentrated (100%) on the CPR lines.<sup>75</sup> Faced with these developments, the smaller operators soon realized that they could not compete independently with the large milling companies, and also "that elevator operation usually proved profitable only when the management undertook not only the handling but also the merchandising of grain."<sup>76</sup> This usually meant that a large scale of operation was necessary, that the smaller companies had to amalgamate into syndicates in order to survive, and that operators of one or a few elevators were at a serious disadvantage. The options thus appeared to be to grow or to die, and as a result, a number of businessmen began to take actions that would soon lead them to assume a critical and long-lasting position in the industry.

Thus changes were occurring as the grain trade "naturally" developed, but these developments were accelerated by the solicitations of the CPR for more rapid elevator construction.<sup>77</sup> The first major example of an amalgamation, and one which was spurred on by the CPR's actions, was the Northern Elevator Company, organized by Nicholas Bawlf in 1893.<sup>78</sup> Bawlf had gone into the grain business immediately after coming to Winnipeg from Ontario, owning one of the 1884 warehouses on the CPR. Even though by 1890 he only owned seven warehouses (and no elevators), he was clearly gaining the respect of his peers, and he was to become one of the key players in the grain trade.<sup>79</sup> The Northern Elevator Company was made up of most of the important private companies of the time,<sup>80</sup> and left only one company owning more than five storage structures.<sup>81</sup> It soon developed and grew, and built on the older rail lines as well as the new branches. Although initially most dominant along the Northern Pacific and Manitoba, by 1900 over 71% of the Northern structures were along the CPR and its subsidiaries, with only 22% being on the NP&M.

The Northern Elevator Company was followed by the short-lived Manitoba Grain Company (1897-1898), the Dominion Elevator Company (1897), and Bready, Love, and Tryon (1898) [which became the Winnipeg Elevator Company in 1899], before the turn of the century.<sup>82</sup> In 1900, these three major line companies along with the two major flour-milling concerns owned nearly 60% of the grain storage facilities and 61% of capacity, and the ownership of Manitoban country elevators came to be dominated, as it had south of the border, by 'line elevator' companies. As some other



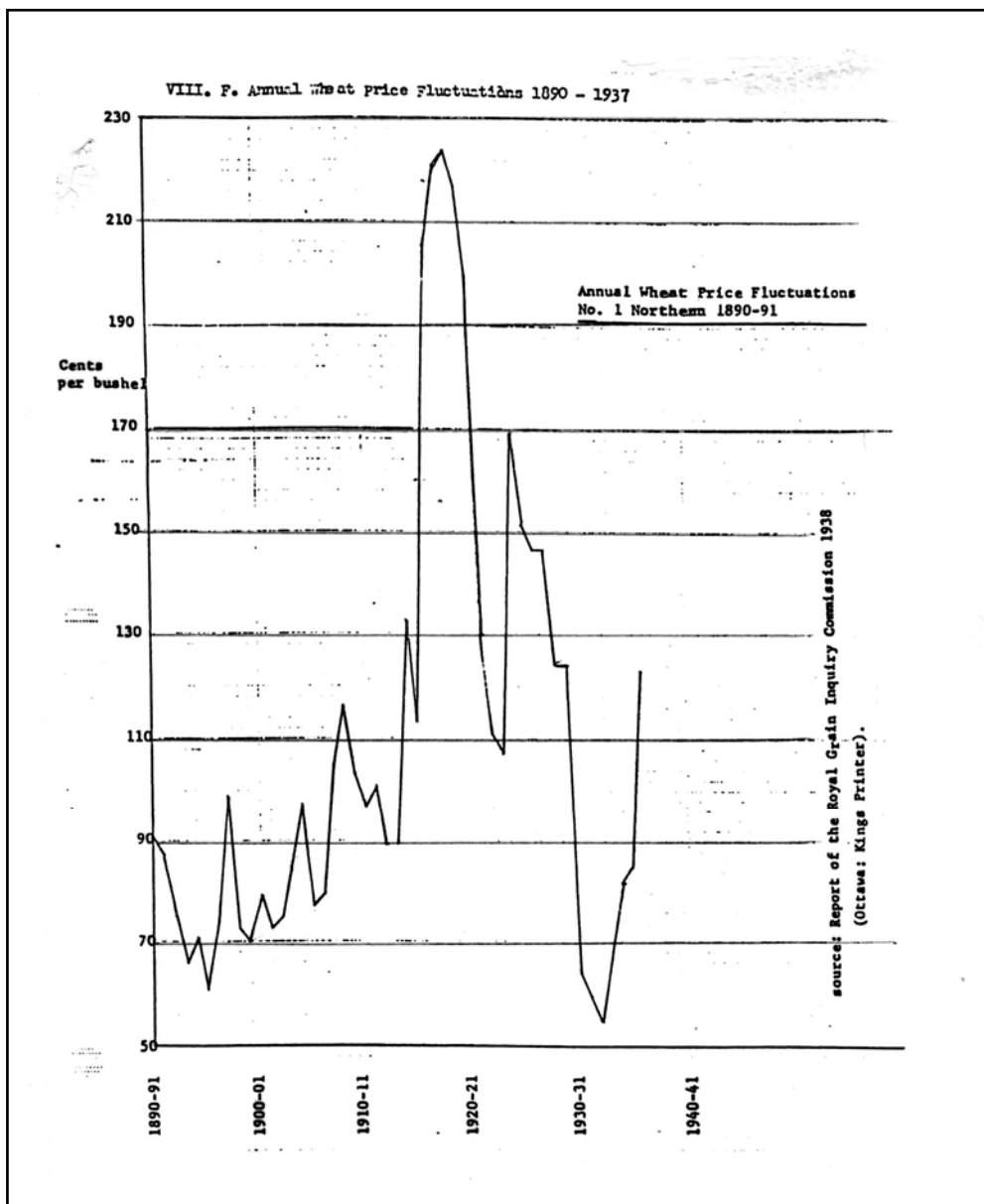
companies, such as Baker and Reid, W.L. Parrish, C.A. Young, and Young Brothers, were also assuming an important stance in the industry, and were to become more significant in future years, and as the next largest elevator owner possessed only six structures, the farmers' fear of monopolistic competition was perhaps even more real by this date.

Still, reflecting the settlement patterns of the time, most of the elevators and warehouses of 1900 were located in Manitoba, and most of the owners still appear to have been Canadian.<sup>83</sup> Significantly, however, the proportion of the grain storage structures that were located in Manitoba had dropped from 87% in 1890 to 80% in 1900 (78% of which were now elevators), with Saskatchewan having 17% and Alberta 3%. Notably also, although big corporate entities were dominating the trade, the farmers were beginning to organize resistance. In 1884 there had been two "Farmers" elevators, and in 1890 only one. But by 1900 there were 26 elevators and two warehouses that were producer-owned. This constituted only five percent of the storage buildings, but it was a number that was due to grow.<sup>84</sup> The turn of the century in a number of ways marked another milestone in the grain trade. The farmers' influence was about to increase, but so was that of non-Canadian owners. Although Winnipeg would continue to be the centre of the grain trade, Manitoba was losing its pre-eminence in terms of grain elevators, and in terms of railways (APPENDIX FIVE). Although "King Wheat" would continue to make its mark on the province, two other provinces were soon to be carved out of the Northwest Territories, and both would soon outstrip Manitoba in a number of noticeable and important ways.

#### b) CANADIAN FARMERS PROTEST, AND THE GOVERNMENT RESPONDS

As the line elevator and milling companies grew, so did the conviction of many farmers that these groups were abusing their power and acting together to reduce true competition, especially when they were operating in concert with the CPR. Although it is difficult to find hard evidence of collusion, a system of agreements appears to have been in operation by the late nineties -- once again reflecting a situation which occurred in the United States.<sup>85</sup> These deals, coupled with widely fluctuating wheat prices (ILLUSTRATION TWENTY-ONE), which were a function of the Prairies' peripheral position in the world economic system, caused distress and anger for many farmers. In time, the strength of the farmers' antipathy increased and in time the Province stepped in to act as referee; eventually the Manitoba Grain Act of 1900 (revised and amended at later dates) set up a series of rules and regulations to govern each stage of the marketing process, particularly with regard to Dockage, Weights, Grades, Prices, Inspection and Special Binning.<sup>86</sup>

ILLUSTRATION TWENTY-ONE  
ANNUAL WHEAT PRICE FLUCTUATIONS, 1890-1937



Dockage refers to the allowance made by the elevator operator to cover the loss in the amount of the farmer's grain that arose from cleaning the grain to standard grade (ridding it of foreign matter, cracked grain, etc.). Dockage was estimated by the elevator manager, and although the amount was agreed upon by the farmer, it was believed that this process was subject to abuse. The amount of dockage estimated might vary if keen competition existed between elevator companies. It was not an exact science.

Grain was weighed when it was delivered to the elevator. The Weight of the grain clearly determined the price received. Some "shrinkage" always occurred due to a loss of grain during the handling process. The elevator agent would weigh the load light to allow for this shrinkage. These deductions were often felt to be unfairly high by the farmers. In time the Board of Grain Commissioners determined the amount of shrinkage allowed for each grade of grain. Farmers also believed that scales were tampered with, or loads were incorrectly weighed, in order to cheat the farmers.

The Grade given to grain determined its price. The elevator agent determined the grade. Wheat might be overgraded if there was competition at a point, but this would mean a loss to the elevator company in the long run. Farmers suspected that undergrading might occur where little competition existed.

The Price of grain varied under different circumstances. A "street" price was the amount obtained by a farmer when he delivered wheat to the elevator. Track prices were those obtainable for grain loaded in cars ready for shipment to the terminals. These carloads could be owned by elevator companies or by individual farmers who loaded their own cars. But farmers could often not obtain a car when they wanted it, or did not have enough grain available to fill it in the relatively short amount of time allowed by the railways. Spot prices were prices for grain in storage at the terminals, and were usually the highest. The billed and inspected price was one made on grain which had passed the inspection point, but had not reached the terminal. The Street price was of most importance to the farmer, and was believed to be often lower than was fair, even allowing for all of the costs that an elevator company incurred in moving the grain to the terminal and/or to market. Farmers who sold by the wagon load were in a particularly weak bargaining position.

When a farmer disagreed with the elevator agent's evaluation of his grain (the graded storage receipt), he could have it specially inspected for grade and dockage, and thus specially priced, on the basis of a sample or samples. This took time, however, as the inspector's office was in (for instance) Winnipeg, and many farmers could not afford this luxury.

Special binning was another method of circumventing problems with the elevator agent (and the graded storage receipt). A farmer's grain in this instance has its identity protected in a special bin, until an official grade is received. Special binning was a feature of some Farmers' Elevator Company elevators, and of the Cooperative companies. It had its drawbacks, however, as a farmer would ideally have to fill the bin in order to make the most efficient use of elevator space. More,

but smaller, bins could help alleviate this problem, but were less efficient. The option of special binning was, however, a form of service competition between elevator companies.<sup>87</sup>

The core of the Manitoba Grain Act was based upon grain laws of Wisconsin, Minnesota and North Dakota where similar problems had been experienced by farmers in earlier times.<sup>88</sup> Indeed, in many instances the same problems had been experienced by farmers throughout the American Middle West.<sup>89</sup> Despite this legislation the farmers suffered because the statute simply caused the elevator firms to "close ranks and combine more effectively for their own protection."<sup>90</sup> They did this by forming, in 1901, an organization called the North-West Elevator Association. This combine of companies "became known as 'the syndicate of syndicates' to grain growers from the banks of the Red River to the outskirts of the Rockies,"<sup>91</sup> and was closely linked to the Winnipeg Grain Exchange (known as the "house with Closed Shutters" by the farmers) which had been incorporated in 1891.<sup>92</sup> This association controlled more than two-thirds of the elevators on the prairies and, the farmers believed, operated as a monopoly to the detriment of producers.<sup>93</sup> Through the Association the line elevator companies were able to collectively lower the price paid to the farmer for his grain, and in addition, when car shortages developed, as they did as early as 1901, the railways gave the elevator companies preference over farmers who wished to load their own cars or ship from flat warehouses. Other "ill practices" allegedly pursued by the line elevator companies included "the taking of heavy dockage, the giving of light weight, misgrading the farmers' grain sold on street or graded into store, failure to provide cleaning apparatus, changing the identity of the farmers' special binned grain, declining to allot space for special binning and refusing to ship grain to owner's order, even when storage charges are tendered."<sup>94</sup>

These problems meant that further government intervention was deemed necessary in later years, but they also led "to the beginnings of effective organization by prairie farmers and ... [to] ... the principal phases in the struggle for farmer-control of the western wheat trade,"<sup>95</sup> which eventually culminated in the formation of the Winnipeg-based Grain Growers' Grain Company (GGG Co.), which formally opened its doors in 1906, and purchased a seat on the Winnipeg Grain Exchange.<sup>96</sup>

The Grain Growers' Grain Company was the first successful attempt at organizing farmers in Canada, although individual farmer-owned elevators had been in existence since at least 1884. There had been two earlier ventures on a national or near national scale, but although both the Grange (introduced from Vermont in 1872), and the Patrons of Industry (crossing from Michigan to Ontario and then to Manitoba in the early 1890s) achieved initial results, they both weakened and

failed.<sup>97</sup> The Grange (a fraternal and educational organization) had spread in Manitoba in the 1870s as a consequence of agricultural depression. Twenty Manitoba lodges were formed including ones at Winnipeg, Headingley and High Bluff, and political protests against Winnipeg merchants' prices were made, although this farmer' organization later ceased to function in the Prairies.<sup>98</sup> The Patrons movement succeeded the Grange in the West, climaxing in 1895 when there were 330 lodges in the West, with a membership of some 5,000. "Political candidacies and quarrels between hot-headed leaders brought about the disintegration of the order in the West about 1898,"<sup>99</sup> although the Patrons "left behind a tradition that made an impression" on the prairie farm population.<sup>100</sup> Consequently, many former Patrons, such as E.A. Partridge, first President of the Grain Growers' Grain Company, continued to be involved in the farmers' movement. Interestingly the prairie-based farmer associations<sup>101</sup> successfully networked with the Dominion Grange of Ontario (still a viable organization) in 1909 to form the Canadian Council of Agriculture.

The Grain Growers movement of the prairies, however, was Canadian born and was to endure.<sup>102</sup> It was formed in 1906, as a philosophical descendent of the movements of the 1890s. Indeed, as mentioned earlier, the founder and first president of the GGG Co., E.A. Partridge, had been an active member of the Patrons of Industry at least as early as 1894 and he continued this interest in the operations of the grain trade in the following decade, acting as a director of the Grain Growers until 1912. Almost from the start this company demanded the government ownership of elevators as the essential element for curing the perceived ills of the grain trade. Basically it was believed that if a monopoly was inevitable, a government monopoly was preferable.<sup>103</sup>

The most complete statement of this set of demands was the "Partridge Plan," conceived by Partridge, which was presented to the 1908 convention of the Manitoba Grain Growers' Association (MGGA), and was endorsed by this body.<sup>104</sup> In this document Partridge detailed the problems with the grain trade that in his mind made government ownership of an elevator system necessary. He also suggested how such a network might be set up, and posited the results of such a system in operation. In the same year, the Interprovincial Council of Grain Growers' and Farmers' Association gave special consideration to the subject and urged the provincial associations to lobby their respective governments. In fact a general endorsement of the Partridge Plan was registered at the three provincial conventions of farmers in 1908. Also in 1908 a conference of the three provincial premiers considered the demands but nothing came of it, because a prairie-wide government monopoly would have been very expensive, would have caused philosophical problems for many people, and might have raised constitutional difficulties.<sup>105</sup>

As a common inter-provincial policy had not proved possible, individual provincial schemes were pursued. In 1910 Saskatchewan appointed an Elevator Commission to study the problem and its recommendation that a "farmer-owned and operated cooperative elevator system, in which the government would provide a major financial assistance" was followed.<sup>106</sup> The Saskatchewan Cooperative Elevator Company Limited was formed in 1911. In Alberta a similar path was followed in 1913 and the Alberta Farmers' Cooperative Elevator Company was set up.<sup>107</sup>

Prior to these more cautious approaches, however, the Conservative Roblin government in Manitoba "launched out by itself upon a scheme of government ownership."<sup>108</sup> It did so, much to the surprise of many, including the Premier of Saskatchewan and many of the members of the Grain Growers themselves.<sup>109</sup> Although the demands were basically the same in all three provinces, the response in Manitoba was unique. A complete monopoly of elevator ownership with "sufficient storage to provide growers at each shipping point with the desired facilities under public operation" was regarded as desirable by the farmers and feasible by the government,<sup>110</sup> although as will be shown, such exclusive control never came about.

The call for the public ownership of services was by no means peculiar to Manitoba, nor to the farmers of this province, but was rather one facet of a movement that was Canada-wide and gaining in strength, and was symbolized by Borden's support of federal ownership of a transcontinental railway in his 1904 election campaign.<sup>111</sup> A willingness to use the state to develop and control the economy was particularly characteristic of the Conservative party. One researcher has suggested that this willingness is a distinguishing feature of Canadian political culture, although the validity of this conclusion has been doubted by others.<sup>112</sup> Certainly, however, the municipal ownership of facilities such as water, hydro-electric power, and telephones could be found in at least Ontario, New Brunswick, and British Columbia. But as of 1905 there had been "little practical progress" toward such goals in Manitoba, other than the Roblin Government's leasing of the Northern Pacific's railway lines in Manitoba, which were immediately subleased to the privately owned Canadian Northern Railway. In addition, there was still considerable opposition in the province to the concept of public ownership.<sup>113</sup>

A breakthrough came, however, with the establishment of the Manitoba Government Telephone system in 1906 which "gave the movement for government elevators its initial impetus."<sup>114</sup> The farmers' cause was also aided by the fact that public ownership of elevators became a significant political issue at a critical and turbulent period in Manitoba politics, and was at different times endorsed by both Liberals and Conservatives.<sup>115</sup> The culmination of the struggle

was the formation in 1910 of the Manitoba Elevator Commission (MEC). This entity was the second government-owned utility in the province, and it was designed to compete with the established line elevators which were in the hands of the private interests. The formation of the MEC can thus be seen as result of a complex political and philosophical process that was affecting many aspects of Canadian life in the early twentieth century - although in this particular instance the decision in favour of public ownership appeared to be based as much on pragmatic as philosophical grounds. The MEC was significant, however, as it provided an initial model for the non-private ownership of grain elevators that was to be of considerable educational value to the other prairie provincial governments as well as to the various farmer-owned organizations that soon came to dominate the Canadian grain trade. The Commission was also important because the MEC system of elevators was soon leased to the Grain Growers' Grain Company.

The Manitoba decision to buy and operate a system of government owned elevators had been precipitated by the demands of the Manitoba Grain Growers Association. In February 1909 they had presented "a monster petition, signed by 10,000 farmers, asking the government to establish a line of elevators to be operated by an independent commission."<sup>116</sup> This initiative had been followed by a meeting between Premier Roblin and the board of directors (of the GGG Co.) later in the same year. It is probably true, however, that the decision had been influenced by the result of a by-election at Birtle, in which a Liberal-Manitoba Grain Growers Association candidate was elected, apparently mainly on the issue of government ownership of elevators.<sup>117</sup> This had been important because a provincial election was expected for 1910.

In any case, G.R. Coldwell, a member of the Roblin cabinet, had announced at a meeting of the Manitoba Grain Growers' Association in late 1909 that the government had decided to establish a line of elevators as a public utility.<sup>118</sup> The Manitoba Elevator Act that became law on March 15, 1910,<sup>119</sup> however, diverged from the farmers' scheme in a number of major points, despite the objections of a deputation from the GGG Co. when the government proposals were first announced. The personnel of the Manitoba Elevator Commission that was set up by the Act was also contentious and thus both the wording of the Act and the composition of the Commission meant that the full support of the farmers was never behind the government scheme. These two problems are worthy of separate discussion.

The objections to the composition of the Commission centred around the appointment and/or dismissal of its members. The Manitoba Grain Growers Association had suggested that members of the Commission should be removable from office only "by a two-thirds vote of the

legislature or by the decision of the provincial Court of Appeal."<sup>120</sup> However, the Act of 1910 established a Commission consisting of three people appointed by the government and "removable from their respective offices by order of the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council," which meant that they were directly responsible to the government, not to the legislature. Thus, in essence the cabinet rather than the legislature was to control the composition of the Commission, in order to be in accordance with what the government believed to be the principle of "ministerial responsibility." The objections of the farmers were not aimed at the quality of the Commissioners. Although the GGG Co. had pushed for the appointment of "two practical grain men and one experienced elevator builder" it is possible that the selected Commissioners were "the three best men that [could] be found for the work." The problem was that the Commission was seen as "entirely subject to the government and, therefore [it could not] be independent."<sup>121</sup>

The Commission was appointed in May 1910. The three Commissioners were sworn in and D.W. McCuaig officially was made Chairman later in the same month. McCuaig was a well known farmer who had a long history of involvement with farmers' causes and organizations. He had been a President of the Patrons of Industry in the 1890s and had served as President of the Manitoba Grain Growers' Association since 1905 following two years as a director of that organization. He was also, however, described by the Manitoba Free Press as a "trusty and pliant friend of the Roblin government."<sup>122</sup> Despite this drawback, appointing McCuaig to the Chairmanship of the Commission was an astute move by the government as it could have had the effect of seeming to place the responsibility for the success or failure of the scheme upon the Grain Growers themselves. The board of directors of the MGGA opposed his appointment because they did not want to be so closely identified with the MEC. They believed that McCuaig could not fulfill both posts, and it should be noted, that in a self-denying ordinance, the board – including McCuaig – had previously voted to exclude themselves from consideration for the positions as Commissioners. They were unsuccessful in preventing McCuaig from accepting the chairmanship of the MEC, but their pressure did convince him to resign as President of the MGGA.<sup>123</sup>

One of the two other Commissioners, Mr. W.C. Graham, was Manager of the Farmers' Mutual Hail Insurance Company, and along with McCuaig was described by the Manitoba Free Press as a keen Conservative politician who had taken "an active part in all recent political contests."<sup>124</sup> He had previously been secretary of the Patrons of Industry and had been prominent in the grain trade in Portage la Prairie. After the collapse of the Patrons he purchased a seat on the Winnipeg Grain and Produce Exchange which he kept for two years before joining the insurance



company. Graham resigned as Commissioner on August 31, 1912 although by this time the involvement of the MEC in the Manitoba grain trade was all but over. Commissioner F.B. MacLennan, the third appointee, had by far the most experience in the grain trade, having been involved in it since 1890, and having been a grain merchant since 1898. Even the Manitoba Free Press, usually no supporter of Roblin government appointees, acknowledged that he was an "expert grain man," and his pay was the highest of the three commissioners - presumably in recognition of this expertise. MacLennan resigned in March 1911 after the "Liberal opposition scored a notable triumph" in the Legislature and had the salaries of the Commissioners cut.<sup>125</sup> McCuaig and Graham received relatively small reductions of sixteen and twenty percent respectively, but MacLennan's pay was cut in half and he resigned forthwith.<sup>126</sup> Both Graham and MacLennan had been on a list of four nominees submitted by the MGGA to the government.<sup>127</sup>

The grain growers' disagreement with the main body of the Act can be seen in three significant points. First, the acquisition and construction of elevators was placed under the Minister of Public Works rather than the Commission. This provision was criticized as tending to involve political considerations in purchase agreements, and the subsequent pattern of acquisition lent some credence to this argument,<sup>128</sup> despite the fact that the Minister of Public Works, Hon. Robert Rogers, "stated publicly that the commission ... would be independent in reality and that the control exercised by the government would be but a necessary formality."<sup>129</sup> Certainly the political order of the time allowed for an army of "provincial bagmen" whose patronage positions were considered by many - including Rogers - to be "the lifeblood of political existence,"<sup>130</sup> and the government purchase of the elevators could help provide work for members of this army. Although Rogers was Minister of Public Works only until 1911 (when he began using his provincial "resources" on behalf of the federal government) his tenure did cover the purchase of the elevator system and his ministerial policies may well have been continued by his successor, another long-term government member, Hon. Colin Campbell. Campbell's successor in 1913, Dr. W.H. Montague, was later implicated in a major scandal which caused the downfall of the Conservative government.<sup>131</sup> It is clear that the scepticism of the farmers towards the Ministry of Public Works was well founded.

A second part of the Act with which the farmers disagreed was the decree that where the Commission and the owner of an elevator were unable to agree on a purchase price the proceedings of the Manitoba Expropriation Act were to be used to determine a valuation. This meant, in effect, that a "judge of the court" was left to appoint the third arbitrator. The GGG Co. believed that this third person would most likely be "some corporation manager or financial man" and thus probably

would be more in favour of the elevator owners' interests.<sup>132</sup> Their fears were apparently borne out because after the first few elevators were acquired by the Commission (using a process of negotiation) the Minister of Public Works tended to go the route of arbitration. Only 15 of the 164 original elevators were purchased as a result of negotiation.<sup>133</sup> The evaluator appointed "to the elevator commission on whose recommendation as to value many elevators were bought" was formerly "with the Ogilvies" and certainly did not appear to decide against the interests of the line elevator companies in his judgements.<sup>134</sup> This purchasing process may have fallen somewhat short of political corruption, but certainly it did not exhibit the lack of bias for which the farmers had hoped.

The farmers' third criticism of the Act was that it "contained a local option provision whereby no purchase, lease, or construction of an elevator would be undertaken by the Commission, unless it had previously received a petition to do so, signed by at least sixty per cent of the growers contributory to such proposed elevator. In the case of elevators to be constructed, a pledge of patronage was also required from the Petitioners."<sup>135</sup> This meant that the committed farmers had to conduct campaigns in each locality - and in some cases the validity of the petitions was questioned and in others the petitions were returned for more names before the Commission accepted them. The government's desire to buy or build only where there was a local demand was, perhaps, understandable, but it was not carried through -- at least if the pattern of subsequent acquisitions is anything to go by. In addition, no penalties were added for failure to live up to the patronage pledge, and thus the farmers' support, even for newly constructed elevators, could not be ensured.

Following their appointment, the Commissioners prepared petition forms and sent these, on request, "to various districts throughout the Province where grain producers had expressed a desire for a Government system of elevators."<sup>136</sup> Between the appointment of the Commission and the beginning of movement of the 1910 crop, requests for petition forms were received from 240 stations - which was 80% of the roughly 300 grain-shipping points in the province. This could be taken as a indication that the farmer demand for government elevators was fairly widespread and the secretary/treasurer of the GGG Company argued that in general the farming community was behind the plan. There were, however, some regions where the scheme was not well liked, apparently "on the ground that government owned elevators would become part of the political machinery."<sup>137</sup> For instance the government inspector in the Hartney area "got rather a cool reception" and noted that Manitoba Government elevators were "not popular at this point."<sup>138</sup>

By January 1911, 200 completed petitions had been submitted, over 83% of the total number of requests and 154 elevators had been purchased (APPENDIX FOUR). The details of the selection process are unclear. They may, however, have been related to the costs of the elevators at different points, and the perceived genuineness of the petition. Each petition was checked by "special agents" in order to make sure that the 60 percent rule was followed and that the petitions had been properly filled out. These agents were also responsible for ascertaining the capacity of the elevator required and selecting sites (where new elevators were requested). Inspectors appointed by the Commission checked "all elevators throughout the Province which were likely to be offered for sale." This latter choice was apparently made as a result of meeting with the line elevator owners. The inspectors gathered a lot of valuable data, although their advice was often ignored.<sup>139</sup>

In the final analysis the elevators purchased were located at only 85 stations (under one third of the provincial total) and this caused a number of problems (APPENDIX FIVE). First it meant that many farmers who asked for a government elevator did not get one, and second it indicated a tremendous amount of duplication with even three, four, and, at one place, five government elevators purchased at a single shipping point.<sup>140</sup> In addition to this poor distribution of elevator purchases, there was also a series of difficulties that arose from the choice of "houses" that were bought by the Commission.<sup>141</sup>

Some of the grain elevators were poorly located, and others were in bad condition as a result of being old and/or inefficient. An instance of a poor location was the elevator at Rea, on the Grand Trunk Pacific (GTP) Line. When it was purchased by the MEC it was quite new (built in 1908) and was described by the inspector in 1910 as "a first class elevator in good condition." But he also pointed out that there do "not appear to be very good roads to this place, directly west the road is not travelled at all on account of a big marsh." Rea (the "R" on the GTP's alphabet line) was not well located with regard to the surrounding farmland and its initial catchment area was soon lost to better located stations on other lines. It was only intermittently operated and the elevator had disappeared from the landscape by 1932.

An example of the purchase of an elevator in poor condition was the North Star elevator at Myrtle. The original MEC inspector was not impressed with the structure, stating that "this elevator is poorly constructed and has been let go to rack. It probably had one coat of paint when built and none since - lumber in the crib is good, otherwise it needs repairing nearly everywhere." Despite this, the elevator, built in 1902, was sold to the MEC at a relatively high price.<sup>142</sup>

There were in fact many cases where the inspectors' reports were all but ignored.<sup>143</sup> For instance, at Crystal City, four elevators were purchased; one was operated during the first year (MEC) and two subsequently (GGG Co.). Here the Northern elevator had a poor foundation and had been described as "bad all through," and the Dow Cereal and Milling Company elevator "would require a lot of work." These two elevators were never used and were dismantled in 1916 (to be reassembled as one unit at Clearwater, the next station down the line).

The problems of the system could be detailed at much greater length but it is perhaps enough to indicate that the GGG Co. only used 135 of the MEC elevators when it took over the system. Indeed, 48 of the elevators in the government system were subsequently demolished by the MEC or GGG Co. (UGG) and there were numerous complaints about those that were used. In many cases extensive renovations were necessary to keep the elevators in operation and many of the structures were eventually sold for a (sometimes heavy) loss.

It would appear that, to say the least, good judgement had not been used in the original purchasing and that the suggestion of political considerations being involved in the purchase of elevators could not be dismissed. McCuaig attempted to justify this pattern of purchase by arguing that "we must own every elevator at every point or the ... system will not succeed and the elevators will not pay." In addition he asserted that a lack of local monopolies would enable the private companies to destroy the government system, and that "in some places" the milling companies had prevented the "government man" from competing by giving "track prices for street wheat."<sup>144</sup> Although the truth of McCuaig's statement was already apparent, so was the fact that the MEC could never own every elevator, and that its sporadic pattern of purchasing was bleeding the Commission of valuable capital without leading to a defensible system of elevators.

The number of elevators in the system continually fluctuated, which has led to a variety of figures being used by different authors to summarize the pattern (APPENDIX SIX). In addition to the "original" 164, two more "used" elevators were purchased (in 1911). Forty petitions were received for the construction of new elevators, and twelve were granted. Ten new elevators were begun in 1910 and two more were built in 1912. Unfortunately for the MEC even this policy was not free of criticism, with George Langley, an MPP for Saskatchewan and a member of the Saskatchewan Elevator Commission, saying after an interview with the Commissioners that he believed that the construction of new elevators was also a result of "political, purely political, necessarily political" processes. He alleged that the lumber for the new elevators was bought through middlemen who were friends of the government and thus "\$200,000 to

\$250,000 (was) deliberately stolen out of the public treasury."<sup>145</sup> No more brand-new elevators were built after 1912 although petitions continued to be received. Elevators were constructed at 29 other stations partly out of new materials and partly out of the dismantled remains of other MEC elevators (APPENDIX SEVEN).

As some were added to the MEC system others were deleted. Elevators were burned, dismantled (the first by at least 1912 - perhaps as early as 1910!), and sold (APPENDIX EIGHT). In total the Commission owned 207 elevators at 112 different stations during its tenure (ILLUSTRATION TWENTY-ONE A). Some, but not all of these elevators were repainted with a government insignia. Thus the "Virden Farmers' Elevator: became the "Manitoba Government Elevator No. 1," but others remained in their original colours until they were purchased from the MEC in later years. However, as late as 1927 when the last of the Commission's elevators sold, the written records continued to refer to these structures as the "Napinka Dominion" or the "Ridgeville Canadian" elevator, with the terminology "Government owned" being reserved for MEC constructed structures. Clearly, after the initial period of ownership, the government elevators were neither operated as, nor regarded as, a separate system.

#### ILLUSTRATION TWENTY-ONE

A MANITOBA GOVERNMENT PUBLIC ELEVATOR, CARDINAL, 1916

Source: T. Talbot



The total capital investment of the first year of operation alone totalled over one million dollars and although this was only half of what had been budgeted by the Roblin government, the allegations that the money was poorly spent told against the Commission almost immediately. Despite early criticism, however, the Commission argued that the system had been "well patronized" considering its late start in the season, and that its operation "was very satisfactory." The Commissioners believed that the elevator system was "destined to inspire absolute confidence and retain the patronage of the grain producers of the Province." It was consequently deemed a "a success."<sup>146</sup> Unfortunately for the MEC neither the facts nor subsequent historical analyses have agreed with their boosterish statements.

It was almost inevitable that the elevators would be overpriced in this sellers' market but the purchasing methods employed made the situation worse than it might have been. In 1910 there were fewer than 700 elevators in the province and the Commission bought a quarter of these and surveyed another 20 per cent with a view to purchase. Of the remaining elevators some 200 were owned by the milling companies and were not for sale. These companies had found that "a line of interior elevators of our own [is] a necessary adjunct to the business" as it allowed the selection "of grain of suitable quality for [their] milling requirements" in the most efficient manner possible.<sup>147</sup> Thus the MEC was in the market for at least sixty per cent of the potentially available provincial elevators and the prices paid reflected this position. The average price for the fifteen elevators acquired by direct negotiation was 12.24 cents per bushel capacity, whereas the price for those purchased by arbitration averaged over 20 cents per bushel - and these were the ones bought at a later time and almost exclusively from the line elevator companies. The negotiated purchases were nearly all from farmers' companies, or private owners with one or a few elevators. "It is evident that the purchase of elevators by arbitration increased the initial investment, and put a heavy burden of fixed charges on the project from the beginning."<sup>148</sup>

As indicated above, a number of the elevators purchased by the Commission were superfluous or unsuitable and the overall distribution was a poor reflection of the farmers' demands. Only 97 of the Commission's 174 elevators were in use during the whole of the first season, and some were never operated. An examination of the previous owners indicates that over half of the purchases were made from four major elevator companies. The Commission bought twenty-four Winnipeg Elevator Company elevators with the balance of this company's holdings being sold (also in 1910) to the Canadian Elevator Company.<sup>149</sup> Eighteen elevators were obtained directly from the Canadian Elevator Company, twenty-five from the Northern Elevator Company, and nineteen from

the Dominion Elevator Company (APPENDIX NINE). It is unlikely that these companies sold their best elevators and the accusation of the day that these were the 'culls' of the system appears to be accurate. The literature indicates that the major elevator owners did not vociferously object to the MEC.<sup>150</sup> It can be seen that one of the reasons why this was the case was that Commission purchases proved quite beneficial in the short run to some of the major line elevator companies.

"From start to finish the government's scheme was a tragic muddle" and the financial results of the MEC proved to be disastrous.<sup>151</sup> A large deficit was recorded in 1910-11 as revenue covered only 55 per cent of operating and fixed charges.<sup>152</sup> In addition, no new major sources of revenue were envisaged, and funds accruing from the sales of elevators were placed in a "Replacement Trust" account where they were used to finance the increasing costs of maintenance of the aging system. There were fluctuations over the years, with some seasons showing a surplus, but the Commission was never profitable. When the final accounting was completed in 1928 the accumulated deficit of the MEC was \$172,697.41 in the Operating account and some \$1,159,884.67 in the Debenture account. Assets of \$454,446.01 meant that the total loss on the Manitoba Government elevator system to 1928 had reached \$878,118.97.<sup>153</sup> Since all of the elevators had been disposed of by this date there was no hope of further income to offset this deficit.

Premier Roblin blamed the early losses on the "infidelity of the farmers." The charge had some validity. As W.L. Morton suggests, "it seemed that while farmers desired the check which the Government Elevators imposed on private companies, they were not prepared to patronize them exclusively. This disposition may have been increased by criticism of the government systems by the Liberals and the Grain Growers,"<sup>154</sup> and was not reduced by McCuaig's pleas for the farmers to use the MEC elevators.<sup>155</sup>

This "disposition" is not altogether surprising. First of all, not all farmers believed in the concept of the MEC, and in fact only 7000 people belonged to the Manitoba Grain Growers' Association in 1909 whereas the number of occupied farms was much higher -- 36,141 in the 1906 census.<sup>156</sup> Second, the process through which the elevators were purchased was suspect, as indicated already. Third, the existence of the MEC elevators meant that (often for the first time) competition existed at many elevator points, and consequently the line elevator companies reduced their prices.<sup>157</sup>

The Grain Growers "were not disposed to shoulder the blame" for the disappointing showing of the MEC.<sup>158</sup> Instead they censured the government for having created a poor system, for having operated it poorly, and above all for not having followed the farmers' guidelines. They believed that

it was the government's course of action that led to many of the difficulties. No doubt they were right. The system of elevators was operated unwisely. The government elevators were set up as storage and handling facilities - not to act as grain merchants - and, it was argued, by a line elevator company director amongst other that this could never lead to a commercial profit.<sup>159</sup> The reason for the decision to use the elevators only as warehouses is not entirely clear, but can probably be explained in two ways. The first is a philosophical point, for the farmers had for years believed that they had been exploited by the line elevator companies and saw no reason to hand over their potential profits to the government, any more than they wished this money to settle into private hands. Second, the system, as originally designed, would have had a monopoly on the handling of the farmer's wheat, and the history of local farmers' elevators had shown that if patronage was great enough, profits from grain sales were not necessary in order to make a profit - or at least to prevent a loss. Unfortunately the MEC's storage and handling enterprise when coupled with its pattern of elevator purchases meant that the government system enjoyed neither a monopoly nor competitive equality with line companies.<sup>160</sup>

This handling of grain on a warehousing-basis-only meant that the MEC was confined to an uneconomic section of the business. To be economic as grain-handling enterprises only, the government elevators would have needed to have processed three or four times their capacity in a year and during the 1910-11 season less than two times the capacity of the elevators (on average) was received. The line elevator companies, however, could "supplement their storage earnings with their profits on street purchases and their selling commissions. Where they owned terminal elevators as well, the country houses could be operated primarily as 'feeders' and the main profit be derived from terminal storage charges, and from merchandising, with or without 'mixing'." Still less was the government system in a position to compete with the milling companies, whose elevators "were virtually unaffected by the government expropriation proceedings."<sup>161</sup>

The ambivalent position of the MEC, set up to provide service to farmers as opposed to realize a profit, was demonstrated in a number of ways, but the use of the elevator facilities themselves provides a nice illustration of the Commissioners' position. In late 1910 each elevator agent was instructed:

To inform all farmers and owners of the grain that they are at liberty to use the Government platform scales in your elevator free of charge, if any time they wish to check their weights when about to see or store grain in any other elevator.<sup>162</sup>



Such actions were philosophically laudable and perhaps useful as one means of gaining a farmer's support of the MEC, but they did not contribute to the short-term profitability of the elevator system.

An additional difficulty was that patronage entered into the appointment of elevator agents despite the fact that the Grain Growers had stressed that "the employees and inspectors in charge of the elevators would require to be men of honesty and character."<sup>163</sup> As a consequence, the individuals hired were not necessarily competent nor popular with the local farmers - an essential for a successful elevator. Many of these problems were acknowledged by McCuaig at the Grain Growers Convention of 1911,<sup>164</sup> and the minutes of the MEC are full of instructions to operators on "precautions against frost," "how to handle flax," "cooper cars," and prevent "over-shipment" - the latter being a serious problem and a major money loser in the MEC's operations.<sup>165</sup> Such instructions should not have been necessary for experienced men but undoubtedly were for people appointed upon political rather than technical grounds.

Lastly the system of government elevators was aimed at "special binning." This meant that farmers would be able to identify their grain but also that maximum utilization of elevator storage capacity was not possible as it would have been under a "graded storage" system. The provision for special binning had been a theme in the farmers' demands for some time because it provided a mechanism for farmers to avoid some of the ways in which elevator agents and companies could cheat them.<sup>166</sup> Such structures were more expensive than those with fewer bins, however, and may have had the short run effect of giving another edge to the line elevator companies.

For many reasons, then, the Manitoba Government's elevator system was a failure. The result was that on September 1, 1912, the bulk of the system was leased from the Manitoba Government by the Grain Growers' Grain Co. The first elevator experiment by the government was over but a second was just beginning. Despite better offers by a group of local grain dealers in 1912, by the Smith-Murphy company in 1915, and by Minneapolis interests in 1916, the system continued to be leased to the UGG (the successor of the GGG Co.) until the late 1920s when the last of the elevators was sold.<sup>167</sup>

The Grain Growers had had, at best, mixed feelings about the failure of the MEC, because the GGG Co. "felt that in the Manitoba government's difficulty lay its opportunity." Due to changing conditions in the grain trade, in particular increasingly successful competition by the private elevator companies coupled with a falling off of farmer use of the GGG Co. simply for philosophical reasons, the company began to realize that without elevators it was at a serious

disadvantage. As the government had "wished to drop an unfortunate experiment as quickly as possible," and the GGG Co. felt it "must acquire elevators," both sides had been in a mood to bargain.<sup>168</sup>

From 1912 on, elevators were sold (with the GGG Co./UGG having first refusal) to private companies with the last being "privatized" in 1927.<sup>169</sup> Significantly, this process enabled the farmer-company to get its own system of elevators on a pay-as-you-go basis which was beneficial to both parties involved.<sup>170</sup> The mortgages on the 1924 purchases, for instance, were spread over a ten-year period, being finally paid off in 1934. The first year of operation of the system by the GGG Co. resulted in a loss of \$30,000 on the elevator operations (although an overall profit of \$170,000 was recorded for the company), but after that the operation proved profitable and successful.<sup>171</sup>

Clearly the MEC was an object lesson in political corruption and in how not to go about setting up a government utility. But in addition to this negative value, its existence did have a number of significant positive consequences. Its history of operations provided valuable data on the actual operation of publicly-owned elevators, and consequently was of considerable utility to those examining the possibilities of government ownership in all three prairie provinces. Thus the experiment indirectly showed the value of the alternative to government ownership, namely the cooperative ownership of elevators by the farmers, and boosted this concept over that of elevators as a public utility. Although the failure of the MEC did not cause the governments of Alberta and Saskatchewan to switch to the idea of cooperation in ownership - they had "a different political philosophy" from the Roblin government and had never been convinced by the public utility arguments<sup>172</sup> - it did give this concept much greater credence. As one grain trade expert remarked, "It is not to be wondered at...that such defects of the Manitoba project as were then apparent should be of considerable influence in shaping the recommendations of the [Saskatchewan Elevator] Commission."<sup>173</sup> The Manitoba Free Press put it more strongly, calling the MEC "Manitoba's Horrible Example" and suggesting that the poor working of the Commission was the main reason the Saskatchewan Government chose the path that it did.<sup>174</sup>

The difficulties of the MEC also indicated the need for greater prudence in dealing with the elevator issue than the Manitoba government had exhibited. As Colquette, the biographer of the UGG pointed out, the Manitoba Elevator Commission "cured the Organized Farmers of the obsession that government ownership of elevators was the panacea for their grain marketing ills."<sup>175</sup> The subsequent actions of the other prairie provincial governments showed that it was still possible

to give government funds and credit toward farmer ownership of elevators, without having to have government ownership per se.

### c) THE UNITED GRAIN GROWERS

The failure of the MEC helped the GGG Co. (UGG) considerably by giving the latter company an opportunity to go "into the elevator business" on terms it could handle.<sup>176</sup> Although by 1910 this company was quite well established in the grain trade, it did not have the capital to go into elevator ownership on a large scale. In addition, and as President Crerar acknowledged in 1911, times were changing and the Grain Growers could no longer expect to keep the support of the farmers simply on philosophical grounds.<sup>177</sup> There had to be a monetary incentive as well. The line elevator companies' experience had made it clear that financial success in the grain trade came from vertical as well as horizontal integration, and the leasing arrangement with the MEC enabled the Grain Growers to compete on more favourable, if not equal, terms with these private dealers much sooner than would otherwise have been possible. After a lengthy discussion at the 1912 Annual Meeting "the shareholders gave the Directors the green light" and the government elevators were leased.<sup>178</sup> In 1911 the Grain Growers had no elevators, but by 1916 due to their successful "adjustment to the circumstances" of the previous five years,<sup>179</sup> they were the fourth largest elevator - operating company on the prairies - following the Saskatchewan Cooperative Elevator Company (formed in 1911), Ogilvie Flour Mills, and the Alberta Pacific Grain Company.

In the succeeding years the UGG was clearly concerned with the building-up of an efficient **system** of elevators - not just a collection of structures as had apparently been the case with the MEC. Thus some of the government elevators were used and later purchased, whereas others were ignored. A number of the buildings were dismantled and some were extensively remodelled. In a few instances the UGG also acquired other sites at stations with government elevators before purchasing the MEC building; perhaps this was a means of bargaining with the Commission for a better price. At some places the UGG built or bought another elevator rather than purchase the MEC "house", presumably because of the poor condition of the government elevator. In some instances the site leases had never been transferred to the MEC after purchase from the private operators nearly fifteen years earlier, and in others the government apparently had no lease on the elevator site at all. When the government's elevators were purchased their sites were carefully surveyed in order to obtain the lowest possible lease price; the UGG were to pay on a commercial (frontage foot) basis, rather than at a flat fee.<sup>180</sup>

The operations of the Manitoba Elevator Commission had never been as efficient and economic as they might have been, but this was not to be the situation when the UGG took control. The company's chances of success were significantly boosted when it picked up grain-handling facilities from the MEC. The official historian of the UGG calls the Manitoba Elevator Commission a "fiasco" in the history of the grain trade and others have gone further in calling the "fiasco" "unqualified."<sup>181</sup> But such a designation is too unkind; although the Manitoba Elevator Act was not the short term success the Commissioners believed it to be in 1911, it did in the long run, have major positive effects upon the Canadian grain, in the trade, the prairie farmers, and in particular the United Grain Growers. As one Wheat Pool historian suggests, by rescuing "the floundering government elevator system" the UGG "added another chapter to the study of cooperative progress on the Canadian prairies."<sup>182</sup>

#### d) AMERICAN INFLUENCES IN THE CANADIAN GRAIN TRADE

Statistical data for the years between 1900 and 1911 is more sketchy, but some major characteristics of the evolution of the grain trade can still be seen. In particular, after 1900, a new wave of elevator construction followed the building of the Canadian Northern Railway (which company also took over the NP&M lines), and by 1906 the complexion of the industry had changed.<sup>183</sup> First, the area of settlement was substantially altered, with rail lines being completed north of Riding Mountain to Dauphin, Sifton and Winnipegosis (1897), on to Swan River (1899) and into Saskatchewan (1900). Second, other C.Nor. lines to Gladstone, and Carman (1901), Neepawa, and Grandview (1902), and a variety of other southern Manitoban locations, including Brandon and Virden (1905) created more competition for the CPR,<sup>184</sup> as did the construction of some (James J. Hill controlled) Great Northern branch lines (by 1906) and a new "mainline", the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway (built through Manitoba by 1909).<sup>185</sup> Both of these changes allowed the total amount of grain grown and shipped to increase, and thus the number of elevators (and elevator companies) to multiply.<sup>186</sup> Third, and arguably most importantly, the 'national complexion' of the trade had changed, and this helped to provide the capital and expertise to quickly develop new regions.<sup>187</sup>

From perhaps four American Grain Exchange members in 1900, there was a jump to nineteen Americans in 1903, and the total fluctuated around this mark in succeeding years.<sup>188</sup> Reputedly, the Grain Exchange by 1906 was "dominated largely by the big elevator companies, most of which were owned and controlled by American grain interests."<sup>189</sup> Although this was probably an

overstatement, these 'Minnesota Grain Men' were very dominant, had brought much-needed capital and expertise and were backed by at least four private wires from the Minneapolis Exchange to Winnipeg. In addition, several Chicago and Minneapolis commission houses had representatives and offices in the Manitoba capital,<sup>190</sup> and "appointed buyers in every railroad town."<sup>191</sup> Their impact is in part reflected by the fact that in 1907 William J. Bettingen was elected as the first American president of the Winnipeg Grain and Produce Exchange.<sup>192</sup>

The Americans had come to Canada in large part as a result of the activities of the railway owners who wanted men with capital and experience to rapidly construct lines of elevators on the new railway trackage,<sup>193</sup> but also because the Americans believed that "the greatest opportunity for the grain trade lay in the Canadian west" which was still an undeveloped frontier.<sup>194</sup> When they arrived, however, they found that the elevator landscape in Manitoba, at least, was largely complete. In 1900 there were 465 elevators (and warehouses) in the province, by 1911 the number of elevators had risen to 704, but by 1918 it had only risen to 707.<sup>195</sup> Consequently the American entrepreneurs had two major options, first to buy established line companies and/or second, to open up new lines in virgin territory -- particularly in Saskatchewan, and later Alberta.<sup>196</sup> The latter option was, of course, the one favoured by the railway magnates who were eager to see new elevators in the areas tributary to their trackage.

Since 1896 Messrs. Mackenzie and Mann, the men behind the Canadian Northern Railway, had followed the CPR's lead and had aggressively sought investment in elevator construction.<sup>197</sup> They approached, among others in the early 1900s, the Peavey and Searle interests in Minneapolis, and a consortium including the Douglas Brothers of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, Robert Stuart of Chicago, and G.F. Piper of Minneapolis, who were also involved in organizing the Saskatchewan Valley Land Company.<sup>198</sup> Bargaining among the Canadian and American groups began in 1902, and at that time the Piper-Douglas consortium also appears to have been acting in concert with the Peavey company. Canadian Northern placed a special railroad car at the disposal of Frank T. Heffelfinger and Frederick D. Wells, sons-in-law of Frank Peavey, so that they could tour potential elevator sites, but in May 1902, the Peavey Co. dropped out of the picture, "deciding that this would not be an opportune time for us to enter the elevator business along the line of The Canadian Northern Railway in Canada,"<sup>199</sup> apparently because there was no grain futures market in Canada at that date.<sup>200</sup>

The Piper-Douglas consortium also toured the Canadian Northern lines in order to select good points for elevators, as well as land for their land company. Although these American

capitalists did not "expect exclusive rights" at elevator points, they did anticipate receiving "the choicest locations, no matter to whom the sites had been promised."<sup>201</sup> Although sites had already been promised to other "parties, representing American capital," by the Canadian Northern General Superintendent, he was overruled so that the Canadian Elevator Company (CEC) could be accommodated "in every reasonable way, as it will have a very complete system of elevators on our Line including terminal elevators at Port Arthur."<sup>202</sup> The CEC promised to build quickly some thirty elevators on CNor lines, although the company, at the urging of its Vice President, also soon built elevators on CPR lines.<sup>203</sup> Lumber businesses, and coal and wood operations were associated with selected elevator points, in order to utilize more fully employees working time on a year round basis, and thus to maximize profits.<sup>204</sup> The Canadian Elevator Company was to become the largest line company in Canada by 1910, although it only operated 37% of its elevators in Manitoba at that date (and only 25% in 1928 when it merged with Dominion Elevator Co.), as the settlement frontier had rapidly moved west to Saskatchewan and Alberta.<sup>205</sup> The company continued to grow (at a relatively reduced scale) after a number of amalgamations until 1959 when it was sold to the United Grain Growers. Piper and Douglas were later involved with the Atlas Elevator Company which operated on Grand Trunk Pacific (GTP) lines across the prairies.<sup>206</sup>

Although the Peavey Co. dropped out of the picture in 1902, they soon re-evaluated their position, and were again courted by the Canadian Northern within a few years. They had initially been against expansion into Canada as no futures market existed that made it "possible for a grain buyer to protect himself by 'hedging' his purchases through sale for future delivery" and thus avoiding or minimizing potential losses with these countervailing deals. In 1906, after Canada had "established a market that made it possible to hedge grain", Messrs. Heffelfinger and Wells "leased the huge [Canadian Northern owned] grain terminal at Port Arthur, and signed a contract to build 50 elevators along the" CNor Railway.<sup>207</sup> This was the beginning of the British America Elevator Company, which had 18% of its elevators in Manitoba in 1911.<sup>208</sup> This company operated on Canadian Northern lines, as did the Searle Grain Company, and was thus more visible -- and indeed dominant -- in the more northerly areas of Manitoban settlement. Later, in 1909, Peavey interests formed the National Elevator Company to operate on Canadian Pacific lines, although it also soon built along the Canadian Northern. Once again most of this growth took place outside Manitoba. The Peavey group also acquired six other companies which were eventually consolidated into the National Grain Company Limited in 1940 (APPENDIX TEN).<sup>209</sup> These acquisitions included the Northern Elevator Company, the first private prairie line elevator company, founded by Nicholas

Bawlf, in 1893. When it was acquired by Peavey interests in 1909, it was the third largest line elevator company in the prairies (excluding that owned by Ogilvie Flour Mills<sup>210</sup>), following the British America Elevator Company and the Canadian Elevator Company.<sup>211</sup> The acquisition of the Northern Elevator Company gave Peavey an immediate inroad into the Manitoba market, as this was the largest company in the province at that time (excluding the flour-milling enterprises).

The Searle Grain story is similar to that of the Peavey history. This Minneapolis grain family was involved in a variety of companies which were largely consolidated into Searle Grain in 1928 (APPENDIX ELEVEN).<sup>212</sup> Augustus L. Searle had a seat on the Winnipeg Grain Exchange for some time.<sup>213</sup> Furthermore, there was clearly a close working relationship between the Searle and Peavey groups in Canada. Other smaller companies such as the Royal Elevator Company, Norris Grain, the Imperial Elevator and Lumber company and North Star Grain as well as many other companies were also begun by, or operated by, entrepreneurs from the United States.<sup>214</sup> The prairie grain trade was clearly seen as a (last?) new frontier by these Americans, and there is considerable evidence that they, along with some of their Canadian counterparts, acted not as individuals so much as cogs in a machine that the farmers disparagingly termed the "Grain Trade."<sup>215</sup>

The net result was that, although in 1900 the Canadian grain trade was, as far as can be ascertained, essentially 100 percent Canadian-owned and operated, the situation soon changed.<sup>216</sup> By 1911-12, American entrepreneurs and large or controlling interests in at least 26 of the 52 largest elevator-owning companies, which enterprises owned about 42 percent of the elevators on the prairies.<sup>217</sup> In Manitoba, because of the reduced opportunities for growth, however, this proportion was smaller. In 1911 only some 35% of privately-owned elevators in this province were under American ownership, with only 25% of the structures on the older, more southerly, CPR lines being controlled by US interests. In contrast, however, 96% of the elevators on the Great Northern branch lines, 54% of those on the GTP, and 44% of those on Canadian Northern were owned by companies from south of the 49<sup>th</sup> parallel.

After 1911, the 'invasion' of American grain traders slowed to a stop -- in much the same way that the movement of farmers across the border diminished -- although there does not seem to have been any significant reverse migration of these entrepreneurs. After 1911, no major incidence of 'new' American ownership of elevator operations occurred, although those already present continued to be involved in new-company formation, and old-company amalgamation and take-over. Thus by 1917, three more American companies had been formed, but two others had disappeared, and this pattern continued over the next few years. American ownership had increased to a thousand

elevators across the prairies by 1917, but this was only 35% of the total -- down from the 42% figure of five years before. By 1921 their total was over a thousand, but this represented only 31% of the whole. Canadians, however, continued to increase in importance. The major flour milling 'lines' had always been domestically dominated, but the other elevator companies also became increasingly dominated by Canadian interests, and the rise of the farmer-owned companies changed the complexion of elevator operations forever. By 1921 these latter operations were becoming dominant, and by 1929 the three provincial Pools and the United Grain Growers owned over one third of the prairie elevators, and their presence had triggered off a round of amalgamations in the private trade. Today the Saskatchewan Wheat Pool alone owns one third of the elevators.

In addition, as the trade matured during the second and third decades of the century, the character of ownership changed as more companies had a mixture of Canadian and non-Canadian owners, often resulting in a gradual loss of the original family concept of ownership. In addition many Americans took out British citizenship to further 'muddy the waters'. For instance, J.C. Gage, an American born in Minneapolis in 1876, emigrated to Canada in 1903, eventually becoming a naturalized citizen. At the time of his death in 1930 he was president of both the Alberta Pacific and Federal Grain companies -- then the two largest private companies. Both of these companies had originally been 'Canadian'. Gage had, however, previously been president of the 'American' "International Elevator Company" which became part of Federal Grain as a result of a major amalgamation in 1929. The Searles, McCabes, and other American families also became increasingly 'Canadianized', and some lost touch with their roots south of the border. As a consequence of these developments, the prairie grain trade once again became increasingly domestically-owned, and lost many of its direct linkages with the United States.

The grain trade entrepreneurs also became integrated into the wider Winnipeg business community, and as a consequence there came about an intertwining of the control of banks, elevator companies, railroads and other major institutions. This was characteristic of the grain-handling system in the Canadian prairies as well as in the United States where a similar community of interest was evident.<sup>218</sup> In time the Americans in Canada also became part of this system, marking their increasing 'Canadianization'. Thus Stewart Searle, the only son of A.L. Searle, was on the boards of the Royal Bank, the Hudson's Bay Company, and Monarch Life. Toronto N.L. Leach, who got his early training in Duluth, and married Rosabelle Searle (a daughter of A.L. Searle), was a director of the Royal Bank, and A. Searle Leach, his son, was a director of the Bank of Montreal. Even some of the owners of the smaller companies followed a similar path with William Leistikow of the Imperial



Elevator and Lumber Company becoming a director of the Northern Crown Bank. Many more examples of these intertwining could be given, but only one more will be used as an illustration. The McCabe Brothers Grain Company, by 1911, had a line of elevators on Great Northern trackage, in Manitoba, apparently paid for by the railway company which was quite adept at making such deals if they were clearly in its own interest.<sup>219</sup> In fact, McCabes owned all but one of the elevators on this railroad company's Manitoba lines until the early 1930s, and all of them from then until the mid-1930s when the last of these Great Northern branch lines was removed (providing some of the first cases of branch line abandonment on the prairies).<sup>220</sup> Some of the grain collected on these lines was sent (bonded) to Duluth for later export via the east coast ports. Both McCabe Brothers and the Great Northern originally were centered in the Minneapolis/St. Paul area, and had had various dealings before the Manitoba venture.

#### e) THE ADVENT OF THE POOLS

The success of the United Grain Growers and the Saskatchewan Cooperative Elevator Company (which handled up to one third of grain sold in the prairie provinces<sup>221</sup>) was a major triumph for the farmers' movement, as it made the market system fairer and more competitive in both handling and selling activities, but it did not solve all of the problems of the producers. The farmers' companies were, however, dominant enough by the early inter-war years to be able to "set the pattern of elevator services and of price relationships which would be most acceptable to the grower owners."<sup>222</sup> These companies were by no means revolutionary in an economic sense, however, and operated within the open market system using the principles of the free market.

Despite the flirtation with government **ownership** in Manitoba, government **regulation** was to be the rule. This practice was hastened by the wartime attempts to regulate disturbed channels of grain movements, and involved the Board of Grain Supervisors which was set up in Canada in 1917 to control distribution and the price of Canadian wheat, after the suspension of the open market. This was followed by the Canadian Wheat Board of 1919 which became the exclusive marketing agency for Canadian wheat in home and export markets. But the private trade did not want such a degree of regulation, and nor did the post-war Canadian government, and the Wheat Board was abolished in 1920, restoring the wheat trade to private hands, and re-establishing the open market.

But in 1920 wheat prices collapsed dramatically and another decade of farmer protest began, aimed at destroying the private trade and its symbol, the Winnipeg Grain Exchange. The Exchange was firmly in the sights of the farmers for a number of reasons, but the issue centred in the early

1920s around the question of the futures market which was seen as a means of speculating on prices -- to the detriment of the farmer -- rather than as a way of producing a steady market for grain throughout the year. Attempts to eliminate the futures market and restore the government marketing of wheat were unsuccessful, however, and so the farmers turned to their next alternative -- the pool. This had proved successful in parts of the USA (again the origin area of both problems and solutions for the Canadian grain trade) and was founded on cooperative principles which fitted well with the prairie philosophy. "The selling of the pool idea was helped by the persuasive oratory of Aaron Shapiro, a California marketing expert who travelled through the prairie provinces in 1923, speaking at pool meetings."<sup>223</sup>

Under the pooling system the crop, using a singed-contract system, would be marketed by the producers with the net returns going to the farmers. It thus dealt with the export (spot) price rather than the spreads between street, track, and spot prices which were (to be) a function of farmer-owned elevators. The pool system was meant to lead to orderly marketing, to eliminate middlemen and speculators, and to increase farmer profits. In 1923 the Alberta Co-operative Wheat Producers Ltd. was organized and began accepting deliveries. This was followed in 1924 by the formation of the Saskatchewan and Manitoba Pool organizations. In 1923-24 the three Pools organized the Canadian Co-operative Wheat Producers Limited as a Central Selling Agency to market their wheat through the Winnipeg Grain Exchange. During the 1920s, the pool concept was somewhat successful, but it collapsed with the economy in 1929-31 when wheat could not be sold at prices that the farmers had been guaranteed. The government then (in 1931) liquidated the pool as a wheat-selling operation, leaving the farmers to campaign once again for a government-controlled wheat-marketing board -- which was finally instituted after a tremendous amount of suffering on the part of the farmers, in 1935. The Canadian Wheat Board of 1935 was formed as an emergency measure to liquidate surplus wheat stocks, but "conditions gave the Board a permanency which many farmers sought and which both the private grain trade and the government opposed."<sup>224</sup>

The Wheat Board's scope and responsibilities continued to grow and by 1945 "the marketing functions, which previously rested with the elevator companies, were transferred to the Board. The elevator companies became handling and warehousing operations with revenues accruing on a fee-for-service basis. These developments were viewed with mixed reactions, with the co-operatives fully supporting the role of the Canadian Wheat Board and the private trade opposing."<sup>225</sup> Such changes helped to spur further amalgamations within the private trade.

More to the point for the present discussion on the history of grain elevators, however, the farmers' successful attempts in the early 1920s to set up a pooling system also led them to enter the grain trade as elevator companies, and these remained in place after the wheat pool was dissolved, and enabled the farmer organizations to control the "grain from the time it left the farmer's wagon."<sup>226</sup> Significantly, however, the elevator system was maintained (albeit with a different pattern of ownership) and thus the manner in which grain was handled did not change (ILLUSTRATION TWENTY-TWO). Regional differences led, however, to three companies being set up -- one in each province, and these were instituted in addition to the UGG network, as the operations of this company were felt to be philosophically at odds with the ideals of other prairie farmers. Initially the provincial pools operated at a greatly reduced scale from the heights of the 1920s, but they eventually made a strong recovery, and added greatly to their elevator capacity.

In Saskatchewan the Pool (set up in 1924) incorporated Saskatchewan Pool Elevators Ltd. in 1925, and successfully bought out the Saskatchewan Co-operative Elevator company elevators which included 451 country elevators, two terminals at Port Arthur, a lease on a CNR terminal at Fort William, and a transfer elevator at Buffalo, New York. The Pool had also built its own elevators in a concerted construction process, and by 1927 it had 575 elevators, rising to 930 in 1928-29 -- making it by far the largest prairie elevator-owning company, with 18% of the overall total.

In Manitoba and Alberta the pools set up (in 1924 and 1923 respectively) incorporated separate companies to acquire elevator facilities. In Manitoba charters were applied for, from Manitoba Pool Elevators Limited (a subsidiary of Manitoba Co-operative Wheat Producers' Limited) for elevators at points where sufficient support existed. A local advisory board was set up to keep in touch with local conditions, although the head office managed the facility.<sup>227</sup> In Manitoba the pool competed with the UGG, but in Alberta, as in Saskatchewan, there was a policy to avoid building at competing points. In 1926 the three pools discussed with the UGG the sale of the Grain Growers' elevators, but the annual meeting voted against such a sale and the present pattern continued, although co-operation between the four farmer-owned companies was common. The UGG decision to remain independent reflected in part philosophical variations on the "kind" of cooperativism involved, which included the method of administering "locals", and the presence in the UGG of a share and dividend system, but more practically reflected the fact that the Grain Growers' bought wheat from members and non-members (whereas the Pools just bought wheat from farmers who

signed contracts with them), and the UGG did not want to return some of its customers to the clutches of the line elevator companies.

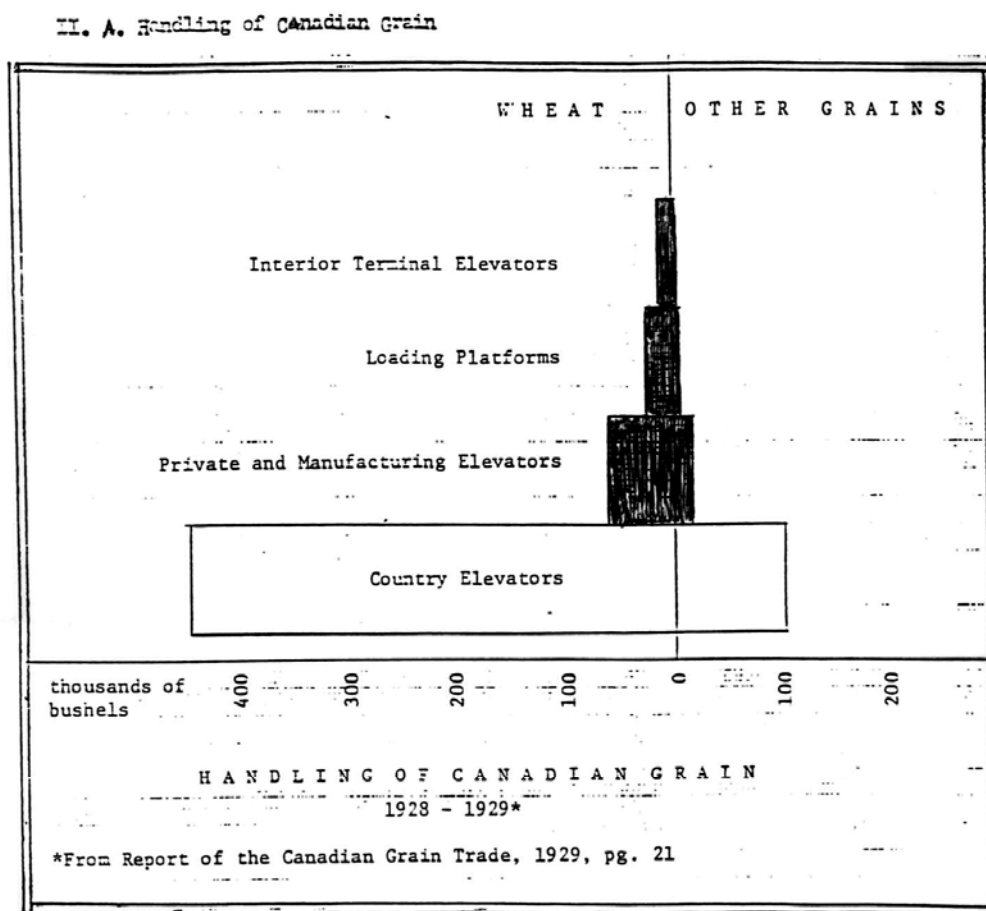
As the Alberta and Manitoba organizations did not buy the elevators of an established company, their growth was slower. In 1926-27 the Manitoba Pool had 40 structures (versus 42 in Alberta) but by the 1929-30 crop year the Manitoba Pool had grown to 155 (compared to 439 in Albert, and 1,048 in Saskatchewan). In addition, by 1930 the pools had 12 terminal elevators (mostly at the Lakehead). Although some elevators were purchased by the Pools, they mostly increased their market share by constructing their own houses. But in later years, when some of the more established companies decided to sell their elevators, the provincial pools got into the market. Thus Manitoba Pool (in concert with those in the other prairie provinces) bought elevators from Western Canada Flour Mills (1940), Reliance (and Alliance) Grain in 1948, Ogilvie Flour Mills and the Lake of the Woods Milling Company in 1959, Federal Grain in 1972, and the Scottish Cooperative Wholesale Society Ltd. (1973). In recent years they have actively traded elevators with the UGG and private companies such as N.M. Paterson and Sons Ltd. These "saw-offs" have become more noticeable in recent years, but have been a feature of the trade since at least the late 1940s.<sup>228</sup>

#### f) MORE RECENT CHANGES

During the 1920s and later in the 1940s, continuing to the present day, amalgamation of many companies took place leading to new types or large organization in the grain trade, although their head offices were still concentrated in Winnipeg (ILLUSTRATION TWENTY-THREE). In 1921 there were 67 major elevator companies which controlled 89% of the 3789 elevators, and in 1929 there were still 62 companies, then controlling 96% of the total of 5,155. But a spate of amalgamations was about to take place; one early one saw the Canadian Elevator Company (ILLUSTRATION TWENTY-FOUR) join with the Dominion Elevator Company to operate nearly 150 elevators and two terminals, in the mid-1920s. In 1928 six companies formed the Western Grain Company with 280 elevators and a terminal; nine companies combining to form Federal Grain, with over 338 country elevators and three terminal houses in 1929; the original directorate of the Federal Grain Limited was interlocked with the Maple Leaf Milling Company, the Alberta Pacific Grain Company, and the Northland (terminal) Elevator Company. Six more businesses merged as Searle Grain with nearly 400 elevators and a terminal by 1938. In the latter case this was, however, simply a result of a declining economy leading to a reorganization of a number of

companies that had been under one family's ownership for some time, and this situation also occurred with the formation of McCabe Grain (1929), National Grain (1940), and Reliance Grain (1936). Other companies sold out to larger competitors and helped to fuel the rise of Pioneer Grain (ILLUSTRATIONS TWENTY-FIVE AND TWENTY SIX), the United Grain Growers (ILLUSTRATION TWENTY-SVEN), Alberta Pacific Grain, and the Pools. Only one important company was formed after 1930, and by 1933 there were only 37 of the major companies (with 5750 elevators) remaining; by 1943 there were 27, by 1953, 22 were left, and by 1961, only 13 of these companies were still operating.

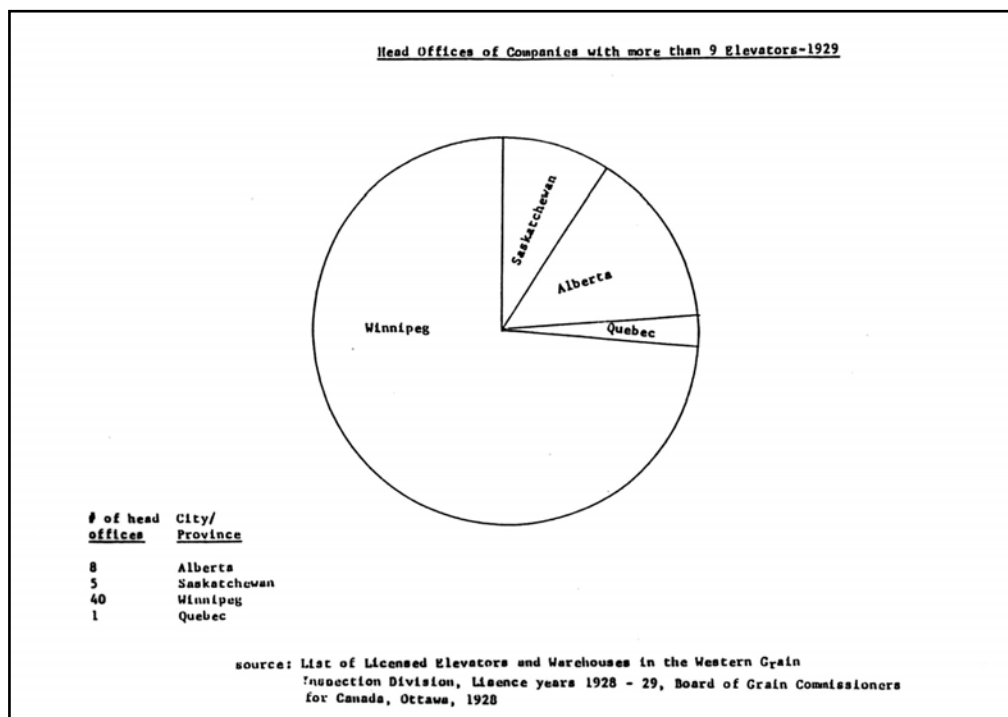
ILLUSTRATION TWENTY-TWO:  
THE HANDLING OF CANADIAN GRAIN, 1928-29



Handling of Canadian Grain\*

|                              | WHEAT              | OTHER GRAINS       |
|------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| Western Country Elevators    | 446,356,766        | 102,228,151        |
| Interior Terminal Elevators  | 13,757,239         | 1,117,676          |
| Private and Manuf. Elevators | 57,360,822         | 19,600,252         |
| Loading Platforms            | 22,035,210         | 9,270,224          |
| <b>Total</b>                 | <b>539,510,037</b> | <b>137,276,303</b> |

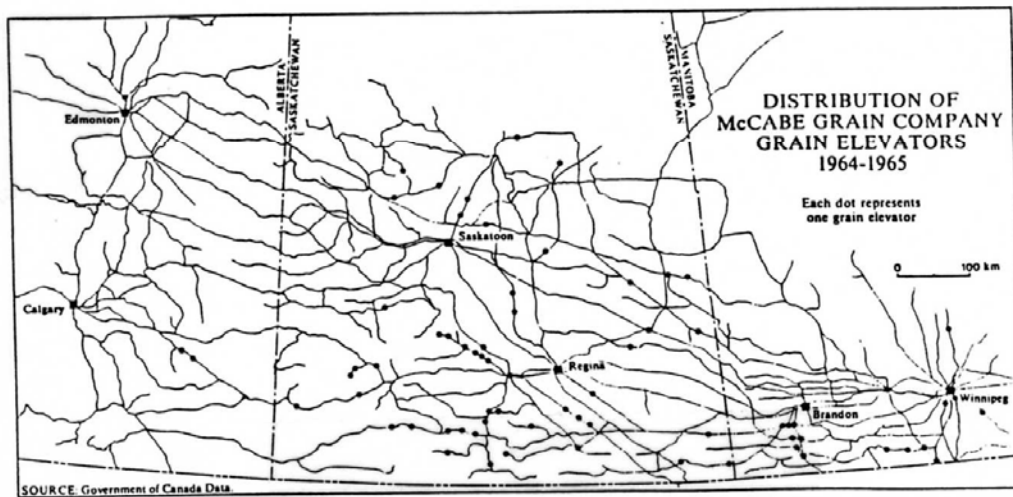
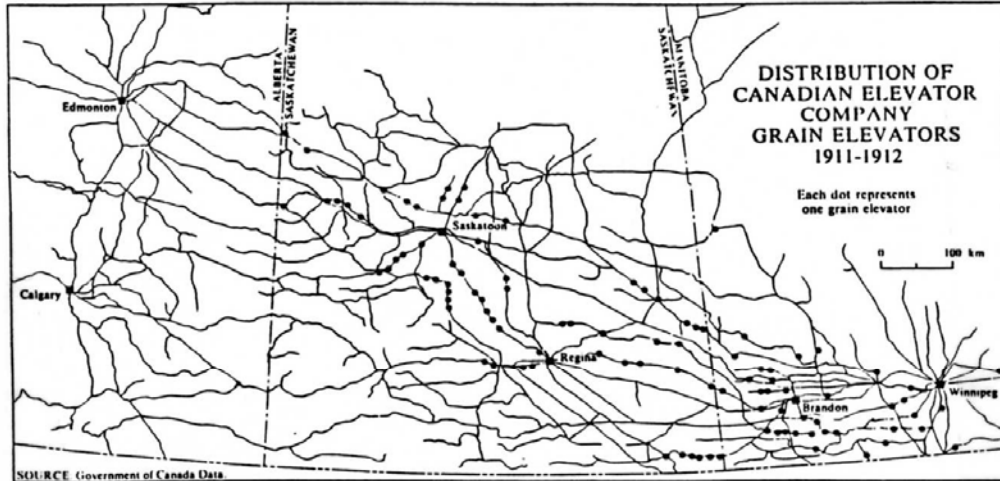
ILLUSTRATION TWENTY-THREE  
HEAD OFFICES OF COMPANIES WITH MORE THAN NINE ELEVATORS, 1929



## ILLUSTRATION TWENTY-FOUR

## CANADIAN ELEVATOR CO. 1911-12 AND McCABE GRAIN CO. 1964-65

The Canadian Elevator Company (later Canadian Consolidated), and McCabe Grain were both begun with U.S. capital. These two companies eventually sold their elevators (in 1959 and 1968 respectively) to the United Grain Growers.



In addition to the dramatic decline in the number of elevator-owning companies, by 1961, an equally dramatic process of reduction of elevator numbers was underway, and only 5338 elevators remained as a rationalization of the system took place (ILLUSTRATION TWENTY-EIGHT). In 1968 the McCabe family sold its company to the UGG. Then in 1972 Federal Grain, which had been formally amalgamated with the Searle and Alberta Pacific interests in 1967 to form the largest ever private company (ILLUSTRATION TWENTY-NINE), sold out to the three Pools (ILLUSTRATION THIRTY). In the same year, Inter Ocean Grain sold its elevators to Pioneer, and in 1973 the Scottish Cooperative Wholesale Society sold its structures to Manitoba Pool. By this time all of the smaller American-owned companies had been swallowed up by other groups, with the exception of the remaining Peavey interests and the comparatively small Lethbridge-based Ellison Milling Company. The former, as the National Grain Co. Ltd., were sold to Cargill Grain Co. Ltd. in 1974 (which remains as the predominant American influence on the Canadian prairies (ILLUSTRATION THIRTY-ONE), and the latter to Parrish and Heimbecker in 1975 (ILLUSTRATION THIRTY-TWO).<sup>229</sup> Only Paterson and Sons remained relatively untouched by these changes (ILLUSTRATION TWENTY-SIX AND THIRTY-THREE). As a consequence of these changes, by 1980 only 3324 elevators were still licensed, and today the eight major companies still operating prairie country elevators own almost 99% of the approximately 1600 structures that remain (APPENDIX TWELVE: LICENSED COUNTRY ELEVATORS, 1911-81).

Changes also took place in the elevators themselves, although the basic concept (the elevation of the grain allowing it to flow to bins and grain cars, using gravity, much like a liquid) remained the same, and many older elevators remain in use (APPENDIX THIRTEEN: INVENTORY OF CONTEMPORARY ELEVATORS). Computerization has now become widespread, however, allowing the better management of individual elevators, as well as elevator lines. Elevators have greatly increased in size. Although now measured in tonnes rather than bushels, the "prairie sentinel" may now be over 200,000 bushels (5680 tonnes) in capacity -- eight times that of its ancestors. A UGG elevator in Dauphin (for instance) is 6,500 tonnes, and the same town has a Cargill structure of 8,840 tonnes, and two Pool houses totalling 12,740 tonnes. The provincial average is nearly 4,500 tonnes (c. 160,000 bushels). Many are now located outside the town or village limits, as there is no longer enough room to accommodate these behemoths (some with sidings for 50-car "spots", and 20-car "spots" being regarded as essential for efficient operation), along with the new-style grain cars, and the huge contemporary farm trucks, within settlements designed for the horse-and-cart age. Taxes and land prices may also be lower outside of



ILLUSTRATION TWENTY-FIVE  
PIONEER GRAIN, FAMILY TREE

Source: Everitt

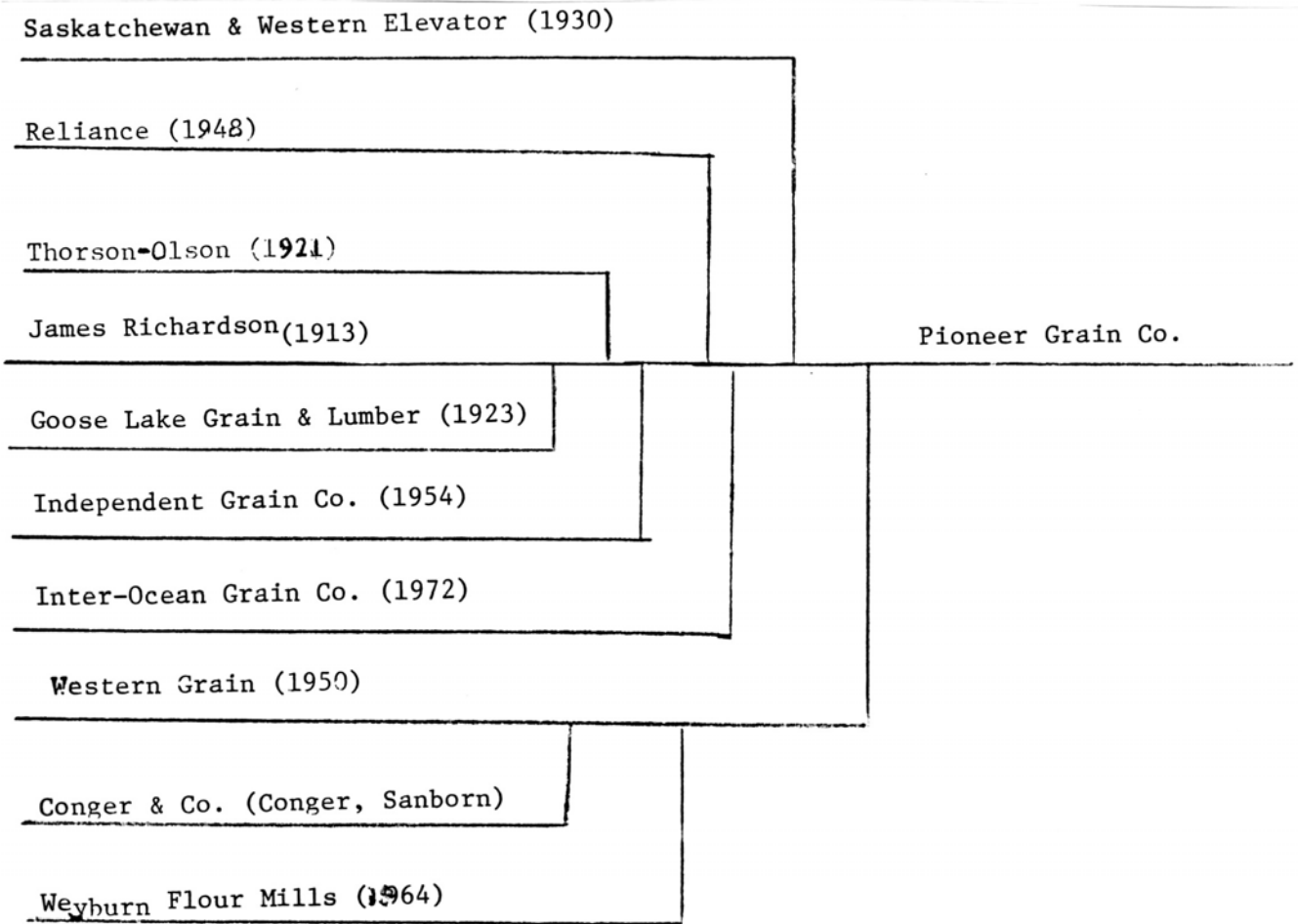


ILLUSTRATION TWENTY-SIX  
PATERSON AND PIONEER GRAIN ELEVATORS, 1964-65

N.M. Paterson and Sons and Pioneer Grain have long been dominant elevator owning companies. Paterson has always had a stronger Manitoba presence, whereas Pioneer has been more dominant elsewhere in the Prairies.

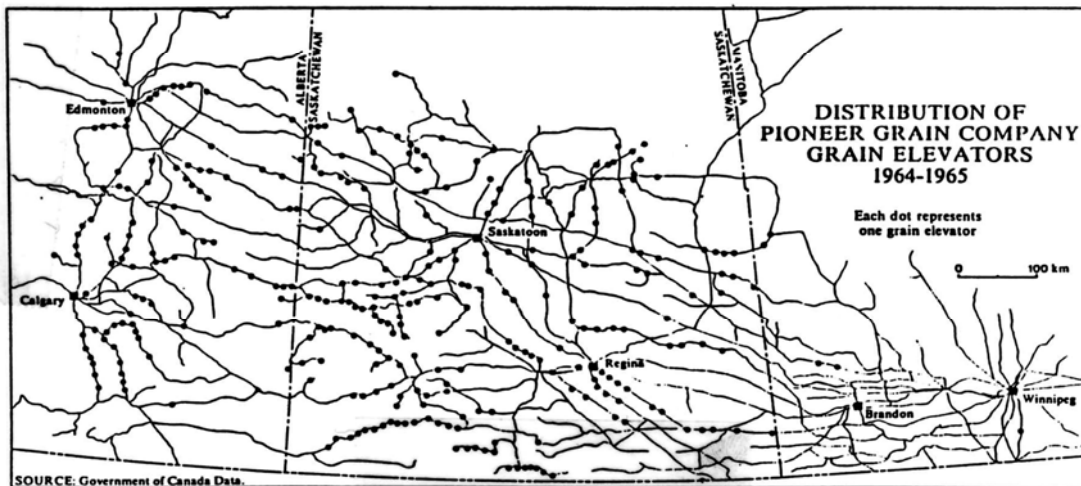
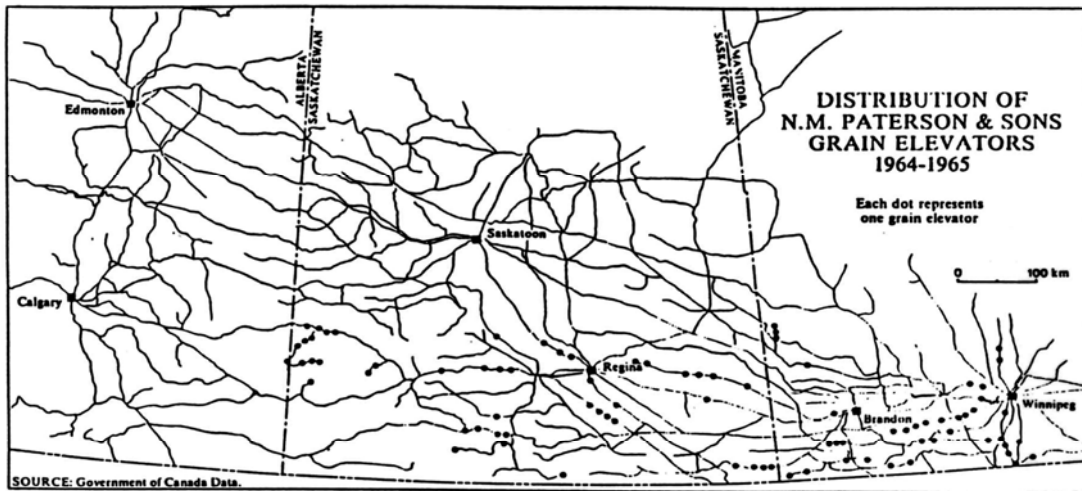
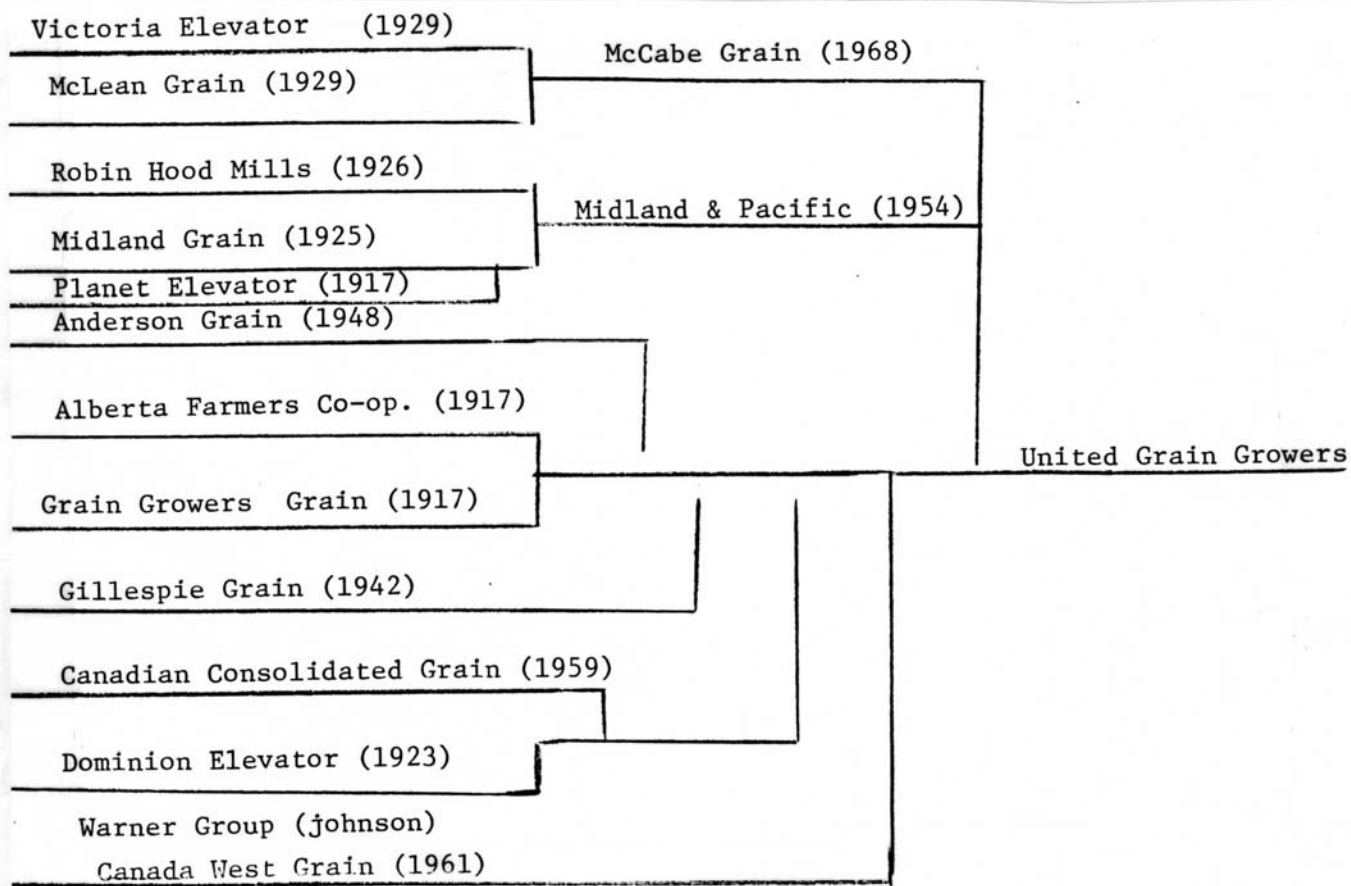


ILLUSTRATION TWENTY-SEVEN  
UNITED GRAIN GROWERS, FAMILY TREE

Source: Everitt



settlement-limits. Styles are now also somewhat different, as technology has improved and cost-shaving has become increasingly important. Thus the closed-in cupola has now commonly been replaced by an exposed grain-machinery network on the head of the elevator (reducing fire danger and other problems), and concrete structures are becoming more usual. Concrete has long been a feature in the USA but was slow to catch-on here, as wood was preferred, and concrete was felt to be more liable to grain dust explosions (although less susceptible to fire). Although the Pool has adopted many of these new design features, Cargill has claimed to be the source of many of these innovations.

ILLUSTRATION TWENTY-EIGHT  
THE RATIONALIZATION OF THE ELEVATOR SYSTEM

Source: Everitt

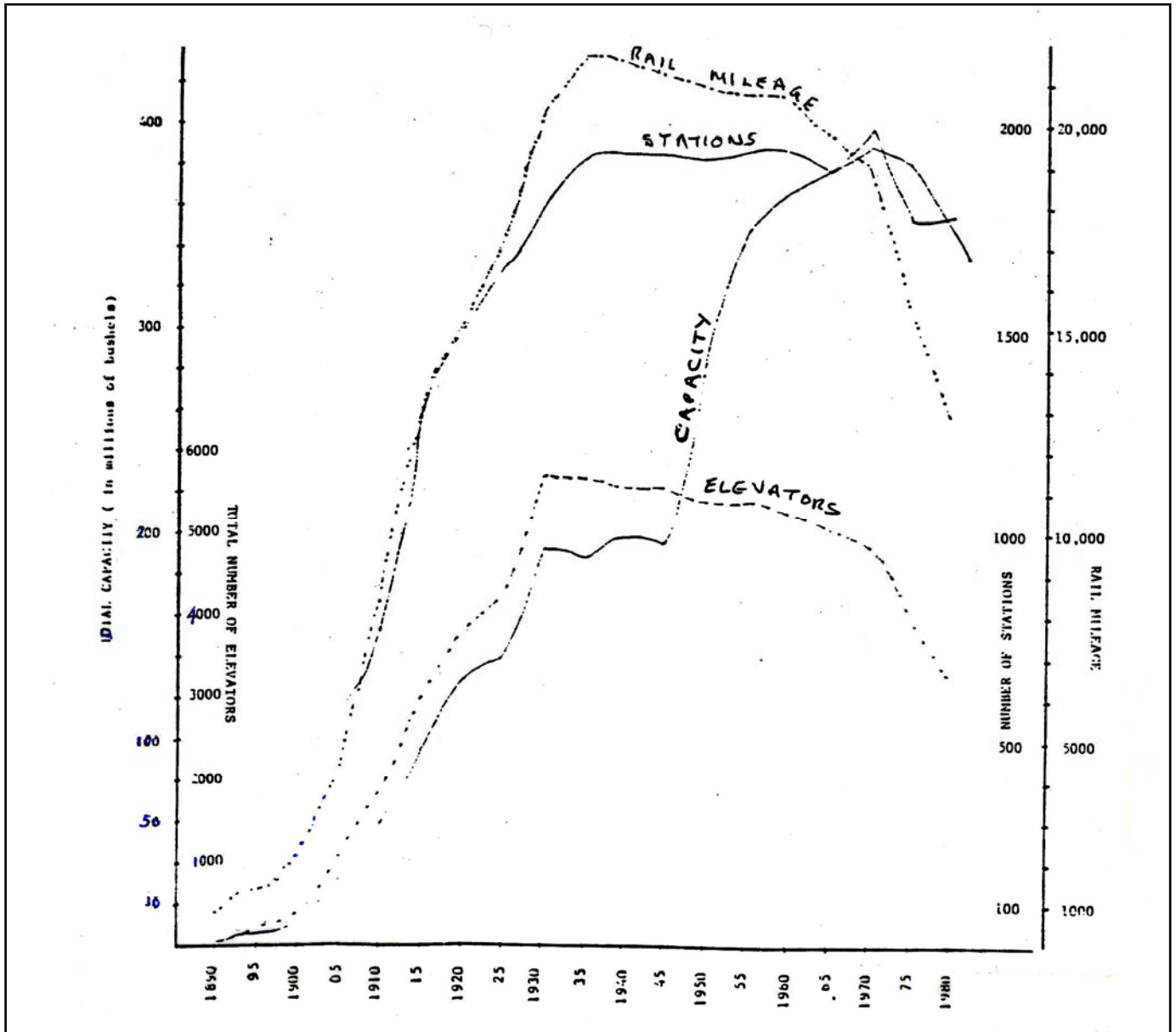


ILLUSTRATION TWENTY-NINE SEARLE GRAIN 1964-65, AND FEDERAL GRAIN 1964-65

Federal Grain and Searle Grain grew to be the largest private elevator-owning companies on the Prairies, before amalgamating in 1967, and then selling to the three Pools in 1972.

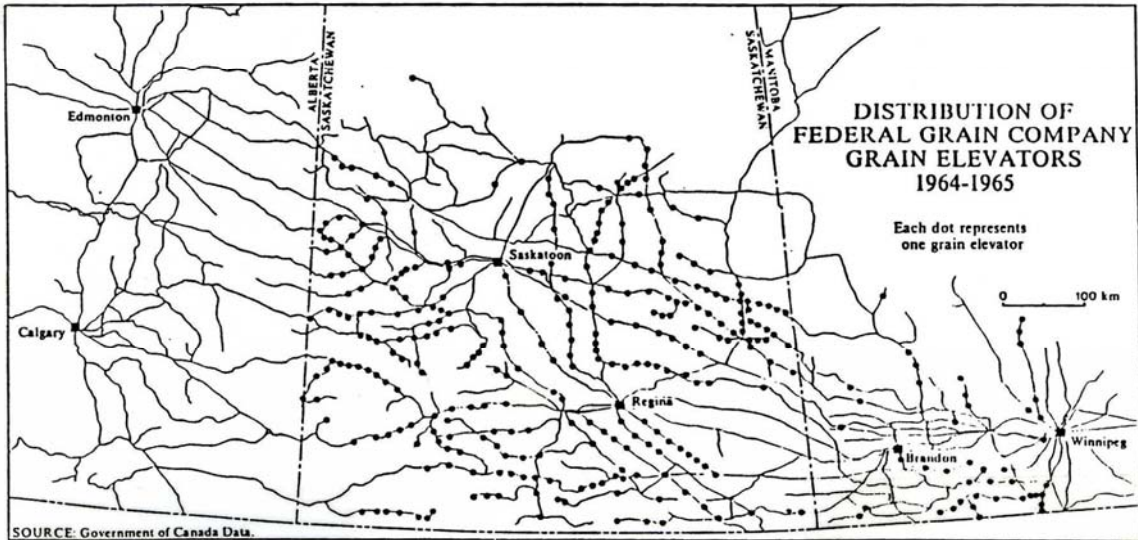
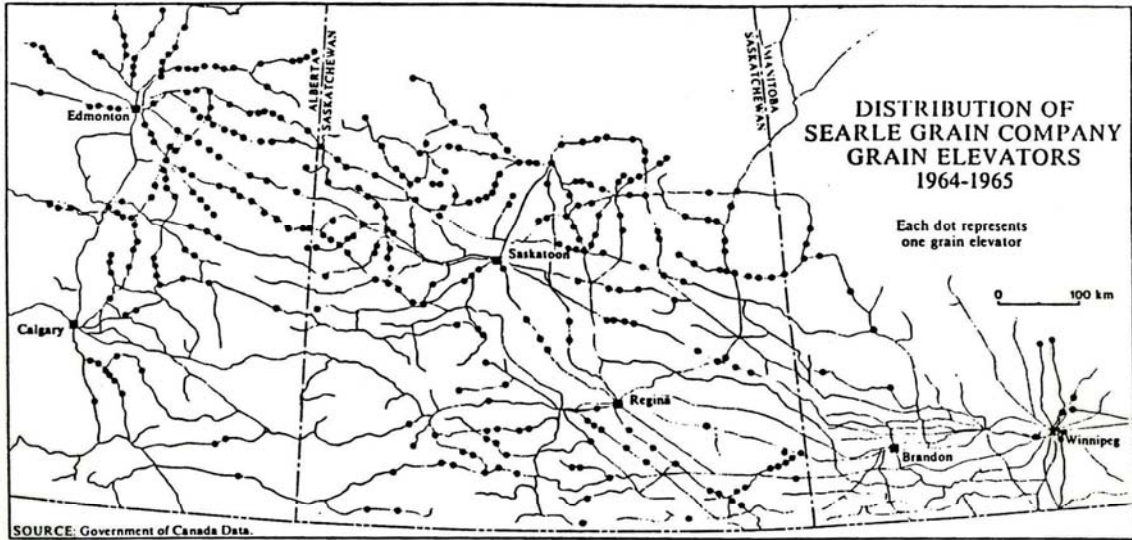
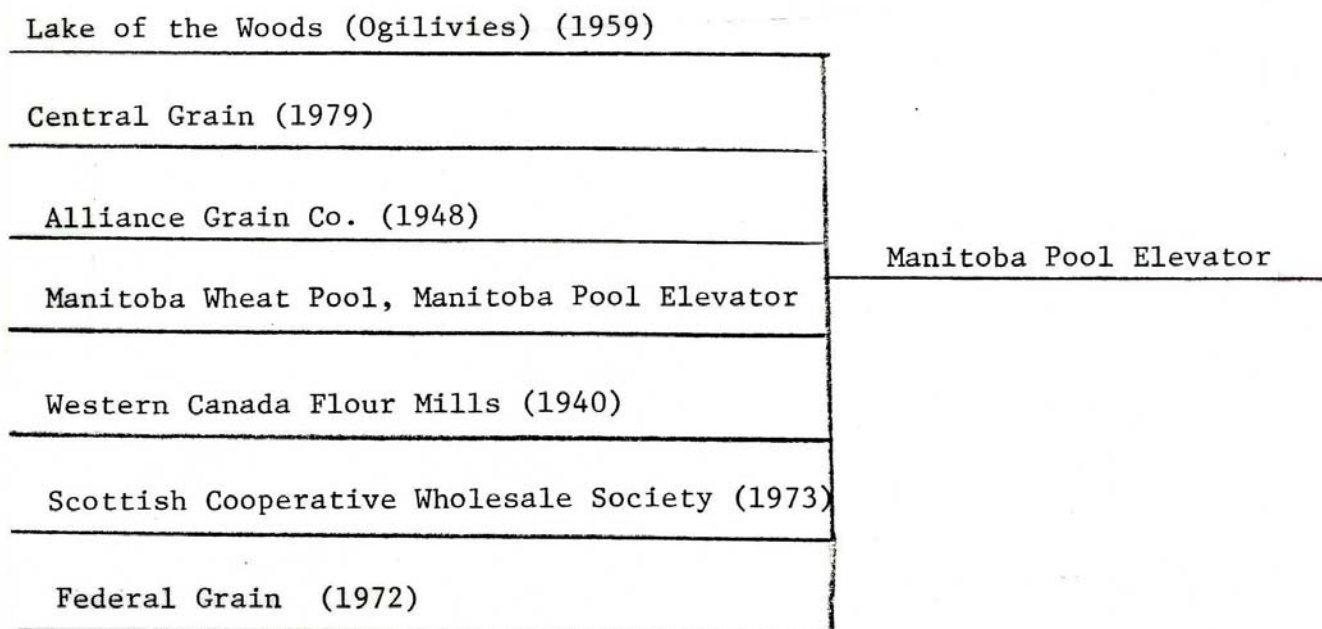


ILLUSTRATION THIRTY  
MANITOBA POOL FAMILY TREE

Source: Everitt



## ILLUSTRATION THIRTY-ONE

NORTHERN ELEVATOR COMPANY, 1911-12

BRITISH AMERICAN COMPANY 1911-12, AND NATIONAL GRAIN COMPANY 1964-65  
ELEVATORS

The Northern Elevator Company and the British America Elevator Company were both owned by Peavey interests (U.S.) in 1911. In 1940, they were amalgamated into National Grain, which was taken over by Cargill Grain in 1974.

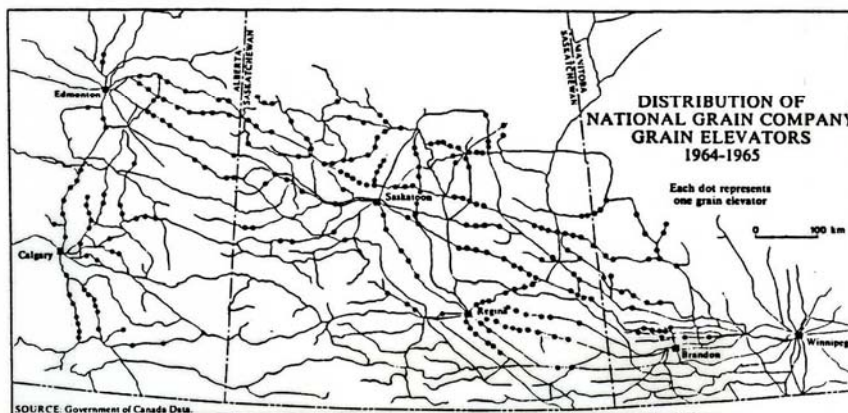
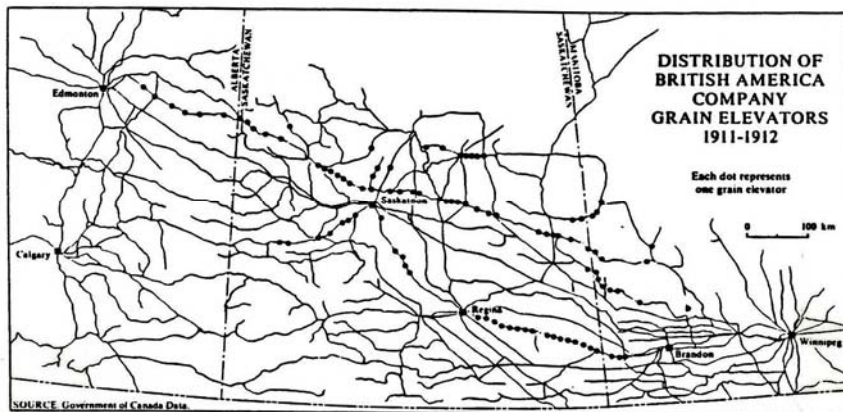
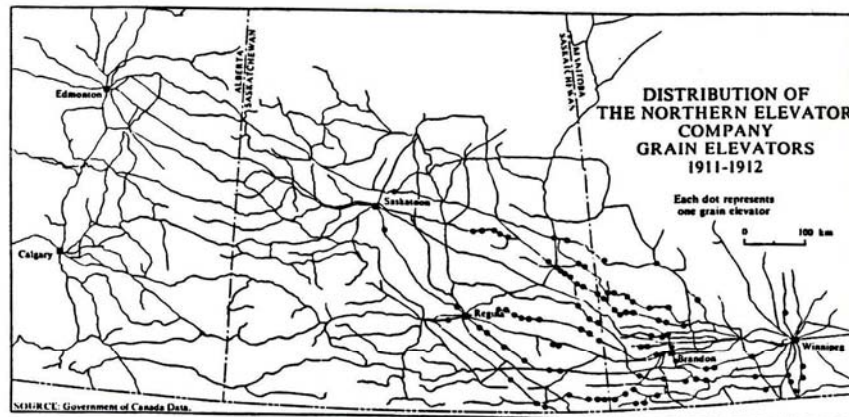


ILLUSTRATION THIRTY-TWO  
PARRISH AND HEIMBECKER FAMILY TREE

Source: Everitt

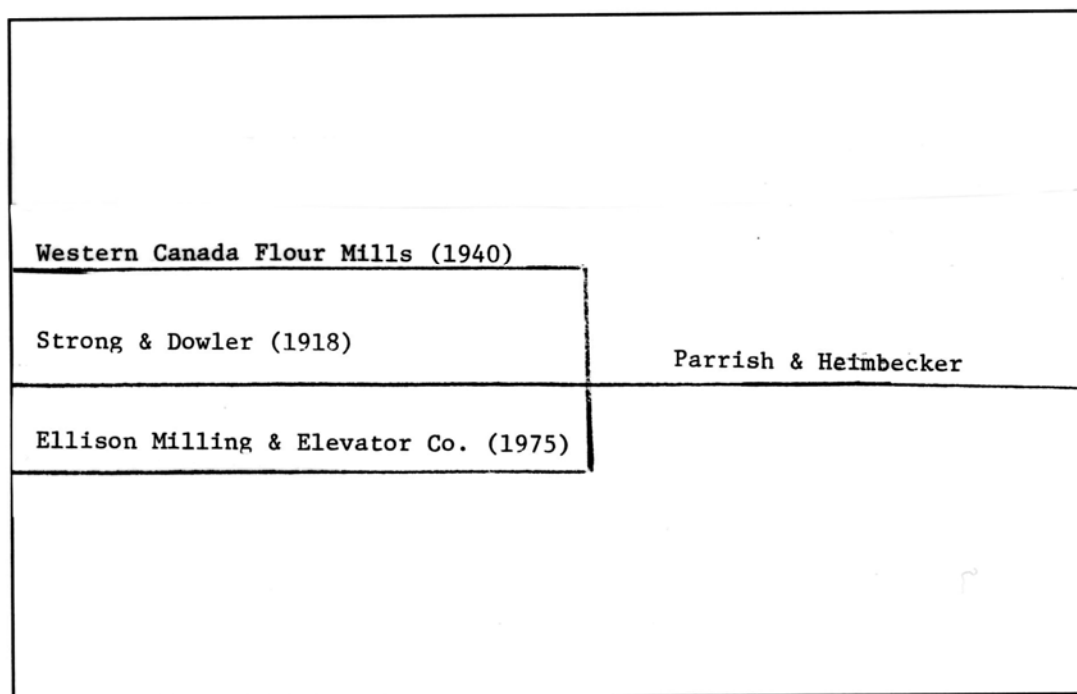
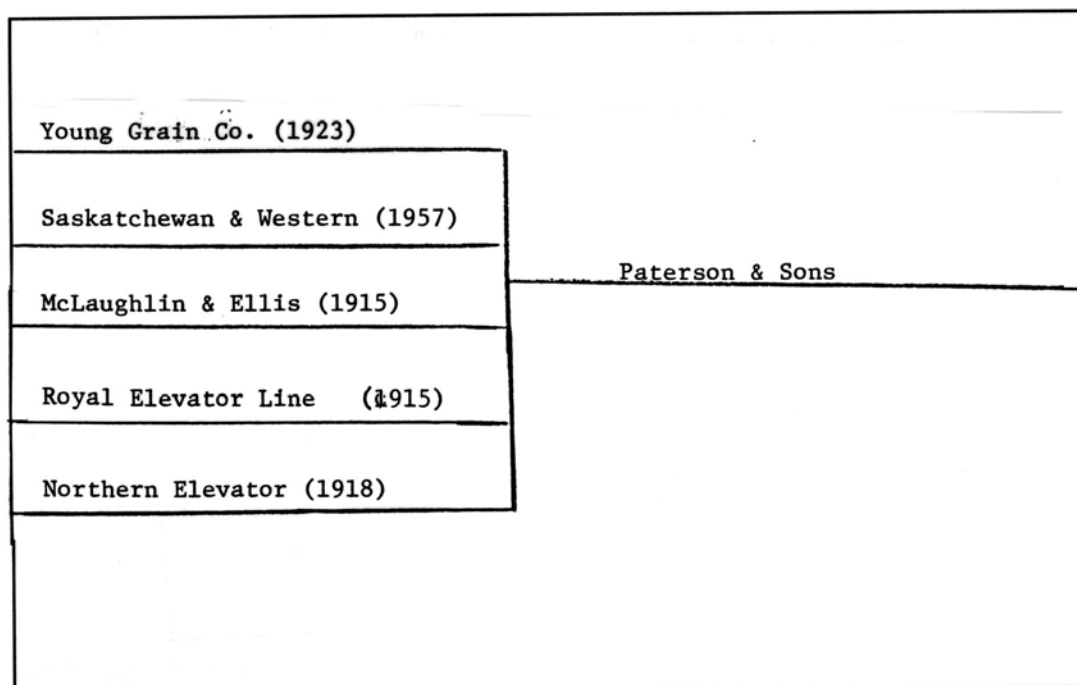


ILLUSTRATION THIRTY-THREE  
PATERSON, FAMILY TREE

Source: Everitt





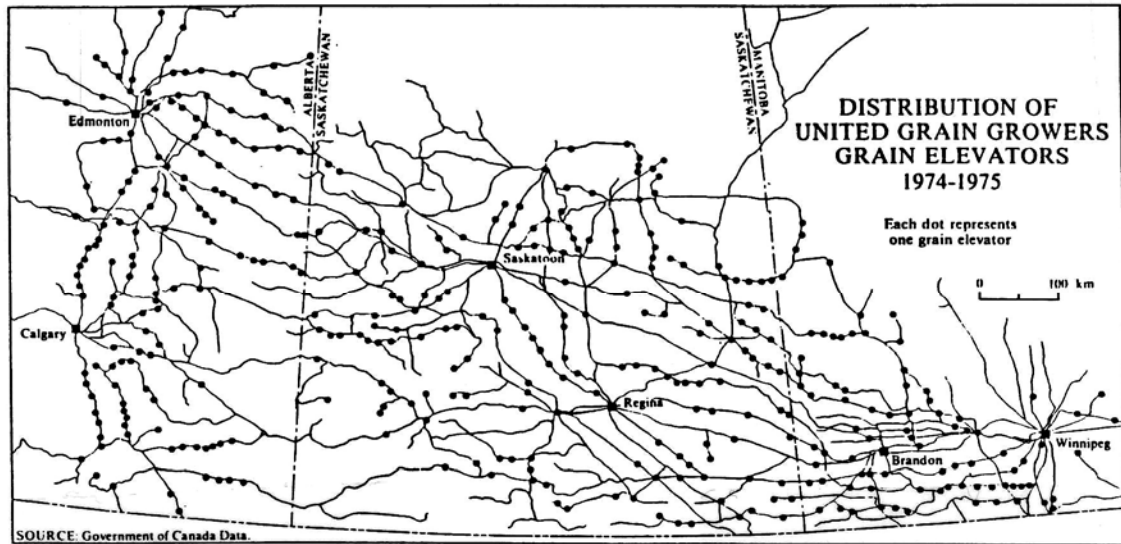
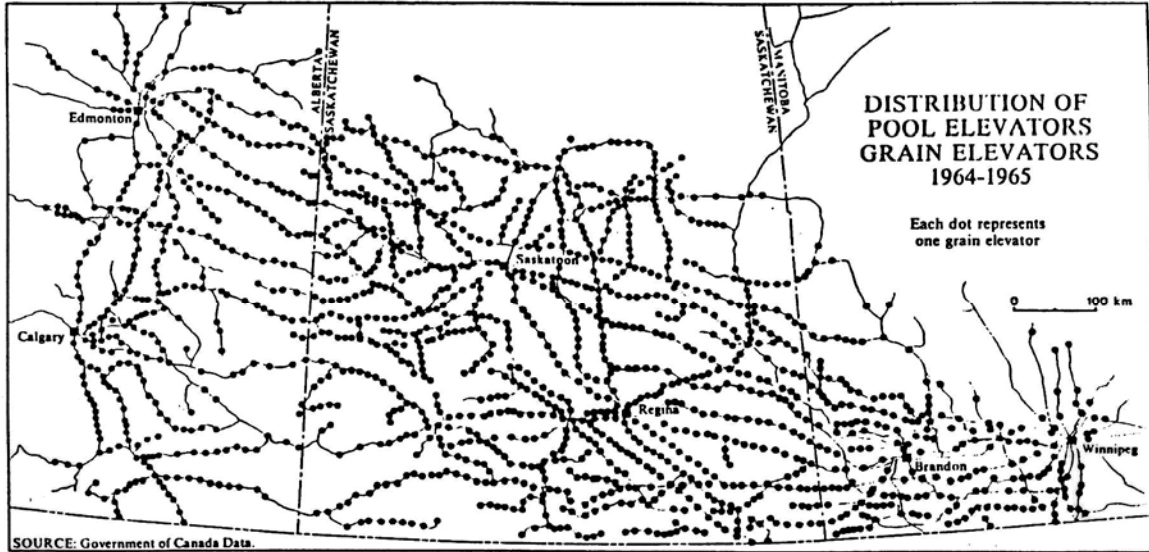
## CONCLUSION

The development of the grain trade on the prairies in general, and in Manitoba in particular, has been spectacular and exciting. It transformed an area of sparse permanent settlement into a series of cultural landscapes that have a considerable degree of permanence. It helped to establish or consolidate Winnipeg and other major urban centres in the region, and often created, or at least strongly influenced the social and economic orders of these central places.

The growth of the grain trade has, however, been characterized by constant change, with perhaps the major variation in the last seven decades being in the companies that have controlled the trade. In 1921, there were sixty-seven major elevator-owning companies on the prairies -- mostly headquartered in the Grain Exchange building in Winnipeg. In 1992, there were eight, and their elevator numbers were only some 26% of the 1930s peak, and may well drop by half over the next decade as the Canadian grain trade struggles to solve the problems of competition in the "world system." Symptomatic of these changes is a much looser association with what has become the Commodity Exchange,<sup>230</sup> and a much greater dependence upon government intervention.<sup>231</sup>

In the early 1920s farmer ownership was still relatively unimportant, in terms of elevator numbers -- the UGG owned, for instance, only eight percent of the total number of elevators. But in the early 1990s farmer ownership is the norm, with some 75% of the country elevators being in producers' hands. The visible infrastructural symbol of the grain trade in Manitoba was, by the late nineteenth century the private line elevator. Today the symbolic significance of the elevator is still arguably intact, but on the contemporary scene this elevator is more likely to be one belonging to the Pool or the United Grain Growers (ILLUSTRATION THIRTY-FOUR).

### ILLUSTRATION THIRTY-FOUR FARMER-OWNED ELEVATORS NOW DOMINATE THE PRAIRIES



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**APPENDIX ONE: THE ELEVATOR LANDSCAPE****DATA FOR MANITOBA, SASKATCHEWAN, AND ALBERTA**

| <b>DATE</b> | <b>NUMBER<br/>OF<br/>STATIONS</b> | <b>NUMBER<br/>OF<br/>ELEVATORS</b> | <b>NUMBER<br/>OF<br/>WAREHOUSES</b> | <b>AVERAGE<br/>ELEVATOR<br/>CAPACITY</b> |
|-------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1884        |                                   | 31                                 | 41                                  | 26839                                    |
| 1890        | 85                                | 94                                 | 101                                 | 27702                                    |
| 1891        | 96                                | 116                                | 113                                 | 27513                                    |
| 1892        | 115                               | 151                                | 133                                 | 29530                                    |
| 1893        | 129                               | 186                                | 157                                 | 30151                                    |
| 1896        | 141                               | 256                                | 126                                 | 28916                                    |
| 1897        | 154                               | 281                                | 150                                 | 29309                                    |
| 1898        | 168                               | 346                                | 107                                 | 30223                                    |
| 1899        | 192                               | 425                                | 117                                 | 28500                                    |
| 1900        | 217                               | 458                                | 116                                 | 27954                                    |
| 1901-02     | 240                               | 538                                | 87                                  |  |
| 1902-03     | 282                               | 734                                | 82                                  |  |
| 1903-04     | 320                               | 912                                | 64                                  |  |
| 1904-05     | 356                               | 967                                | 46                                  |  |
| 1905-06     | 411                               | 1049                               | 50                                  |  |
| 1906-07     | 487                               | 1212                               | 52                                  |  |
| 1907-08     | 521                               | 1305                               | 36                                  |  |
| 1908-09     | 629                               | 1416                               | 41                                  |  |
| 1909-1910   | 769                               | 1763                               | 37                                  |  |
| 1911        | 916                               | 2001                               | 31                                  |  |
| 1915        | 1314                              | 2991                               | 6                                   | 31903                                    |
| 1916        | 1317                              | 3299                               |                                     |  |
| 1920        | 1506                              | 3789                               | 0                                   | 34049                                    |
| 1924        | 1683                              | 4208                               |                                     |  |
| 1928        | 1940                              | 5343                               |                                     |  |
| 1930        | 2038                              | 5724                               |                                     | 33716                                    |
| 1933        | 2099                              | 5758                               |                                     | 33475                                    |
| 1935        | 2162                              | 5715                               |                                     | 33152                                    |
| 1940        | 2154                              | 5647                               |                                     | 35484                                    |
| 1943        | 2138                              | 5660                               |                                     |  |
| 1952        | 2090                              | 5403                               |                                     |  |
| 1960        | 2071                              | 5338                               |                                     |  |
| 1970        | 1908                              | 4947                               |                                     | 80215                                    |
| 1981        | 1240                              | 3117                               |                                     | 96305                                    |
| 1987        | 1066                              | 1790                               |                                     | 162000                                   |
| 1988        | 1050                              | 1705                               |                                     |  |

**APPENDIX TWO: MANITOBA ELEVATORS 1901-1918**

| <b>Date</b> | <b>Elevators</b> | <b>Warehouses</b> | <b>Stations</b> |
|-------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| 1901        | 333              | 76                | 167             |
| 1902        | 427              | 69                | 180             |
| 1903        | 558              | 59                | 216             |
| 1904        | 651              | 46                | 234             |
| 1905        | 669              | 33                | 247             |
| 1906        | 699              | 33                | 271             |
| 1907        | 686              | 32                | 275             |
| 1908        | 685              | 20                | 282             |
| 1909        | 678              | 13                | 300             |
| 1910        | 696              | 11                | 312             |
| 1911        | 707              | 12                | 329             |
| 1912        | 705              | 10                | 336             |
| 1914        | 689              | 6                 | 347             |
| 1915        | 678              | 8                 | 348             |
| 1916        | 682              | 6                 | 348             |
| 1917        | 672              | 0                 | 352             |
| 1918        | 690              | 0                 | 366             |



**APPENDIX THREE**

Canadian Pacific Railway  
Western Division  
Elevator Capacity 1884

| LOCATION     | ELEVATORS           |                       | WAREHOUSES           |                       |
|--------------|---------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
|              | Owner               | Capacity<br>(Bushels) | Owner                | Capacity<br>(Bushels) |
| Port Arthur  | C.P.R.              | 3,420,000             | C.P.R.               | 150,000               |
| Fort William | C.P.R.              | 1,200,000             | C.P.R.               | 200,000               |
| Emerson      | Ogilvie Milling Co. | 15,000                | Hudson's Bay Co.     | 30,000                |
|              | James Thompson      | 27,000                | Hudson's Bay Co.     | 40,000                |
| Niverville   |                     |                       | Swan & Irvin         | 20,000                |
|              |                     |                       | Waterloo Milling Co. | 15,000                |
|              |                     |                       | Livingston & Co.     | 40,000                |
|              |                     |                       | W.J. Traill          | 20,000                |
|              |                     |                       | R.R. Hepburn         | 15,000                |
| Gretna       | Ogilvie Milling Co. | 15,000                |                      |                       |
|              | J. Macara           | 35,000                |                      |                       |
| Morris       | Ogilvie Milling Co. | 45,000                | J.J. Livingstone     | 2,000                 |
|              | McBean Bros         | 25,000                | Ogilvie Milling Co.  | 1,500                 |
| Morris       | Ogilvie Milling Co. | 50,000                |                      |                       |
|              | McBean Bros         | 20,000                | Ogilvie Milling Co.  | 12,000                |

| LOCATION   | ELEVATORS             |                       | WAREHOUSES         |                       |
|------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
|            | Owner                 | Capacity<br>(Bushels) | Owner              | Capacity<br>(Bushels) |
| Morden     | Ogilvie Milling Co.   | 50,000                | Ogilvie Milling Co | 10,000                |
|            | McBean Bros.          | 50,000                | D.H. McMillan      | 11,000                |
| Thornhill  | Ogilvie Milling Co.   | 15,000                |                    |                       |
| Manitou    | Ogilvie Milling Co.   | 45,000                |                    |                       |
|            | Farmer's Elevator Co. | 30,000                |                    |                       |
| Stonewall  | W. Magwood            | 14,000                |                    |                       |
| Winnipeg   | Ogilvie Milling Co.   | 140,000               | R.W. Francis       | 30,000                |
|            | D.H. McMillan         | 65,000                | W. Bawlf           | 11,000                |
|            |                       |                       | F.S. Gray          | 30,000                |
|            |                       |                       | D.L. McKenzie      | 5,000                 |
|            |                       |                       | McBean Bros.       | 40,000                |
| High Bluff | J.A.K. Drummond       | 15,000                |                    |                       |
|            | Ogilvie Milling Co.   | 10,000                |                    |                       |
|            | J.W. Sparling         | 2,000                 |                    |                       |
| Carberry   | Jas. McKay            | 40,000                | R.D. Rorison       | 10,000                |
|            | Ogilvie Milling Co.   | 15,000                |                    |                       |
| Chater     | T.D. Woodcock         | 25,000                |                    |                       |

| LOCATION           | ELEVATORS             |                       | WAREHOUSES       |                       |
|--------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|-----------------------|
|                    | Owner                 | Capacity<br>(Bushels) | Owner            | Capacity<br>(Bushels) |
| Portage la Prairie | Ogilvie Milling Co.   | 45,000                | Hudson's Bay Co. | 18,000                |
|                    | Portage Milling Co..  | 100,000               | D.G. McBean      | 30,000                |
|                    |                       |                       | R. McCuaig       | 10,000                |
|                    |                       |                       | E. McDonald      | 15,000                |
|                    |                       |                       | J.W. McLean      | 6,000                 |
|                    |                       |                       | W.M. Smith       | 20,000                |
|                    |                       |                       | W.T. Smith       | 10,000                |
| Brandon            | Alex Kelly & Co.      | 30,000                |                  |                       |
|                    | Selby Elevator        | 30,000                |                  |                       |
|                    | Ogilvie Milling Co.   | 45,000                |                  |                       |
|                    | D.H. McMillan & Bros. | 30,000                |                  |                       |
| Alexander          | Ogilvie Milling Co.   | 10,000                |                  |                       |
| Griswold           | Farmers Elevator Co.  | 30,000                |                  |                       |
| Oak Lake           | Ogilvie Milling Co.   | 15,000                |                  |                       |
| Virden             | Ogilvie Milling Co.   | 40,000                |                  |                       |
|                    | McBean Bros.          | 20,000                |                  |                       |
| Elkhorn            | Ogilvie Milling Co.   | 15,000                |                  |                       |
|                    | H.M. Power            | 8,000                 |                  |                       |

## APPENDIX FOUR

### Farmer Ownership of Elevators (by license)

|         | Number of Farmer<br>Owned* Elevators | Total Number of<br>Country Elevators | %    |
|---------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|------|
| 1900-01 | 26                                   | 321                                  | 6.2  |
| 1911-12 | 192**                                | 2001                                 | 9.6  |
| 1916-17 | 532                                  | 3299                                 | 16.1 |
| 1920-21 | 683                                  | 3789                                 | 18.0 |
| 1924-25 | 812                                  | 4208                                 | 19.3 |
| 1928-29 | 1814                                 | 5343                                 | 34.0 |
| 1987-88 | 1312                                 | 1770                                 | 74.1 |

\*Includes the major farmer owned companies and individual firms designated as "Farmers' Elevator Companies" in official government of Canada listings.

\*\*Includes MEC elevators.

#### Sources:

Wilson, Century of Canadian Grain, p. 15, List of Licensed Elevators and Warehouses, (1911-12, 1915-17, 1920-21, 1924-25, and 1928-29) and Grain Elevators in Canada, 1987-88.

**APPENDIX FIVE**

## Number of Elevators in the MEC System 1910-29\*

|      |     |      |     |
|------|-----|------|-----|
| 1910 | 174 | 1920 | 125 |
| 1911 | 170 | 1921 | 124 |
| 1912 | 170 | 1922 | 124 |
| 1913 | 170 | 1923 | 123 |
| 1914 | 168 | 1924 | 122 |
| 1915 | 167 | 1925 | 79  |
| 1916 | 158 | 1926 | 40  |
| 1917 | 135 | 1927 | 19  |
| 1918 | 135 | 1928 | 0   |
| 1919 | 135 |      |     |

\*Numbers are the best estimates based upon data from the Manitoba Archives. Some figures are disputed in different places in the records of the M.E.C., but the variation from the above is minor.

Source:

Manitoba Archives, Papers of the Manitoba Elevator Commission, 1808-31.

**APPENDIX SIX**

## Number of Elevators Purchased Per Station 1910

|                               |          |                        |
|-------------------------------|----------|------------------------|
| Stations with one elevator    | 37       | ( 37 elevators)        |
| Stations with two elevators   | 26       | ( 52 elevators)        |
| Stations with three elevators | 14       | ( 42 elevators)        |
| Stations with four elevator   | 7        | (28 elevators)         |
| Stations with five elevators  | 1        | ( 5 elevators)         |
|                               | <hr/> 85 | <hr/> ( 164 elevators) |

Source:

Manitoba Archives, Papers of the Manitoba Elevator Commission 1908-31.

**APPENDIX SEVEN**

## Summary of Elevator Purchase/Building Dates\*

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| Purchased 1910   | 164       |
| Purchased 1911   | 2         |
| Built (new) 1910**                                       | 10        |
| Built (new) 1912   | 2         |
| Built (largely from dismantled<br>Elevators) 1911-1923** | 29        |
|  | <hr/> 207 |

- Dates are "probably correct" as records are in conflict in some cases.
- \*\* Begun in 1910 but not all completed during that year.
- \*\*\*1911:1; 1912:3, 1913:5; 1915:1; 1916:7; 1917:5; 1919:2; 1920:2; 1921:2; 1923:1.

Source:

Manitoba Archives, papers of the Manitoba Elevator Commission 1908-31.

## APPENDIX EIGHT

### Final Disposition of MEC Elevators

|      | Sold to<br>UGC | Sold to<br>J. Wiley | Others<br>Sold | Dismantled  | Burned      |
|------|----------------|---------------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1910 |                |                     |                | 1           |             |
| 1911 |                |                     |                |             | 1           |
| 1912 |                |                     | 1              | 3           | 1           |
| 1913 |                |                     | 1              | 9           | 1           |
| 1914 |                |                     |                |             |             |
| 1915 |                |                     |                |             | 1           |
| 1916 |                |                     | 4              | 10          | 3           |
| 1917 | 6              | 1                   | 9*             | 10          | 1           |
| 1918 |                |                     |                |             |             |
| 1919 |                |                     | 2              | 5           |             |
| 1920 | 1              |                     |                | 4           | 1           |
| 1921 |                |                     |                | 4           | 1           |
| 1922 |                |                     |                |             |             |
| 1923 |                |                     |                | 2           |             |
| 1924 | 43             |                     | 1              |             | 1           |
| 1925 | 1              |                     | 1              |             |             |
| 1926 | 39             | 15                  | 3              |             |             |
| 1927 | <u>    </u>    | <u>19**</u>         | <u>    </u>    | <u>    </u> | <u>    </u> |
|      | 90             | 35                  | 22             | 48          | 11          |

\* Includes the "Hamiota Edwards" elevator that was bought in two parts - a mill and an elevator - but operated and was sold as one.

\*\* Includes nine immediately transferred to the UGG.

Source: Manitoba Archives, Papers of the Manitoba Elevator Commission, 1908-31.

## APPENDIX NINE

### Origins of Elevator Purchases by the MEC

| Company                           | No. of Elevators Surveyed<br>(per company), 1910 | No. of Elevators Purchased<br>(per company), 1910-11 | No. of Elevators Remaining (per company) in<br>Manitoba, 1911 |
|-----------------------------------|--|--|---|
| Farmers E. Co.'s                  | 38   | 22   | 14  |
| Dominion                          | 36   | 19   | 25  |
| Canadian                          | 34   | 18   | 41  |
| Northern                          | 25   | 25   | 52  |
| Winnipeg*                         | 24   | 24   | 0   |
| McCabe                            | 20   | 0  | 24  |
| British America                   | 19   | 1  | 19  |
| Imperial                          | 14   | 7  | 7   |
| International                     | 13   | 5  | 9   |
| Western                           | 7  | 7  | 7   |
| McLaughlin                        | 7  | 3  | 3   |
| Smith-Murphy                      | 6  | 3  | 2   |
| Dow Cereal                        | 4  | 3  | 1   |
| North Star                        | 3  | 3  | 1   |
| Other (2 or fewer<br>per company) | 40   | 26   | N/A   |
|                                   | 290  | 166  | 205   |

\* Sold to Canadian Elevator Company in 1910.

Source: Manitoba Archives, Papers of the Manitoba Elevator Commission 1908-31.



## APPENDIX TEN

## THE PEAVEY ELEVATOR GROUP

British America (1906)

National Elevator Co. (1906?)

Northern Elevator Co. (1893)

## ELEVATOR STATUS AS OF 1911

CANADIAN  
NORTHERN  
19 - MAN  
77 - SAS  
7 - ALB  
103

CANADIAN  
PACIFIC  
2 - MAN  
7 - SAS  
7 - ALB  
16

N.B. + 18 on CNR-SAS

34 CRP-MAN  
18 CNR-MAN  
52

Bought ATLAS ELVEL. CO. in 1919 (E.C. Warner &amp; W.H. McWilliams)

43 CPR-SAS  
7 CNR-SAS  
50

[1911]  
8 GPT-MAN  
37 GPTSAS  
2 GTP-ALB  
47

**ALL INTO NATIONAL GRAIN CO.**  
1940

Added SECURITY ELEV. CO. in 1929 (already Wells and Heffelfinger).

[1911]  
6 GTP-MAN  
33 GTP-SAS  
10 GTP-ALB  
49

**SOLD TO CARGILL 1974**

N.B. - Wells and Heffelfinger (sons-in-law of Frank Peavey) also owned Grand Trunk Pacific Elevator Co. (Terminal), The Globe Elevator Co. (Terminal), and the Monarch Elevator Co.

## APPENDIX ELEVEN

## THE SEARLE ELEVATOR GROUP

Augustus L. Searle

Rosabelle Searle married  
N.L. LeachFlorence Searle married  
J.M. GilchristStewart A. Searle married  
Sally Appleyard

A. Searle Leach

C. Searle + S.A. Searle

SASKATCHEWAN  
ELEVATOR CO.  
(1911 purchased  
from P. Jansen)HOME  
GRAIN  
(1914)LIBERTY  
GRAIN  
(1919?)SEARLE GRAIN  
(1921)

## 1929 OFFICERS

A.L. Searle (Pres)  
N.L. Leach (VP)J.M. Gilchrist  
N.L. Searle (VP)  
A.L. Searle (Director)  
S.A. Searle (VP & Treas)

A.L. Searle (Pres)

A.L. Searle (Pres)  
S.A. Searle (Treas)All consolidated into SEARLE GRAIN:  
Sask Elev (1929)  
Liberty (1929)  
Home (1929/1948)Also had interest in: GLOBE ELEV CO.  
(A.L. Searle VP & GM)  
NORTHLAND ELEV (N.L. LEACH VP)**N.B.** Amalgamation also included:  
SEARLE TERMINAL (1928)  
(N.L. Leach VP)  
STANDARD ELEV (1938)  
QUAKER OATS (1938)  
RELIANCE (1948)All consolidated into FEDERAL GRAIN  
(1967)  
S.A. Searle (Chairman)  
A.S. Leach (President)  
S.A. Searle Jr. (VP & Treas)Sold to the three WHEAT POOLS (1972)

## APPENDIX TWELVE

Manitoba  
 LICENSED COUNTRY ELEVATORS  
 1900-1981  
 (SHOWING MAJOR ELEVATOR-OWNING COMPANIES THAT HAD A  
 MANITOBA PRESENCE)

| Elevator Company                            | 1900-<br>1901 | 1911-<br>1912 | 1916-<br>1917 | 1920-<br>1921 | 1924-<br>1925 | 1928-<br>1929 | 1932-<br>1933 | 1943-<br>1944 | 1952-<br>1953 | 1960-<br>1961 | 1970-<br>1971 | 1980-<br>1981 |
|---|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| Winnipeg Elevator Co. - Wpg?                | 45            |               |               |               |               |               |               |               |               |               |               |               |
| Farmers Elevator Co. - Various              | 26            | 22            |               |               |               |               |               |               |               |               |               |               |
| Manitoba Elevator Commission -<br>Wpg       |               | 170           |               |               |               |               |               |               |               |               |               |               |
| McLaughlin & Ellis - Winnipeg               |               | 14            |               |               |               |               |               |               |               |               |               |               |
| Grain Growers Grain Co. - Wpg               |               |               | 132           |               |               |               |               |               |               |               |               |               |
| Atlas Elevator Company - Wpg.               |               | 47            | 63            | 58            |               |               |               |               |               |               |               |               |
| Young Grain Company Ltd - Wpg               |               |               | 12            | 13            | 13            |               |               |               |               |               |               |               |
| Dominion Elevator Co. - Wpg                 | 64            | 43            | 43            | 38            | 51            |               |               |               |               |               |               |               |
| Midland Grain Co. - Winnipeg                |               |               | 17            | 32            | 35            |               |               |               |               |               |               |               |
| Richardson, James & Sons - Wpg              |               | 25            | 1             | 18            | 1             |               |               |               |               |               |               |               |
| International Elevator Co. - Wpg.           |               | 43            | 49            | 45            | 47            | 44            |               |               |               |               |               |               |
| Liberty Grain Co. Ltd. - Wpg                |               |               |               | 12            | 33            | 37            |               |               |               |               |               |               |
| Maple Leaf Milling Co. - Wpg                |               | 46            | 45            | 38            | 61            | 54            |               |               |               |               |               |               |
| Matheson Lindsay Grain Co. -Wpg             |               |               | 1             | 14            | 10            | 26            | 1             |               |               |               |               |               |
| Ruthenian Frms. Elev. Co. - Wpg             |               |               |               |               | 14            | 7             | 8             |               |               |               |               |               |
| Security Elevator Co. Ltd. - Wpg            |               | 49            | 72            | 70            | 114           | 118           |               |               |               |               |               |               |
| Union Grain Co. Ltd. - Winnipeg             |               |               |               | 8             | 16            | 24            |               |               |               |               |               |               |
| Victoria Elev. Co. Ltd. - Winnipeg          |               |               | 15            | 31            | 50            | 90            |               |               |               |               |               |               |
| Wiley Low and Co. Ltd. - Wpg                |               |               | 9             | 8             | 17            | 28            |               |               |               |               |               |               |
| Bawlf N. Grain Co. Ltd. - Wpg               |               | 11            | 50            | 118           | 108           | 109           | 111           |               |               |               |               |               |
| British-Amer Elev Co Ltd -Wpg               |               | 109           | 110           | 109           | 123           | 121           | 131           |               |               |               |               |               |
| Forsythe, A. & Co. - High Bluff             |               | 4             | 5             | 5             | 8             | 12            | 6             |               |               |               |               |               |
| National Elevator Co. - Winnipeg            |               | 34            | 70            | 87            | 100           | 115           | 124           |               |               |               |               |               |
| Northern Elev. Co. Ltd. - Wpg               | 92            | 102           | 72            | 52            | 74            | 69            | 168           |               |               |               |               |               |
| Western Canada Flour Mills Co.<br>Ltd. -Wpg |               | 79            | 88            | 96            | 90            | 85            | 85            |               |               |               |               |               |
| Reliance Grain Co. Ltd. - Wpg               |               |               | 34            | 36            | 1             | 1             |               | 260           |               |               |               |               |
| Western Grain Co. Ltd. - Wpg                |               |               |               |               |               |               | 263           | 263           |               |               |               |               |
| Canada West Grain Co. - Melfort -<br>Wpg    |               |               | 14            | 17            | 28            | 7             | 9             | 14            | 16            |               |               |               |



**APPENDIX THIRTEEN  
INVENTORY OF CONTEMPORARY ELEVATORS**

CONTEMPORARY ELEVATORS OF THE UGG

|                  |  |
|------------------|--|
| Altamont         | built 1925; overhauled 1964                                      |
| Arnaud           | built pre 1910 by Ogilvie; to Pool 1960; to UGG 1960             |
| Ashville         | built 1946   |
| Beausejour       | built 1921   |
| Belmont          | bought CCG in 1959; remodelled 1966; burned 1973; new 1974       |
| Benito           | built 1937; annex 1948; annex 1956                               |
| Boissevain       | old P & H? McCabe elevator bought 1968                           |
| Dominion City    | built 1932; annex 1950, 1957                                     |
| Elie             | bought CCG Co. in 1959 (pre 1911) now gone?                      |
| Fannystelle      | bought Paterson in 1962 (renovated 1970-71)                      |
| Hargrave         | built 1926; renovated 1967; bought Pool 1979                     |
| Inglis           | built 1925; annexes 1949 and 52; 2 Pool elevators bought in 1971 |
| Killarney        | one built c 1901?; one bought 1952; one remains?                 |
| Letellier        | built 1926   |
| McCreary         | built 1977; 1917 elevator in annex                               |
| Morden           | bought from McCabe 1958; renovated 1981                          |
| Nesbitt          | built 1895; rebuilt 1926   |
| Newdale          | built 1925; rebuilt 1966; now annex; built 1983                  |
| Oakburn          | built 1933; annex 1949; 1967 major overhaul                      |
| Oakville         | built 1955; old elevator (1917) now an annex                     |
| Pipestone        | built 1902; remodelled 1968; bought Pool in 1979                 |
| Plum Coulee      | bought McCabe 1968; bought Pool 1972                             |
| Rignold          | built 1938   |
| Roland           | built 1938; overhauled 1962; recently overhauled                 |
| Rosebank         | built pre 1912; overhauled 1970                                  |
| Ste. Anne        | built 1937 (McCabe); bought 1968, annex 1972                     |
| St. Claude       | built 1927; bought Pool (Ogilvie) 1960; converted to annex       |
| Ste. Rose du Lac | built 1911; extensive repairs in 1960s                           |
| Shoal Lake       | built 1928; now gone?  |
| Shortdale        | built 1933; annex 1955   |
| Somerset         | b. 1900?; rem. 1912; reb. 1928; remod. 1977; bought Paterson     |

|            |   |
|------------|---|
|            | 1981  |
| Souris     | bought McCabe 1968 (built 1961)                             |
| Swan Lake  | 1) built 1925 (UGG); 2) 1954 (Pool '71); 3) 1928 (Pool '74) |
| Treherne   | built 1927  |
| Viriden    | built (CN) 1917; moved to CP & modernized 1964              |
| Westbourne | built 1938 (fate ?); Lauder elev moved in 1964; built 1951  |

CONTEMPORARY MANITOBA POOL ELEVATORS  
CONSTRUCTION PRIOR TO 1940

**REGION 2: WINNIPEG SOUTH**

| <b><u>STATION</u></b> | <b><u>BUILT</u></b> | <b><u>RENOVATED</u></b> | <b><u>COMMENTS</u></b> |
|-----------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|
| Domain                | 1928                | 19                      |                        |
| Dufrost               | 38 (from Paterson)  |                         |                        |
| Elm Creek             | 28                  | 70                      |                        |
| LaSalle               | 38 (from Paterson)  |                         |                        |
| Lowe Farm             | 37                  | 84                      |                        |
| McTavish              | 37                  | 70                      |                        |
| Morris                | 38                  | 68                      |                        |
| Rosenfeld B           | 19                  | 66                      | Annex '84**            |
| Sperling              | 30                  | 66                      |                        |

**REGION 3: DAUPHIN NORTH**

| <b><u>STATION</u></b> | <b><u>BUILT</u></b> | <b><u>RENOVATED</u></b> | <b><u>COMMENTS</u></b> |
|-----------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|
| Fork River            |                     | ?                       | 1985                   |
| Silverton             | 193?                |                         | Old UGG                |
| Silverton             | 1928                |                         | 1972                   |

**REGION 4: DAUPHIN SOUTH**

| <b><u>STATION</u></b> | <b><u>BUILT</u></b> | <b><u>RENOVATED</u></b> | <b><u>COMMENTS</u></b> |
|-----------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|
| Arden                 | 1926                |                         | 1970                   |
| Basswood              | 26                  |                         | 69                     |
| Binscarth             | 29                  |                         | 81                     |
| Clanwilliam           | 28                  |                         | 82                     |
| Erickson              | ?                   |                         | 70                     |
| Minnedosa             | 29                  |                         | 85                     |
| Solsgirth             | 28                  |                         | 85                     |

**REGION 5: BRANDON EAST REGION**

| <b><u>STATION</u></b> | <b><u>BUILT</u></b> | <b><u>RENOVATED</u></b> | <b><u>COMMENTS</u></b> |
|-----------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|
| Baldur                | 1927                | 1973, 81                |                        |
| Clearwater            | 28                  |                         |                        |
| Crystal City          | 28                  |                         | **                     |
| Cypress River         | 30                  |                         |                        |
| Gregg                 | 32                  | 74, 91                  |                        |
| Holland               | 28                  | 82                      |                        |
| Justice               | 28                  | 66                      |                        |
| Mather                | 28                  | 68, 71                  |                        |
| Smart                 | 28                  | (Forrest)               |                        |
| Somerset              | 26                  | 86/87                   |                        |
| Treherne              | 28                  | 67, 78                  |                        |

**REGION 6: BRANDON WEST REGION**

| <b><u>STATION</u></b> | <b><u>BUILT</u></b> | <b><u>RENOVATED</u></b> | <b><u>COMMENTS</u></b> |
|-----------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|
| Boissevain            | 1928                | 1966*                   | *                      |
| Cromer A              | 26                  | 71                      |                        |
| Dunrea                | 28                  | 83 + 87                 | **                     |
| Kirkella              | 24                  | 65 + 75                 | **                     |
| Medora                | 27?                 |                         | **                     |
| Pierson               | 27                  | 74                      | *                      |

CONTEMPORARY PATERSON ELEVATORS  
CONSTRUCTED PRIOR TO 1940

1. **BALMORAL**                      **3,080 TONNES**

Erected 1898 by Northern Elevator Company; purchased by Paterson 1918; remodelled in 1918; rebuilt 1935 completely

2. **BRYD**                              **2,030 TONNES**

Built 1910; bought 1926 from Arnold

3. **CRACKNELL**                      **2,650 TONNES**

Built 1921 (material used from Sintaluta - Sintaluta bought 1916 from M & E)

4. **CULROSS**                         **3,950 TONNES**

Built 1920 (material used from Stoughton - Stoughton bought 1916 from M & E)

**5. CYPRESS RIVER 4,990 TONNES**

Built 1898 Northern Elevator Company; bought 1918; rebuilt 1927

**6. CRYSTAL CITY 5,580 TONNES**

1) built 1900 Winnipeg Elevator Company 1910 to Manitoba Elevator Commission  
1919 to Paterson

2) 1922 Second Elevator bought from Young Grain

BOTH REBUILT INTO ONE IN 1927. PERM. ANNEX BUILT INTO 1968 (saw-off for Bankend)

3) UGG elevator bought 1941 (saw-off for Bankend) Operated as #1 elevator. Built  
1927 (#2 elevator 1968); #1 elevator built 1968

**7. DACOTAH 2,980 TONNES**

Built 1917; new elevator 1957; old elevator used as permanent annex

**8. DUFROST 2,820 TONNES**

Built 1899 by Northern Elevator Company; bought 1918; rebuilt 1938 (material used from Kincaid - Kincaid bought from Northern 1918; burned 1921; rebuilt using Peebles material; Peebles from M & E in 1916).

**9. ELM CREEK 1,340 TONNES**

Built 1898 (1896?); bought 1918 from Northern Elevator Company; bought WCFM elevator 1938; dismantled both and rebuilt one.

**10. FAIRFAX 4,560 TONNES**

Built 1899; bought 1918 from Northern Elevator Company; remodelled 1929; 1966 moved Enterprise elevator to Fairfax and old elevator became permanent annex. (Enterprise elevator built 1904 by Young Grain Company and sold to Paterson in 1922.)

**11. HOLLAND 3,650 TONNES**

Erected 1891 by Stephenson and Crowe; bought 1918 from Northern Elevator Company; rebuilt 1927; rebuilt 1958.

**12. INGLIS 3,790 TONNES**

Built 1922 by Paterson



**13. KILLARNEY 9,120 TONNES**

1 bought 1920 from Pritchard; 1 bought 1922 from Young (1923?); both dismantled and rebuilt 1927; rebuilt 1961.

**14. LaSALLE 4,150 TONNES**

Erected 1902; bought 1916 from Cormier; rebuilt 1938 using material from Dumas dismantled (Dumas built 1914 by Paterson)

**15. MARQUETTE 2,590 TONNES**

Built 1920; second one built 1941; #2 elevator sold 1974.

**16. MEADOWS 4,910 TONNES**

Built 1922; bought 1922 from McLaughlin Elevator Company; burned 1922; rebuilt 1922; second elevator built 1947; #2 elevator sold 1976

**17. MINTO 4,840 TONNES**

Built 1898 by Young Grain; bought 1922 from Young Grain; rebuilt 1936.

**18. SWAN LAKE 3,000 TONNES**

Built 1924 (1923)

**19. TEULON 3,390 TONNES**

Built 1916 by D. Wood Ltd.; bought 1922 from David Wood Ltd.; burned 1939; rebuilt 1939

**20. WASKADA 3,930 TONNES**

Built 1901; bought 1918 from Northern Elevator Company; second elevator bought 1922 Young Grain Company; both dismantled and rebuilt 1927; rebuilt 1958.

## ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup>In the early 1990s Wheat constituted 55% of the "principal crop production" in Manitoba, 66% in Saskatchewan, and 45% in Alberta. (Statistics Canada: Cat. #22-002) Wheat has been the most important grain crop grown in Manitoba since the "earliest years", but in recent years other crops have become relatively more important. In 1931 48.3% of total grain acreage was sown to wheat; this rose to a high of 55.5% in 1940, dropping to about 39.8% by 1959. In 1931 5,349,000 acres were in grain crops, compared to 6,342,000 in 1940, and 6,605,000 in 1959. (Ellis, J.H. *The Ministry of Agriculture in Manitoba 1870-1970*. [Winnipeg, Department of Agriculture] 1971: 497, 499, and 612.)

<sup>2</sup>Gerald Friesen *The Canadian Prairies: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press) 1984: 301, 329. Wheat exports grew in significance in the late nineteenth century, becoming Canada's major export commodity by at least 1910. With an occasional exception, it has remained the number one or number two ranking export (by value) since that date.

<sup>3</sup>Easterbrook W.T. and H.G.J. Aitken *Canadian Economic History* (Toronto: MacMillan) 1956: 476.

<sup>4</sup>David Robert McQueen Jackson *The National Fallacy and the Wheat Economy: Nineteenth Century Origins of the Western Canadian Grain Trade*. M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1982: 204. John Everitt and Donna Everitt, "The Grain Handling System" Plate 19 in D. Kerr and D. Holdsworth (eds.) *Addressing the Twentieth Century: Historical Atlas of Canada Volume III* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press). 1990.

<sup>5</sup>French architect Le Corbusier considered the grain elevator to be the "first fruit of the new age", and although its stimulation of the architectural world might not have justified such enthusiasm it did revolutionize the Canadian prairie grain trade, as it had in the United States.

<sup>6</sup>Warkentin, John H. *Western Canada in 1886* Transactions of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba Series III, No. 20, 1963-64: 91.

<sup>7</sup>The area of wheat acreage in Manitoba increased from 1.9 million acres in 1901 to 2.6 million in 1931 and to 2.9 million in 1961. In 1901 this constituted 79% of total prairie plantings, by 1931 this proportion had dropped to 10%, although it had risen to about 12% by 1961. (Tyler, E.J. *The Farmer as a Social Class*. (Winnipeg: The Public Press) 1967: 97.)

<sup>8</sup>Dickinson, F.L. *Prairie Wheat: Three Centuries of Wheat Varieties in Western Canada*. (Winnipeg: Canada Grains Council) n.d.: 1; Anderson, Charles W. "Grain: Pioneer Merchants established Winnipeg as a major Canadian Commercial Centre" The Beaver Vol. 66, No. 5, October-November 1986: 33-42.

<sup>9</sup>The first crop sown by the Selkirk settlers was winter wheat but it proved unsatisfactory. Spring wheat was first sown in 1813. (See E.S. Archibald *The Story of Canadian Wheat*. Second Hilgendorf Memorial Lecture, Canterbury Agricultural College Old Students' Association (Christchurch, N.Z.: Simpson and Williams Ltd.) 1949: 8.) The Hudson's Bay Company originally bought flour from the settlers, but found its quality poor. Thereafter they purchased the wheat and milled the flour themselves. (Buller, A.H.R. *Essays on Wheat* (New York: MacMillan) 1919: 21-24.)

<sup>10</sup>MacGibbon, D.A. *The Canadian Grain Trade* (Toronto: MacMillan) 1932: 25.

<sup>11</sup>Winnipeg Grain Exchange *The Grain Trade in Western Canada*. (Winnipeg: Dawson Richardson Publications Ltd.) n.d., n.p.n.

<sup>12</sup>Almost certainly this wheat was of the "Galician" variety. It had originated in Poland and had reached Ontario in a circuitous way several decades earlier (Dickinson, n.d.).

<sup>13</sup> Dickinson, n.d.: 16; Buller, 1919: 216. Interestingly the early most famous offspring of Red Fife, Marquis wheat, 'invaded' the United States after 1909, following much the same route as its forebear, but in reverse (Buller, 1919: 158).

<sup>14</sup> Morton, W.L. Manitoba: A History. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press) Second Edition 1967: 82.

<sup>15</sup> Naylor, R.T. The Banks and Finance Capital, Volume 1 of The History of Canadian Business: 1867-1914 Volume One (Toronto: J. Lorimer) 1975 I: 15. Steele had wanted to bring back some 5,000 bushels, but little was available in Manitoba due to the lateness of the season. He secured some additional wheat from North Dakota (Dickinson, n.d.: 17). The seed was loaded in bags "at the base of the present Lombard Avenue" onto the sternwheeler S.S. Minnesota.

<sup>16</sup> The "Steamboat Era" on the 'Red River of the North' was a time of intense competition that presaged the incipient "Railway Era" in this region. After considerable skirmishing between different groups representing the Hudson's Bay Company, Winnipeg mercantile interests, and American capital, the Red River Transportation Company owned by ex-Canadian Norman Kittson, and soon-to-be- ex-Canadian James Jerome Hill became supreme in the Red River trade by 1875 (Heifort, James M. Steamboating on the Red River. Unpublished M. Sc. Thesis. (Fargo: North Dakota Agricultural College) 1960: Chapter 4.

<sup>17</sup> Buller, 1919: 216. The Jolly Miller, an in-house publication of The Ogilvie Flour Mills Company, claims that Ogilvies brought, in 1876, "eight hundred bushels of wheat" to Montreal, constituting "the first shipment of grain from the West", but no other corroboration of this account has been found (Vol. 10, No. 4, August 1946: 2).

<sup>18</sup> Studness, Charles M. "Economic Opportunity and the westward migration of Canadians during the late nineteenth century" The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science Vol. 30, No. 4, 1964: 584.

<sup>19</sup> Patton, H.S. Grain Growers' Cooperation in Western Canada. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press 1928): 5.

<sup>20</sup> Patton, 1928: 5. Other sources say 'steel' rollers, and chilled steel did prove to be the best. (See also G.D. Rogers "History of Flour Manufacture in Minnesota" in Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society Volume X, Part I, 1905: 35-55. It is suggested elsewhere that W.W. Ogilvie independently obtained information on roller milling after a trip to Europe in 1867, and that this innovation did not, thus, diffuse to Canada via Minnesota. ("Canadian Industries: 1 The Milling Industry" Dominion Illustrated Vol. 3, No. 53, 6<sup>th</sup> July 1889: 6-7). The official Ogilvie history says that A.W. Ogilvie investigated roller mills in Hungary in 1871. Both Ogilvie stories could be true. (G.R. Stevens Ogilvie in Canada: Pioneer Millers 1801-1951 (Montreal: Ogilvie Flour Mills) 1951: n.p.n.

<sup>21</sup> These innovations were originally introduced by the W.W. Ogilvie Milling Co. Not to be outdone, the Hudson's Bay Mill, and MacMillan's City Mills also converted to the new, superior, means of production.

<sup>22</sup> Pickett, V.G. and R.S. Vaile The Decline of Northwestern Flour Milling. Studies in Economics and Business No. 5 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press) 1933: 24. Flour exports from Canada, largely a product of prairie wheat, became very significant to the economy of the country. By 1901 flour was the eighth ranked export (by value), by 1910, fifth, and by 1920, third. It maintained its "top ten" position until the 1950s, when it began to decline, relatively and absolutely. Flour milling evolved in a similar pattern. The first or second ranked industry in Canada (in value of gross production) until the 1920s, it remained in the "top ten"

until the 1950s. By 1957, however, flour milling had dropped to 35<sup>th</sup> out of 40 major industries in the country, soon dropping off this list altogether. By 1957 exports had dropped to nineteenth position on the export list (Canada Year Book Dominion Bureau of Statistics (Ottawa), various years).

<sup>23</sup> "These two happenings [milling and Red Fife wheat] did more to expand wheat production on the Prairie Provinces than anything else except the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway" (CPR) (Nesbitt, L. Tides in the West (Saskatoon: Modern Press) n.d.p. 5 It is thus interesting to note that it was somewhat fortuitous meeting of a particular combination of symbiotic circumstances at a particular time that spurred prairie development in the 1880s. Thus if, for instance, the CPR had been built ten years earlier, it might not have had the success that it eventually did. Conversely, "king Wheat" and the flour-milling industry could not have transformed the prairies without the railroads.

<sup>24</sup> Buller, 1919: 32.

<sup>25</sup> Hill's partners in this operation included Norman Kittson, his steamboating colleague, and J.S. Kennedy, a New York banker, as well as George Stephen and Donald Smith (Martin, A. James J. Hill and the Opening of the Northwest (New York: Oxford University Press) 1976). Hill was later involved with Stephen and Smith in the beginnings of the CPR. Indeed capital from this American venture enabled these partners to fund, in part, their involvement in the CPR.

<sup>26</sup> Buller, 1919: 32. In 1878 "a government railway line was completed along the Red River, from St. Boniface...to Emerson on the Minnesota boundary, where connection was made with the St. Paul and Pacific Railway" (Patton, 1928: 6).

<sup>27</sup> Buller, 1919: 33. At this time the demand for railway building reached a fever pitch. As The Commercial put it, the "very life of the province depends upon the construction of branch railways" (Vol. 3, No. 25, 1885: 488).

<sup>28</sup> It was the decision to follow the Canadian route that led James J. Hill to remove himself from the CPR syndicate. He had wanted the CPR mainline to run through the USA. Prior to this time, however, the CPR syndicate was closely related to the group who controlled the St. Paul and Pacific, with Donald A. Smith (later Lord Strathcona) and James J. Hill playing leading roles in both.

<sup>29</sup> Studness, 1964: 573. In order to discourage the movement of Americans into Canada, J.J. Hill reputedly charged exorbitant freight rates to prospective migrants (Bicha, K.D. Canadian Immigration Policy and the American Farmer, 1898-1914 Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota) 1963: 127). Although this might be true, an alternative explanation that "railway connections often involved out-of-the-way routes which were time consuming and expensive" probably accounts for many of the migrants' overland wagon movements (Sharp, P.F. The Agrarian Revolt in Western Canada (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 1948: 5).

<sup>30</sup> In 1877 Ogilvie Milling exported 500 bushels of wheat via the US to its mill at Goderich. Ten years later "exports had grown to 12,000,000 bushes -- 24,000 times the quantity of the experimental year." (see Canadian Industries: 1 -- The Milling Industry" Dominion Illustrated Vol. 3, No. 53, 6<sup>th</sup> July, 1889: 6.)

<sup>31</sup> Sharp, 1952: 71.

<sup>32</sup> Buller, 1919: 49.

<sup>33</sup> It was shipped by James Richardson and Sons, a company also destined to play a major role in the Canadian grain trade, in the steam barge "Erin" (125 Years of Progress (Winnipeg: James Richardson and sons) 1982: npn).

<sup>34</sup> Thomas, Lewis H. "A History of Agriculture on the Prairies to 1914," Prairie Forum Vol. 1, 1976: 31-45.

<sup>35</sup> Fowke, V.C. The National Policy and the Wheat Economy (Toronto: University of Toronto Press) 1957: Chapter Six; Morton, 1967: Chapters Nine and Ten. The Commercial believed that "the CPR monopoly has the effect of stunting our growth and development as a province, ... The very life of the province depends upon the construction of branch railways without further delay." (Vol. 3, #25, 1885: p. 488)

<sup>36</sup> In 1910 Eaton's "Standard" Grain Bags cost between \$2.55 and \$3.59 per dozen, or \$20.25 and \$28.75 per hundred, depending upon quality (Canadian Farm April 8, 1910: 20).

<sup>37</sup> Now called a 'Primary Elevator', a Country Elevator has traditionally been "any elevator in the Western Division in which grain is stored or from which it is discharged before it has been inspected, and graded." The "'Western Division' means that portion of Canada lying west of the meridian passing through the eastern boundary of the City of Port Arthur" (List of Grain Elevators in the Western and Eastern Divisions (Ottawa: King's Printer) 1941).

<sup>38</sup> Wilson, C.F., A Century of Canadian Grain: Government Policy to 1951 (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books) 1978: 14. "Actually some grain had been handled in loose form before the invention of the elevator, but after 1841 the method of using elevators was used at terminal points such as Buffalo and Chicago. From the terminals the use of elevators gradually worked back to initial shipping points in the country" -- the country elevators (MacGibbon, 1932: 85).

<sup>39</sup> The following description is taken from: Buller, A.H.R. Essays on Wheat (New York: MacMillan) 1919: 56-57:

The farmer hauls his load of wheat from the farm to a country elevator in bulk in an open wagon or, if it is winter time, in an open sleigh. On arriving at the elevator, he drives his wagon on to the scales which are raised upon a platform about six feet from his wagon and its load. The elevator operator, with the aid of a crank, then moves the wagon in such a fashion that the front end is raised and the back end is lowered. He then pulls up the door of the grain pit and removes the end-board of the wagon, so that the grain runs out from the back of the wagon into the pit. The empty wagon is then weighed, and its weight when subtracted from the gross weight of the load and wagon previously obtained, gives the weight of the grain deposited in the elevator. If the elevator has a cleaner, the wheat, after passing into the pit, may have its screenings removed, and these may be taken home by the farmer to be used as feed. Finally, the wheat is transferred from the pit to the bins by means of an elevator composed of buckets attached to an endless rubber belt driven by a gasoline engine. Each country elevator contains a number of bins so that the different varieties and grades of grains may retain their identity, and so that a farmer may have his wheat specially binned if he so wishes. One of the bins in the elevator is known as the **shipping bin**. Its base is about sixteen feet above the railway track and a few feet above the level of the top of a box-car. The storage bins which vary in number from eight to twenty-two, and each of which may hold from 300 to about 4,000 bushels, have their bases about five feet above the level of the ground. When the

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time comes to ship away the wheat contained in one of the storage bins, the wheat is let out through a hole in the bottom of the bin so that it falls into the wheat pit. From this place it is elevated by the buckets on the revolving rubber belt to the top of the elevator where it is caused to fall into the shipping bin. The bottom of this bin is connected with a spout which can be opened at will to allow the wheat to pass into a box-car.

<sup>40</sup> P.J. Dondlinger The Book of Wheat: An Economic History and Practical Manual of the Wheat Industry (New York: Orange Judd) 1912: 203.

<sup>41</sup> Others may remain, although they have often been moved "off-line". The best demonstration of a flat warehouse is contained in a film (now available on video) by F.J.S. Holmes, called "Prairie Conquest". This details some of the early history of a grain trade, and includes a dramatisation of the process of loading grain through a flat warehouse. The film was made for National Grain. A copy is owned by Cargill (Canada), the successor to National Grain. The original is stored at the National Archives of Canada.

<sup>42</sup> Buller, 1919: 55; see also H.G.L. Strange A Short History of Prairie Agriculture (Winnipeg: Searle Grain Co.) 1954: 42.

<sup>43</sup> MacGibbon, 1932: 85.

<sup>44</sup> Wilson, 1978: 14.

<sup>45</sup> The Chase Elevator company of Chicago appears to have had the first standardized (in design terms) line of elevators in the early 1870s. (Robert M. Frame III, J.J. Hill Reference Library, personal communication, October 1989.) Evidence on Canadian construction principally comes from Enoch Overgaard, personal conversation 1<sup>st</sup> October 1992. Mr. Overgaard was involved in Prairie elevator construction from 1924-42. He built elevators, as did many others, from experience rather than printed plans.

<sup>46</sup> One source describes these as flat warehouses:

with a cupola constructed into the roof to "accommodate" the elevating and distribution system. A depression in the floor allowed the belt and the bottom buckets to be slightly lower than the first floor when grain from the bins was dumped and shovelled onto the bucket belt which took advantage of gravity to unload the bins. The receiving bin was a hopper fixed to the outside wall, hopper onto the bucket belt, where the farmer could shovel loose grain or empty bagged grain directly into the elevator.

(Bellis #2: The Structural History of a Country Grain Elevator - prepared by R.J. Friesen and Associates for Alberta Culture) 1983: 26. This was certainly the pattern of elevator evolution in the United States, and early photographs indicate that similar conversions took place at some locations on the prairies.

<sup>47</sup> MacGibbon, 1932: 93, reported that "an elevator of 30,000 bushels capacity will contain 16 bins, a dump scale for receiving grain, a hopper scale to weigh shipments, a 15 h.p. engine for power and its complement of elevator machinery and spouts to handle the grain. A room for cleaning machinery when installed is frequently located above the dump scales. At present day prices the cost of such an elevator fully equipped is approximately \$10,000 to \$12,000, depending upon the number of bin divisions."

<sup>48</sup> Robert M. Frame III, J.J. Hill Reference Library, personal communication, October 1989.

<sup>49</sup> A copy of these blueprints can be found in the papers of the Manitoba Elevator Commission, in the Public Archives of Manitoba.

<sup>50</sup> Later Paterson elevators were commonly built with a "false front", somewhat like small town stores. Discussions with the company indicate that there was no architectural value to this distinctive piece of characterization. It might rather be described as a "fad".

<sup>51</sup> Balloon frame elevators were found in the United States but the cribbed elevator was the norm in Canada. Converted warehouses were probably the only balloon frame structures on the prairies. John Work, the Cargill historian, suggests that James Cargill invented the cribbed elevator, but also states that this story cannot be confirmed. (John L. Work Cargill Beginnings: An Account of the Early Years (Minneapolis: Cargill Inc.) 1965: 109.)

<sup>52</sup> MacGibbon, 1932: 91.

<sup>53</sup> MacGibbon, 1932: 90-91.

<sup>54</sup> Larson, H.M. The Wheat Market and the Farmer in Minnesota. Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, Faculty Science, Columbia University, No. 269. (New York: Columbia of University Press) 1926: Chapter VI.

<sup>55</sup> The Jolly Miller. Vol. 23, No. 2, Summer 1959: 5.

<sup>56</sup> Buller, 1919: 55.

<sup>57</sup> Producer Car Study Committee Report of the Producer Car Study Committee to the Canadian Grain Commission. (Ottawa: Agriculture Canada): March 1979.

<sup>58</sup> 2.Wilson, 1978: 14. For similar reasons the CPR did not build many early branch lines, relying upon other capitalists to service the farmers who settled away from the main-line. In time this (perhaps unavoidable) neglect led to the incursion of the American Northern Pacific and Great Northern lines, and encouraged the rise of the Canadian Northern and Grand Trunk Pacific Railways. The St. Paul and Sioux City railroad had experimented unsuccessfully with owning its own elevators (Ruble, K.D. The Peavey Story (Minneapolis: The Peavey Company) 1963: 44-45). This failure was undoubtedly known to the CPR management, and may have influenced their decision to keep out of the grain storage business.

<sup>59</sup> The 'incentives' would have included a choice of elevator points, and of sites at these points. These benefits were certainly accorded to the line elevator companies over the years. These incentives were not always made public, and secret agreements between elevator companies became a feature of the grain trade, as well as a bone of contention between the grain traders and the farmers who believed that such arrangements were to their detriment.

<sup>60</sup> Fowke, 1957: 107.

<sup>61</sup> Holdsworth, Deryck and John Everitt "Bank Branches and Elevators: Expressions of Big Corporations in Small Prairie Towns." Prairie Forum Vol. 13, No. 2, Fall 1988, 173-190.

<sup>62</sup> Elevators and warehouses usually "followed the rail" but on occasion preceded the line. Thus in Boissevain, George Morton built a flat warehouse (in 1885) before the tracks were laid through the town site and the rail line opened on 3<sup>rd</sup> January 1886. This warehouse was converted to an elevator in 1887.

<sup>63</sup> Canadian in the context of this paper does not necessarily mean citizenship, but rather origin -- although the two were, of course, closely connected. Most of the elevator owners during this time period appear to have originated from "Central" and "Eastern" Canada, with the majority coming from Ontario. Addresses of members of the Grain Exchange are the best early indication of national origin available, although the data is not entirely reliable. In 1889 none of the 100 members had non-Canadian addresses.

<sup>64</sup> The three were the W.W. Ogilvie Milling Company, and McBean Bros. from Montreal, and D.H. McMillan who had come west at the time of the Riel Rebellion. Data referred to in the

paper, except where otherwise stated, refers to country elevators and excludes the large storage structures associated with flour mills, and also omits terminal elevators. The inclusion of these structures would bias the data, particularly that referring to capacity, without adding to the clarity of the picture.

<sup>65</sup> The CPR saw this as in its own interest, as it ensured the early construction of elevators, and thus income for the railway company. There is evidence that Ogilvie Milling misused its position at an early time, but the need by the CPR of this company's elevators caused the management of the railway company to turn a blind eye to the abuses.

<sup>66</sup> Egan to Van Horne, December 31, 1884. CP Archives #8069.

<sup>67</sup> A more detailed account of the Ogilvie involvement in the grain trade can be found in John Everitt "By Bread Alone? The Early Development of the Flour Milling Industry on the Prairies." (In preparation.)

<sup>68</sup> The CPR leased the M&NW in 1900. This railway had gained control of the Saskatchewan and Western (S&W) in 1887. Although the M&NW land grant was almost used up, Canadian Pacific apparently received at that time 98,880 acres that resulted from the construction of 15.5 miles of rail from Minnedosa to Gautier using the S&W land grant. The Saskatchewan and Western (S&W) branchline from the M&NW at Minnedosa to Rapid City built in 1886 was apparently the first constructed to reduce the haul for farmers living between main railway lines (Warkentin, 1963-64: 93). (See John A. Eagle The Canadian Pacific Railway and the Development of Western Canada, 1896-1914. (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press) 1989: 180.

<sup>69</sup> This American financed railroad had been chartered by the province in 1888, to break the monopoly of the CPR (Morton, 1967: Chapter 10) by building and developing branch lines in the province. It bought out the stock of the Red River Valley Railway, took over five dormant charters, and constructed a total of 301 miles of line, in addition to a terminal and hotel properties in Winnipeg. The company operated lines from Winnipeg, Man., to Pembina, N. Dak.; from Winnipeg to Portage la Prairie, Man.; and from Morris to Brandon, Man. Capital stock was acquired by NP in 1891, although it continued to operate under its own name. (See Inventory Notebook M-P. NP & Manitoba Ry. Co. Correspondence and Misc. Papers.. NP Branch Lines, Subsidiaries and Related Companies collection.)

<sup>70</sup> Provincial status for Alberta and Saskatchewan was not gained until 1905.

<sup>71</sup> Winnipeg Grain and Produce Exchange, Second Annual Report, January 1890. The balance were all in present-day Saskatchewan. There were no elevators recorded in present-day Alberta until 1896, although there was a flat warehouse in Edmonton by 1893.

<sup>72</sup> "Canadian Industries: 1 The Milling Industry" Dominion Illustrated Vol. 3, No. 53, 6<sup>th</sup> July 1889: 6. Despite such inferences, however, this accusation was, of course, difficult to substantiate. Basically the argument was that the large millers were able to "cull" the better grades of wheat by the use of their elevator lines, and by "somehow selecting the best car lots" collected by other elevator owners, before it was able to reach the market. Thus the average grade marketed elsewhere was lower, and thus the average price was lower. This lower price was received by the farmers, to their obvious detriment. (Report of the Elevator Commission of the Province of Saskatchewan, 1910. (Regina: Government Printer) 1910: 20-21.)

<sup>73</sup> The Portage, Westbourne, and North Western Railway, (later Manitoba and NorthWestern) begun in 1880, acted as a feeder for the CPR which took it over in 1894. The Manitoba and South Western was begun in 1881 and taken over by the CPR in 1882. The CPR built its own



line to Souris in 1886. The Great North West Central, which dates back to 1880, was leased in perpetuity by the CPR in 1900. "The M&NW and the Great North-West Central (GNWC) both received generous traffic sharing agreements with the Montreal syndicate while all materials for line construction were transported on the CPR at a 40 per cent tariff reduction." Jackson, 1982: 86.

<sup>74</sup> The Ogilvie Flour Mills Co. reached its peak of elevator ownership in 1923 with 170 structures: in 1911 it had 118. Although the pattern of elevator locations changed over time, the 1911 distribution remained typical of the company's later years.

<sup>75</sup> In 1890 Lake of the Woods owned five country elevators. Nicholas Bawlf had seven flat warehouses, but these had only about one third of the capacity of the milling company's elevators.

<sup>76</sup> "Canada as a Producer and Exporter of Wheat" Wheat Studies of the Food Research Institute (Stanford University) Vol. 1, No. 8, July 1925: 235.

<sup>77</sup> Wilson, 1978: 15. Everitt, "By Bread Alone?..."

<sup>78</sup> Martin, Mitchell and Company owned thirteen structures in 1890, all along Northern Pacific and Manitoba Railway lines. It was a partnership, however, not an amalgamation of smaller units. It became part of the Northern Elevator Company in 1893.

<sup>79</sup> Levine, A. "The Bawlf Family. A vanished Legend in the Winnipeg Grain Trade." Manitoba Business Vol. 6, No. 7, November 1984: 33-38.

<sup>80</sup> The Northern Elevator Company included elevators from "Bawlf", "Campbell and Green", "H. Crowe", "Atkinson and Co.", "Roblin and Armitage", as well as "Martin and Mitchell" and others. Martin and Mitchell had dominated on, and had been at least partly financed by, the NP&M railway.

<sup>81</sup> This company was Parrish and Lindsay. It had been in existence since 1886, and continued in operation until 1907. These two businessmen were also investors in the Manitoba Grain Co., a short lived syndicate formed in 1897. After two years with Western Canada Flour Mills (1907-1909), W.L. Parrish joined with N.G. Heimbecker to form the family company (Parrish and Heimbecker Ltd.) that still operates today as the eighth largest elevator-owning company on the prairies.

<sup>82</sup> The Dominion Elevator Company was made up of elevators owned by R.P. Roblin (previously with the Northern Elevator Company) and by MacMillan Bros.

<sup>83</sup> As late as 1902 there were only four or five members of the Grain Exchange who gave addresses in the United States.

<sup>84</sup> John Everitt, "A 'Tragic Muddle' and a 'Cooperative Success': An account of two elevator experiments in Manitoba, 1906-1928." Manitoba History Number 18, Autumn 1989: 12-24.

<sup>85</sup> Larson, 1926: 235.

<sup>86</sup> Everitt, 1989; J. Blanchard A History of the Canadian Grain Commission 1912-1987. (Ottawa: Canadian Grain Commission) 1987.

The Manitoba Grain Act of 1900 initiated some new measures, and controlled and standardized others, particularly with regard to establishing reasonable and orderly access to loading platforms and railway boxcars. Violations of this Act were settled in the courts, after charges were brought by the Territorial Grain Growers, but further problems led to other legislation such as the Canada Grain Act of 1912. After 1912, when a farmer put his grain through an elevator, he usually did it on the basis of a graded storage receipt which included certain data such as amount, quality, dockage, etc. This receipt became the farmer's claim upon

the elevator company. Despite these regulations, however, farmers remained less than confident that they were receiving a fair deal from the elevator companies.

Some problems arose because the farmer commonly felt constrained to deliver to a particular elevator, as the next closest alternative was a long distance away. Even if several elevators existed at one point, it was believed that there was collusion between the manager/companies, to the detriment of the farmer. Certainly there was often little if any difference between the price lists sent out by the Winnipeg elevator company offices to their local agents.

<sup>87</sup> These points are elaborated in MacGibbon, 1932: Chapter Five.

<sup>88</sup> Clark, W.C. The Country Elevator in the Canadian West Bulletin No. 20 of the Departments of History and Political and Economic Science in Queens University (Kingston, Ontario) 1916: 9.

<sup>89</sup> Goldstein, B.F. Marketing: A Farmer's Problem (New York: MacMillan) 1928.

<sup>90</sup> Boyd, Hugh New Breaking: An Outline of Co-operation among the Western Farmers of Canada (Toronto: Dent) 1938: 24.

<sup>91</sup> Wood, L.A. A History of Farmers' Movements in Canada (Toronto: The Ryerson Press) 1924: 161.

<sup>92</sup> Originally inaugurated under the auspices of the Board of Trade in 1877 the Exchange was unsuccessful. It was reconstituted in 1890.

<sup>93</sup> Wilson, 1978: 15.

<sup>94</sup> Appendix to MGGA Annual Report and Proceedings 1908, n.p.n. Known as the "Partridge Plan".

<sup>95</sup> Easterbrook and Aitken, 1956: 499.

<sup>96</sup> Everitt, 1989; MacGibbon, 1952, Chapter 11. It also led to the significant use of "loading platforms" in order to avoid the elevator companies.

<sup>97</sup> There was for some time a "Patrons [of Industry] Elevator Co." [officially the "Patrons Elevator, Milling and Supply Company"] elevator at Boissevain, Manitoba (built in 1892), and a number of other "Farmers" elevators were begun by Patrons (e.g. the ones built by "The Mather Joint Stock Farmers' Elevator Company Limited", and "The Cartwright Farmers' Elevator Company".) These other elevators were not, however, identifiable by name as being a result of the Patrons' movement.

<sup>98</sup> Schulz, J. Rise and Fall of Canadian Farm Organizations. (Winnipeg: Evans Printing), 1955.

<sup>99</sup> Patton, 1928: 33.

<sup>100</sup> Schulz, 1955: Chapter 4.

<sup>101</sup> In particular the Manitoba Grain Grower's Association, the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association, and the United Farmers of Alberta.

<sup>102</sup> Colquette, R.D. The First Fifty Years: A History of United Grain Growers Limited (Winnipeg: The Public Press Limited) 1957: 20.

<sup>103</sup> Moorhouse, Hopkins Deep Furrows (Toronto and Winnipeg: George J. McLeod) 1918: 169; Patton, 1928: 81.

<sup>104</sup> The Partridge Plan was published as an appendix to the MGGA Annual Report and Proceedings 1908. Its full title was "Provincial Ownership and Operation of a System of Line Elevators."

<sup>105</sup> Patton, 1928: Chapter 7.

<sup>106</sup> Wilson, 1978: 53-54.

<sup>107</sup> Moorhouse, Hopkins Deep Furrows (Toronto and Winnipeg: George J. McLeod) 1918: Chapter 14; W.A. Mackintosh Agricultural Cooperation in Western Canada (Kingston: Queen's University Press) 1924: 52-57.

<sup>108</sup> MacGibbon, 1932: 49.

<sup>109</sup> D.F. Spafford, "The Elevator Issue, The Organized Farmers and the Government, 1908-11," Saskatchewan History 15 (1962): 81-92; Moorhouse, 1918: 173.

<sup>110</sup> Patton, 1928: 83.

<sup>111</sup> Brown, Robert. C. Robert Laird Borden: A Biography Volume 1, 1854-1914 (Toronto: Macmillan) 1975: 69; Philip Eyler "Public Ownership and Politics in Manitoba, 1900-1915" (M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba) 1972: 22-23.

<sup>112</sup> Horowitz, Gad Canadian Labour in Politics (Toronto: University of Toronto Press) 1968: 10; Kenneth C. Dewar, "Tourism and Public Ownership in Canada: A Comment," Canadian Historical Review 64 (September 1983).

<sup>113</sup> Eyler, 1972: 8-11, 29; H.V. Nelles, "Public Ownership of Electrical Facilities in Manitoba and Ontario, 1906-30," Canadian Historical Review 57 (December 1976): 464-465.

<sup>114</sup> Eyler, 1972: 73.

<sup>115</sup> Eyler, 1972: Chapter III; Alexander Inglis, "Some Political Factors in the Demise of the Roblin Government: 1915" (M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba) 1968: Chapter II.

<sup>116</sup> McCutcheon, Brian R. "The Patrons of Industry in Manitoba, 1890-1898," Transactions of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, series III, number 22 (1965-66): 7-25.

<sup>117</sup> Fowke, 1957: 140.

<sup>118</sup> Patton, 1928: 84.

<sup>119</sup> The official title was "An Act respecting a System of Government Grain Elevators," 10 Edw. VII (1910), Chapter 27. Minor amendments were made in 1912 (Chapter 26) and 1917 (Chapter 38).

<sup>120</sup> Colquette, 1957: 93.

<sup>121</sup> Manitoba Free Press 18 May, 1910: 5; 8 July 1910: 5.

<sup>122</sup> Manitoba Free Press 8 July, 1910: 5.

<sup>123</sup> Manitoba Free Press 18 May, 1910: 5; 8 July 1910: 5.

<sup>124</sup> Manitoba Free Press 18 May, 1910: 5.

<sup>125</sup> Manitoba Free Press 30 March, 1911: 1; 10 March 1911: 1; 13 March 1911: 3.

<sup>126</sup> McCuaig was originally offered \$5,000 per annum. This was raised to \$6,000 when he was made chairman and after friction occurred when MacLennan refused to accept less than \$8,000 per year. Graham was given an annual salary of \$5,000. After the reductions the Commissioners were to receive \$5,000, \$4,000 and \$4,000 respectively. Winnipeg Free Press 10 March 1911: 1; 13 March 1911: 3.

<sup>127</sup> The Grain Growers' Guide 18 May, 1910: 45; Patton, 1928: 87-89.

<sup>128</sup> For instance, the Gretna "Long and Chambers" elevator was purchased "just before" the 1910 election for \$3,250 without a preliminary petition being obtained from the area's farmers. The Winnipeg Free Press, implying a political pay-off, was convinced that this elevator -- not operated since 1909 -- would "be a white elephant" (see 15 August, 1910: 20). This belief was borne out as the MEC did not operate the elevator and it was dismantled by the GGG Co. in 1913 and moved to Durban.

<sup>129</sup> The Grain Growers' Guide 18 May, 1910: 5.

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- <sup>130</sup> English, John The Decline of Politics: The Conservatives and the Party System 1901-1920 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press) 1977: 31.
- <sup>131</sup> Morton, 1967: 344.
- <sup>132</sup> Patton, 1928: 87n.
- <sup>133</sup> Mackintosh, 1924: 40.
- <sup>134</sup> Winnipeg Free Press 31 March, 1911: 9. According to this source, the "valuator" F.G. Simpson was also rumoured at one time to be the top candidate to replace F.B. MacLennan on the Commission. In fact, MacLennan was never replaced and the Commission continued to run with only two members.
- <sup>135</sup> Patton, 1928: 85.
- <sup>136</sup> Manitoba Sessional Papers, Vol. 43, No. 13, 1911: 578.
- <sup>137</sup> Winnipeg Free Press 12 January, 1910: 7.
- <sup>138</sup> Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Papers of the Manitoba Elevator Commission.
- <sup>139</sup> Manitoba Sessional Papers Vol. 43, No. 13, 1911: 578.
- <sup>140</sup> In this latter case, Shoal Lake, five elevators were purchased from five different companies. The MEC operated four of these during the first year of its lifetime but by 1913 only three were being operated -- the other two being dismantled by 1920. The remaining three were torn down in 1921, 1928, and 1933 with the 1928 unit being rebuilt on a new site and operated until 1983. In a similar case study at Ninga, four were purchased, one of which was never used before being dismantled. By 1915 only one of the elevators in Ninga was being used.
- <sup>141</sup> Specific examples are detailed at greater length in Everitt, 1989.
- <sup>142</sup> Fraser, D. (ed.) History of the United Grain Growers Local 214: Myrtle-Roland Manitoba (Winnipeg: UGG) No date, no page number.
- <sup>143</sup> For the following discussion of specific elevators, data are taken from the Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Papers of the Manitoba Elevator Commission.
- <sup>144</sup> Winnipeg Free Press 26 January, 1911: 1.
- <sup>145</sup> Winnipeg Free Press 1 March, 1911: 2.
- <sup>146</sup> Manitoba Sessional Papers, Vol. 45, No. 13, 1911: 579.
- <sup>147</sup> Winnipeg Free Press 8 January, 1910: 7.
- <sup>148</sup> Mackintosh, 1928: 40.
- <sup>149</sup> Anderson, Charles W. "Grain: Pioneer Merchants Established Winnipeg as a Major Canadian Commercial Centre." The Beaver, 66 (5): 33-42.
- <sup>150</sup> Moorhouse, 1918:174.
- <sup>151</sup> Colquette, 57: 4.
- <sup>152</sup> Patton, 1928: 88-89.
- <sup>153</sup> These figures from the Archives of the MEC differ quite markedly in some places from those published elsewhere which were based upon newspaper stories, and which also, perhaps, referred to slightly different time periods. As Mackintosh (1924: 39) states "In the confused state of the Provincial Accounts it is impossible to be accurate."
- <sup>154</sup> Morton, 1967: 313.
- <sup>155</sup> Winnipeg Free Press 13 September, 1910: 13.
- <sup>156</sup> Patton, 1928: 87.
- <sup>157</sup> The Grain Growers' Record 1906-1943 (Winnipeg: United Grain Growers) 1944: 14.
- <sup>158</sup> Colquette, 1957: 94.

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<sup>159</sup> Piper, C.B. Principles of the Grain Trade in Western Canada (Winnipeg: Empire Elevator Company) 1917: 82.

<sup>160</sup> Mackintosh, 1924: 90.

<sup>161</sup> Patton, 1928: 90-91.

<sup>162</sup> PAM, RG13 B Box 4, Manitoba Elevator Commission Minutes, 13 September, 1910.

<sup>163</sup> Winnipeg Free Press 6 January, 1910: 8.

<sup>164</sup> Winnipeg Free Press 26 January, 1911: 1; Patton, 1928: 89

<sup>165</sup> Overshipment was the putting of more grain into a rail car than the storage tickets called for. Line elevator companies, which also bought and sold grain, could more easily correct such mistakes by elevator operators than could the MEC which had no control over the grain once it left the elevator. The minutes of the MEC make a number of references to this point, e.g. October 19, 1910, and November 12, 1910.

<sup>166</sup> The MEC (and later the GGG Co.) was at a handicap because the elevators purchased usually did not have the facilities for special binning and thus were operated less efficiently as their existing bins were rarely filled to capacity. The Newly built elevators, and most of those later owned by the Saskatchewan and Alberta cooperatives were designed to offer these facilities. By the early 1920s special binning had become a major feature of the Saskatchewan company (55-75 percent of grain) and the UGG (60-65 percent). See Mackintosh, 1924: 82.

<sup>167</sup> Winnipeg Free Press 22 July, 1912: 1; Patton, 1928: 95-96. There was some criticism of the lease, as private firms had offered a higher rental than the GGG Co. The "administration, however, could not venture to return the elevators to the line companies in the face of aroused opinion" (Mackintosh, 1924: 45). Interestingly in May 1924, the Railway Commissioner (who had taken over control of the MEC from the Department of Public Works in 1917) offered the elevators to Washburn Crosby of Minneapolis (as well as other non-Manitoba interests) but found this company uninterested (Papers of the Manitoba Elevator Commission 1908-31).

<sup>168</sup> Boyd, Hugh New Breaking: An outline of co-operation among the farmers of Canada (Toronto: Dent), 1938: 57.

<sup>169</sup> Most of the sales of the MEC elevators took place from 1924-27, but some were sold as early as 1912. In 1916, for instance, the Dominion Elevator company bought two elevators -- one of which the company had sold to the MEC in 1910. After repairs and depreciation the Manitoba Government lost \$2,637 on this latter deal.

<sup>170</sup> The Manitoba Government leased its elevators to the GGG Co. (UGG) but this company did not want to use all of the system. Where possible the remainder was leased to other companies (although some were never operated at all).

<sup>171</sup> Patton, 1928: 95; United Grain Growers, company collection, papers of the Manitoba Elevator Commission, 2 October, 1934.

<sup>172</sup> Fowke, 1957: 143.

<sup>173</sup> Mackintosh, 1924: 46.

<sup>174</sup> Mackintosh, 1924: 46, Winnipeg Free Press, 10 February 1911.

<sup>175</sup> Colquette, 1957: 91.

<sup>176</sup> Colquette, 1957: 91.

<sup>177</sup> Boyd, 1938: 62.

<sup>178</sup> Colquette, 1957: 95.

<sup>179</sup> Patton, 1928: 95.

<sup>180</sup> The Manitoba Government "had arrangements with the Canadian National Railways whereby they paid a flat rental rate of \$10 for each elevator regardless of the size of the site." The railways charged the different elevator companies, including the UGG, on the basis of \$10.00 plus 20 cents per foot in excess of one hundred feet. As the UGG felt that they did not "require more than one hundred feet for an elevator" they had the properties carefully surveyed and reduced in size in wherever possible. (See UGG company collection, papers of the Manitoba Elevator Commission, 23 October 1934.)

<sup>181</sup> Colquette, 1957: 91; Fowke, 1957: 141.

<sup>182</sup> Boyd, 1938: 63.

<sup>183</sup> The growth of the system can be shown by the increase in the number of elevators, from 31 in 1885, to 94 in 1890, to 458 in 1900, to 2001 in 1911, and 5343 in 1928. The 'highwater mark' for grain elevators was 1933 when there were 5750 on the prairies, but by 1988 only 1770 remained due to the processes of company amalgamation, rail-line abandonment and elevator rationalisation. There is evidence that the elevator system was overbuilt in the late 1920s and early 1930s, as a result of the formation of the provincial Pools which were constrained to satisfy the wishes of their member associations. There was a steady decline in elevator numbers between 1934 and the 1970s, with a more precipitous decline since that time.

<sup>184</sup> The CPR continued to expand in Manitoba and elsewhere, by building new trackage, and by leasing existing lines (see Endnote 59). For a detailed example refer to John Everitt and Allison Williams: "An Analysis of Settlement Development in Southwest Manitoba: The Lenore Extension 1902-82" in H. John Selwood and John C. Lehr (eds.) Prairie and Northern Perspectives: Geographical Essays (Winnipeg: Department of Geography, University of Winnipeg) 1989: 87-105.

<sup>185</sup> Regehr, T.D. The Canadian Northern Railway (Toronto: MacMillan) 1976. Russell S. Kirby "Nineteenth-Century Patterns of Railroad Development on the Great Plains" Great Plains Quarterly Vol. 3 No. 3, Summer 1983: 157-170. John Everitt, Roberta Kempthorne, and Charles Schafer "Controlled Aggression: James J. Hill and the Brandon, Saskatchewan and Hudson's Bay Railway" North Dakota History Vol. 56, No. 2, Spring 1989: 3-19.

<sup>186</sup> Although the peak mileage in the Manitoba rail system was not reached until the late 1950s, 89% of this total was in place by 1915.

<sup>187</sup> John Everitt and Donna Everitt "American Influences in the Canadian Grain Trade: An Overview." Bulletin of the Association of North Dakota Geographers Vol. 34, 1984, 1-9; John Everitt Cross Border Contacts and the Early Canadian Grain Trade Forthcoming.

<sup>188</sup> Total membership numbers, however, also increased. In 1900 there were 115 members, whereas by 1903 there were 232.

<sup>189</sup> The Grain Growers Record, 1944: 7. The validity of this statement is open to some doubt, as Bawlf, MacMillan and others were still important 'players' in the Grain Trade. Certainly, however, the balance had swung towards people with American experience and capital.

<sup>190</sup> Smith, R.E. Wheat Fields and Markets of the World (St. Louis: The Modern Miller Company Publishers) 1908: 350. This process was not peculiar to the grain trade. As early as 1909 Winnipeg had a hundred branches of American firms (Bellan, R. Winnipeg First Century: An Economic History (Winnipeg: Queenston Publishing co.) 1978: 95). Although there was a dominance of people from Minnesota, representatives from numerous other States were also represented in the Grain Trade at this time, and at subsequent dates.

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<sup>191</sup> Hansen, M.L. The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples (New Haven: Yale University Press) 1940: 235.

<sup>192</sup> Bettingen had operated a line of grain and lumber yards in the United States before selling out in 1903 and coming to Canada to organise, along with his brother-in-law William Leistikow, the Imperial Elevator and Lumber Company. In 1906 he was Vice President of both the Winnipeg Grain and Produce Exchange, and the Retail Lumber Dealers Association (Winnipeg Free Press 13 June 1906).

<sup>193</sup> This appears to have been particularly the case for the Canadian Northern Railway, and later the Grand Trunk Pacific, as the CPR had attracted much of the available Canadian capital to their lines by the turn of the century.

<sup>194</sup> A profile on William J. Bettingen provides a nice case study of the American migration. Winnipeg Free Press 13 June 1906.

<sup>195</sup> The number of Manitoba elevators fluctuated over the years, although always hovering around the 700 mark of 1911-12. 1912-1913 actually marked the first decrease in provincial elevator numbers, although small increases were later recorded.

<sup>196</sup> In 1911-12 there were 1007 elevators in Saskatchewan; by 1920-21 there were 2184, and by 1932-33 there were 3240. The comparative totals for Alberta were 279, 897, and 1773. Alberta had more elevators than Manitoba for the first time in 1917-18.

<sup>197</sup> Much of this discussion is based upon letters and other data taken from the CN Archives, which are stored at the Public Archives of Canada: Call Nos. RG30, Vol. 9465, Files 1054-3, 1054-5, and 1054-6; and Vol. 8651, File 19-24-1. See also Ruble, 1963.

<sup>198</sup> By 1895 the F.H. Peavey and Co. system had become the largest line elevator company in the U.S. It was headquartered in Minneapolis and had offices at Duluth, Chicago, Kansas City, and Omaha (Larson, 1926: 229). Piper and Company were grain merchants with offices in Minneapolis, Duluth and Chicago, and the Douglas Brothers Company operated out of Cedar Rapids, Iowa. Robert Stuart was with The American Cereal Company. It is unclear whether E.C. Warner was involved with the elevator syndicate at this stage.

<sup>199</sup> F.B. Wells [Peavey and Co.] to Z.A. Lash [Canadian Northern Chief Solicitor], May 20, 1902. CN Archives. Augustus L. Searle, then a Peavey employee, was part of this party.

<sup>200</sup> Ruble, 1963: 61.

<sup>201</sup> Letter from D.B. Hanna, General Superintendent of Canadian Northern to Z.A. Lash, Chief company solicitor, June 6, 1902. CN Archives.

<sup>202</sup> D.B. Hanna to Z.A. Lash, June 6, 1902; Z.A. Lash to D.B. Hanna, June 10, 1902. CN Archives. Lash later told another American firm that the "policy of the Company is to treat all elevators alike, and give no rights to one which are not given to others", but clearly, in the final analysis, some prospective clients were more equal than others (Z.A. Lash to G.H. Meldrum, September 25, 1902, CN Archives.)

<sup>203</sup> The company began operations in 1902, although its legal organization was not complete until 1903. Its elevators were constructed by The Tromanhauser Co., a Minneapolis elevator building company, which possibly employed Vice President McWilliams up to the time of his movement to Winnipeg. Each elevator had a capacity of 30,000 bushels, and cost \$6,000 each to build -- a total expenditure of \$180,000. McWilliams felt that the building of elevators on the CPR "would make our position in the grain trade a little stronger, and assist us in getting materials off that road for elevator construction." The CPR had apparently been refusing to carry materials for use in elevator construction along the Canadian Northern lines, and McWilliams

felt that he could make the CPR officials more agreeable if the elevators were built on CPR lines as well (W.H. McWilliams to Z.A. Lash, August 11, 1902, CN Archives).

<sup>204</sup> Twenty lumber yards costing \$3,000 each were projected (W.D. Douglas to Z.A. Lash, February 7, 1903, CN Archives).

<sup>205</sup> From 1901 to 1911 Manitoba's population grew by some 81%, that of Saskatchewan by 440% and that of Alberta by 413%. Subsequent growth rates are not so dramatic, but Saskatchewan grew at a faster rate until the Depression, and Alberta has continued to increase more rapidly than Manitoba. (See W. Peter Ward "Population Growth in Western Canada, 1901-71" in John E. Foster (Ed.) The Developing West. (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press): 159). This process was aided by the opening of the Panama Canal in 1914. Although relatively little wheat was exported via Canada's Pacific ports until the 1920s, this new outlet had the effect of stimulating further growth in Alberta and Saskatchewan, and in making the overall production system more efficient. Less than 20% of the wheat, exported from Canadian ports, left via Pacific ports before the 1920s, but over 30% then became common, in the early to mid 1920s, and over 40% usual thereafter. (See William J. Wilgus The Railway Interrelations of the United States and Canada. (New Haven: Yale University Press) 1937: 214.

<sup>206</sup> In 1911 there were only twenty-six elevators at the twenty-one stations along the GTP line in Manitoba. Fifty-four per cent of these were Atlas-or Security-owned structures.

<sup>207</sup> Ruble, 1963: 62. The futures market of the Winnipeg Grain Exchange was actually opened in 1903 (Grain and Rail in Western Canada: The Report of the Grain Handling and Transportation Commission [Hall Commission] Volume 1 (Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services) 1977: 39.

<sup>208</sup> Mackenzie and Mann, the organizers of the Canadian Northern, had 40% of the stock in the British America Company (Ruble, 1963: 62).

<sup>209</sup> Wilson, 1978: 15-16. The eight companies were the British America (on CN); the National (CN and CP); the Northern Elevator Co. (CN and CP); Atlas Elevator Co. (on GTP); the Security Elevator Co. (on GTP); and the Monarch Elevator Co., the Globe Elevator Co. and the Grand Trunk Pacific Elevator Co., which operated terminal elevators on Lake Superior. The latter terminal had been built for, and leased to, the Peaveys by the GTP.

<sup>210</sup> The W.W. Ogilvie Milling Company was purchased along with A.W. Ogilvie and Company in 1902 by a Montreal Syndicate, and renamed The Ogilvie Flour Mills Ltd.

<sup>211</sup> The Canadian Elevator Company principals, also working out of Minneapolis were clearly involved with the Peaveys. McWilliams, the first Manager of the Company, had previously worked for Peavey in Duluth. Obviously it was believed that there were enough elevator sites to satisfy all interested parties.

<sup>212</sup> These included the Port Arthur Elevator Company, the Security Elevator Company, the Saskatchewan Elevator Company, the Liberty Grain Company, Home Grain Company, Northland Terminals, the Globe Elevator Company, Searle Terminal, and the National Elevator Company.

<sup>213</sup> The Canadian operations of the Searle grain organization ultimately surpassed in size the firm's American operations, and the head of the Canadian branch, living in Winnipeg, became President of the American branch as well (Bellan, 1978: 85-86).

<sup>214</sup> In these particular cases the men in questions were T.M. Wallace, "a U.S. citizen"; Canadian-born James Norris, "a grain speculator from Detroit and later Chicago"; William Leistikow and William Bettingen from Minnesota; and W.A. Anderson who came from Springfield, Minnesota



where he had previously had experience in the grain industry. Other important 'American' elevator companies not mentioned elsewhere in this paper included McLaughlin and Ellis, the Atlas Elevator Co., the Central Grain Co., R.B. McLean Grain Co., Spencer Grain Co., Gillespie Grain Co., Conger and Co. (later Conger and Sanborn), H.R. Soot Grain Co., Dwyer Elevator Co., and Ellison Milling and Elevator Co. There may have been others which have yet to be identified, although the ownership of major companies, which together possessed over 78 percent of the elevators in 1911-12, 77 percent in 1916-17, and 92 percent in 1920-21, (for instance Royal, North Star, British America, National, Imperial, Saskatchewan, Saskatchewan and Western, and Canadian) is interesting, for although being very descriptive of their location it could also imply that the Americans might have wished to disguise their citizenship.

<sup>215</sup> Pooling Alberta's Wheat (Calgary: Alberta Co-operative Wheat Producers Limited) 1928: 5.

<sup>216</sup> Large-scale American enterprises are the best known, but cross-border ownership changes also took place farther down the size hierarchy. Thus in Roblin, F.Y. Newton and J. Sinnott leased an elevator site with the intention of building in 1906, but soon sold their interest to Charles and Joseph Perrizo, newcomers from Hancock, Minnesota. Their 32,000 bushel capacity elevator (which cost \$5,500) opened for business in October 1907 -- three months after a British American elevator was "re-Canadianised" when it was purchased by the Nicholas Bawlf Grain Co. (Karen Nicholson A Review of the Heritage Resources of Roblin Planning District. (Winnipeg: Historic Resources Branch) June 1985: 66.

<sup>217</sup> Of the companies with known ownership, over 50 percent were American controlled, and if flour milling operations are excluded the figure rises to over 60 percent. In 1911 the Winnipeg Free Press reported that Grain Growers Grain Company and its supporters believed that the "operations of the big United States companies that had secured control of the western grain trade had squeezed out the small grain dealers, thereby eliminating competition and enabling them to make excess profits either by direct or indirect means" (24 March 1911: 1). The Peavey and Douglas interests had been previously named in this context (Winnipeg Free Press 22 March 1911: 1). At issue at this time was the potential prohibition of terminal elevator operators from having "any other interest in the grain trade". F.B. Wells, representing the terminal interests, said that if such a prohibition came in, and 'reciprocity' was passed (allowing "Free Trade" between Canada and the United States), then the country elevator operators would ship their grain through Duluth (Winnipeg Free Press 22 March 1911: 1). Clearly these American companies had no particular commitment to Canada at this time. The Grain Bill was subsequently amended to eliminate the unpopular clause (Winnipeg Free Press 1 April 1911: 1).

<sup>218</sup> Dondlinger, 1912: 207.

<sup>219</sup> Grant, H.R. "Captive Corporation: The Farmers' Grain and Shipping Company, 1896-1945" North Dakota History Vol. 49, No. 1, 1982: 4-10. The president of this railroad was James J. Hill, the great Canadian-born northwestern railway owner and operator, who was involved with a variety of grain and railroad operations in the U.S. and Canada, and elsewhere around the world (Edgar, 1912: 105). He planned at one stage to building a "a main line from Vancouver to Winnipeg together with numerous north-south feeders which would draw traffic into his Great Northern system. The main line failed to materialize, but a considerable number of feeder lines were actually constructed. By the end of 1906 work was in progress on a total of four hundred miles of such branches which joined points in Canada to the Great Northern" (Bellan, 1978: 68). In Manitoba, for instance, the Great Northern had one branch line that ran to Brandon, one of Morden and one to Portage, while from Emerson, access to Winnipeg was secured over the

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Canadian Northern line (Scofield, F.H. The Story of Manitoba, Volume One (Winnipeg: The S.J. Clarke Publishing Company) 1913: 393-4).

<sup>220</sup> Everitt et al. 1989. The Brandon, Saskatchewan, and Hudson's Bay Railway Company was wholly owned by the Great Northern. It was constructed from St. John, North Dakota to Brandon in 1905-06 and was abandoned in 1936. Some other lines were jointly owned with Northern Pacific and were abandoned 1926-27 (Middleton K.R. and N.C. Keyes Jr. "Corporate List, The Great Northern Railway: Predecessors and Fully-Controlled Subsidiaries" Railroad History 14, 1980: 8-19).

<sup>221</sup> Easterbrook and Aitken, 1956: 500.

<sup>222</sup> Fowke, Vernon The National Policy and the Wheat Economy (Toronto) 1957: 149. The succeeding discussion is largely based upon Wilson, 1978 and Friesen, 1984.

<sup>223</sup> Blanchard, 1987: 28.

<sup>224</sup> Easterbrook and Aitken. 1956: 502.

<sup>225</sup> Grain and Rail in Western Canada 1977: 48.

<sup>226</sup> MacGibbon, 1932: 340.

<sup>227</sup> The Canadian Wheat Pool Year Book, 1925 (Winnipeg: Canadian Co-operative Wheat Producers, Ltd., 1925: 42-43.

<sup>228</sup> MacGibbon, D.A. The Canadian Grain Trade 1931-1951. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1952: 200-201.

<sup>229</sup> Cargill have been in Canada since 1930 but have only had an extensive line of elevators since 1974.

<sup>230</sup> Levine, A. The Exchange: 100 Years of Trading Grain in Winnipeg (Winnipeg: Peguis) 1987.

<sup>231</sup> Wilson, 1978.