

## The Cab Trade in Winnipeg, 1871–1910

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Résumé de l'article

L'histoire de l'industrie du taxi au Canada avant 1914 est un domaine en grande partie inexploré. Cet article relate l'histoire des taxis à Winnipeg entre 1871, époque de l'ouverture des premières écuries de chevaux de louage, et 1910, moment où les premiers taxis motorisés ont commencé à circuler. Ce qui frappe le plus, c'est de constater qu'en raison de sa nature même ainsi que des conditions locales qui contribuaient à empirer les choses, cette industrie était très peu lucrative à ses débuts. Faibles revenus, coûts d'exploitation élevés, marché local restreint et fragmenté et concurrence tant à l'intérieur qu'à l'extérieur de l'industrie : tels étaient les facteurs qui empêchaient les petites entreprises appartenant à des particuliers de prendre de l'expansion et de disposer des ressources nécessaires pour faire concurrence aux compagnies de taxi créées à grand renfort de capitaux à partir de 1910. Le taxi automobile donna un rude coup au taxi hippomobile, mais le nombre croissant d'automobiles privées fit également diminuer le marché potentiel du taxi, tant automobile qu'hippomobile. En outre, l'apparition de véhicules privés a donné naissance à une nouvelle catégorie de concurrents car les propriétaires découvraient que la location de véhicules et les services de navette à prix modique pouvaient être de lucratifs emplois secondaires.

# *The Cab Trade in Winnipeg, 1871-1910*

Norman Beattie

## **Abstract:**

*The history of the cab trade in Canada prior to 1914 is a largely unexplored field. This paper outlines the history of cabs in Winnipeg from 1871, when the first livery stables were opened, to 1910, when motorised taxicabs were introduced. The most striking feature of the early cab trade was its unprofitability, stemming from the nature of the trade itself and from local conditions that made matters worse. Low revenues, high operating costs, a small and fragmented local market and competition from inside and outside the trade tended to keep individual enterprises small and without sufficient resources to compete with the well-financed taxicab companies that appeared in 1910. The taxicab dealt a severe blow to the horse cab, but the growing numbers of private automobiles also diminished the potential market for both horse cabs and taxicabs. Further, the private automobile created a whole new class of competitors as owners discovered lucrative sidelines in car hire and jitney services.*

## **Résumé:**

*L'histoire de l'industrie du taxi au Canada avant 1914 est un domaine en grande partie inexploré. Cet article relate l'histoire des taxis à Winnipeg entre 1871, époque de l'ouverture des premières écuries de chevaux de louage, et 1910, moment où les premiers taxis motorisés ont commencé à circuler. Ce qui frappe le plus, c'est de constater qu'en raison de sa nature même ainsi que des conditions locales qui contribuaient à empirer les choses, cette industrie était très peu lucrative à ses débuts. Faibles revenus, coûts d'exploitation élevés, marché local restreint et fragmenté et concurrence tant à l'intérieur qu'à l'extérieur de l'industrie : tels étaient les facteurs qui empêchaient les petites entreprises appartenant à des particuliers de prendre de l'expansion et de disposer des ressources nécessaires pour faire concurrence aux compagnies de taxi créées à grand renfort de capitaux à partir de 1910. Le taxi automobile donna un rude coup au taxi hippomobile, mais le nombre croissant d'automobiles privées fit également diminuer le marché potentiel du taxi, tant automobile qu'hippomobile. En outre, l'apparition de véhicules privés a donné naissance à une nouvelle catégorie de concurrents car les propriétaires découvraient que la location de véhicules et les services de navette à prix modique pouvaient être de lucratives emplois secondaires.*

## **Introduction**

The history of the cab trade prior to the introduction of the automobile is a largely unexplored field, judging by the paucity of published literature on the subject. This is especially true of early cab history in Canada, where the limited extant research has focused on developments after World War I.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, although cabs were a familiar feature of Winnipeg's urban landscape from at least 1878 on, little mention of them has been

made in the literature relating to the city.<sup>2</sup> To investigate Winnipeg's early cab trade, therefore, is to venture into unknown territory. There is not much to guide us other than some scraps of direct evidence, a few clues extracted from the better-documented histories of London and other cities, and analogies from the modern-day taxicab industry.

Despite the fact that the automobile brought radical change to the Winnipeg cab trade and its market, the similarities before and after 1910 are more striking than the differences. Then as now, the cab trade was dominated by small operators, the largest of whom did not own more than a handful of cabs.<sup>3</sup> The telephone, a major source of revenue for today's taxi companies, was an important business tool as early as 1881. The old two-tiered system of "street" and "livery" cabs is still very much with us in the limousine services that both complement and compete with the regular taxicab. Hotels, entertainment venues and ports of entry continue to be the favourite haunts of cab drivers. Long hours and small returns are still the order of the day.

Small returns, in fact, were the most notable feature of the early Winnipeg cab trade. The reasons for its unprofitability were many and varied. This paper will touch on several of them:

1. the nature of the business itself, which combined high input costs and low turnover;
2. a small, fragmented customer base in Winnipeg;
3. competition from within, as numbers of cab drivers and owners increased
4. competition from streetcars and other transportation modes
5. heavy investment in vehicles, most of them imported from outside Manitoba, and some of which could only be used at certain seasons of the year;
6. rising operating costs combined with little change in the official fare schedule; and
7. a popular prejudice against street cabs that fragmented the market even further.

Anyone who uses a cab monopolises it and the driver for the duration of the trip and in doing so ties up a considerable investment in capital and operating costs. The fare paid must offset these costs as well as providing a margin of profit. Since even a short trip lasts several minutes, the number of trips that a cab can carry out in the course of a shift is very limited. In other words, the turnover in cab trips is severely restricted and this was even more true in the horse cab era, when wheeled traffic moved at little more than a walking pace.<sup>4</sup> One remedy for low turnover is to charge a high price for the product or service offered, especially at times when it is in heavy demand; but in an industry which has, historically, been closely regulated, this remedy is not available. Consequently, profits in the cab trade have generally been low and cab owners who acquire any amount of surplus capital are tempted to invest it in activities outside the trade, or move on to more lucrative endeavours. Where investment in the cab trade does occur it often goes to providing services to a captive market of cab owners and drivers

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— cab rental, dispatch services and license plate leasing. When these services are provided to owners and drivers by a taxi company, the owners and drivers become the company's primary customers.<sup>5</sup>

As a result, the cab trade has shown considerable resistance to the growth and concentration of cab enterprises. In 1904 in London, England (the most studied horse-cab city), there was a single large company that owned 500 cabs but the trade as a whole was heavily dominated by small operators. As Vance Thompson observed at the time, "it is a poor man's industry". Out of 2,711 cab proprietors in Thompson's London, 2,224 owned fewer than five vehicles.<sup>6</sup> Many of these would have been single-cab owners who earned their livelihood by driving at least part of the time, but owners who had two or more cabs probably did little or no driving and simply rented their cabs out to drivers on a per-shift basis. In a city with a large pool of unemployed people desperate for work, cab owners were free to charge extortionate rates and derive a secure income from the cab trade without concerning themselves much about serving the ultimate customer, the cab rider.<sup>7</sup> In Winnipeg on the other hand, thanks to the constant lure of opportunities further west, there was no great pool of unemployed drivers eager to pay exorbitant rental fees. Livery cab operators like Charles "Dublin Dan" James had to pay regular wages to attract drivers and although cab rental probably existed to some extent, rents would have had to be low enough to allow drivers an income comparable to the going wage rates. With the potential return on cab rental severely restricted, cab owners had to earn their money from the part of the trade that entailed the highest costs and offered the lowest margins, namely, driving people from point A to point B.

This paper outlines the history of cabs in Winnipeg from 1871, when the first livery stables were opened, to 1910, when the first motorised taxicabs appeared on the scene. "The Evolution of the Cab Trade" surveys the development of the cab trade up to 1881–1882, by which time it was fully established in the pattern which it was to follow for the next three decades. "Regulation of the Cab Trade" outlines the major legal constraints affecting the trade, namely, the bylaw provisions governing licenses fees, fares, cabstands and the conduct of owners and drivers. "Cabs and Horses" offers a statistical overview of the street and livery sides of the cab trade, based on data in the City of Winnipeg *Auditor's Reports*.<sup>8</sup> "Cab Owners and Drivers" examines the economics of the trade, primarily through the careers of William Jordan and Charles "Dublin Dan" James. "The Coming of the Automobile" looks at the impact of automobiles on the cab trade, both as taxicabs and as private cars.

### ***The Evolution of the Cab Trade***

The cab trade in Winnipeg can trace its origins to the year 1871, when the first livery stables were established in the city by William Harvey and Jack Benson.<sup>9</sup> In 1871 Winnipeg was a muddy village with a population of 1,500 people and was centred on the corner of Portage Avenue and Main Street, the junc-

tion of two old fur-trade trails that paralleled the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. Winnipeg's commercial prospects were far brighter than its size and appearance indicated. Although a Canadian transcontinental railway was still little more than a dream and although there was no certainty that it would pass through Winnipeg even if it reached Manitoba, developments south of the border promised immediate benefits. In 1871 the St. Paul & Pacific Railway reached the headwaters of the Red River at Breckinridge, establishing a fairly efficient rail and steamboat link to eastern Canada via St. Paul, Minnesota. Also in 1871 the rival Northern Pacific Railway crossed the river into Dakota Territory at Fargo, prompting the Minnesota Stage Company to begin a regular stagecoach service between Fargo and Winnipeg.<sup>10</sup> The trickle of easterners who began to head west following Confederation became a small but steady stream. William Harvey and Jack Benson were typical of the entrepreneurs who came to the new province from eastern Canada. William Harvey seems to have hailed from around Perth, Ontario. Jack Benson came west in 1870 as a soldier with the Wolseley Expedition.<sup>11</sup>

In Winnipeg the cab trade evolved into a two-tiered system consisting of "livery cabs" and "street cabs". Street cabs were licensed to ply for hire from public cabstands. Livery cabs were not licensed to use the cabstands, or to pick up fares who hailed them in the street. Instead, they were sent out from livery stables on request. The livery cab was a natural extension of traditional livery-stable practice. One of the hazards of the livery business was customers who did not know how to drive a horse and buggy: "Too often the horse which was fresh when taken from the barn, returned scratched, whip-marked and exhausted."<sup>12</sup> Partly to protect their investment livery keepers like Benson and Harvey provided drivers for any customers who wanted them (or who looked like they needed them). It was merely a step from this ad-hoc arrangement to a true livery cab operation, utilising "fancy" carriages and offering services tailored to the needs of a specific market segment.

Winnipeg's first street cab appeared in May of 1872, when David Landrigan put this advertisement in one of the local papers:

Cab for Hire. Any person desiring to hire a cab to any part of the town of Winnipeg can find one at the stand in front of the Davis Hotel. — David Landrigan.<sup>13</sup>

Landrigan may have pioneered the route from eastern Canada which brought many other cab drivers to Winnipeg in later years. Unfortunately, his enterprise failed, no doubt because Winnipeg's population was not yet large enough to support a cab clientele. Any demand that existed was likely satisfied by William Harvey and Jack Benson, who could compete with him directly as well as offering other services (feed, boarding, veterinary) that he was not in a position to supply.

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The street cab was the traditional bottom rung for people of limited capital trying to break into the business, but it was too profitable for the livery stable owners to ignore. Until late in the horse cab era many stables licensed cabs for street use in order to supplement their livery cab income. However, this put the livery stable owners on the horns of a dilemma, for during the 1890s street cabs fell into very bad odour. The tell-tale stigma identifying a street cab was its license number, prominently painted on the glass of the lamps flanking the driver's seat, and any stable owner who dispatched a numbered cab in answer to a call ran the risk of having it sent back. In 1910, when the city's License Committee proposed numbering livery cabs, the livery owners protested. "The ordinary woman when she wanted a cab to make a call was not going to take one that had a number blazoned all over it," declared Charles Knox. "Some men," he said, "would not get into a cab with a number on it."<sup>14</sup> The growing prejudice against street cabs reinforced a natural inclination on the part of livery operators to graduate from street cabs to livery cabs. William Jordan began switching from street cabs to livery cabs in 1894. He also added a note to the top of his invoices: "No Carriages Kept on Stand."<sup>15</sup> Although Jordan briefly re-licensed his carriages in 1897–98, from 1898–99 to his retirement in 1902 he used nothing but livery cabs in his business. Jordan's main competitors followed the same path. Joseph Moore Benson, who had been running street cabs since 1882, abandoned them in 1896. Redmond Burke had licensed street cabs as far back as 1880 but he, too, dropped them after some hesitancy in 1899. In the end, the prejudice against street cabs split an already fragmented market and forced cab owners to abandon one segment in order to exploit another.

The increase in steamboat traffic on the Red after 1871 spurred the Winnipeg freighting industry and each boat that arrived at the landing near Upper Fort Garry was greeted by express wagons waiting to pick up goods consigned to local merchants. The express companies noticed that along with freight, steamboats brought passengers who needed transportation to hotels and other destinations. They met this new opportunity by instituting a kind of cab service. The Pioneer City Express ran this advertisement in the *Manitoba Free Press* of May 9 and May 16, 1874:

Passengers Baggage and all kinds of merchandise conveyed to all parts of the city at most reasonable rates. A comfortable and commodious vehicle in attendance upon the arrival of Every boat.

In the same newspapers the City Express and Dray Company also advertised that they would convey passengers as well as freight anywhere in Winnipeg and vicinity. The Pioneer City Express used the McMicken and Taylor hardware store as one of its booking offices but Ham McMicken's involvement seems to have been a lot deeper than this, judging by his own account:

Our rigs were something more than just drays. Some of the owners of the things that we carried to and from the steamboat landing, wanted to have an eye on their property while it was being carted, so we built seats on our rigs where customers could sit and watch that their belongings didn't run away. It was more money in our pocket too, for we charged the customer for his seat as well as for carrying his luggage.<sup>16</sup>

Presumably this spartan arrangement was soon superseded by the "comfortable and commodious vehicle" mentioned in the advertisement.

Hamilton Grant (Ham) McMicken was the second son of Gilbert McMicken, Sir John A. Macdonald's right-hand man in Manitoba. Ham's hardware business went bankrupt in 1877 with no discernible impact on his credit or career. He immediately imported Manitoba's first propeller-driven steamboat, a 50-foot tug named the *Lady Ellen* after his wife, Ellen Brown.<sup>17</sup> At about the same time he started the North-West Omnibus & Transfer Company. Both enterprises were intended to capitalise on the increase in freight traffic that would result from the completion of the C.P.R.'s "Pembina Branch" railway, which ran south from Winnipeg to the U.S. border to link up with the St. Paul & Pacific at St. Vincent, Minnesota.

The rail link was finally completed in December, 1878. As an added bonus, Sir John A. Macdonald's Conservative government was returned to power in the election of 1878 and Ham was granted a monopoly over the handling of all C.P.R. freight coming into Winnipeg.<sup>18</sup> While freight was Ham's main concern, the pre-eminence of "omnibus" in the company name reflected his continued fascination with the passenger business. Ham seems to have been behind an experimental omnibus service that ran up and down Main Street for one day in the summer of 1877,<sup>19</sup> and by 1882 he had a livery cab operation and three buses shuttling passengers to and from the C.P.R. station. The Pembina Branch came north along the east side of the Red River and terminated in St. Boniface. Until 1880, when a temporary railway bridge extended the Pembina Branch into Winnipeg, all passengers and baggage had to be ferried across the river.<sup>20</sup> An anonymous Englishwoman described the bus service in 1880:

Tuesday [August 24]. This morning, at about 6 A.M., the omnibus arrived and conveyed me for quite a long drive round and round the city, calling at all the hotels and several private houses, and finding none of the passengers ready. They all came out very coolly, saying, "Wait a few minutes," and then the driver would either wait, calling out "All aboard" at intervals, or go somewhere else, and career round again over the prairie to fetch them. We began to be afraid we would lose the train. Any ordinary train would have been lost, but this one waits till every one is ready, so at last we bounced down on the ferry, nearly sending a waggon [sic] into the river, and went over to St. Boniface.<sup>21</sup>

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In 1879 Ham bought the Connell & Burke livery stable on Main Street as the new headquarters for North West Omnibus & Transfer. The stable seems to have launched Ham into the cab business. In 1880 he licensed a street cab but this side of the trade evidently did not appeal to him and thereafter he focused his efforts on attracting a livery cab clientele:

H.G. McMICKEN is making a big push to increase the number of fancy carriages in connection with his livery business. He has now on the way \$7,000 worth of coupes, besides a number of other fancy rigs. ... The coupe is becoming a popular carriage in fashionable circles, and Ham is to be commended for the enterprise shown in having brought the first to Winnipeg. The success attending its use has prompted him to increase the number. Ladies having calls to make and shopping to do find these very convenient. H.G. contemplates having in addition to the driver a coloured attendant, dressed up in livery, to wait upon ladies and assist them in and out of the coupe. Who will say after this that Winnipeg is not a fashionable centre?<sup>22</sup>

Ham's move into the livery cab business may have been prompted by the fact that his omnibuses were facing stiff competition from the hotel omnibuses which now began to show up at the C.P.R. station. These could afford to offer cheap or even free rides because their main purpose was to attract guests to their respective hotels.<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless, Ham's efforts to cultivate Winnipeg's fashionable citizenry must have had disappointing results because in 1882 he abandoned the cab and omnibus business altogether to organise a new company, Manitoba Cartage & Warehousing, with Gilbert McMicken and several other investors. North-West Omnibus & Transfer ceased to exist but the former Connell & Burke stable and the livery cab operation were taken over by one of Ham's employees, Bill Squires. Squires hung on for a few years, trying to run the business in the McMicken style but without the McMicken family resources and connections. He struggled through the collapse of the Winnipeg boom but by 1886 he was forced to sell the stable back to Connell & Burke.

Ham's evident distaste for the street cab business left the field open to Dave Storey and a few local competitors. Storey, who came to Winnipeg from Toronto in the spring of 1878, was Winnipeg's first successful street cab operator. He travelled by rail as far as the end of steel at Fisher's Landing, Minnesota and drove his cab the last 161 miles, probably following the Fargo stagecoach route up the west side of the Red.<sup>24</sup> The prospects were much more favourable for Storey in 1878 than they had been for David Landrigan in 1872. The population of the city had doubled to 3,000 people in the six years since Landrigan's departure and it would double again by 1881.<sup>25</sup> For most of 1878 and 1879 Storey had the street cab business all to himself. Two competitors who took out cab licenses in 1878 withdrew from the business in 1879, by which time Storey had five cabs working for him. His cabstand was on the south-west cor-

ner of Portage and Main, across the street from the Queen's Hotel, but he also had a stable near Portage and Garry, two blocks further west. Storey was one of the first telephone users in Winnipeg. By 1881 he had direct telephone lines connecting his stable with the Queen's Hotel, the Manitoba Club (resort of Winnipeg's commercial and political elite) and the Police station. The choice of telephone partners gives some idea of his customers.<sup>26</sup>

In 1880 Storey seems to have had six cabs but he only licensed one of them for street work. The others were covered by the livery license that he took out for his stable. Storey was trying to move to a purely livery cab operation but as others were to find out, Winnipeg's livery cab market was not yet large enough to sustain this kind of enterprise. The following year Storey went back into the street cab business, giving up his livery stable license in favour of six street cab licenses.

By mid-1882 Dave Storey, like Ham McMicken, was out of the cab business. He sold his stable to Thomas Seaborn and used the proceeds to buy a small hotel on Portage Avenue, eleven blocks west of Main Street on what were then the outskirts of town. The real estate boom of that year no doubt persuaded him to unload his downtown property at a profit but another factor was that competition in the cab trade was becoming uncomfortably fierce. The local competition which Storey's early success had stirred up between 1878 and 1881 had not amounted to much but beginning in 1881–1882 Storey faced a more formidable threat from the experienced Toronto cab drivers who began to show up in Winnipeg as the boom progressed. William Jordan, Charles "Dublin Dan" James, and Thomas Seaborn and his sons were representative of this group and there were undoubtedly several others. Back in 1879, Storey's five street cabs had been the only ones plying for hire. In 1880 there were ten cabs on the street (one of them Storey's) and in 1881 there were sixteen (of which Storey owned six). This level of competition was tolerable but in 1881–1882 no less than 33 street cabs were licensed, more than in any subsequent year. The increase in street cab licenses was paralleled by an increase in livery stable licenses. In 1879 there were only five licensed livery stables in Winnipeg but the number climbed to eleven by 1881–1882 and to nineteen in 1882–1883.

### *Regulation of the Cab Trade*

By now the cab trade was well established in the pattern that it was to follow for nearly thirty years, until the appearance of motor cabs in 1910. The number of cabs and drivers would remain remarkably stable and apart from a gradual shift away from street cabs to livery cabs, the trade in 1910 functioned much as it did in 1882. As well, the first city-cab bylaw, passed in 1881<sup>27</sup>, established the regulatory tone for succeeding decades. The bylaw set the license fees for street cabs, the fare schedule, and the duties and responsibilities of drivers and owners. A separate bylaw, originally passed in 1880 and revised many times, designated the location of cabstands. The most remarkable thing about the bylaws was how ineffectual

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they were. The provisions governing cabstands were blatantly disregarded, the fare schedule was superseded by a simpler one devised by the cab owners themselves, and enforcement of other provisions, with the exception of license fees, seems to have been hit and miss.

The license fee structure for street cabs reflects, in some degree, a rise and fall in importance of Winnipeg's cab trade. The 1881 bylaw set the fee at ten dollars for each two-horse cab and eight dollars for each one-horse cab. In February, 1885 these fees were raised to sixteen and ten dollars respectively, suggesting that in the minds of city council at least cab owners were doing well enough to afford an increase. Eleven years later, in August, 1896, the fees were dropped back down to the 1881 level, suggesting that times were tougher. Livery stable license fees had already been reduced in 1894 following a petition for tax relief from the stable owners.<sup>28</sup> Unlike other aspects of cab regulation, fee collection seems to have been enforced fairly strictly. In October, 1883 Thomas Seaborn told a reporter that there were about 25 "hacks" in Winnipeg, very close to the 27 cabs recorded in the *Auditor's Reports* for 1883–84.<sup>29</sup> The fees for livery stable licenses also seem to give an accurate picture for the number of horses available for hire. In 1910, Dublin Dan was paying \$55 for 22 horses — exactly the number he was then allowed under the license fee schedule.<sup>30</sup>

On the other hand, bylaw provisions covering street-cab fares demonstrated how a plan that looked good on paper could utterly fail to work in practice. The fare schedule, like those of Toronto and Montreal, was based on geographical divisions.<sup>31</sup> The fare for trips taking place within the First Division (covering the centre of Winnipeg) was 50 cents in 1881, while trips that crossed over into the Second Division (covering the outlying areas) were assessed at 75 cents. The division system was intended to provide a simple way of calculating fares but it was so hedged about with conditions that it became unworkable. For example, although the usual fare for a person travelling from anywhere in the First Division to anywhere in the Second Division (or vice versa) was 75 cents, the fare was reduced to 50 cents if the whole trip were half a mile or less in length, or if a person found a free cab in the Second Division instead of having to call one over from the First Division. There was also a per-person surcharge of 25 cents for each additional passenger. After 8 p.m. all charges doubled and after midnight until 5 a.m. they doubled again. There were additional charges for waiting time, reduced fares for children, and a whole separate schedule of fares for one-horse cabs.

Livery stable charges were much simpler and based loosely on the hourly rate set forth in the Livery Stable bylaw. It was probably William Jordan who originated the system of flat rates that livery stables used, with occasional modifications, until after 1910. The following advertisement shows the Jordan fare schedule of 1885 and also gives some insight into the kind of service expected by livery cab customers:<sup>32</sup>

COLD DAY  
When We Get Left  
HACKS. HACKS. HACKS.  
CASH TARIFF  
AND CASH ONLY

From 8 a.m. to 8 p.m. per hour	\$1.00
To Concerts & Return, 1 or 4 pers'ns	\$1.50
To the Opera " " "	\$1.50
Dinner Parties " " "	\$1.50
To Church " " "	\$1.50
To Balls " " "	\$2.50
To Banquets " " "	\$2.50
Funeral Service, per hour	\$1.00
From 8 p.m. to 8 a.m. per hour	\$2.00

Cabs ready at our stand at a moment's notice.

OPEN DAY & NIGHT.

Telephone communication.

THE LEADING HACKMEN.

JORDAN BROS. & DUBLIN DAN

In 1888 William Jordan went even further and advertised a minimum charge of \$1.00.<sup>33</sup>

The street cab owners probably followed the lead of the livery stable owners and instituted a similar system of hourly or flat rates. Certainly, they did not follow the schedule of fares set out in the bylaw. As the *Winnipeg Telegram* noted:

The only service in which the legal tariff was ever adhered to, has been in police work, with sometimes comical results. On one occasion a driver was working for the police on a job which took him across a division line several times back and forth. He charged \$2.50, but his legal fee was calculated and he was found to be entitled to \$4.50 which he received.<sup>34</sup>

It was only in 1910, when horse cabs were on the verge of extinction, that the bylaw's fare schedule was brought into line with what had been established practice for 25 years.

The bylaw provisions governing cabstands inspired even less adherence than the fare schedule.<sup>35</sup> The underlying problem was the conflict between cab drivers, who wanted stands to be located where there was a lot of pedestrian traffic, and business owners, who didn't want cabstands in front of their doors.

The first cabstand was established in 1880 on the site that Dave Storey first picked out at the south-west corner of Portage and Main. This stand aroused controversy right from the start, for in May, 1881, police chief D.B. Murray proposed having it moved into the middle of Main Street to "obviate the nuisance of cabs standing immediately in front and in proximity to places of business."<sup>36</sup> However, instead of following Murray's proposal, council voted to move the stand a block west on Portage Avenue to Knox Church. The cab drivers accepted the move reluctantly,<sup>37</sup> but by May, 1883 the business district had spread



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westward as well. Knox Church was now scheduled for demolition and the cabstand was in the way. When council acquiesced to a petition<sup>38</sup> from local business interests to move the stand another block further west, the cab drivers rebelled. They returned to their old turf at the corner of Portage and Main and resisted all subsequent attempts to dislodge them. As John Brownlee wrote:

Gentlemen, as it seems that you cannot successfully induce the Hack men of Winnipeg to vacate their old stand on Portage av. to occupy [sic] other quarters, Could you please try and make them either sit on their Hacks or stay by them the same as they do in other towns.

During the day time they occupy [sic] the south side of Portage av. and at night time they draw up in a line on the north Side from the Merchants Hotel to the Queens insulting and jesting and passing remarks at every one passing by.

Not only that, but they monopolise the whole side walk and well they know when their [sic] is no policemen niegh [sic].<sup>39</sup>

By September exasperated business owners were threatening to sue the city. Boyd & Co., gunsmiths, complained of hacks standing “four abreast in front of our shop” on the south-west corner and of having had to endure this nuisance for the past three years. At the same time, the proprietors of the Queen’s Hotel wrote of their “business and property being greatly injured” because of the cabs that loitered on the north-west corner.<sup>40</sup> Luckily, other developments served to defuse the cabstand issue. In 1886 Winnipeg’s new gingerbread-style city hall was completed on Main Street, a few blocks north of Portage, and the space in front of it was designated as a cabstand. This stand proved to be a success, judging by the fact that several photos taken over the years show cabs parked on it (Figure 1). By now Winnipeg’s commercial district had spread north up Main Street, generating enough foot traffic to attract cabs to the new stand. Moreover, the stand was adjacent to a small public park, so it did not provoke complaints from aggrieved business owners.

The cab bylaw contained a number of provisions that were intended to regulate the conduct of cab drivers. For example, drivers were to be decently dressed; they were to deliver all packages entrusted to them without undue delay, and they were



Figure 1: Two cabs on the City Hall stand, September, 1892. Source: Provincial Archives of Manitoba, *Transportation — Streetcar*, 19.

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to keep all appointments punctually. They were not to stand around in groups of three or more, nor make unnecessary noise, nor annoy householders, nor get drunk, nor act in an insolent or abusive manner. While all these clauses may have been admirable as guidelines for behaviour, the question remains as to why it was found necessary to include them in a cab bylaw. Some were redundant — for example a cab driver who created unnecessary noise or annoyance was guilty of breaching the peace and could be charged without recourse to the cab bylaw. Other provisions seem to be strangely intrusive. In most trades and professions it was left up to company owners or managers to ensure that their employees were decently dressed, or kept appointments punctually, and it was left to customers to punish any business whose personnel didn't live up to these standards. Needless to say, the police were not keen to enforce such provisions strictly.

What did concern the police was the potential for serious crime, such as the robbery of drunken fares. In December, 1909 a driver named "Speedy Dick" Greggains was charged with robbing a sleeping passenger of \$100 while on the way back from Winnipeg's red-light district. When the case came up at the spring assizes three months later, it had to be dropped "due to the absence of a material witness."<sup>41</sup> Evidence in these cases was hard to come by, since the victims were often too inebriated to provide good testimony and once they sobered up, too embarrassed to press charges. But even with a willing victim, the chances of bringing a case to court were next to nil without some easy way of identifying an offending driver. The only practical solution was to make cab drivers wear numbered badges, as London drivers had done for a century or more. Ironically city council, so punctilious in other respects, was reluctant to take this step. Street cab drivers were issued badges in 1897 after the shenanigans of three or four of them hit the headlines, but despite the agitation of police chief John McRae, livery cab drivers were not licensed until 1910. Even then, livery drivers were permitted to conceal the badges under the lapels of their coats until a customer asked to see a badge number.<sup>42</sup>

### Cabs and Horses

To some extent, the license data in the *Auditor's Reports* enable us to chart the rise and decline of the street cab trade in Winnipeg between 1877 and 1916. Unfortunately, changes in reporting procedures after 1905–1906, and in the way cabs were licensed after 1910, deprive us of a consistent set of indicators for the whole period. Moreover, although the *Auditor's Reports* give us a clear picture of the number of livery horses available for hire in the city, there is no direct evidence of the number of livery cabs. Only a fraction of the livery horses would have been used in livery cab service but it seems reasonable to assume that the rise and fall in livery horses and livery stable license receipts reflects a similar rise and fall in livery cabs. Bearing these limitations in mind we can use different sets of indicators from three overlapping time periods to construct a plausible statistical picture of the cab trade spanning nearly forty years. This has been done in Figures 2 to 4, below. As well, we can use

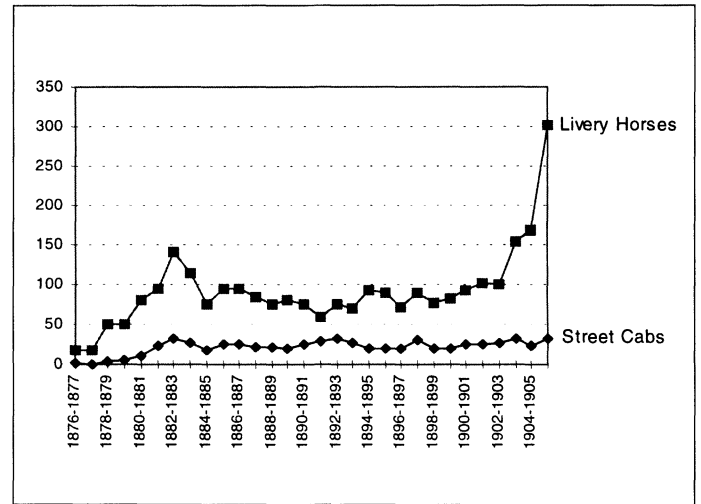


Figure 2: Number of Livery Horses and Street Cabs, 1876–1905.

clues from the data presented in Figure 4 to calculate a ratio for the number of street cabs to livery cabs. Based on this ratio, it seems likely that the total number of cabs, both street and livery, never exceeded 60 in any given year.<sup>43</sup>

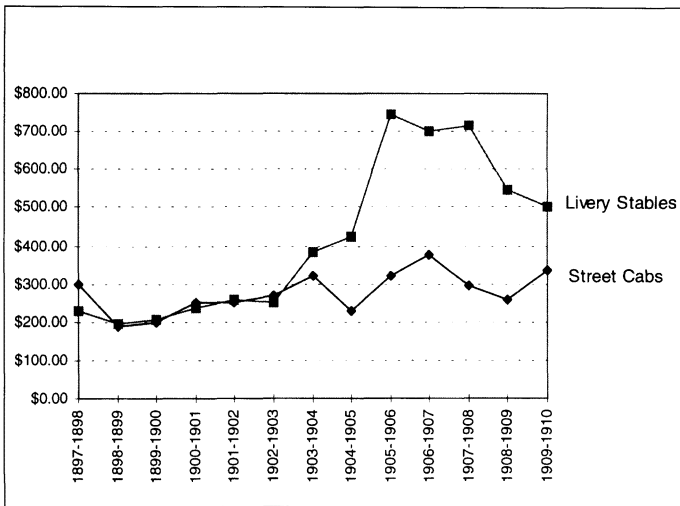
Figure 2, covering the period 1877 to 1906, shows the number of street cab licenses issued during this period as well as the number of horses-for-hire kept in Winnipeg's livery stables. One remarkable thing about the chart is the relative flatness of the street cab line. In 1906, when Winnipeg's population stood at 80,000, there were 32 licensed street cabs, one fewer than there were in 1883 when the population was less than 14,000. Another interesting feature is the way in which the two lines converge and diverge. At least some of this fluctuation would seem to be due to the vacillation of stable owners who might license cabs for street work one year and pull them off the street for livery cab service the next. The divergence is particularly strong after 1903, when Winnipeg's population, fuelled by immigration, recorded a sharp rise. The number of livery horses (and presumably livery cabs) seem to follow the population trend much more closely than street cabs did.

After 1906 the *Auditor's Reports* provide only summary data for departmental receipts and expenditures. Figure 3 uses annual totals for license receipts to cover some of the same ground shown in Figure 2 and to extend the profile of the cab trade up to fiscal year 1909–1910.<sup>44</sup> Here we can detect the same dramatic rise for 1905–1906 that is recorded in Figure 2 but we now see it peak in 1905–1906 and 1907–1908. The period between 1905 and 1908 would therefore seem to be the high-water mark of the horse cab era in Winnipeg. Unfortunately, changes in the fee structure for both street cabs and livery stables prevent us from extending this profile beyond 1909–1910.

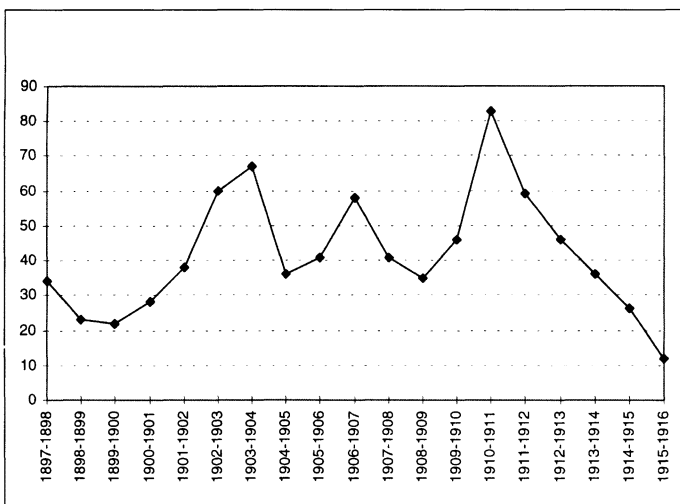
The only indicator that remains fairly constant between 1896–1897 and 1915–1916 is the number of licensed cab drivers. The



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**Figure 3: Licence Receipts: Livery Stables and Street Cabs, 1897–1910.**



**Figure 4: Number of Drivers, 1897–1916.**

annual totals are shown in Figure 4, clearly documenting the rapid decline of the horse cab trade after 1910. Between 1910-11 and 1915-1916, the number of licensed drivers dropped from 83 down to 12. The sudden peak to a high of 83 is due to the fact that livery cab drivers were first licensed in 1910. Prior to 1910 only street cab drivers were licensed and the two abrupt dips in 1904-1905 and 1908-1909 may reflect street cabs, and their drivers, being transferred to livery cab service.

As Figures 2, 3 and 4 indicate the cab trade experienced little or no real growth during a period when Winnipeg underwent enormous changes. The muddy frontier town of 1882 grew to become Canada's third largest city and the fourth largest in terms of industrial output. The population increased seventeen-

fold between 1881 and 1911, from less than 8,000 to more than 136,000.<sup>45</sup> The main reason for this disparity seems to be that the cab trade commanded a steadily dwindling share of a market that was increasingly dominated by new modes of transportation. For a brief period between 1878 and 1882 cabs and omnibuses represented the only form of public transportation available to Winnipeggers but beginning in 1882 competing public and private modes began to appear: the horse-drawn street railway, the electric streetcar, the bicycle and finally the automobile. The net effect of these competitors was to cut large pieces out of the transportation pie, leaving a tinier and tinier slice to the cab trade. It was only due to Winnipeg's steadily increasing population during this period that the cab trade flourished to the extent it did.

The *Auditor's Reports* up to 1905-1906 tell us quite a bit about street cab owners and the size of their operations. Our knowledge of the livery cab side of the trade is sketchier, since we cannot know for sure which stable owners ran livery cabs. We do know that livery stables were small. In most years between 1877 and 1906 the average number of horses per stable was from five to ten. The maximum number of horses in any livery stable was 23 and only five stable owners ever licensed 20 or more horses. Even the largest street cab owners seldom had more than three or four cabs running in a given year and the same probably applies to livery cab owners. William Jordan had as many as seven street cabs in service in a year and so did his main competitor, Redmond Burke. Isaac Fullerton had nine street cabs, and possibly as many as five one-horse livery cabs, in the year before he went bankrupt. In the twilight of the horse cab era Dublin Dan could muster eleven two-horse livery cabs. But these instances were aberrations from the norm: the horse cab trade as a whole was a small industry made up of very small enterprises.

### Owners and Drivers

The turnover among street cab owners was fairly high. The *Auditor's Reports* from 1877 to 1905–1906 list a total of 140 individuals and companies who took out cab licenses, although, in the case of individuals, spelling variations make a precise number difficult to determine. Of the 140, some 69 (or 45 percent) were in the business for a year or less. Only 28 (20 percent) stayed in the cab trade for five years or more, and of these only a dozen stayed ten years or longer. The turnover among drivers who did not own their own cabs was even higher. Of 108 drivers licensed between 1897 and 1906, 76 (70 percent) were licensed for one year only. Only three drivers were licensed for as long as five years. But although license figures seem to give a reasonably accurate picture of the street-cab trade as a whole they cannot be considered precise due to the fact that both owners and drivers switched back and forth between street cabs and livery cabs.

As interesting as these statistics may be, they cannot tell us much about the people who made up the cab trade or their working lives. If any of the participants has left a written account

of horse cab days in Winnipeg it has not so far turned up, but we do know something about William Jordan and Charles “Dublin Dan” James, whose careers spanned most of the era under examination. Both men owned street cabs in Toronto before coming to Winnipeg in 1882. Jordan was a cab owner until he retired in 1902 and Dublin Dan until his death in 1911.

Dublin Dan was an Irishman, born in 1854 at Temple House, County Sligo, who came to Canada at the age of sixteen. A job driving a grocer’s delivery van brought him into contact with William Jordan and other Toronto cab drivers who boarded their horses at the same stable. Both Dan and Jordan may have been part of an immigrant Irish community in Toronto, some of whom later moved on to Winnipeg. There are several Irish names among cab drivers who came to Winnipeg after 1882, and in 1909 some of his friends claimed an acquaintance with Dublin Dan which predated his arrival in Canada.<sup>46</sup>

Although Dublin Dan was a Winnipeg celebrity at the time of his death, William Jordan seems to have been the leader in their early partnership. Jordan took out a cab license in January, 1882, suggesting that he may have been in Winnipeg to scout out prospects for the community back in Toronto. He returned to Winnipeg with Dublin Dan on March 1, at the height of the real estate boom. The two men each brought a cab and a pair of horses with them and rode in a freight car all the way from Toronto.<sup>47</sup> Jordan soon sold his cab at a profit and went back to Toronto for another, this time bringing his brother James back with him.<sup>48</sup> By the summer of 1882 the three men had formed a partnership under the name of “Jordan Brothers and Dublin Dan” and owned five street cab licenses among them. The Jordans and Dublin Dan were eager to establish a livery cab business, although they continued to license their cabs for use on the street. In 1883 they established their headquarters in Keachie’s Palace, a large brick livery stable on Smith Street built by Morton Keachie. In the same year they put a telephone on the Portage Avenue cabstand with a direct line running to their cab office in the stable.<sup>49</sup>

In 1884 the Winnipeg boom collapsed. The Palace stable became a white elephant and like many other entrepreneurs Morton Keachie was forced to walk away from his investment. Nobody was eager to take over from him and in 1885 the Palace became a warehouse for militia stores. But Jordan and Dan, “being of a saving disposition”, managed to weather the bust. In 1885 they moved to Isaac Fullerton’s stable at Fort and Portage, a block west of Main, and began to advertise in the newspapers. The ads were probably William Jordan’s idea since he continued to place them in newspapers and in *Henderson’s Winnipeg Directory* after he split with Dublin Dan. On the other hand, Dan did not advertise nearly as extensively after he struck out on his own.

Late in 1885, Dublin Dan left the partnership, selling his cab to William Jordan (Jordan paid a three-dollar license transfer fee on December 12). He continued to work for Jordan as a driver in 1886 but this was only a prelude to a new business venture.

Like Dave Storey before him, Dublin Dan had decided to go into the hotel business. In 1887 he purchased a hotel on the Portage trail, about six miles west of Winnipeg in the then-remote settlement of St. James. Here he stayed until 1890, when disaster struck. The Liberal government of Premier Thomas Greenway, responding to a growing temperance sentiment, cancelled the liquor licenses of several hotels in Winnipeg and the surrounding area. Dublin Dan’s license was cancelled with the rest. In those partisan times the fact that Dan was a well-known and vociferous Conservative probably did nothing to help his case. Dublin Dan was forced to go back into the cab business and work for his former partner. William Jordan, in the meantime, had consolidated his position in the local cab trade. By 1890, he had six cabs and the 1890 *Henderson’s Winnipeg Directory* listed eight cab drivers (including Dublin Dan) who either worked for Jordan or resided at the stable. Jordan continued to use street cabs for his livery cab operation right up to 1894. This arrangement worked well as long as his livery customers were willing to ride in street cabs, but as we have seen, toward the turn of the century a strong prejudice against street cabs began to make itself felt and Jordan switched to livery cabs.

Sometime between 1893 and 1897 Dublin Dan severed his connection with Jordan for a second time and went into business for himself. In 1897 he took over the Fleetwood stable on Smith Street, which had been Morton Keachie’s stable before he built the Palace next door. In 1899 Dan joined forces with Bill Squires and Alex Courtney to form the Winnipeg Cab Company. The Winnipeg Cab Company continued to license street cabs right up to 1903 but by 1910 it was strictly a livery cab operation and was based in the Palace. Dublin Dan reported that all of the company’s business “is done from the stable, and nearly all by ‘phone.” He even complained about the competition he was getting from street cabs.<sup>50</sup>

By 1910, with the appearance of the first taxicabs in Winnipeg, the future of the horse-drawn cab trade began to look bleak. Dublin Dan and his partners put the Winnipeg Cab Company up for sale in March, 1911 but nobody snapped it up. Nevertheless, they managed to unload the Palace which was torn down in 1912 to make way for the Palace Auto Livery. Bill Squires took over what was left of Winnipeg Cab and ran it from the Fleetwood stable. In the meantime, Dublin Dan died of a heart attack in October, 1911. The papers were filled with lengthy obituaries and about 20 horse cabs made up his funeral cortege. In 1914 the *Henderson’s Directory* dropped the “Cabs and Carriages for Hire” heading from its classified section. The horse cab was now little more than a curiosity, its customers limited to tourists and nostalgia buffs.

The careers of William Jordan and Dublin Dan were untypical of other cab operators both in the degree of success they achieved and in the length of time they remained in the trade. However, their attitude toward the cab trade would have been very similar to that of the dozens of owners and drivers who stayed a short time and then moved on to something better. To

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all of them, the cab trade was a stepping stone rather than a life's work. Dave Storey went into the hotel business as soon as the opportunity arose and Dublin Dan tried to do the same. Rather than expanding their operations the successful cab owners invested any spare cash in real estate. Dave Storey and Redmond Burke owned "considerable" property when they died. Dublin Dan formed a real estate company on the eve of his retirement. William Jordan sold his business in 1902 but he seems to have hung on to the choice downtown property it stood on (the stable was ultimately replaced by an office building called the Jordan Block). This tendency to channel money into more lucrative endeavours says something about the profitability of the cab trade. To some extent Storey, Burke, Jordan and Dublin Dan were simply trying to avoid the sad fate of others in the trade who had not taken the precaution of hedging their bets. Dublin Dan claimed that he had "never known a man to retire from the livery stable business with \$5,000", which even in those times was a small return for such a heavy capital investment.<sup>51</sup>

Conditions in Winnipeg conspired to make the cab trade even less profitable than it might have been. In the early days the market was tiny but even as Winnipeg grew in size, competition inside and outside the trade exerted a downward pressure on incomes. An influx of cab owners and drivers arrived from Toronto just before the collapse of Winnipeg's real estate boom, while competing modes of transportation — the horse-drawn streetcar in 1882, the electric streetcar in 1892, the bicycle and finally the automobile — ensured that the cab trade commanded a steadily diminishing share of the local transportation market.<sup>52</sup>

Other factors added to the expense of operating cabs in Winnipeg. The all-pervasive mud was a curse as well as a blessing to the cab trade. In wet weather the sticky black Red River "gumbo" made it virtually impossible to walk in the streets and even the board sidewalks were rendered too slippery for secure footing. This made travel by cab or omnibus a practical necessity:

The 'bus will leave Mrs. Mercer's, 466 Main street, at seven o'clock this evening, sharp, for the ladies' college, so that those desiring to see the tableaux vivants there will have an opportunity of doing so without wading through the mud.<sup>53</sup>

But the slippery footing also put horses at serious risk of injury and the peculiarly adhesive qualities of the gumbo could cause expensive damage to any vehicle caught in a tug-of-war between the mud and a straining team. In October of 1883 three weeks of rain made the streets so impassable that Thomas Seaborn kept his cabs in the stable. "I am losing about \$50 per day at present in wages and horse feed," he complained. "It is impossible to put a hack on the road, as the inevitable result would be a breakdown before going five hundred yards."<sup>54</sup> The city's infant public works program made matters worse. Pits and trenches for sewer work were left dangerously open and ill-lighted, and after the sewers were laid, manhole

covers protruded several inches above the grade in anticipation of paving. Dublin Dan collided with one of these in August of 1883. He was hurled to the ground and subsequently collected \$250 in damages.<sup>55</sup>

Cab horses were forced to stand in mud and water for long periods. To ease their suffering, the city council built plank platforms on cabstands from 1880 to 1887, by which time the cedar-block street paving program was well underway.<sup>56</sup> Nevertheless, muddy streets continued to bedevil traffic well into the 1890s. The mud frequently made haulage impossible and this had such a serious impact on businesses and construction projects that in 1896 the C.P.R., in its own interests, offered to bring paving materials to the city at half rates.<sup>57</sup> The mud influenced the cab trade in at least one lasting way. A strong team of horses was needed to drag a carriage through the streets in wet weather, which accounts for the fact that in the early days there were very few one-horse cabs. One-horse street cabs were licensed in only seven years between 1877 and 1906 and the most licensed in any year was four (in 1888 and 1893, by Isaac Fullerton). The two-horse habit persisted long after the immediate need disappeared. In 1910, an editorial writer in the *Winnipeg Telegram* noted that there were only three one-horse cabs operating in the city and wondered why "Winnipeg clings with such persistence to the heavy chariot drawn by two powerful roadsters."<sup>58</sup>

These "chariots" were an expensive capital investment. A.S. Bardal told a city hall committee in 1910 that a new rubber-tired carriage cost as much as \$2,000.<sup>59</sup> Most of the carriages used for cab service in Winnipeg seem to have been imported, either from eastern Canada or the U.S. Winnipeg had a number of carriage-making establishments but they mostly confined themselves to constructing utilitarian vehicles such as farm and delivery wagons, using manufactured components where necessary. Fancy carriage-work, at least on a competitive basis, was beyond the capability of the local industry.<sup>60</sup> The Winnipeg cab was generally a "landaulet", with a solid roof over the forward part of the carriage and folding leather hood over the rear seat (Figure 5). However, the solid roof, window-frames and door posts could be quickly removed and left in the stable when a completely open carriage was required.<sup>61</sup> Even with this versatile arrangement, stable owners tried to keep a variety of vehicles in reserve to meet changing weather conditions. The cab bylaw allowed street cab owners to transfer their license numbers from wheeled cabs to sleighs during the winter months (Figure 6). In 1911, when the Dublin Dan and his partners sold the Winnipeg Cab Company, the stock included 14 "wheel carriages", two open sleighs and five "combination" sleighs (presumably, enclosed sleighs with removable tops). In 1910 Dan claimed that the sleighs were idle eight months of the year and that eight "summer carriages" were idle four months of the year.<sup>62</sup>

The cab trade's market was diffuse and unpredictable. One segment comprised middle-class customers like Thomas Greenway, the premier of Manitoba from 1888 to 1900. Charge

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*Figure 5: A.S. Bardal funeral carriage, circa 1910. Source: Provincial Archives of Manitoba, A.S. Bardal Collection, 24.*

account receipts for 62 of Greenway's cab and livery payments, made between 1888 and 1897, have survived.<sup>63</sup> Of these, 58 are for amounts of two dollars or less (38 for one dollar). As Greenway lived in Crystal City, about 90 miles south-west of Winnipeg, he did a lot of commuting. Some 30 bills are for trips to the C.P.R. Station. Only one is for a trip *from* the station, so on his return to Winnipeg Greenway presumably took a waiting cab or omnibus and paid cash. The invoices average out to an expenditure of only about \$9.50 per year over ten years, so if these represent Greenway's total expenditure for cabs and if he were indeed a typical cab client it would have taken thousands like him to support the Winnipeg cab trade. But there may actually have been thousands, not necessarily all from Greenway's class. The omnipresence of the automobile today makes it hard for us to imagine a world in which very few people could afford to have private transportation of their own.<sup>64</sup>

Another source of income was the city of Winnipeg itself. Between 1879 and 1905, the *Auditor's Reports* list some 980 payments for cab and livery hire made by city departments, totalling about \$8,200. Of this amount, police expenditures accounted for 39 percent. However, it is abundantly plain from these records that nobody got rich on city hall cab fares. The

most money laid out on cab and livery hire in any one year (1900) was \$989.60 and this was exceptional. Only three times between 1879 and 1905 did the city spend more than \$500 annually on cab and livery hire. In any given year this largesse might be divided among a dozen or more individual cab owners and livery keepers, which made slim pickings for any one of them. The most that the city paid any cab or livery stable owner during a single year was \$375 to John Moyse in 1900, and the next highest payment was under \$200.<sup>65</sup>

Conversely, Winnipeg's brothels provided the cab trade with a fair bit of income. In 1911 Amy Norris, who owned a bawdy house in the "vice district" centred on McFarlane and Annabella streets, reported that her pay telephone took in \$39 in one month, the equivalent of 780 phone calls. In testimony before the Manitoba Royal Commission on Vice, she said that clients calling for hacks and taxis accounted for most of the calls.<sup>66</sup> The Royal Commission was told that in October 1910, 42 pay phones rented to Amy Norris and her competitors brought in \$526.15, or the equivalent of 10,523 calls. Obviously the vice district must have provided the cab trade with thousands of dollars of income each month — vastly greater than the income they derived from police work and other official city business.<sup>67</sup>



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**Figure 6:** *Winter cabs on the north-west corner of Portage and Main, circa 1885. Source: Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Transportation — Sleigh, 3.*

While the official fare schedule (on which the livery stable schedules were based) remained unchanged for years, costs increased dramatically. Dublin Dan complained that the price of a team of horses had risen from \$300 in 1904 to \$500 in 1910. During the same period hay had doubled from \$5 a ton to \$10, and oats had increased from 35 cents a bushel to 45. Maintenance costs were up 25% since 1904 as well. Total monthly costs ran to \$1,800.<sup>68</sup> Dan showed his account books to reporters to back up his claims. On January 29, 1910 the ledger recorded a total of 29 transactions (22 credit and seven cash), while on January 30 there were thirteen (six credit, seven cash). Each transaction presumably represented a single cab fare of at least one dollar, that being the company's minimum charge.

Dublin Dan's expenses included a payroll of \$850 for 14 employees. Dan paid his drivers \$12.50 a week (compared to \$9.00 a week earned by drivers in Montreal) but at least some street cab owners probably rented their cabs to drivers by the day or night, the drivers keeping any fares and tips. There is no direct evidence but this simple system was well established in London and elsewhere at the time and is still the most common form of driver payment in the taxicab industry world-wide, so it would be strange if it did not exist in Winnipeg during the horse cab era. However, Winnipeg cab owners could not have charged the high rents commanded by their London counter-

parts. Rents would have had to be low enough to allow drivers to earn approximately what Dublin Dan paid out in wages.

Tips were extra. In 1910 a *Free Press* reporter wrote that "as everyone knows who has used the taxi or other cabs, the drivers fare very well out of the small change the passengers rarely wait for."<sup>69</sup> In fact, the drivers of horse cabs probably did not "fare very well" out of tips. Dublin Dan's \$4.80 to \$6.00 estimate of daily earnings for a team of horses and his company's minimum charge of a dollar meant that each of his cabs only completed five or six trips a day. Assuming that the same estimate applied to street cabs, a day's work meant only five or six opportunities for tips. All things considered, the Winnipeg cab trade was not a very profitable enterprise for either owners or drivers.

### ***The Coming of the Automobile***

The small size of Winnipeg horse cab operations made it that much more difficult for them to meet the challenge of the motor cab, which burst onto the scene in March of 1910 when the Winnipeg Taxicab Company imported the first of its fleet of Franklin town cars.<sup>70</sup> However, the handwriting had been on the wall for a long time and the future of the horse cab trade in Winnipeg was already foreshadowed in London, New York and elsewhere. In London the first electric cabs were introduced as

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early as 1897, although their short range and mechanical problems limited their success. From 1903 on, however, gasoline-powered cabs rapidly increased in numbers and by 1910 hansom cabs were being sold for scrap and charities were being organised to train their displaced drivers for other work.<sup>71</sup> In Winnipeg as in other cities the taxicab was the first competing mode of transport to challenge the horse cab in its own market. By the end of 1910 there were 28 licensed taxicabs in the city, which must have been about half the number horse cabs then in use.<sup>72</sup>

Winnipeg's first taxicab companies were launched by entrepreneurs who were completely outside the horse-drawn cab trade. The Winnipeg Taxicab Company was organised by a realtor, W.S. King and a lawyer, T.J. Murray. Prior to launching the new company Murray had examined taxicab operations in several cities and was impressed by what he saw. In Chicago taxicabs were earning \$20 a day and the return on investment was reported to be 25 percent.<sup>73</sup> Murray and King were not alone in seeing the potential for this kind of business in Winnipeg. In January, 1910, soon after Murray unveiled plans for launching Winnipeg Taxicab, W.S. Gordon revealed that Canadian Berna Motors and Taxicabs, Ltd. of Toronto was negotiating with local investors and that a taxicab garage was already being constructed about a block from the city hall.<sup>74</sup> In March the Taxicab and Auto Livery Company announced that it was bringing a fleet of Ford town cars to Winnipeg.<sup>75</sup>

In some cities the larger horse cab owners were strong enough to meet the challenge of the motor cab and adapt to changing conditions ahead of time. During his travels T.J. Murray interviewed several operators who were able to phase out horse cabs and gradually replace them with automobiles. These operators must have had enough capital to invest in cars on a scale that made them competitive with the new motor cab companies. In Winnipeg, however, Dublin Dan and the successors to William Jordan and Redmond Burke either did not anticipate how serious the taxicab threat was, or else were not in a position to do anything about it. Within a few months the formidable new adversary had drastically reduced their revenues and left them with heavy investments in a technology that was suddenly obsolete.

The same drama was played out in many cities in North America, and indeed around the world, but in other locales the story was much different. In Halifax, for example, the first for-hire automobile was put into service in 1911 by Fred Parsons, a horse cab operator, in partnership with a mechanic named James Wood. By the end of World War I taxi services were being offered by various Halifax livery stables. "The notable feature of the Halifax motor cab industry is that it was not a revolutionary new industry. Taxi service evolved out of more traditional transportation services. ..." <sup>76</sup> With no taxicab invasion to contend with, the local cab trade was able to introduce automobiles at a slower pace and on a scale in keeping with the small size of individual enterprises.

The taxicab represented only one way in which the automobile affected the cab trade. There were subtler and more far-reaching consequences inasmuch as the automobile changed the whole social and economic landscape in a very short time. The most revolutionary impact was burgeoning private car ownership. Unlike automobiles, horses require constant care and attention and in a city owning a horse meant owning enough property to accommodate a stable as well as having sufficient income to hire someone to do most of the attendant duties. This made private transportation (apart from bicycles) a luxury and limited it to people of means. The automobile changed all this. For people in many walks of life owning one became not merely a possibility but a necessity and increasingly after 1910 the cab trade — which now included the new taxicabs — was forced to subsist on the leavings of the private car. In 1910 there were 1,755 registered motor vehicles in Manitoba, more than half of them from Winnipeg. In 1912 the number of registrations increased to over 4,600 and by 1914 there were more than 7,000.<sup>77</sup>

Private car ownership brought a whole new class of people into the motor cab business. Automobile dealerships not only sold cars but also rented them out as U-drives or, with drivers, as livery cabs in direct competition with the cab trade. The McLaughlin Carriage Company, for example, advertised "the best livery cars in town" in the 1910 *Henderson's Directory*.<sup>78</sup> This kind of activity was not confined to dealerships. In 1910, a total of 36 Winnipeg companies and individuals licensed five or more automobiles. Among these were such unlikely fleet owners as Daniel H. Anderson (manager of the Moler Barber College), Jones & Harrison (barbers and tobacconists), John Cancilla (proprietor of the Venice Cafe), Thomas Fletcher (owner of Fletcher's Cafe), and the Nesti Brothers (restaurateurs). Clearly, many of these individuals and companies were buying and selling cars on the side, renting them out as U-drives, or leasing them to drivers for use as flat-rate cabs.<sup>79</sup>

The new breed included at least two former horse cab owners. Arthur F. Pigott, who bought William Jordan's stable in 1902, was able to buy up downtown stables at bargain prices as the cab and livery trades disintegrated. He eventually owned eight of them, including the old Connell & Burke stable on Main Street. Pigott was running motor cabs in 1915 but soon abandoned the cab business in favour of selling cars. By the 1950s Pigott Motors was one of the largest automobile dealerships in Canada.<sup>80</sup> A.S. Bardal also operated motor cabs for a while, as one of many sidelines to his successful funeral business.<sup>81</sup>

Between 1914 and 1918, hundreds more Winnipeg car owners entered the cab business as jitney drivers, scooping up impatient passengers at streetcar stops for a nickel (or "jitney") a head. Much has been written about the impact of jitneys on North American streetcar companies but they probably drove the last nail into the coffin of the horse cab trade and likely dealt a severe blow to the first taxicab companies as well. After jitneys were outlawed in Winnipeg in 1918, many former jitney drivers went legal as flat-rate cab operators and did battle with



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the metered taxicab companies throughout the twenties and thirties.<sup>82</sup> But that's another story.

### **Conclusion**

The published literature on the early cab trade in Canada is at best sparse and, judging by the Winnipeg cab trade, the documentary evidence is difficult to come by. Although cabs were a part of the urban scene soon after Winnipeg was incorporated, histories of the city make little or no mention of them. Nevertheless, it is possible to gather enough evidence to assemble a reasonably coherent account. From what we can piece together the Winnipeg cab trade shared a number of characteristics with its more established counterparts in London and other cities, as well as with the modern taxicab industry. The most striking feature was its lack of profitability, stemming the nature of the trade itself and from local conditions that tended to make matters worse. Unlike their London counterparts Winnipeg cab owners could not make much money from renting cabs to drivers and so had to concentrate on the least profitable aspect of the trade, namely, providing transportation to the travelling public. The small local market, already fragmented, was split further by the growing customer prejudice against street cabs. Competition came from inside the trade as numbers of new cab drivers and owners appeared on the scene, and from outside as new modes of transportation left cabs with a smaller and smaller niche. Imported carriages required a heavy capital investment. As well, operating costs rapidly increased while the official fare schedule (on which the "unofficial" fares were based) remained unchanged for years. Muddy streets added to owner expenses by damaging cabs and injuring horses. All these factors tended to keep individual enterprises small so that few of them were able to meet the challenge of the automobile when the first taxicabs appeared in 1910. Private car ownership, which brought new entrepreneurs into the cab trade as jitney operators, ultimately wrote finis to the horse cab. Outlawed in 1918, many of the jitanies were reincarnated as legal, flat-rate motor cabs. The threat that these interlopers presented to the metered taxicab became fully apparent during the "taxi wars" of the 1920s and 1930s.

Notwithstanding the local conditions that helped to shape it, Winnipeg's early cab history betrays evidence of a shared heritage stretching back over time. Winnipeg's early cab and stable owners brought their business methods with them from the east and Winnipeg's aldermen, many of them immigrants from Ontario, naturally looked eastward when drafting bylaws. In turn the cab trade in older North American cities found its models in England. As a result there is a strong thread of continuity connecting the London hackney coaches of the 17th century, the Winnipeg horse cabs of the 19th century, and the taxicab industry of the present day, despite radical changes in technology and in society. This thread stretches over geography as well: the cab trade of any country bears a strong family resemblance to its counterparts elsewhere in the world. Not many of our institutions can make this boast and one would think that this fact alone would have provoked more interest in Canadian cab his-

tory. Hopefully this familiar but neglected denizen of the urban scene will soon begin to attract the scholarly attention it deserves.

### **Acknowledgements**

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### **Notes**

1. The pre-automobile cab trade is best documented for great metropolitan cities like London and Paris. London's early cab history has been well covered in G.N. Georgano's *A History of the London Taxicab* (N.Y., Drake, 1973), Philip Warren's *The History of the London Cab Trade* (London, Taxi Trade Promotions, 1995), and Trevor May's *Gondolas and Growlers: the History of the London Horse Cab* (Phoenix Mill, Alan Sutton, 1995). The Paris cab trade is the subject of Nicholas Papayanis's *Horse-Drawn Cabs and Omnibuses in Paris* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University, 1996). Sources like *Poole's Index, Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* and the *New York Times Index* provide access to a sizeable body of contemporary periodical literature. A notable example is a series of three articles by Vance Thompson, who interviewed cab drivers in Paris, London and New York (*Outing* 43 (1903) 241; 45 (1904) 151; 49 (1906) 129).

Only one historical study of the Canadian cab trade describes the transition from horse cabs to motor cabs (Kimberley Berry, "The Halifax Taxi Industry: The Evolution and Adjustment of Local Business," Unpublished paper submitted to Dalhousie University History Department, March 15, 1995). Donald Davis has explored the taxi industry of the 1920s to the 1950s in "The Canadian Taxi Wars, 1925-1950," *Urban History Review* (in this issue) and "The Origins of Modern Taxicab Regulation in Canada," *Proceedings of Annual Conference of the Administrative Sciences Association of Canada, Business History Division*, 18, no. 24 (1997), 1-11. Other studies are Edward Sutton, "Halifax Cabdrivers, 1939-1945," *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, 12, no. 2 (1992), 66-73; and Emmett Sinnott and Paul Tennant, "The Origins of Taxicab Limitation in Vancouver City (or 'Good try anyway, Stanley Anderson'," *BC Studies*, 49 (1981), 40-53. Perhaps one indication of the invisibility of the early Canadian cab trade is G.W. Taylor, *The Automobile Saga of British Columbia, 1864-1914* (Victoria, Morriss Publishing, 1984) which documents many examples of the first commercial uses of automobiles in the province but makes only a passing reference to taxicabs (64).

2. Fred C. Lucas, *An Historical Souvenir Diary of the City of Winnipeg, Canada* (Winnipeg, 1923), 22, mentions David Landrigan's cab, as does Alexander Begg and Walter R. Nursey, *Ten Years in Winnipeg* (Times Publishing House, 1879), 60. Walter E. Bradley, "A History of Transportation in Winnipeg" mentions Landrigan, the City Dray and Express Co.'s 1874 passenger service, the Main Street omnibus experiment of 1877, and the jitanies of 1914-1918 (Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba *Transactions Series III*, 15 (1960), 7-38). John E. Baker, *Winnipeg's Electric Transit* (Toronto, Railfare, 1982), 56-57, describes the jitney phenomenon as it affected the streetcar company. Mainstream histories of Winnipeg ignore cabs in favour of transportation modes that had a significant impact on urban development. They are not mentioned, for example, in either Alan Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1914* (Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975) or Ruben Bellan, *Winnipeg First Century: An Economic History* (Winnipeg, Queenston House, 1978).
3. Although two present-day taxi companies, Duffy's and Unicity, control about 90% of the Winnipeg's 409 cabs, both companies are actually associations of small owner/operators.
4. A.S. Bardal objected to a clause in the bylaw revision of 1910 that required horse cabs to travel at seven miles per hour. "It was impossible, he claimed,

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- to keep up this rate with a carriage weighing 1,750 pounds, four people inside it and one on the box. If he saw a team of his driven at that rate he would discharge the driver" ("Will License Cabs, Drivers," *Winnipeg Tribune*, 29 January, 1910, 3; also, "Cab Owners Down on the New Bylaw," *Winnipeg Telegram*, 29 January, 1910, 18). In London, where cabs were drawn by one horse and the street traffic was heavier, the minimum speed was four miles per hour.
5. In markets where the number of taxi licenses is limited by law, license "permits", "plates" or "medallions" take on considerable value and may be bought up by brokers or other investors and leased to owner/operators at high rates. Even where speculative investment is not a factor, the market value of licences ensures that they constitute the major cost for any owner/operator entering the business.
  6. Vance Thompson, "The London Cabby," *Outing*, (1904), 156. Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London* (N.Y., AMS Press, 1970; reprint of the 1902-1904 edition), 3, 297-298 reports that out of 3,600 London cab proprietors in 1892, 3,125 owned fewer than five cabs, and only three owned over 100 cabs. These three owners accounted for fewer than 600 of the 10,000 cabs then operating.
  7. Plate and cab leasing have created much the same situation today in every city's taxicab industry. "Regrettably, we have far too few lease operators consciously focusing their attention on the paying passenger in the back seat. They really don't need to. Their revenues are virtually guaranteed regardless of the level of service provided to the paying passenger, and by a relentless over-supply of driver candidates, most from far away lands, prepared to drive a taxicab as a final futile act of desperation." (Letter from Terry Smythe, former General Manager of the Manitoba Taxicab Board, 18 June, 1998).
  8. The City of Winnipeg *Auditor's Reports* have been published under various titles from 1877 to date. The most complete set of the early reports is in the City of Winnipeg Archives. Another set is in the Winnipeg Public Library.
  9. Begg & Nursey, *Ten Years in Winnipeg*, 33, 60. William Harvey opened his stable in May, 1871 and Jack Benson opened his in November.
  10. For an account of the development of railway and steamboat routes between St. Paul and Winnipeg, see Albro Martin, *James J. Hill and the Opening of the Northwest* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1976), 64-117. The first stage-coach arrived in Winnipeg on September 11, 1871, according to Lucas, *An Historical Souvenir Diary*, 173.
  11. The *Manitoba Gazette* (1 June, 1872, 3:5) reported Harvey's imminent return from a trip to Ontario with about "thirty persons from the neighbourhood of Perth", suggesting that he may have been acting as a colonisation agent or guide for emigrants from his former home. Harvey remained in the livery business until at least 1888. Jack Benson served with the newly formed provincial police force before opening his stable. He still owned a stable in 1902 and died in 1912 (Manitoba Genealogical Society Cemetery File card index).
  12. Grant McEwan, *Hoofprints and Hitching Posts* (Saskatoon, Modern Press, 1972), 80-81.
  13. Lucas, *An Historical Souvenir Diary*, 22, says the ad appeared in "local papers" but I have been unable to find Landrigan's ad in any papers for May, 1872.
  14. "Cab owners down on the new bylaw." Also, "Will license cabs, drivers". The popular prejudice against street cabs was exacerbated by the antics of some street cab drivers. On one memorable evening in May, 1897, four veteran drivers, in separate incidents, were arrested for furious driving, disorderly conduct and assault ("Hackmen's Revel," *Nor'Wester*, 13 May, 1897, 3:2; "A License Question" (editorial), 17 May, 4:2). Another possible reason for the hostility to street cabs was their association in the public mind with prostitution, bootlegging and other unsavory activities. Anyone seeking such services and wishing to preserve anonymity would hire a street cab since booking a livery cab through a stable involved the irksome necessity of providing a name and address (either real or fictitious). Local perceptions were no doubt influenced by familiar stereotypes. Of a selection of 26 *Punch* cartoons originally published between 1845 and 1890, for example, at least 18 make disreputable drivers, emaciated horses and/or dilapidated cabs the butt of the joke (*Pictures from Punch, Volume 1*; London, Bradbury, Agnew & Co., n.d. [1890?]). An additional factor in the prejudice against street cabs may have been the lower quality of the vehicles used in this service. Impecunious "night-hawks" probably upgraded their vehicles, if at all, with castoffs from more livery cab operators like A.S. Bardal, William Jordan and Dublin Dan, who could afford to purchase new carriages from time to time.
  15. Greenway Correspondence (Provincial Archives of Manitoba, MG13 E1, no 7391). Invoice dated 1 March, 1895.
  16. Will E. Ingersoll, "W.E. Ingersoll's Yarn: Everyone Was a Friend," *Winnipeg Free Press*, 12 June 1965, 25. No source is given for the quote but the context of the column implies that it came from Ingersoll's interview with Ham McMicken, "Winnipeg's first successful drayman". Ingersoll interviewed many pioneers while compiling his historical map of Winnipeg published in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 9 November, 1922, 22.
  17. Ham's tug, the *Lady Ellen*, was registered under the name of E. (Ellen?) McMicken and two others, possibly to protect it from Ham's creditors. After a 38-year career, the tug was laid up at Selkirk, Manitoba, in 1915. See Theodore Barris, *Fire Canoe* (Toronto, McClelland & Stewart, c1977), 211, 232-33, and 286.
  18. For comments on the monopoly, see "How the Government Loves the Working Man: A Drayman Speaks," *Manitoba Free Press*, 9 September, 1880, 1:4; and *Winnipeg Daily Times*, 10 September, 1880, 4:1.
  19. *Manitoba Free Press*, 16, 19, and 20 July, 1877, 1:3.
  20. Impatient with the lackadaisical ferry service, Ham built a scow in 1879 and winched cargo across the Red from St. Boniface to Winnipeg in a flagrant infringement of Robert Tait's monopoly. Ham thought he had made a deal with C.P. Brown, the provincial Minister of Public Works, to protect him from prosecution; but Brown reneged and Tait successfully sued Ham for several thousand dollars ("Winnipeg Pioneer Back from London," *Manitoba Free Press*, 23 December, 1911, 7). The "Pile Bridge" was formally opened on July 28, 1880.
  21. "Notes of a Journey to the North West Land," VII, *The Sunday at Home*, 3 March, 1883, 2. This article is the seventh of a nine-part series that was published in the British weekly magazine between January 20 and March 17, 1883. A complete set of the articles is in the Provincial Archives of Manitoba (MG1 B28).
  22. *Winnipeg Daily Times*, 23 March, 1882, 1:8. Most if not all of the one-horse cabs that appeared in Winnipeg from time to time were probably coupes. In 1890 Isaac Fullerton advertised "the only complete line of one-horse coupes... in the city" (*Henderson's Winnipeg Directory* (1890), insert following 154).
  23. Competing omnibuses between 1880 and 1882 included those from the American Hotel (*Manitoba Free Press*, 9 September, 1880, 1:3; *Winnipeg Daily Times*, 10 September 1880, 4:1), the Grand Central Hotel (*Police Report*, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, M264, 24 November 1881) and the St. James Hotel (*Police Report*, 12 January, 1882).
  24. William Clyde Caldwell made the same trip in October, 1878. See his *Diary of a trip to Manitoba in 1878* (Provincial Archives of Manitoba, MG1 B26).
  25. Winnipeg City Assessment Office population figures are quoted from Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth*, 130-31.
  26. *Henderson's Winnipeg Directory* (1881), 277.
  27. The original cab bylaw (no. 135, passed March 7, 1881) was revised four times by no. 183 (26 June, 1882); no. 1310 (25 May, 1897); no. 1601 (8 May, 1899); and no. 5927 (23 May, 1910). Several amendments and proposed amendments were introduced between these dates. As early as 1875, however, Bylaw 40 (section 31, subsection 12) specified license fees for cabs. The first cab owner to be charged a license fee was H.P. Dixon in April, 1877.
  28. Fees were raised in Bylaw 315, passed on 16 February, 1885, and lowered in Bylaw 1183, passed on 3 August, 1896. The petition for tax relief is in *Council Communications* 2649, 28 May, 1894.
  29. "Disgraceful Streets," *Winnipeg Daily Times*, 20 October, 1883, p. 6:1.

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30. "Says Cab Tariffs Are Reasonable," *Manitoba Free Press*, 3 February, 1910, 13 (quotes Dublin Dan's \$55 license fee). "Complete Livery Outfit for Sale," *Manitoba Free Press*, 18 March, 1911, 3 (advertisement lists "22 high-grade horses" among property of Winnipeg Cab Co.)
31. In 1843 Toronto had three divisions (*An Act to License and Regulate the Duties and Charges on Coaches, Carriages, Cabs, Carts and Other Vehicles Kept for Hire in the City of Toronto*, passed 5 June, 1843). Montreal also had three divisions between the 1850's and 1890's; see (for example) *Traveller's Guide to Montreal*, 1857, 20 (Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions microfiche series no. 42149).
32. This ad ran every day except Sundays and 18 February in the *Winnipeg Daily Times*, 12 to 28 February, 1885, 4.
33. *Manitoba Free Press*, 7 November, 1880, 4:8. Jordan's 1902 schedule added this notice, which may reflect an increasing trend toward credit accounts rather than cash payments: "Carriages charged for from time they leave stables until return" (*Henderson's Winnipeg Directory* (1902), 363). Earlier ads instructed customers to pay the driver, as Jordan did not employ a "collector." Paying the driver meant that the trip ended at the customer's destination, rather than on the cab's return to the stable.
34. "Some Civic Problems," *Winnipeg Telegram*, 4 February 1910, p. 4.
35. In addition to Bylaw 124, the following bylaws related to cabstands: 159 (3 October, 1881); 182 (19 June, 1882); 231 (31 August, 1883); 284 (4 August, 1884); 376 (9 August, 1886); 382 (1 November, 1886); and 391 (9 May, 1887).
36. *Council Communications* 2217, 2 May, 1881.
37. P.C. John H. Grady "warned the cabmen to move to the new stand," *Police Report*, 7 December, 1881.
38. *Council Communications* 3302, 14 May, 1883 (petition from Portage Avenue business owners); 3314, 21 May, 1883 (counter-petition from "Hack Proprietors and drivers").
39. *Council Communications*, Second Series, 494, 9 May, 1887.
40. *Council Communications*, Second Series, 281, 20 September, 1886 (letter from Boyd & Co.); 341, 15 November, 1886 (letter from Boyd & Co.'s lawyers); 351, 22 November, 1886 (letter from Queen's Hotel lawyers).
41. "Says He Was Rolled by Hack Driver," *Manitoba Free Press*, 24 December, 1909, 3. Also, 27 December, 4 and 9 March, 1910, 8.
42. The impetus for driver licensing seems to have been the series of incidents in May 1897, cited in note 14, above.
43. The jump in the number of drivers from 46 in 1909-10 to 83 in 1910-11, when livery cab drivers were licensed for the first time, gives us the basis for this calculation. If the number of street cab drivers in 1910-11 remained the same as it was in 1909-1910 (i.e., 46), the number of livery cab drivers would be 37 — a 55/45 split in terms of percentage. Assuming that the ratio of drivers to cabs was the same for both livery and street cabs, the 55/45 split should also apply to street cabs. In the last year that we have firm numbers for street cabs (1905-906), this gives us 32 street cabs and 26 livery cabs or 58 cabs in total. However, since the 55/45 ratio occurred at a time when livery stable owners were abandoning street cabs it seems likely that the proportion of street cabs to livery cabs was higher in earlier years. This would result in relatively fewer livery cabs and fewer cabs in total than the 55/45 ratio would suggest.
44. For most of the period between 1877 and 1916, the City of Winnipeg operated on a fiscal year running from May 1 to April 30. This is the fiscal year used by the *Auditor's Reports* for the summary data published after 1905-1906. In Figures 2 to 4, calculated totals for numbers of cabs, etc., from the years before 1905-1906 have been made to conform to this same fiscal year so that they are consistent with the summary data. The license year began on 1 June but since in all years practically all licenses were purchased between June and the following April, variations in totals between the license year and the fiscal year are insignificant.
45. According to census figures, Winnipeg's population was 7,985 in 1881 and 136,035 in 1911. City Assessment Office figures for the same years put the population at 6,245 in 1881 and 151,958 in 1911. Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth*, pp. 130-131.
46. "'Dublin Dan' was a Popular Guess," *Winnipeg Telegram*, 6 December, 1909, 1:2.
47. "In 'Dublin Dan' Historic Figure is Lost to West," *Winnipeg Tribune*, 9 October, 1911, 5.
48. "JARDINE, the Toronto hackman, who arrived here a few weeks ago, has sold his outfit at a big figure and purposes returning to that city in a day or so, when he will bring back with him a couple of new hacks." *Winnipeg Daily Times*, 30 March 30, 1882, 4:1.
49. "The Only Hackmen that can be called by telephone from City Hackstand... or Keachie's Livery Stable" (advertisement), *Siftings*, 16 April, 1883, 1. Morton Keachie, who came from Brantford, was a second cousin of the painter A.Y. Jackson. After the collapse of the Winnipeg boom he ran a restaurant in Toronto until his death in 1896 (letter from James Keachie, 18 May, 1994).
50. "Says Cab Tariffs Are Reasonable."
51. "Will License Cabs, Drivers."
52. The history of the horse-drawn and electric street railway systems in Winnipeg is covered in several studies; for example, Bradley, "A History of Transportation in Winnipeg"; H.W. Blake, *The Era of Streetcars in Winnipeg* (Winnipeg, 1971); and Baker, *Winnipeg's Electric Transit*. The horse-drawn railway system was inaugurated in June, 1882 and although its tracks were initially confined to a few blocks along Main Street, it effectively scuttled plans for a regular omnibus service put forward in the same month. Dave Storey and seven partners asked city council to let them run "herdic" coaches on certain streets but nothing came of the proposal. Herdic coaches were low-slung closed carriages with a door in the rear and bench seats along the sides. Invented by Peter Herdic of Pennsylvania, two- and four-wheeled "herdics" enjoyed a vogue as cabs and omnibuses in New York, Boston and other eastern U.S. cities during the 1880's (*Council Communications* 2709, 12 June, 1882. See also "Herdic" in the *Oxford English Dictionary* and the *Dictionary of American Biography*). The electric street railway was pioneered by the horse car company in 1891 but the city council awarded a franchise to the rival Winnipeg Electric Street Railway Company in 1892. The WESRC operated in competition with the horse cars until the companies merged in 1894. In 1900 the system carried 3.5 million passengers but this increased to nearly 60 million by 1913 (Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth*, p. 166). The impact of the bicycle on society has been largely forgotten in the wake of the automobile. Artibise, p. 166, hints at the bicycle's influence on Winnipeg's urban development. License receipts recorded in the *Auditor's Reports* indicate that Winnipeg had over 7,000 licensed bicycles in 1910-11.
53. *Winnipeg Times*, 14 April, 1882, 4:1.
54. "Disgraceful Streets." The term "hack" was used pretty much synonymously with "cab" in North America, especially for street cabs. "Hack" is derived from "hackney" (meaning "hired" or "for hire", as in "hackney carriage").
55. *Winnipeg Daily Times*, 3 August, 1883, 8:1; *Council Communications* 3527, 27 August, 1883.
56. The first plank platform was constructed in response to a petition from the "licensed Hackmen of this city" on behalf of their horses (*Council Communications* 2012, 20 September, 1880). The *Auditor's Reports* list \$652.60 in expenditures for the construction of plank cab and dray stands between September, 1886 and April, 1887. Cedar block paving of Main Street commenced in 1884.
57. Bellan, *Winnipeg First Century*, 58 (note 11).
58. "Some Civic Problems."
59. "Will License Cabs, Drivers."
60. For example, The Canada Coach Factory of Montreal advertised carriages and claimed Ham's brother, Alexander McMicken, as a satisfied customer (*Henderson's Winnipeg Directory* (1877-78), 289).
61. Description is based on the examination of a carriage in the Western Development Museum, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

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62. "Says Cab Tariffs Reasonable," *Manitoba Free Press*, 3 February, 1910, 13. A.S. Bardal claimed that he had three rigs (carriages or sleighs) for each team of horses ("Will License Cabs, Drivers").
63. Greenway Correspondence, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, MG13 E 1.
64. Families with a buggies or carriages of their own would also use cabs for occasions that might require them to leave a horse unattended in the street for long periods, especially in bad weather. As well, in an emergency, a cab could be summoned faster than a horse could be harnessed.
65. City departments used cabs for a variety of purposes. The Works department seems to have used them mostly for sending engineers out to inspect paving, sewer or sidewalk projects during the nineties. Aldermen rode in cabs in the annual Labour Day parade and important visitors were taken by cab to dinners and other official functions. For all such city work, cab drivers were likely given a chit which had to be presented to the city clerk for payment. An example of a Toronto cab chit is held in the Metropolitan Toronto Library (*Certificate to be given to cab driver...*, Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions microfiche series no. 38724). The police used cabs to transport prisoners who were too violent or incapacitated to walk to jail but most prisoners made the trip under their own steam assisted by a firm grip on the collar. Between February, 1881, and March, 1882, when drunks were jailed almost nightly, the Police Report records only half a dozen instances of cabs being used. This suggests that the police also used cabs for their own transportation.
66. James Gray, *Red Lights on the Prairies* (Toronto, Macmillan, 1971) 54.
67. Manitoba Royal Commission on Vice in Winnipeg, *Report* (1911), 13. Each nickel that was used to call a cab would represent at least 50 cents in cab fares (according to the official fare schedule) and for every cab that picked a customer up at a bawdy house there must have been another to deliver him. Therefore, if only half of the 10,523 calls were for cabs, the cab trade must have collected at least \$5,000 in business from the vice district in the single month of October, 1910.
68. "Says Cab Tariffs Reasonable." The \$1,800 figure may have involved a bit of exaggeration for effect. Dan estimated that the earning power of a team of horses averaged 40 cents an hour, or \$4.80 for a twelve hour day. If this were true for his 11 teams of horses, working seven days a week, his monthly income would only have been about \$1,600 a month, representing a loss of \$200. Dan said that a good team could make \$6.00 in a twelve-hour day but even if that were the case for all his teams, seven days a week, his monthly income would only have exceeded his expenses by about \$200 — not a very large return on an investment of \$35,000 in property and equipment. Dan complained that in the old days, drivers had to clean cabs and work as stable hands in addition to driving, all for eight dollars a week. Now, in 1910, drivers got more money and were only responsible for driving. He was outraged by a clause in the 1910 bylaw requiring owners to pay overtime after 12 hours, and forbidding shifts longer than 18 hours.
69. "New Taxicabs and Proposed Tariffs," *Manitoba Free Press*, 14 January, 1910, 8. The custom of tipping goes back to at least to the early 1700's, judging by references in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, but until the late 1800's London cab riders were very loathe to tip their drivers. One writer, expressing a common sentiment, claimed that "I never pampered them [cab drivers] with bonuses above their legal fares, and I learned every distance as if I had been an Ordinance Surveyor" (*All the Year Round*, Feb. 26, 1860, p. 414). However, in 1888 an etiquette book written for Americans visiting England advised: "London 'cabbies' are a hard-worked set of men, and, as a general thing, have to earn the day's hire of a cab — about seventeen shillings — before they can clear any profit for themselves. If any men are deserving of a tip, it is they" (*Good Form in England* (New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1888) 278).
70. "First Taxicabs Arrived Yesterday," *Manitoba Free Press*, 21 March 21, 1910, 18. The first "for hire" automobiles appeared in 1904 when someone began offering automobile tours of Winnipeg's business and tonier residential districts (*Summer Outings 'Round Winnipeg: Cycle, Auto, Carriage, Trolley and Boat*. Winnipeg, Civic Cycle Paths' and Public Parks' Boards [1905?], [2]. Provincial Archives of Manitoba, MB15 B3).
71. A.G. Vanderbilt donated \$1,000 to a fund for displaced London horse cab drivers in 1909 (*New York Times*, 26 April, 1909, 1:6). In the same year, one London dealer sold 200 cabs in a month for little more than a pound apiece, most being broken up for scrap (Georgano, *A History of the London Taxicab*, 68.)
72. Norman Beattie, *Owners and Chauffeurs to 1910* (July, 1992). Unpublished alphabetical, numerical and geographical list of Manitoba automobile owners and chauffeurs from 1907 to 1910, based on a typescript in the Provincial Archives of Manitoba (MG11 A10). One cab was registered to the Taxicab & Auto Livery Co., six to the Manitoba Auto & Taxi Co., and 21 to the Winnipeg Taxicab Co.
73. "Taxicabs as an Investment," *Manitoba Free Press*, 5 March, 1910, 30.
74. "New Taxicabs and Proposed Tariffs."
76. Berry, "The Halifax Taxi Industry," 2-3. The population of Halifax may have been too small to attract taxicab entrepreneurs. In 1911 it stood at 46,619 compared with Winnipeg's 136,035 (*Canada Year Book* (1911), 7).
77. *Historical Statistics of Canada* (second edition: Ottawa, Statistics Canada, 1980), table T147-194.
78. *Henderson's Winnipeg Directory* (1910), 1012, 1046 and elsewhere.
79. Beattie, *Owners and Chauffeurs to 1910*, pp. 2-3.
80. *Winnipeg Tribune*, 13 July, 1957, 37; *Winnipeg Free Press*, 13 July, 1957, 25.
81. *Henderson's Winnipeg Directory* (1912), 239 and 248. Bardal's ad offered a variety of services in addition to funerals: an automobile livery, hacks and victorias, a picture frame factory, carriage painting, and apartments for rent.
82. See Donald Davis, "Competition's Moment: The Jitney-Bus and Corporate Capitalism in the Canadian City, 1914-1929," *Urban History Review* 18, no. 2 (October, 1989), 103. One of the jitney drivers was Charles Wedley, a Boer War veteran who with 34 others formed the Despatch Taxi and Garage Co. (*Winnipeg Tribune*, 10 September, 1963, 5). Some of Wedley's company records are in the Provincial Archives of Manitoba (MG11 A31).