

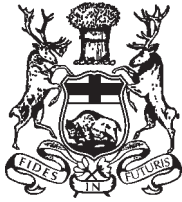
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Performers in the CKY radio studio, 1930s.

Source: MTS Allstream Inc.

Inset photographs on the back cover:

Top, Murder Oak near Portage la Prairie, 2006, Glen Suggett.

Middle, Emma Goldman, 1901, US Library of Congress.

Bottom, Members of the Manitoba Legislative Assembly on the Hudson Bay Railway's first passenger train to Churchill, June 1930. Archives of Manitoba, Events 260.

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“Apostle of Anarchy:” Emma Goldman’s First Visit to Winnipeg in 1907¹

by Paul Burrows
History Department, University of Manitoba

Emma Goldman visited and lectured in Winnipeg on five separate occasions: first in 1907, twice in 1908, again in 1927, and finally in late-1939, just five months before her death on 14 May 1940.² The Lithuanian-born Jewish revolutionary and pioneer feminist was not yet forty years old when she first came to Winnipeg, but she was already the most famous, or more precisely, infamous anarchist in North America. The newspapers of the day invariably labelled her “Red Emma,” or bestowed upon her grandiose, half-mocking titles such as “High Priestess of Anarchy” or “Anarchist Queen.” At first glance, Winnipeg might seem an unlikely destination for the person who J. Edgar Hoover called “the most dangerous woman in America.” But Emma Goldman was a tireless activist, writer, and public speaker, one who lectured from coast-to-coast for much of her life, and it is not difficult to see what first drew her to the city.

Winnipeg was a colonial boomtown in the early twentieth-century. According to one estimate, it

had about 90,000 people in 1906, and probably over 100,000 the following year—making it one of the largest population centres in Canada at that time, and the fourth most important

manufacturing centre in the Dominion.³ Winnipeg was the “gateway” to the “northwest” for arriving immigrants, and every other day the local newspapers featured front-page stories announcing the arrival of ships to eastern ports, as well as trainloads of new arrivals bound for points west.⁴ *Who* these immigrants were was a matter of deep anxiety for the largely WASP elite, as exemplified even by relatively progressive voices like J. S. Woodsworth,⁵ not to mention debates within the pages of the local labour weekly *The Voice*.⁶ Anglo elites in Winnipeg, and prominent “national” figures, such as Minister of Interior Clifford Sifton and railway magnate William Van Horne, sought to replicate “British-style” institutions in the northwest, and fill the Prairies with “the right class” of “settlers”—meaning, those of “Nordic” or “Anglo-Saxon” stock, followed by a descending hierarchy of “less desirable”



US Library of Congress, G. G. Bain Collection, LC-USZ62-48793

Emma Goldman, circa 1911.

types based on assumed racial, cultural, and religious criteria.⁷

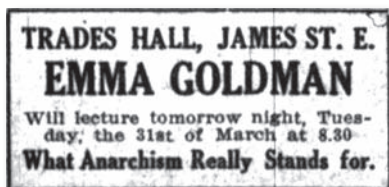
Most of the new arrivals were, not coincidentally, British, or English-speakers from elsewhere in Canada or the United States—and in terms of the prevailing imperial perspective of the day, such people were often characterized as the true “natives” of the land.⁸ But Canadian expansionists were also torn between their ideal

Activist and writer Paul Burrows has helped to found Winnipeg’s Old Market Autonomous Zone, Mondragon Bookstore & Coffee House, and the Rudolf Rucker Cultural Centre. He has written articles on participatory economics, Palestine-Israel, and other issues. He is currently finishing an MA thesis in History at the University of Manitoba with a focus on indigenous history and resistance, treaties, and settler-colonialism.

(and typically racist) imperial visions, and their pragmatism when it came to the logistics of continental expansion, or when it came to the “needs” of industry for cheap labour. Significant numbers of Scandinavians, Italians, Germans, Russians, Ukrainians, and European Jews were also arriving, and other cultural groups in smaller numbers—seeking land or wage-work, or both, in what was often viewed as a “free” or “vacant” land of “opportunity.” Before and after the completion of the continental railway, dozens of colonies of Jews, Icelanders, Mennonites, Doukhobors, and other ethnic, cultural or religious groups were founded in Manitoba and the Prairies, and this process continued into the twentieth-century. For example, as Roz Usiskin notes, after the failed 1905 Revolution in Russia, and renewed Tsarist pogroms, a new wave of Jewish immigration to Canada occurred.⁹ The ruling class was more than happy to utilize such immigrants, many of whom were unskilled or semi-skilled, as a weapon against skilled labour and established labour organizations.¹⁰

A significant minority of these new immigrants (Jewish and otherwise) had been dissidents and revolutionaries in their home countries, and brought with them, if not openly socialist or anarchist views, then often radical notions of labour organizing, and experience with strikes and unions. While English-speaking elites were trying to maintain their self-appointed privileges, and make enormous profits through control of colonization, local government, investments, access to patronage positions and resource-extraction leases, as well as early land acquisition and speculation, more marginalized immigrants brought with them their own visions of rights and justice. They formed trade and farmers’ unions to protect their interests, engaged in strikes, formed cooperatives and mutual aid societies, and even established their own schools and newspapers—partly along cultural and religious lines, but also on the bases of class and ideology. It was in 1907, for example, that Jewish radicals formed their own *Arbeiter Ring* (“Workers’ Circle”) local in Winnipeg, a mutual aid society that had as its ultimate goal the abolition of capitalism, and its replacement by some kind of “socialist” society.¹¹ It was precisely this sector of Winnipeg’s radical community that invited Emma Goldman—the most famous anarchist in North America—to speak that very same year.

Before discussing some of the details of Goldman’s first visit, it is important to emphasize that colonial society—despite its internal divisions, and despite the bitter class war that is often rendered invisible by narratives of “peaceful settlement” and “nation-building” in Canadian historiography—was in fact, fairly united in one critical domain: its willingness to instigate, ignore or profit from, the ongoing dispossession of indigenous peoples.



Manitoba Free Press, 31 March 1908.

Bryan Palmer was no doubt correct to suggest that the working-class—despite its transformation from a largely skilled and “overwhelmingly Anglo-American” labour force, to a much more diverse (culturally and linguistically) and less-skilled labour force—“remained a distinct entity, with a culture marked off from that of its rulers.”¹² However, it was also true that poor and marginalized immigrants, regardless of whether or not they were fleeing tyranny elsewhere, and regardless of the degree of their “revolutionary” ideals, as well as their level of hostility to the rise of monopoly capitalism, were nevertheless *colonizers*, seeking land and prosperity of their own. As such, rich or poor, they were *also* a “distinct entity, with a

The Lithuanian-born Jewish revolutionary and pioneer feminist was not yet forty years old when she first came to Winnipeg, but she was already the most famous, or more precisely, infamous anarchist in North America.

culture marked off” from that of indigenous peoples. As colonizers, they were generally disinclined to worry about the dispossession of the original owners of the land, except insofar as this might generate violent resistance.¹³ In many ways, Emma Goldman’s visits to Winnipeg in 1907 - 1908 highlight this point, and speak to some of the contradictions within “classical” Anarchism (and to be fair, within *every* current of revolutionary thought) in relation to settler-colonialism and indigenous peoples.¹⁴

Before Emma Goldman ever got to Winnipeg, news of her pending visit and planned lectures made the mainstream media—perhaps understandably, in her case, due to the attempt to link her to the assassination of President William McKinley in 1901.¹⁵ A full week before her arrival, *The Manitoba Free Press* published a lengthy story that read more like a press release from supporters than the typical corporate media denunciations: “Citizens of Winnipeg are to have opportunities next week of hearing Emma Goldman of New York, the great Jewish lady orator, who is now making a tour of the United States and Canada.” The article outlined the titles of her five planned subjects, the location of the talks (at the James Avenue Trades Hall), the languages that each would be given in, and ended with a brief biographical description and a quote from one of her talks in Toronto, to the effect that “All natural wealth is due to the production of the working classes. If God has given the world for all, no man has a right to exclude any from it to ... his own self-aggrandisement.”¹⁶

On 6 April, four days before her arrival, the *Manitoba Free Press*, published another article entitled “Preaching Anarchy” and sub-titled “Emma Goldman’s Doctrine as Promulgated in Toronto.” The piece quoted Goldman as saying, in part:

Apostle of Anarchy



Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg - Buildings - General, Labor Temple 1, N10056.

Centre for anarchy. The Trades Hall at the corner of James Avenue and Louise Street, seen here circa 1904, was the venue for Emma Goldman's 1907 lectures in Winnipeg.

Government is always on the side of the rich against the poor, of the strong against the weak, of the robbers against the robbed. Therefore, anarchy intends to destroy government, and allow each man to be a law unto himself, unrestrained by any form of coercion. Every human being will then be able to enjoy the fullest extent of self-expression and gratify his own desires, unrestricted except by his own respect for the rights of others.

This time, however, the *Free Press* chose to end with a note of sarcasm, saying: "Curiously enough, the subject of Miss Goldman's address was 'Misconceptions about Anarchism,' and yet her description of anarchy and the view entertained of it by the public are wonderfully alike."¹⁷

The morning of Goldman's arrival on Wednesday, 10 April, both the *Winnipeg Tribune* and *Manitoba Free Press* had lengthy exposés on Goldman's life, views, and local lectures. The *Free Press* piece, sub-titled "Well Known Woman Anarchist to Deliver Addresses Here This Week," reiterated the basic facts of her lecture itinerary, but also stated that Goldman "is being brought to the city by the Radical Club of Winnipeg, which is made up largely of Hebrew people. There are, however, a number of English members in the organization, and also a number of Galicians."¹⁸ The article also quoted an unnamed "officer" of this "Radical Club" stating that "everywhere" Goldman speaks she

is heard by large audiences of people, especially of the working classes. All that she stands for is freedom and justice, and when the ideas which she

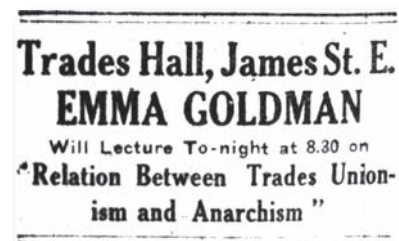
advocates triumph, the world will be very much happier and better than it is at the present time.¹⁹

The *Winnipeg Tribune* article of that same day was given prominent placement on the front page. A large sub-title read: "Emma Goldman, Apostle of Anarchy Tells What the Philosophy of Anarchism is and What Would Happen if Anarchy Was in Place of Artificial Laws..." This article was actually based on an interview by a beat journalist with the *Tribune*, who went to meet Goldman after the paper received a formal invitation. The article began with the obligatory joke about bomb-throwing, and the journalist's trepidation at meeting such a notorious woman, who must surely have been "a swarthy Amazon, six feet or more tall, and with a voice like sounding brass." He was surprised, however, to find Goldman to be "a small woman, with a soft voice and ready smile, but withal, of seriousness quite fitting to one who preaches a gospel so new that it has not yet advanced beyond the stage of persecution and unbelief..." The interviewer then felt the need to inject his own gendered assessment of Goldman's character. He wrote that Goldman "has the true womanly presence and charm of her sex ... [and that] freedom of speech and the unburdened expression of thought increases, in the fair sex, in inverse proportion to the size of the individual."²⁰

The transcript of the interview was wide ranging, beginning with the details of her lectures in Winnipeg. Goldman herself was quoted as saying:

I shall deliver five lectures while I am here, all at the Trades Hall, and they will be open to all who choose to come. These lectures have been arranged by the Society of Anarchists of this city, and the subjects of two of these talks have been announced. The other three will be given in the German language and will be upon the following subjects: "Crimes of Parents and Educators," "Direct Action versus Legislation" and "The Position of the Jews in Russia."²¹

The first two talks that Goldman alluded to were two of her staple lectures: "Misconceptions About Anarchism" and "The Spirit of Revolt in the Modern Drama." The interview also touched on items as diverse as the cold Winnipeg weather, and Goldman's life in New York, to past tours of Europe, to Kropotkin, opposition and support for her current lecture tour in North America, what country she thought had the greatest degree of freedom, laws against anarchists in the United States, the futility of law, the causes of theft and crime, her own age (Goldman was 39 when she first came to



Manitoba Free Press, 2 April 1908.

Winnipeg), the number and type of anarchists in Winnipeg, and the relative violence of individual anarchists versus the monumental crimes and violence of the State.

Goldman's "Misconceptions About Anarchism" talk was held on Wednesday, 10 April, the night of her arrival. All three of the major newspaper dailies (*The Manitoba Free Press*, *Winnipeg Telegram*, and *Winnipeg Tribune*) sent reporters to cover the talk, and all three printed lengthy accounts the next morning. The first two dailies attacked Goldman and her views (both real and imagined). The *Telegram*, for example, ran both a full account of the talk itself, as well as an editorial called "On Barren Ground," which attacked Goldman for "sowing the seeds of discontent" in Winnipeg. The editorial assured readers that Canadians had "nothing to fear," because

Emma Goldman, as long as she promotes her work in English-speaking countries, is sowing on barren ground. Where British institutions flourish the weeds of anarchism have little chance to grow. The soil of the Anglo-Saxon world is not suitable for anarchism, and those radicals must look for success in other parts of the world.²²

Likewise, the *Manitoba Free Press* published a review of Goldman's talk under the headline "She Abuses Our Freedom of Speech." Its review began by suggesting that the venue was "stuffily" crowded, and the audience "was largely composed of Russians, Roumanians, socialists and trade unionists." In what it no doubt considered a great witticism and mockery, it then described the crowd as "thoroughly cosmopolitan." The *Free Press* also inserted parenthetical remarks to indicate audience response to the speaker—for example, when Goldman stated that every government sided with the rich "for the purpose of crushing the people," it inserted a cheer. Or when she sarcastically said "You have to learn from the government ... Don't steal a little. Steal a whole lot and get the law to back you up" (more cheers).²³

By contrast, the *Winnipeg Tribune* coverage the day after her talk, like its lengthy interview of the day before, was generally positive, though this time relegated to page eight in an article called "Lecture Not Sensational" (which was not meant to suggest "boring" or "uninteresting," but rather, that it was not "sensationalistic"). Overall, the *Tribune* suggested that anyone who failed to have their initial preconceptions about Goldman dispelled, "must have been to some trouble of prejudice" or suffered from "perversions" of logic "to escape being impressed with the thorough sincerity of the speaker in regard to Anarchism." In fact, declared the article, "few public speakers have probably ever been heard in Winnipeg who had a better

command of clear, terse, and yet ample, language, more beauty of expression or greater logical coherence of thought and speech."²⁴

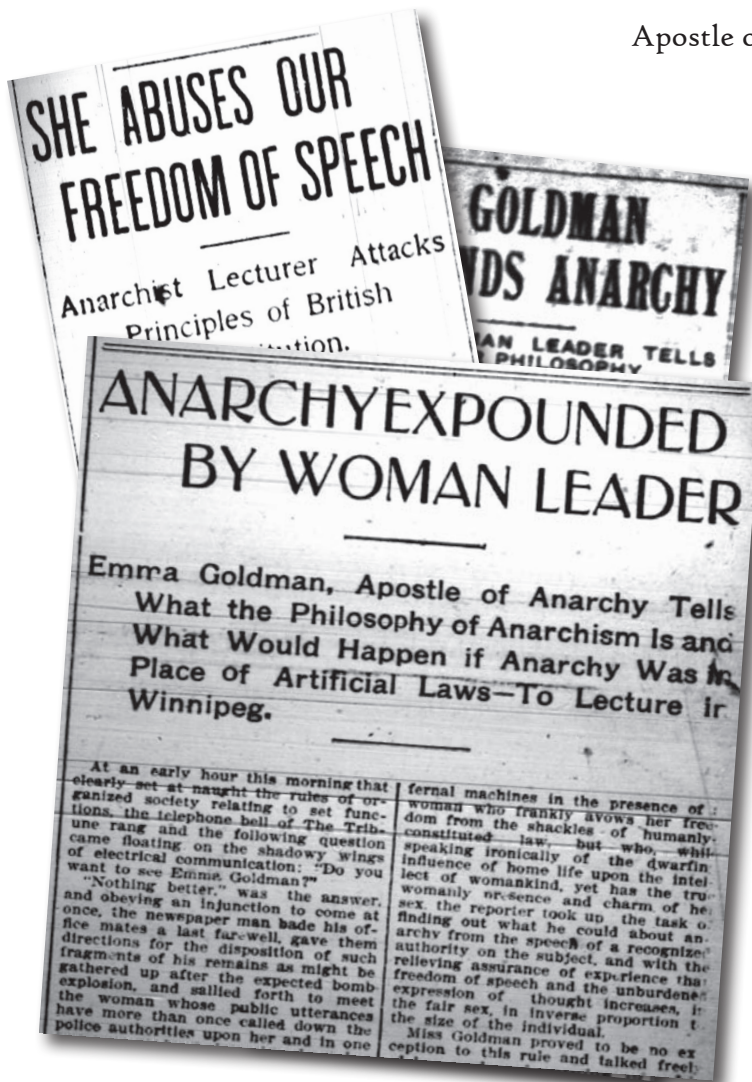
All three major dailies paraphrased elements of Goldman's first talk, focusing on the myth and the reality of Anarchism as a philosophy, with only slight variations in each account. After the initial frenzy, there was diminishing coverage for Goldman's remaining lectures. However, there were a couple ongoing editorials, op-eds, as well as an articulate, and thoroughly radical letter of support printed in the *Tribune* signed by a T. Bell of Dudley Street, attacking the rival *Free Press* and *Telegram* for their coverage. The respondent wrote, for example, that "if the seed [of anarchism] does not grow [in Winnipeg] it proves that the ground must be choked with the weeds of orthodoxy, conservatism, ignorance, and bigoted self-satisfaction, attributes which always tend to retard progress and advancement." The letter concluded with the observation that "progress" is always fought by the status quo: "From Christ down agitators for reform have ever been persecuted and unpopular. They are the pioneers who

tread the unbeaten and thorny paths leading to progress, so that in time the masses may follow." Goldman, accordingly, was merely the latest example of "a woman, man's Biblical inferior, but really his superior, who comes amongst us with the teachings of a nobler, broader brotherhood."²⁵

There was also some coverage, both critical and supportive, in the labour weekly *The Voice*, which was published every Friday. Unlike the major dailies, *The Voice* published news pieces and editorials on at least three of Goldman's talks, beginning with her first lecture on anarchism. Two days after Goldman's initial arrival, for example, it reported that Goldman's first talk was "crowded to the doors," and characterized the majority of the audience as "plainly of foreign origin," with a scattering of "well known Winnipeggers" and a "considerable contingent of trades unionists." The article also summed up the audience reaction, suggesting that most were "surprised to find themselves listening to a fluent, clever and decidedly feminine woman reasoning out tactfully the philosophy of anarchism and frequently expressing very forcible sentiments which they were applauding."²⁶

A week later, a more in-depth and critical review in *The Voice* touched on elements of three of Goldman's lectures at once. The reviewer noted that Goldman gave five talks "on five consecutive nights," with audience "interest rather increasing than diminishing" over time. The article suggested that listeners were receptive to Goldman's views on the nature of "governments as they are," but maintained that "there was a refusal to admit of her conclusions." The reviewer went on to describe Goldman's Friday night

"... few public speakers have probably ever been heard in Winnipeg who had a better command of clear, terse, and yet ample, language, more beauty of expression or greater logical coherence of thought and speech."



T. English took issue with Goldman at this talk. Mortimer suggested that Goldman's advice on strike actions was akin "to pitting empty stomachs against bank vaults," whereas English rose to read the Socialist Party platform (apparently for fifteen minutes straight) as a further rebuttal. Professor R. M. Mobius, a follower of Henry George and founder of the Single Tax League of Manitoba, also challenged Goldman and suggested that a "Single-Tax" strategy was more capable of solving the social ills and economic woes of the working class than anarchism. The reviewer concluded by noting that "Miss Goldman took up the criticism with spirit," arguing that eventually "the people would catch on that Socialism had only a change of masters to offer them."²⁸

The same issue of *The Voice* also contained a regular Socialist Party of Canada (SPC) column as well as an editorial, both of which commented on Goldman's visit. The SPC column accused Goldman of manufacturing "facts" to fit "the exigencies of her argument," and suggested that "the lady's hatred of what she feared would be arbitrary tyranny were a Socialist administration established could hardly have been exceeded by the most uncompromising defender of the present order of things." The column ended by stating that Goldman's "criticism of the futility of palliative legislation was not without point," but concluded that her brand of "Anarchy" would "make little headway with the intelligent proletariat."²⁹ The main editorial of *The Voice* defended Goldman's right to speak, and suggested that her lectures were "thought provoking" and "useful." But the editorial also insisted that Goldman's lectures "did not make a single convert to her doctrine," because "the environment" in Winnipeg was "not favourable" to her brand of radicalism. The editorial took pains to promote only "law-abiding" actions and reforms leading to socialism, stating that anarchism "may appeal to people who feel that they have no part in government, but it does not appeal to people who recognize that they are responsible for the government and who could be the government if they would."³⁰ Notwithstanding much of the criticism expressed in *The Voice*, evidently enough workers in Winnipeg were receptive to the kinds of tactics that Goldman promoted in the city, regardless of their "legality" or conformity to the Socialist Party platform. Had they all listened to "respectable" leaders in the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council, the Labor Party, or even the Socialist Party (at least those in the vein of Goldman's critics Mortimer and English), there would never have been a General Strike in 1919.³¹

"A recognized authority on anarchy." The *Manitoba Free Press*, *Morning Telegram*, and *Winnipeg Tribune* reported on a Goldman lecture in their 11 April 1907 editions. The *Tribune* concluded that "the unburdened expression of thought increases, in the fair sex, in inverse proportion to the size of the individual."

talk on "The Spirit of Revolt in the Modern Drama" as "exceedingly forceful and stirring." Overall, Goldman's foray into literary criticism was praised as "a splendid one," and her discussion of George Bernard Shaw in particular was highlighted.²⁷

However, *The Voice* had less favourable things to say about Goldman's talk on "Direct Action Versus Legislation," in which she criticized aspects of traditional labour unions, dismissed the American Federation of Labor and its leaders as "corrupt," and called for frequent and militant strike actions, culminating in a general strike. The reviewer described the "discourse" as being "on the lines of anarchism vs. socialism, and militant rather than philosophical anarchism was expounded." The article went on to suggest that "the bulk" of the audience consisted of "non-anarchists" who deemed the talk to be "far below" the quality of Goldman's previous lectures. It summed up Goldman's message as "strike often, strike hard and work for the general strike," and then closed with a discussion of audience criticism. Local socialists John Mortimer and L.

The two talks that did not receive coverage in any of the major dailies, nor in the English-language labour weekly, were those advertised by media outlets as being delivered variously in German, Russian, Hebrew, or sometimes "Jewish." These two talks were supposed to be "Crimes of Parents and Educators," as well as "The Position of the Jews in Russia." It is not certain what the language spoken ended up being, but available evidence suggests that it was German, not Russian, Hebrew, or Yiddish.³² Either way,

the fact that it was not English helps explain the absence of coverage in the major dailies, as well as in *The Voice*. Furthermore, in 1907 there was still no Yiddish-language newspaper in Winnipeg. The earliest attempt to start one (*Wiederklang* or “The Echo” in 1906) had been short-lived, and it was not until a local Jewish anarchist named Fieve (Frank) Simkin founded *Der Kanader Yid* (“The Canadian Israelite”) in 1910, that Winnipeg could boast its first regular Yiddish newspaper.³³

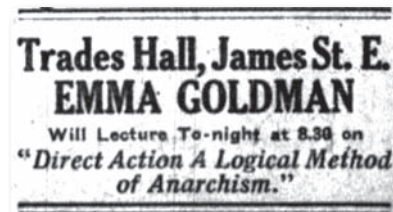
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There does not appear to have been any mention of Goldman’s visit, let alone reviews of her two German-language talks in Winnipeg’s oldest German-language newspaper *Der Nordwesten*. However, the short-lived rival Conservative newspaper *Germania* did print a brief mention of Emma Goldman in its 11 April issue.³⁴ Buried deep within a regular local section called *Aus Winnipeg* (“From Winnipeg”), the anonymous writer noted that “Emma Goldman, the well-known Anarchist, is staying in Winnipeg, and is planning to deliver lectures on Anarchism here.” The article referred to one of the upcoming German language talks and offered the following *a priori* and patriarchal dismissal of Goldman’s expertise: “A lecture that she is also planning to give carries the title: How are children to be raised? We believe that this question could be better answered by mothers, than by a woman who has missed out on the marriage bond.”³⁵ Neither German-language paper published any actual reviews of Goldman’s lectures in April 1907, though *Germania* paid greater attention to Goldman’s subsequent visit the following year.³⁶

There was, however, some extensive coverage of Goldman’s first visit in the local Icelandic women’s literary and political journal *Freyja*, which had been founded by Margrét Benedictsson in 1898.³⁷ The April 1907 issue contained a biographical profile on Emma Goldman, and included a review of two of her five Winnipeg lectures from earlier in that month. The *Freyja* article was unsigned, but given its emphasis on what it termed “the liberation struggle of women,” it was probably written by Margrét Benedictsson.³⁸ It focused on two of the three talks already covered in the major dailies, as well as in *The Voice*—namely, “the spirit of revolt in the modern drama” and “direct action versus legislation.” However, the *Freyja* article provided many details about these lectures that were not available in the English-language newspapers. For starters, it went into much greater detail about Goldman’s

literary criticism talk, and her views on the writings of Ibsen, Tolstoy, Hoffman, and George Bernard Shaw.³⁹ Specific plays were discussed in some detail, such as Ibsen’s *The Doll House* and *Brand*, as well as Shaw’s *Man and Superman* and *Mrs. Warren’s Profession*—with a particular emphasis on the significance of these works in relation to women. The article also noted that a number of Icelanders attended Goldman’s drama talk, and described them as “satisfied.” However, the author went on to criticize the Icelandic community for what it called “a tendency to be unnecessarily rigid and sensitive over various issues.”⁴⁰ It concluded with a brief discussion of Goldman’s talk on “direct action”—apparently the only sympathetic review of this lecture published in Winnipeg—which must be quoted in full to capture its flavour. According to *Freyja*,

[Goldman’s talk] was meant to show that the people had themselves won in direct and indirect ways all those human rights, which they are still succeeding in extracting from the governing powers of the world, whatever name they may be called and wherever in the world they are. She believes that in order to acquire complete justice in relation to government and capitalism, working people need to have a global association. She showed how a few strikes have succeeded in recent times, the latest of them being the electricians’ union in Paris a few weeks ago, not for the negotiation of the government, but rather because it was done in a suitable time and immediately. At the end of the lecture there was a free debate and then there were various questions directed at the lecturer. Then there was a spirited scrap among Emma, the Socialists, and the Single-taxers. Her opponents spoke well and with authority, but at the same time many were left with the impression that Emma had prevailed. There were a few of her opponents who were so inflamed that they formed a circle around her after the gathering was dispersed, we saw nothing from her but a hand once in a while, when she was upright giving some telling truth which she said with still more emphasis, because she was pointed at or had her fingers directly up in the faces of her adversaries, who were all men and gigantic beside her. This became good fun for all who were lucky enough to see and hear this encore. But in spite of their zeal they departed good friends, and all who were there in attendance gave her many good wishes on her way to Minneapolis where she intended to take her lectures next.⁴¹



Manitoba Free Press, 3 April 1908

Goldman published her own reflections on her time in Winnipeg a month after her visit as part of an ongoing column called "On the Road" in *Mother Earth*, the monthly magazine she had started up about a year before. Overall, she was pleased with her visit to Winnipeg. She wrote that "[m]y six days' visit seemed a dream. Large, eager audiences every evening and twice on Sunday, [plus] a beautiful social gathering that united two hundred men, women and children in one family of comrades, and people constantly coming and going during the day ... When I stood on the platform of the train bidding a last farewell to a large group of friends, I keenly felt the pangs of parting..."⁴²

Goldman ended her report on her trip to Winnipeg by singling out the newspapers in Minneapolis and Winnipeg, saying that they "have been remarkable for their fairness and decency in reporting my meetings." In particular, she quoted an editorial written on 15 April 1907 by the *Winnipeg Tribune's* Managing Director. Goldman was so impressed with this editorial that she later included the exact same passage in her autobiography (*Living My Life*). But in both *Mother Earth* as well as her autobiography, what Goldman quoted was a partial, and slightly altered, selection from the original editorial.⁴³ The full text of the editorial, as printed in the *Tribune*, was actually as follows:

It is legitimate to criticize Emma Goldman for the bad influence that she is said to have had on some shallow-brained followers in the United States. It is legitimate to denounce any utterances that incite to crime. But in fairness it must be admitted that it is unjust to accuse her of having "abused British freedom of speech" in Winnipeg. It is also absurd to denounce Anarchism on the ground that it teaches bomb-throwing and other violence.

Emma Goldman has been accused of abusing freedom of speech in Winnipeg. Anarchism has been denounced as a system that provides for murder. As a matter of fact, Emma Goldman, while in Winnipeg, indulged in no dangerous rant—made no statement that deserved more than moderate criticism of its wisdom and logic. Also, as a matter of fact, that man who claims that Anarchism teaches bomb-throwing and violence doesn't know what he is talking about.

Anarchism is an ideal doctrine that is now—and probably always will be—utterly impracticable. Some of the gentlest and most gifted men in the world believe in it. The fact that Tolstoi alone is an Anarchist is conclusive proof that it teaches no violence.

It is the fact that great numbers of ignorant men in Europe, whose minds are quite incapable of grasping the meaning of Tolstoi's ideal, have resorted to the most shocking violence to remove the restraint that—Anarchy teaches—should not exist, which gives Anarchy its bad name.

It is quite unreasonable to hold the ideal system responsible for these acts of the ignorant and

criminal few who profess to believe in a doctrine that they are incapable of understanding. It would be quite as reasonable to condemn Christianity for the horrible crimes that have been committed by fanatics who believed they were Christians.

We all have a right to laugh at Anarchy as a wild dream. We all have a right to condemn the violence of murderous fanatics. We all have a right to agree or disagree with the teachings of Emma Goldman. But we should not make ourselves ridiculous by criticizing a lecturer for things that she did not say, nor by denouncing as violent and bloody a doctrine that teaches the very opposite of violence.

The morning papers evidently expected a shock and when they did not get it, their nerves gave way and left them in hysterics.⁴⁴



Manitoba Free Press, 6 April 1908

What was remarkable about this editorial, was *not* simply that it rejected outright the myth that anarchism was inherently violent, mentioned Tolstoy as evidence of this view, and was a relatively positive defence of free speech, but that its author was Robert Lorne Richardson, a prominent local newspaper publisher, novelist, and former Liberal Party M.P. in the Laurier government.⁴⁵

Several significant developments occurred as a result of Goldman's visit to Winnipeg. First, Winnipeg was added as a new distribution outlet for *Mother Earth*, something that did not happen very often, and was perhaps a reflection of the size of the anarchist community in the city at that time. In the May 1907 issue, Winnipeg was added as an "agent" for the magazine, with two local anarchists as contacts: "S. B. Benedictsson, 470 Main St." and "Sam Prasow, 452 Manitoba Ave."⁴⁶ The first of these local "agents" and distributors for *Mother Earth* was none other than Sigfús Benedict Benedictsson, the anarchist husband of *Freyja's* founder and editor Margrét Benedictsson. The Benedictssons also helped promote the Chicago anarchist newspaper *Lucifer, the Light-Bearer*, and its persecuted editor Moses Harman, a cause shared by Goldman.⁴⁷ According to historian Ryan Eyford, Margrét regularly translated and reprinted articles from Harman's newspaper in *Freyja*, and both her and Sigfús were among the rare Canadians to have their letters published in *Lucifer*. In 1901, for example, a letter from Sigfús was published in *Lucifer* in which he declared: "If I was to be electrocuted tomorrow I would still believe and say that Anarchism is the most noble ideal I have ever heard."⁴⁸

The second of the new "agents" for *Mother Earth* was Samuel Prasow, a prominent anarchist organizer in Winnipeg, along with his brother, until at least the 1950s.⁴⁹

Goldman stayed with the Prasow family on her return trips in 1908, and again in 1927, as did other prominent anarchist visitors such as Rudolf Rocker.⁵⁰ The Prasow brothers were not simply anarchist organizers; they were also writers, and their work was featured in the pages of *Der Kanader Yid*.⁵¹ Goldman considered the Prasows to be lifelong comrades, although she became disappointed with Samuel for his handling of her 1927 visit, and in particular, for an attempt to bar her from any public criticism of the Bolshevik Revolution for fear of jeopardizing already-tenuous relations with local Communists.⁵² According to the distributor lists printed in *Mother Earth*, Prasow was the more stable and long-term of the “agents” lined up by Goldman during her first visit to Winnipeg.⁵³

The second significant development arising from Goldman’s visit to Winnipeg was related to the International Anarchist Conference, which was to be held in Amsterdam in August 1907. It was largely at the behest of anarchists in Winnipeg and Chicago during her spring 1907 tour, that a fund was started specifically to send Goldman to this conference.⁵⁴ J. Richman, “Secretary” of an unspecified group of Winnipeg anarchists, sent an official statement which was published in *Mother Earth* in May 1907. In this statement, Richman took pains to explain that Goldman was *not* to act as “representative” of North American anarchists, but simply “as a comrade whose participation in the Conference cannot fail to prove beneficial to our friends abroad, as well as to the movement at home.”⁵⁵ It was at the Amsterdam conference that Goldman met many of the leading anarchists of the day, and was re-acquainted with others she had met only briefly during her prior travels, such as Errico Malatesta and Rudolf Rocker. It was there that she also began to refine her political philosophy, and argue more confidently for her unique blend of individualism and collectivism.⁵⁶

In the spirit of Goldman herself, it is perhaps appropriate to conclude with a critical assessment of both her 1907 visit and her ongoing legacy. Many of Goldman’s political and even personal strengths and weaknesses have received a good deal of attention elsewhere, and need not be reiterated here in any detail.⁵⁷ However, one aspect of her thought and practice has been largely, if not entirely neglected in the literature—namely, her treatment of colonialism in North America. Goldman’s 1907 - 1908 visits to Winnipeg highlighted

some of the contradictions in anarchist thought and practice in relation to settler-colonialism and indigenous peoples.

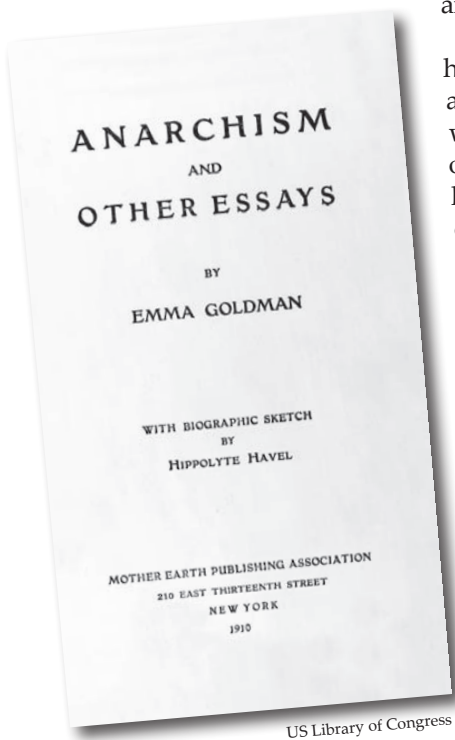
Goldman did not once mention indigenous peoples during or after her visit to Winnipeg, and to be fair, there was almost no mention of them in the local Winnipeg media during her stay in the city.⁵⁸ In her immediate reflections on her visit Goldman wrote:

Men and women from every nook in the world gather in Winnipeg, the land of promise. They are soon made to realize, however, that the causes which drove them from their native shores—oppression, greed and robbery—are quite at home in this new, white land. The true great promise lies in all these nations coming together, to look one another in the face, to learn for the first time the real force that makes for wealth. Men and women knowing one another and clasping hands for one common purpose, human brotherhood and solidarity. Yes, Winnipeg is the place of promise. It is the fertile soil of growth, life and ideas.⁵⁹

Without actually mentioning indigenous peoples, this passage suggests that Goldman shared many of the dominant assumptions and myths of the European colonial paradigm—at least, with respect to the original peoples of North America. Her reference to the “land of promise” was in sole relation to colonizers, and she seemed unaware that the “human brotherhood and solidarity” she described amongst Winnipeg workers was predicated upon a dispossession of the original inhabitants of the land after 1870, as well as a second-wave of ethnic cleansing that resumed locally in earnest the year she arrived, most notably with accelerated efforts to dissolve the St. Peter’s Reserve, and “remove” the Indian inhabitants to a more remote location.⁶⁰ While it is unlikely that Goldman knew anything about this specific example of ethnic cleansing, it is clear that local Winnipeg anarchists must have been aware of the “removal,” and either supported such dispossession as “progress,” viewed it as an ongoing “inevitability,” or viewed the consequences of “internal” colonialism as a “fait accompli” (even when such events were still unfolding).⁶¹ Had they considered the dispossession of indigenous peoples to be worthy of documentation and protest, it is almost certain they would have responded in a similar way *as they did* in the face of the potential dispossession and deportation of the Doukhobors.

An editorial in *Mother Earth* from July 1907 (three months after Goldman’s visit to Winnipeg) illustrates this differential consciousness and treatment. The editors stated that:

Canada is about to perpetrate one of the most unspeakable outrages—ostensibly in the name of civilization, in reality because of governmental violence and greedy land speculation. Recent reports from Winnipeg state that the Canadian



government has finally decided to expel the Doukhobors from the lands assigned to them in 1899. The Doukhobors are splendid agriculturalists; they have successfully cultivated a considerable part of the land, and now they are to be despoiled of their homes and the fruits of their labor, in the manner practiced by our own railroad and land sharks.⁶²

Leaving aside the specifics of the Doukhobors themselves, *Mother Earth's* call to arms over this “unspeakable outrage,” and its acceptance of the basic colonial paradigm that promulgates an agricultural imperative, is notable for both its timing, and what it leaves out. The dispossession of indigenous peoples, *also* “ostensibly in the name of civilization,” *also* in the interests of land speculators and white settlers, *also* in many cases directed at successful Indian farmers who were being “despoiled of their homes and the fruits of their labor,” was ongoing at this time.⁶³ No reports came from Winnipeg anarchists about the attempt to take the last vestiges of land from the descendents of Saulteaux Chief Peguis at St. Peter’s in 1907. In other words, at the exact same time as there was outrage and action over the removal of *other* colonizers who had been in the hemisphere for less than a decade, there was complete silence about efforts to forcibly relocate indigenous peoples from the land of their ancestors—so that their so-called “reserve,” guaranteed to them under the terms of the 1871 “Stone Fort” treaty, not to mention elementary justice, could be sold off to a “better class” of immigrant.

One might object that Emma Goldman’s brief visit, and scattered references to Winnipeg in 1907 ought not to be taken as definitive evidence of a weakness or contradiction in her philosophy, and it is certainly not the contention here that everyone must focus exclusively, or even primarily on specifically indigenous issues and solidarity. However, like most European and North American radicals of her time, Goldman almost never mentioned indigenous peoples in her writing or speeches.⁶⁴ One of the few public references to Aboriginal peoples *ever* made by Goldman was in the statement she prepared on “The Situation in America” for the 1907 Anarchist conference in Amsterdam. In this report she made a very passing reference to a process of privatizing land in “the vast American territory” that she suggested went back to “the Christians” who were “greedy of the new continent” and “despoil[ed] the American Indian, whose ownership of the land [had been] communistic.”⁶⁵ Goldman was well aware that *historical* injustices had been committed. At least two earlier articles by or about Goldman also made passing reference to the theft of the continent and the “murder” of “kind,” “peaceful,” and “innocent” Indians.⁶⁶ Furthermore, in *Living My Life* Goldman’s brief

description of a visit to a “reservation” in Montana mocked “the blessings of the white man’s rule.” She wrote:

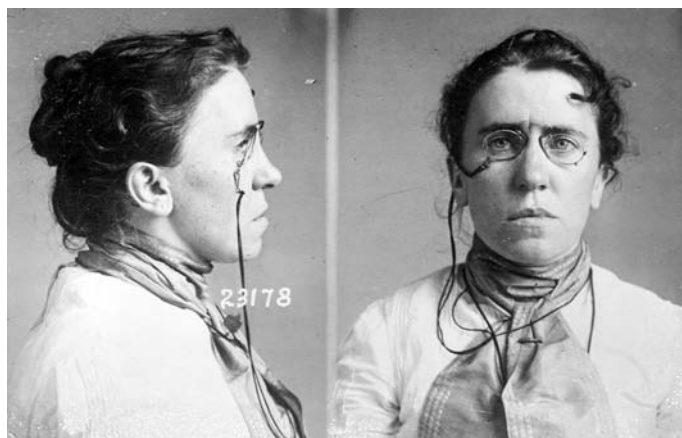
The true natives of America, once masters of the length and breadth of the land, a simple and sturdy race possessing its own art and conception of life, had dwindled to mere shadows of what they had once been. They were infected with venereal disease; their lungs were eaten by the white plague. In return for their lost vigour they had received the gift of the Bible. The kindly and helpful spirit of the Indians was very cheering after the forbidding attitude of their white neighbours.⁶⁷

However, these apparent exceptions, which are in many ways also indicative of a colonial framework, serve to reinforce the rule. Regardless of any direct knowledge she may have had about Aboriginal peoples in Canada or the United States, Goldman made almost no mention of them in her travel reports, published articles, and speeches. She was aware that the overall colonial project in North America entailed the dispossession of indigenous peoples who had had “communistic” systems of land tenure. But beyond this acknowledgement of the obvious, indigenous rights and self-determination, as issues that might have relevance *into* the twentieth-century, seemed to be beyond her conceptual framework—even as her own newspaper *Mother Earth* (launched in March 1906) railed against what it called “imperialism” in “the colonies,” in places such as Mexico, the Philippines, Cuba, Africa, and elsewhere.⁶⁸

In marking the centenary of Goldman’s first visit to Winnipeg, and in honoring both her spirit of resistance, and her example as an activist and speaker of unpopular truths,⁶⁹ it is important to make something clear. The ideal of anarchism which Goldman herself tried to live up to, is not about constructing untouchable heroes or demi-gods out of historical figures, nor about declaring fealty to their views or setting up a “canon” of acceptable opinions and political positions with which to define one’s friends and enemies. It is about recognizing that people are human, and can be respected despite their inevitable flaws and weaknesses (both in terms of their political views and in terms of their actual behaviour).

To describe Goldman’s legacy as “far-reaching” in global terms is something of an understatement. The increasing number of books devoted to Goldman’s politics and personal life, the very existence of the Emma Goldman Papers Project at the University of California, the number of young activists, men and women alike, who continue to be influenced by her, and the countless institutions named after her (from collectively-run cafés

[L]ike most European and North American radicals of her time, Goldman almost never mentioned indigenous peoples in her writing or speeches.



US Library of Congress, G. G. Bain Collection, LC-DIG-ggbain-00751.

A “mug shot” of Emma Goldman, taken after she was arrested by police on suspicion of involvement in the September 1901 assassination of US President William McKinley.

and “infoshops” around North America, to activist-run centres and buildings), all testify to the enduring nature and significance of her legacy.⁷⁰ However, it is harder to assess or quantify Goldman’s impact on radicalism in exclusively Winnipeg terms. It appears to be the case that both Goldman’s fiery lectures on the one hand, and the efforts of local anarchist organizers during the first half of the twentieth-century on the other, had a profound impact on the political landscape in Winnipeg—both in terms of widening the parameters of debate, but also in terms of the development of actual institutions on the ground. A. Ross McCormack has alluded to the importance of “the anarchist tradition among Jews and Russians” in Winnipeg’s North End, as a way to explain, at least in part, the growing support for syndicalism, radical industrial unionism, the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), the One Big Union, and the increasing willingness on the part of Winnipeg workers to resort to direct action and strikes in the decade leading up to 1919.⁷¹ Emma Goldman’s speaking engagements in Winnipeg were both contingent upon, and contributors to, this anarchist tradition. It is clear from both the newspaper coverage of Goldman’s talks, and the formal debates scheduled during her subsequent visits, that local Marxists and socialists found Goldman’s ideology and arguments—or perhaps the threat of anarchism’s influence—to be sufficiently compelling to demand a response.⁷² But a more detailed assessment of her impact and legacy must be sifted and salvaged out of the largely unwritten, under-acknowledged, and in some cases, consciously-distorted history of anarchism and libertarian socialism—not just within Winnipeg, but also in terms of the global radical left since the days of the First International.

It is not surprising that anarchism’s role in helping to shape both Jewish radicalism and broader left-wing politics in Winnipeg has remained largely unacknowledged in local municipal, regional, and labour histories, as well as histories of Jewish immigration in the Prairies. However,

it is curious that many of these same histories, biographies, or personal reflections have insisted upon the importance of institutions founded or heavily-influenced by local anarchists, without ever knowing or acknowledging the political views of some of the pivotal figures involved. Furthermore, labour historians and other progressive and socialist commentators continue to highlight Emma Goldman’s early visits as themselves an expression of Winnipeg’s turn-of-the-century importance, while consciously or unconsciously contributing to the general impression that anarchism was an insignificant player in the history of Winnipeg radicalism.⁷³ A salient example of this relates to Fieve Simkin’s role in Winnipeg radical politics, beginning with the early formation of the Arbeiter Ring in Winnipeg (before he was expelled from Branch #169 by the Communists, and forced to start a separate anarchist branch). Few historians and writers, regardless of their politics or focus, have acknowledged that Simkin was an anarchist.⁷⁴ Simkin’s involvement in the Arbeiter Ring School on Manitoba Avenue, the I. L. Peretz School, as well as his founding role in Winnipeg’s first long-lasting Yiddish newspaper in 1910 - 1911 have typically been highlighted without reference to his actual political views.

In short, the institutions that anarchists participated in, and in some cases established—from *Arbeiter Ring* branches and radical schools, to labour halls, as well as newspapers such as *Dos Yiddishe Vort* (The Israelite Press)—have often been acknowledged as critical and influential. But the anarchist sensibilities of many of the participants have been written out of the narrative. Assessing the impact of Goldman’s visits to Winnipeg in 1907 - 1908 is intimately tied to the process of salvaging and writing the history of anarchism in Winnipeg. The city in which she urged workers in 1907 to adopt the general strike as the preferred weapon of the working class, became the site of the Winnipeg General Strike in 1919. Of course, the explanation for such an event can hardly be reduced to the polemics of a single public orator.⁷⁵ But it is clear that there was a tactical debate amongst leftists and workers over such matters, and Goldman’s public lectures on direct action and general strikes were significant local events. Prominent socialists in Winnipeg such as J. Mortimer, L. T. English, J. D. Houston, and W. H. Stebbings felt compelled to challenge, debate, and in some cases ridicule Goldman’s calls for a general strike in 1907 -1908, as well as take on anarchism as both a political philosophy and movement rival.⁷⁶ Furthermore, local anarchists distributed *Mother Earth* in Winnipeg from the moment of Goldman’s first visit in April 1907, and continued to subscribe to the magazine until its demise in 1917.⁷⁷ They also started their own newspapers, organized speaking engagements with other prominent anarchists such as Rudolf Rocker, and played a significant role in the life and longevity of many important labour, cultural, and political institutions.⁷⁸ A great deal of this political work took place within the North End Jewish community, though it was certainly not confined to it, and conscious attempts were made to transcend ethnic and language barriers to

working-class solidarity. Emma Goldman's influence on the views and trajectory of both Jewish and non-Jewish radicals in Winnipeg, like the place afforded anarchism within the history of Winnipeg as a whole, was no doubt more significant than hitherto appreciated. ❧

Notes

1. This article has been expanded from a local Mayworks Festival presentation entitled "Apostle of Anarchy" in honour of the centenary of Emma Goldman's first visit to Winnipeg, held at Mondragon Bookstore & Coffee House, 16 May 2007. The event was organized by Tim Brandt, and it seemed appropriate to keep the same title.
2. The first overview of Goldman's neglected time in Canada, which mentions some of the details of each of these visits to Winnipeg, can be found in Theresa & Albert Moritz, *The World's Most Dangerous Woman: A New Biography of Emma Goldman*. Vancouver & Toronto: Subway Books, 2001. For earlier articles on Goldman's visits to Winnipeg see Martin Zeilig, "Emma Goldman in Winnipeg," *Manitoba History* (Spring 1993), No. 25; as well as two articles by A. J. Arnold, "Anarchist Had Critics on All Sides: 'Red Emma' Lectured Here in 1907," *The Winnipeg Tribune*, April 10, 1975, and "Visit to Canada in 1907 by 'Queen of Anarchists' Stirred Up Controversy with her Outspoken Ideology," *Canadian Jewish News*, 25 April, 1975.
3. Moffat, Riley, *Population History of Cities and Towns in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand: 1861 – 1996*. Lanham, MD & London: Scarecrow Press, 2001, p. 28; Bryan Palmer, *Working-Class Experience: The Rise & Reconstitution of Canadian Labour, 1800 – 1980*. Toronto & Vancouver: Butterworth & Co., 1983, p. 139.
4. See, for example, "Arriving in Thousands: Present Year Will Eclipse All Others in Immigration," *The Winnipeg Tribune*, 6 April 1907; "Europeans On Way West," *Winnipeg Tribune*, 15 April 1907; "Immigrants Are Pouring In," *Winnipeg Tribune*, 16 April 1907.
5. Woodsworth, who was a Methodist missionary at the time of Goldman's first visit, outlined a hierarchy of what he called "desirable" immigrant "types," from the "better class" (which tended to be British) to the "undesirables" (especially Mormons but also, in general, non-Europeans). See, for example, his treatment of what he called "the Hindu problem," in which South Asians were referred to as "hordes," and the "dangers" of such people "swarming in upon [Canada]" and putting "white labor" out of work, was discussed. J. S. Woodsworth, *Strangers Within Our Gates*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972, original publication 1909, pp. 152 - 155.
6. See, for example, "Asiatic Question," *The Voice*, 4 October 1907, p. 1, as well as the accompanying front-page cartoon entitled "The Canadian Gulliver and the Japanese Lilliputians."
7. The "right class of settlers is coming," Clifford Sifton stated in an interview, and went on to specify who he meant: "people of the northern stocks, Germans, Scandinavian, British." See "Hon. Mr. Sifton Interviewed in London," *Manitoba Free Press*, 8 April 1907. Also, see "For a White Canada is Stand Adopted by Mr. Borden: Mr. Borden's Emphatic Demand for a White Canada," *Winnipeg Telegram*, 25 September 1907; and "Good Year Ahead for the Dominion: What Sir William Van Horne Told Londoners in Regard to Canada," *Winnipeg Telegram*, 1 April 1908. For a general overview of British imperial attitudes in Winnipeg, see Robert A. Wardhaugh, "'Gateway to Empire': Imperial Sentiment in Winnipeg, 1867 – 1917." In Colin M. Coates, ed., *Imperial Canada, 1867 – 1917*. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, Centre of Canadian Studies, 1997, pp. 206 - 216. For actual legislation designed to weed out "undesirable" nationalities and "races," from the *Chinese Immigration Act* (1885) to the *Continuous Journey Stipulation* (1908) to the *1910 Immigration Act*, see Lisa Marie Jakubowski, *Immigration and the Legalization of Racism*. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 1997, pp. 10 - 21.
8. See, for example, "West Not Peopled With Foreigners," *Manitoba Free Press*, 10 April 1907, in which the newspaper relays Dominion officials' indignation over charges that the Prairies were being overrun by "the worst characters of Whitechapel" and others who constituted "the scum of the earth." The article assured readers that "60 Per Cent of People in the Western Provinces are British Born," not "foreigners" at all.
9. Usiskin, Roz, "The Winnipeg Jewish Community: Its Radical Elements, 1905 - 1918," *Manitoba Historical Society Transactions*, Series 3, Number 33, 1976 - 1977 Season.
10. Palmer, *Working-Class Experience*, pp. 141 - 142.
11. According to Usiskin, Winnipeg's Arbeiter Ring was divided into three broad currents, each with its own branch: 1) "revolutionary Marxists" were generally organized into Branch # 169; 2) nationalist-Zionist elements tended to be organized into Branch # 506; and 3) the anarchists were organized into Branch # 564. These three branches were, in turn, organized into a "City Committee" that coordinated activities locally, as well as maintained ties with the larger national and international Arbeiter Ring network. See Usiskin, "The Winnipeg Jewish Community: Its Radical Elements, 1905 - 1918."
12. Palmer, p. 137.
13. A small handful of notable exceptions, such as Honoré Joseph Jaxon, or to a lesser degree, Tory MP George Bradbury (who spoke out against the theft of the St. Peter's Reserve in the House of Commons), do not alter the overarching rule. For the first definitive biography of Jaxon, see Don Smith, *Honoré Jaxon: Prairie Visionary*. Regina: Coteau Books, 2007. For details about George Bradbury, see Tyler, Wright & Daniel, *The Illegal Surrender of the St. Peter's Reserve*. Winnipeg: Treaty and Aboriginal Rights and Research Council, 1979 and 1983.
14. For a more full treatment of classical anarchism's contradictions in relation to indigenous peoples, see Paul Burrows, "Anarchism, Colonialism & Aboriginal Dispossession in the Canadian West," unpublished paper presented at the Canadian Historical Association, Saskatoon, May 2007.
15. An article in *The Voice*, for example, advertised Goldman's lectures by referencing the McKinley assassination. See "Anarchist Lecture: Emma Goldman to Speak in Winnipeg Next Week," *The Voice*, 12 April 1907. For general background on the attempt to "link" Goldman to the McKinley assassination, see Richard Drinnon, *Rebel in Paradise: A Biography of Emma Goldman*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1970, pp. 68 - 77.
16. "Emma Goldman Will Speak Here," *Manitoba Free Press*, 3 April 1907.
17. "Preaching Anarchy," *Manitoba Free Press*, 6 April 1907.
18. "Galician" did not refer to someone from Galicia, in northern Spain, but was instead a homogenizing term (often used as a reproach) for anyone from eastern Europe, particularly Ukrainians and Slavs.
19. "Emma Goldman Lectures," *Manitoba Free Press*, 10 April 1907.
20. "Anarchy Expounded by Woman Leader," *Winnipeg Tribune*, 10 April 1907.
21. *Ibid.*
22. "On Barren Ground," *Winnipeg Telegram*, 11 April 1907.
23. She Abuses Our Freedom of Speech: Anarchist Lecturer Attacks Principles of British Constitution," *Manitoba Free Press*, 11 April 1907. Some reviewers did not pick up on the sarcasm.
24. "Lecture Not Sensational: Emma Goldman Defines Anarchism – Philosophy Has Been Misrepresented," *Winnipeg Tribune*, 11 April 1907.
25. See T. Bell, "On Barren Ground," *Winnipeg Tribune*, 15 April 1907.
26. "Lecture on Anarchy," *The Voice*, 12 April 1907, p. 1.
27. "Apostle of Anarchy: Emma Goldman's Series of Lectures in Winnipeg—A higher and Lower Plane: Socialist Lost in Sea of Compromise, and A. F. of L. Corrupt," *The Voice*, 19 April 1907, p. 1
28. *Ibid.*, p. 1. Mobius was himself a regular lecturer on such topics, and gave his own talk at the Trades Hall soon after Goldman left the city in late April 1907; see "'The Landless Man, The Manless Land and the Dog in the Manger:' Prof. Mobius Lectures on Single Tax

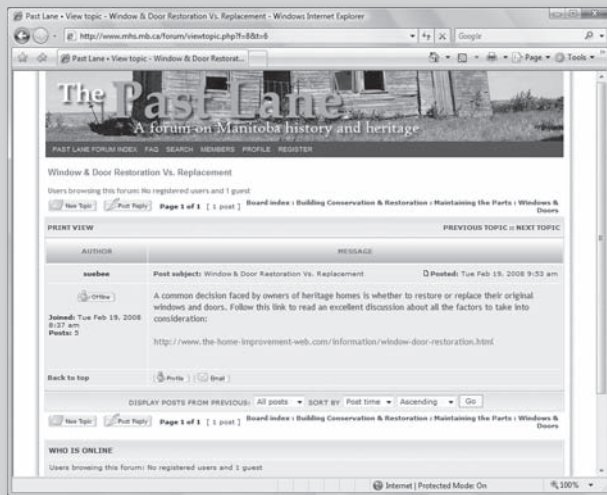
- to Crowded Meeting of Canadian Labor Party," *The Voice*, 3 May, 1907, p. 1. See also J. M. Bumsted, *Dictionary of Manitoba Biography*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999, p. 179.
29. Socialist Party of Canada (Winnipeg), weekly "Socialism" column, "Resembles Trade Unionism," *The Voice*, 19 April 1907.
 30. Editorial, "The Anarchist Lectures," *The Voice*, 19 April 1907.
 31. The Socialist Party of Canada was later swept up in the movement for a general strike in Winnipeg, but like many left and labour organizations, arguably not by choice. Many "moderate" labour leaders, such as Arthur Puttee, lost all credibility and support from workers for denouncing the general strike as a Wobbly tactic, and the SPC leadership was well aware that they needed to "keep up" with the rank-and-file or risk being left behind. Even R. B. Russell initially opposed the Winnipeg General Strike, ostensibly on the grounds that it might hinder the development of the O. B. U., but he nevertheless became a prominent strike leader. See Tom Mitchell and James Naylor, "The Prairies: In the Eye of the Storm." In Craig Heron ed., *The Workers' Revolt in Canada, 1917 - 1925*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998, pp. 178, 187, 217n10.
 32. Goldman wrote and lectured in German, Yiddish, and later, wanting to reach a wider audience in North America, increasingly in English. But she did not consider her own command of Yiddish to be adequate for public talks, and tended to speak German for both Russian Jewish and German anarchist audiences. See introduction to Candace Falk, Barry Pateman & Jessica Moran eds., *Emma Goldman: A Documentary History of the American Years: Volume 2: Making Speech Free, 1902 - 1909*. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005, pp. 5, 48. Furthermore, Goldman was herself quoted in Winnipeg newspapers as indicating that three of her talks would be conducted in German; see "Anarchy Expounded by Woman Leader," *Winnipeg Tribune*, 10 April 1907.
 33. Harry Gutkin dated the founding of "The Echo" to 1900, though Arthur Chiel stated that "The Echo" was only published "for several months after March, 1906." According to Gutkin, one of the principal founders of *Der Kanader Yid* was a prominent local anarchist named Fieve (Frank) Simkin. However, Chiel argued that *Der Kanader Yid* was sponsored initially by Jewish Liberals, who quickly withdrew support from the project due to the "fiery and independent" stance of the newspaper's editor (Baruch Goldstein). According to Chiel, it was not until 1914 that Simkin became involved. See Harry Gutkin, *Journey Into Our Heritage: The Story of the Jewish People in the Canadian West*. Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys Publishers, 1980, p. 179, and Arthur A. Chiel, *The Jews in Manitoba: A Social History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961, p. 125. Writing about his 1913 visit, Rudolf Rocker noted that "our comrade Simkin" published "a good Yiddish weekly" in Winnipeg, and its editor "Goldstein, was sympathetic to our ideas." It seems certain that Rocker was referring to none other than *Der Kaneder Yid*, which later changed its name to *Dos Yiddische Vort* ("The Israelite Press"). Rudolf Rocker, *The London Years*, Nottingham & Oakland: AK Press, 2005, p. 138. Historian Irving Abella dates the founding of *Der Kanader Yid* three years too early in his *A Coat of Many Colours: Two Centuries of Jewish Life in Canada*. Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys Limited, 1990, p. 124.
 34. *Der Nordwesten* was a weekly newspaper, published on King Street in Winnipeg's Old Market district. In fact, it was the first German-language newspaper in the Canadian West (its first issue appeared in April 1889). By 1900, its readership was estimated to be over 4,000, by 1905 it was 13,000, and by 1912 it was 25,000. *Germania* first appeared in November 1904, as a Conservative Party alternative to the Liberal *Nordwesten*. At the time of Goldman's visit, its offices were at the corner of McDermot and Albert. However in 1911, *Germania* was absorbed by its rival. See Arthur Grenke, *The German Community in Winnipeg, 1872 - 1919*. New York: AMS Press, 1991, pp. 77 - 94.
 35. In English, this lecture has typically been rendered as "Crimes of Parents and Educators." The German wording was "Ein Vortrag, den sie ferner halten will, ist betitelt: Wie soll man Kinder erziehen? Wir glauben, dass diese Frage besser von Muettern als wie von einem Fraulein, das den Anschluss verfehlt hat, beantwortet werden kann." See "Aus Winnipeg," *Germania*, 11 April 1907, p. 10. Many thanks are owed to Helmut-Harry Loewen for transcribing and translating the German.
 36. See *Germania*, 2 April 1908, p. 10 as well as the following week's issue, for an even longer article on Goldman's second visit to the city.
 37. In addition to publishing *Freyja*, Margret Benedictsson was a pioneer in the women's suffrage movement in Manitoba. See Ryan Eyford's unpublished essay "Lucifer Comes to New Iceland: Margret and Sigfus Benedictsson's Radical Critique of Marriage and the Family," presented to the Canadian Historical Association, Saskatoon, 2007.
 38. Benedictsson, Margrét Jónsdóttir, "Emma Goldman," *Freyja*, Vol. 9, No. 9 (April 1907), p. 221. Thanks so much to Ryan Eyford, not only for bringing this article to my attention, but also for translating the Icelandic for me.
 39. "Hoffman" probably referred to the German dramatist Gerhardt Hauptmann. See Goldman's essay "The Modern Drama: A Powerful Disseminator of Radical Thought," in Emma Goldman, *Anarchism and Other Essays*. New York: Dover, 1969, original publication 1911, pp. 248 - 249.
 40. Benedictsson, "Emma Goldman," p. 223.
 41. *Ibid.*, p. 224.
 42. Goldman, Emma, "On the Road." *Mother Earth*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (May 1907), p. 134. The large and "beautiful social gathering" that Goldman referred to was possibly the same one at which Jacob Penner met his future wife Rose. Penner was one of the founding members of the Socialist Party of Canada in 1905, and later, was involved in the formation of both the Social Democratic Party as well as the Communist Party of Canada. He was elected to Winnipeg City Council in 1934 on a Communist platform. See Roland Penner, "Personal Perspectives on Rose Penner." In Daniel Stone ed., *Jewish Radicalism in Winnipeg, 1905 - 1960*. Winnipeg: Jewish Heritage Centre of Western Canada, 2002, p. 123; Bumsted, *Dictionary of Manitoba Biography*, pp. 197 - 198.
 43. See Emma Goldman, "On the Road." *Mother Earth*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (May 1907), p. 135, as well as Emma Goldman, *Living My Life*. New York: Dover Publications, 1970, original publication 1931, Vol. 1, p. 397 - 398. This abridged and altered quotation was, in turn, highlighted by Moritz and Moritz in their study of Goldman's time in Canada; see *The World's Most Dangerous Woman*, p. 11.
 44. Richardson, R. L., "Emma Goldman," *Winnipeg Tribune*, 15 April 1907, p. 4.
 45. *Ibid.* Also see Bumsted, *Dictionary of Manitoba*, p. 208.
 46. See advertisement for "Agents of Mother Earth" in *Mother Earth*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (May 1907).
 47. For an overview of Harman's social and political philosophy, and further details about *Lucifer, the Light-bearer*, see William O. Reichert, *Partisans of Freedom: A Study in American Anarchism*. Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1976, pp. 301 - 312. Also, see *Mother Earth*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (May 1907) for an advertisement calling for support for Moses Harman and *Lucifer, the Light-bearer*. In the 1930s, Goldman published an article called "Was My Life Worth Living" in *Harper's Magazine* in which she referred to Harman as "the pioneer of woman's emancipation from sexual bondage." Cited in Alix Kates Shulman ed., *Red Emma Speaks: An Emma Goldman Reader*. New Jersey: Humanities Press, 3rd edition, 1996, p. 437.
 48. Details about the Benedictssons, and Sigfús quote, taken from Eyford, "Lucifer Comes to New Iceland."
 49. See Moritz & Moritz, *The World's Most Dangerous Woman*, p. 65. Information about the Prasow brothers is scarce, and further complicated by the multiple forms of spelling used for the name. Goldman used the spelling "Prasow" in *Mother Earth* (see footnote note 46 above). Rudolf Rocker's memoirs referred to "Prasov" (see footnote 50 below). Chiel alluded to the "Prasow Brothers;" see Chiel, *The Jews in Manitoba*, p. 126. A transcript of an interview with

- Toronto anarchist Julius Seltzer used the name "Prosoff." According to Seltzer, "Winnipeg's [anarchist group] was the most active group, headed by the two Prosoff brothers, very able and active until the 1950s. They had a department store." Cited in Paul Avrich, *Anarchist Voices: An Oral History of Anarchism in America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995, p. 329.
50. Rocker, for example, recorded in his memoirs that while in Winnipeg in 1913 "I stayed with comrade Prasow and his wife, whom I had known as a young girl in our London movement." Rudolf Rocker, *The London Years*, p. 137.
 51. Chiel, *The Jews in Manitoba*, pp. 125 -128.
 52. Goldman's critique of the Russian Revolution of 1917 had just been published in 1922 under the title *My Disillusionment in Russia*. According to Goldman, Prasow did not wish to jeopardize relations with the Communists in Winnipeg, and in the words of Moritz and Moritz Goldman came to view him as "disappointingly sympathetic to the Bolsheviks." See Moritz & Moritz, pp. 65 - 71.
 53. Sigfús Benedicsson was dropped as a Winnipeg contact and "agent" relatively quickly after May 1907, whereas Prasow continued in that capacity at least as long as the "agent" list was published in *Mother Earth*. Unfortunately, the final issue containing this distribution list was printed a year later in Vol. III, No. 3 (May 1908), so the duration of Prasow's tenure as "agent" for *Mother Earth* is unknown. Given his ongoing friendship and political association with Goldman until at least her 1927 visit, it is plausible that Prasow continued to act as a Winnipeg "agent" for *Mother Earth* until the magazine's demise in 1917.
 54. See, for example, EG to Peter Kropotkin, 31 May 1907, In Falk et. al. eds., *Emma Goldman: A Documentary History of the American Years: Volume 2*, p. 228.
 55. Richman, J., "The International Anarchist Conference," *Mother Earth*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (May 1907), p. 157.
 56. For example, Goldman and Max Baginski argued against what they considered a false dichotomy promulgated by many of the participants of the Amsterdam conference between the individualism of Ibsen and collectivism of Kropotkin. In her autobiography, Goldman wrote: "We held that anarchism does not involve a choice between Kropotkin and Ibsen; it embraces both." Goldman, *Living My Life*, Vol. 1, p. 402.
 57. See, for example, Drinnon, *Rebel in Paradise* and Alice Wexler, *Emma Goldman in America*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1984.
 58. During her six days in Winnipeg, there were only two brief references to indigenous peoples in the three mainstream dailies. The first was a short article calling for increased funding for "the physical and moral training of the Indians;" "To Train the Indians," *Manitoba Free Press*, 10 April 1907. The second was a general opinion piece comparing the British and U.S. "civilizing" missions in which the U.S. (unlike Britain) was alleged to have made "a mess" of both "national colonization" and the "pacification or control of primitive peoples." The Anglophile author smugly concluded that "The White Man's Burden is easier to discuss than to assume." See "The White Man's Burden," *Winnipeg Telegram*, 10 April 1907.
 59. Goldman, Emma, "On the Road," *Mother Earth*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (May 1907), p. 133.
 60. For an elaboration of the use of the term "ethnic cleansing" and its application to a North American settler-colonial context, see Paul Burrows, "The St. Peter's Reserve 'Removal' as a Case Study of Ethnic Cleansing," unpublished paper presented to the Fort Garry Lectures Graduate Student Conference, Winnipeg, April 2007. For a similar interpretation in a North American indigenous context, see Theda Perdue & Michael Green, *The Cherokee Nation and the Trail of Tears*. New York: Viking, 2007, p. 42.
 61. Local media coverage in Winnipeg and Selkirk related to the St. Peter's Reserve had increased since the 1906 - 1907 Royal Commission, under the jurisdiction of Chief Justice Hector Howell, to look into reserve land "disputes," largely on behalf of non-Indian claimants. Coverage increased in the Fall of 1907 with the fraudulent "surrender" of the entire "reserve" by an unpopular, unaccountable, and thoroughly bought-off Band Council. For example, see "Land Claims Settled After Thirty Years: Chief Justice Howell Has Handed in His Report on St. Peter's Reserve Land Case," *Winnipeg Telegram*, 8 April 1908; and "St. Peter's Land Claims Settled," *Manitoba Free Press*, 8 April 1908. For an overview of the St. Peter's "removal," see the unpublished report commissioned by the Treaty and Aboriginal Rights and Research Centre: Tyler, Wright & Daniel Limited, *The Illegal Surrender of the St. Peter's Reserve*. Winnipeg: T.A.R.R. Centre of Manitoba, 1979 and 1983.
 62. "Observations and Comments," *Mother Earth*, Vol. 2, No. 5 (July 1907), p. 207.
 63. See Tyler et. al., *The Illegal Surrender of the St. Peter's Reserve* for specifics about the role of land speculators in that case. For government efforts to undermine successful Indian agriculture, see Sarah Carter, *Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserve Farmers and Governmental Policy*. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), p. 112, and Leo Waisberg & Tim Holzkamm, "A Tendency to Discourage Them From Cultivating," *Ethnohistory* 40 (No. 2, Spring 1993).
 64. See Burrows, "Anarchism, Colonialism, and Aboriginal Dispossession in the Canadian West" for further examples, and elaboration of this argument.
 65. Goldman, Emma, "The Situation in America: Amsterdam Report," *Mother Earth*, Vol. 2, No. 7 (September 1907), p. 272 - 273.
 66. Goldman, Emma, "The Condition of the Workers of America," *Torch of Anarchy* (October 18, 1895), pp. 75 - 77, Reprinted in Candace Falk, Barry Pateman, & Jessica Moran eds., *Emma Goldman: A Documentary History of the American Years: Volume 1: Made For America, 1890 - 1901*. Berkeley & L.A.: University of California Press, 2003, pp. 229 - 230. Also, Emma Goldman, "A Woman Anarchist: Emma Goldman Teaches Anarchy to 250 Laboring People," *The Pittsburg Leader* (22 November, 1896), p. 6, reprinted in Falk et. al. eds., *Emma Goldman: A Documentary History of the American Years*, p. 244. I would like to thank Bryan Palmer for first bringing these two Goldman quotes to my attention, and my dear friend Lorna Vettters at AK Press in Oakland for finding me the first volume of this important series (the libraries in Winnipeg did not have any copies). Thanks also to Jon Schledewitz and Gillian Roy for their gift of the second volume.
 67. Goldman, *Living My Life*, pp. 431 - 432.
 68. For numerous examples, see Burrows, "Anarchism, Colonialism, and Aboriginal Dispossession in the Canadian West."
 69. Goldman's "unpopular" convictions related to her pioneering role in the realm of women's rights, free love, and birth control, not to mention her uncompromising criticism of the Russian Revolution from a *working-class* perspective (especially after the suppression of the Kronstadt *soviet* in 1921), as well as her insistence that rights are not conferred by the ballot nor by getting the "right people" into power, but by ceaseless and uncompromising direct action on the part of ordinary people.
 70. In Winnipeg alone there was a collective café on Cumberland Ave. called "Emma G's" during the late 1980s and early 1990s, and more recently, in 1995 the entire building at 91 Albert Street in the city's historic Old Market district was dedicated to Emma Goldman. For the latter building, which continues to promote worker-run collectives and radical politics, see the Old Market Autonomous Zone website at: <http://www.a-zone.org>. In Toronto, Who's Emma was a long-lasting anarchist bookstore and infoshop in Kensington Market.
 71. McCormack, A. Ross, *Reformers, Rebels, and Revolutionaries: The Western Canadian Radical Movement, 1899 - 1999*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977, p. 113.
 72. Goldman garnered letters of support from workers and leftists in 1907 (see footnote 25 above), and subsequent visits, such as "Is it true," *The Voice* (17 April, 1908). On her third visit to Winnipeg in November 1908, a formal public debate was organized between Goldman and two local Socialists (J. D. Houston and W. H. Stebbings).

Billed as “the Event of the Year” in an advertisement in *The Voice*, the debaters were asked to address the following resolution: “Resolved that Anarchism and not Socialism will solve the Social Problem.” The event was held at the Selkirk Hall (Logan Ave. & Stanley St.) on Tuesday, 1 December 1908, with an admission price of 25 cents. See “Real Debate” advertisement in *The Voice* (27 November 1908). Also see “J. Houston is First Socialist Candidate,” *Winnipeg Telegram*, 2 April 1908.

73. Doug Smith’s biography of Joe Zuken, for example, makes brief mention of Goldman’s 1907 visit as indicative of Winnipeg’s radical milieu, though anarchism is not otherwise discussed in the narrative as a formative influence upon Zuken’s life and politics. Doug Smith, *Joe Zuken: Citizen and Socialist* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1990), p. 14. Similarly, at the September 2001 “Jewish Radicalism in Winnipeg” Conference, Roland Penner spoke of his parents’ meeting at a 1907 “reception” for Goldman with an element of vicarious pride, but anarchism was otherwise absent, and prominent anarchists (such as Fieve Simkin) were not referred to as such. It should be noted that Penner’s own accounts differ as to the precise year and nature of this “reception.” His more recent memoirs tentatively suggest a “meeting” at the Trades Hall on 31 March 1908 as the date and location in question. However, this was not an informal “reception,” but a public talk entitled “What Anarchism Really Stands For.” See Penner, “Personal Perspective on Rose Penner,” p. 123, as well as Roland Penner, *A Glowing Dream: A Memoir*. Winnipeg: J. Gordon Shillingford Publishing, 2007, pp. 18, 97, and 234n7. For information about Goldman’s 31 March 1908 lecture, see “Emma Goldman to Arrive Today: Anarchist Queen Left Minneapolis Yesterday Afternoon for Winnipeg,” *Winnipeg Telegram*, 31 March 1908, p. 1, along with an advertisement for the talk itself in the entertainment section of the same issue, as well as “Emma Holds Forth—Addresses a Bumper Crowd in Trades Hall—Talked Interestingly,” *Winnipeg Telegram*, 1 April 1908. For a relatively lengthy reference to one of Goldman’s 1908 visits as indicative of a pre-General Strike milieu, see Donald Avery, “The Radical Alien and the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919.” In Laurel S. Macdowell & Ian Radforth eds., *Canadian Working-Class History*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars’ Press, 2006, 3rd edition, p. 219.

74. See, for example, Bumsted’s entry for Simkin in *Dictionary of Manitoba Biography*, p. 228. Chiel devoted a number of pages to Simkin, and his critical role in establishing and maintaining *Der Canader Yid*, and *Dos Yiddishe Vort*. But Simkin’s anarchist views were nowhere acknowledged. Chiel, *The Jews in Manitoba*, pp. 125 - 128. Also, Abella, *A Coat of Many Colours*, p. 124. Harry Gutkin’s overview of Jewish immigrant life in the Canadian West (*Journey Into Our Heritage*) also makes mention of Simkin’s important role, without mentioning his anarchist perspective—though elsewhere Gutkin has made clear this aspect of Simkin’s ideology. Gutkin, *Journey Into Our Heritage*, p. 179; Harry Gutkin, “The Radical Influence in Jewish Community Organizations.” In Daniel Stone ed., *Jewish Radicalism in Winnipeg, 1905 - 1960*. Winnipeg: Jewish Heritage Centre of Western Canada, 2002, pp. 34 - 35. Roland Penner’s recent book of memoirs is one of the rare works that acknowledges Simkin’s anarchism, though even this is strangely minimized in a footnote as being merely an “ideological” commitment. See Penner, *A Glowing Dream*, p.236n7.
75. For a discussion of some of the structural forces and triggers behind the labour revolts of 1919, see Gregory S. Kealey, “1919: The Canadian Labour Revolt,” *Labour/Le Travail* 13 (Spring 1984), pp. 11 - 44.
76. For details of a formal debate with Houston and Stebbings scheduled for 1 December 1908 see endnote 72 above.
77. The Anarchist branch (local # 564) of the Arbeiter Ring remained on the *Mother Earth* mailing list until the final days of the magazine in 1917, as did a number of individual supporters in Winnipeg and southern Manitoba, including M. Aronson (171 James Street), M. Cirulnikoff (775 Portage Avenue), Leon Litin (365 Manitoba Avenue), William Roby (Deerhorn, Manitoba), and A. Rosenthal (287 Salter Street, Salter Block, Suite 2). See *Mother Earth* mailing list, 1917, Emma Goldman Papers, UC Berkeley. Thanks to Barry Pateman, Associate Editor of the Emma Goldman Papers, for all his supportive correspondence and for providing me with these details about the mailing list.
78. Rocker visited and lectured in Winnipeg on at least three separate occasions: April - May 1913, November 1927, and February - March 1934.



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Public Service Broadcasting and Winnipeg Listeners in the 1930s

by Mary Vipond
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MTS Allstream Inc.

Musicians in the CKY radio studio, circa 1930.

Radio broadcasting began in Canada in the early 1920s under the auspices of private enterprise. A mixture of department stores, newspapers, electrical retailers and entrepreneurs established and built up about eighty stations across the country by the end of the medium's first decade. From a very early date, these stations were also financed by advertisers who sponsored programs that publicized their wares. A similar process occurred in the United States, where by the end of the 1920s two networks, CBS and NBC, were linking stations across the country (and into Canada) by telephone lines to increase the size of the audience and thereby amortize the cost of

high quality programs. As the industry grew on this basis, it became increasingly important for the advertisers to gather information about the effectiveness of their promotions. How many people had heard the ads? Which were the most popular programs? What were the ages, incomes and gender of the listeners? The first national audience/consumer survey was conducted in the United States in 1928; by the end of the 1930s, such surveys had become standard tools of the radio and advertising industries.¹ The information produced about listener preferences was of much contemporary public interest as well, and, when used with caution, it has been useful to American historians

of the media in their quest to understand the radio listeners of the past.

In Canada, unfortunately for broadcasting historians, systematic national listener surveys were not attempted until the early 1940s.² Nevertheless, there were three surveys undertaken in the early 1930s which, while local rather than national in focus and methodologically imperfect in various ways, are helpful to those trying to examine the history of Canadian radio from the point of view of the listeners. Two of these, studies of radio ownership and program preferences in London, Ontario, were conducted by undergraduate business students at the University of Western Ontario in 1932 and 1937 respectively.³ The third, the focus of this article, was a more mature analysis, for it was carried out by a man who had been involved in Canadian broadcasting from its inception. The listener preference survey conducted by D. R. C. (Darby) Coats for CKY Winnipeg in the spring of 1936 is of particular interest because it occurred at a moment of transformation in Canadian broadcasting.

For a variety of reasons, including the limited resources of Canadian private stations, the lack of lucrative national advertising contracts, and the consequent inability to finance a national radio network that could rival the appeal of the American networks, the government of R. B. Bennett in 1932 created a public broadcasting body, the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission (CRBC), charged with creating programs, constructing a coast-to-coast network, and regulating the private stations that continued to exist alongside the new public broadcaster. Lacking the funds to set up more than a handful of its own stations, the CRBC relied on affiliation arrangements with previously established stations like CKY to carry its programs across the country. In its first years the Commission struggled to establish its legitimacy and authority in an environment hitherto dominated by private ownership, advertising sponsorship, and popular entertaining programs. By November 1936, its accumulated managerial and political problems were so great that the Liberal government of Mackenzie King disbanded it in favour of a better-structured public broadcaster, the CBC. The CKY survey thus was conducted at a moment when the public broadcasting experiment lay in the balance. A close analysis of the results can help us understand not only what listeners in southern Manitoba thought about CRBC and CKY programs but more generally what they expected from their radio sets. Moreover, such an analysis can tell us much about the mindset of Darby Coats, the manager of the station, and what he believed to be the mission of

public service broadcasting. The survey is a rare and fruitful resource in Canadian, and Manitoba, radio history.

CKY Winnipeg was owned and operated by the Manitoba Telephone System (MTS). It had been set up in 1923 primarily out of a desire to protect the revenues of the MTS from radio competition.⁴ Despite its government ownership, CKY's management never articulated a public service mission for the station. It functioned in the 1920s much as any private station of the time, programming a mixture of popular entertainment and some educational features with the simple goal of breaking even. The station was financed by a combination of advertising revenues and, by a special arrangement with Ottawa, by part of the dollar-a-year radio licence fee payments of residents of Manitoba. Also by special arrangement with Ottawa, CKY had a veto—which it exercised—on the building of any other radio stations in the province, although James L. Richardson set up a transmitter for station CJRW just across the border in Saskatchewan with studios in Winnipeg to try to evade that ban.

With the creation of the CRBC, CKY became a basic affiliate on the network, which meant that it was paid to broadcast some or all of the CRBC's programs. Because of its public ownership, its relatively good facilities and its powerful 15,000-watt transmitter, CKY not only carried but produced CRBC programming. During the 1933 - 1936 period, CKY's evening schedule comprised almost exclusively CRBC network programming, and it produced about 10 per cent of the CRBC's programs, third (albeit a distant third) behind Montreal and Toronto. While some of these programs were for the national network, many of them went just to the western provinces to cover time-zone incompatibilities. For these services to the CRBC, CKY was paid \$30,000 per year by 1936, the most allotted to any affiliate.

One consequence of this involvement with the CRBC is that during the early 1930s CKY increasingly became identified, both to others and itself, as a public broadcaster. Certainly, it still had some characteristics of a private station. While it carried CRBC programs in the evenings and on Sundays (the only periods the network operated), it still created about twelve hours a day of its own programming, most of it the standard private-station fare of records, church services, local entertainers, and so on. Most of that programming was commercially sponsored—in other words it was financed by selling audiences to advertisers, with all the consequences for programming policy and managerial decision-making that that entails. Nevertheless, the prime-time evening hours were now given over to non-sponsored CRBC network programming and it is clear that by 1936, the station's managers, Darby Coats in particular, were feeling their way towards an overall conception of the station as a public-service broadcaster, with a responsibility towards audiences that differed from that of the purely commercial privately owned stations.

CKY, by virtue of its early establishment, sound financing, powerful transmitter and good programming,

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was by far the dominant station in Winnipeg and southern Manitoba in the early 1930s (it also had what was in effect a repeater station, CKX, in Brandon). This did not mean, however, that Winnipeggers had no other radio choices. The MTS's monopoly ended with the creation of the CRBC; after considerable manoeuvring James L. Richardson moved his border station (re-named CJRC) to Winnipeg, although it had only 1000 watts of power, a poor frequency, and more limited hours than CKY. More importantly, a Winnipeg resident who owned a good radio receiver could hear the large American stations from across the border fairly well, despite some problems with static and fading. WGN Chicago and WCCO Minneapolis-St. Paul came in loud and clear after 8 p.m., and KFYZ Bismarck, an NBC outlet, was popular enough with Winnipeg listeners that its programs were listed daily in the *Free Press*.

In this context, what did listeners in Winnipeg and southern Manitoba think of CKY and its programs? The 1936 listener preference survey does not provide complete or transparent answers to this question, but it is nevertheless illuminating. One difficulty is that the survey was not based on a random sample, but on mail-in responses. Moreover, although it engendered some 3000 letters mainly from listeners in Winnipeg and surrounding rural areas, the original letters have not survived. The source of the analysis to follow is a report on the survey, including excerpts from the letters, provided by program director Darby Coats to his boss, MTS Commissioner James E. Lowry. The survey does not give a full picture of Winnipeg listening, because Coats wanted to know what listeners thought of CKY—the *other* stations people listened to (and we have no idea in what numbers) are present in the survey only as shadows—although as very strong, or perhaps one should say dark, shadows. Finally, a mail-in response is necessarily biased toward the more literate, the English-speakers, and, if the occasional street-name identification is any guide, the better-off.

D. R. P. Coats was an Englishman who immigrated to Canada before the First World War to work with the Pacific Cable Board.⁵ During the war he trained wireless operators at the Marconi training school in Montreal. Perhaps his greatest claim to fame in Canadian radio history is that in 1919 and 1920 he was in charge of transforming the Marconi experimental radio station XWA in Montreal into CFCF, Canada's first real broadcasting station. He moved to CKY Winnipeg as its first manager in 1923, but in 1927 took over the management of James Richardson's Moose Jaw station, CJRM. By the mid-1930s, however, he was back with CKY as program director, and it is from this period that the survey emanates. Coats was thus someone (and he was not alone in this) who came from the technical end of radio, and went into programming almost by default. His roots were in radio as private enterprise, and in 1928 he in fact strongly opposed the creation of a public broadcasting body, telling the Aird Royal Commission that if Canada adopted public broadcasting he would be heading south.⁶ By 1936, however, he had accepted CKY's



University of Winnipeg Archives, WCPI, Winnipeg Press Club Collection, 39616.

Broadcast pioneer Douglas "Darby" R. P. Coats (c1892-1973) worked at CKY radio in Winnipeg during the 1920s and '30s.

status as a public broadcaster, and was in the process of trying to discover how a balance could be found between commerce, entertainment, education, and public service; between CRBC national network executives, his MTS boss J. E. Lowry, the demands of advertisers, and the desires of the local listeners.

The CKY listener survey was unabashedly a public relations gimmick. It was, according to Coats, conducted not only to help the station gather information about particular program preferences but also with the goal of "developing goodwill by indicating a desire to learn what listeners want, thus correcting a prevalent impression that publicly owned broadcasting systems are not responsive to the wishes of the audience"—in other words to try to counteract the image of public broadcasting as elitist, bureaucratic, centralized and costly.⁷ Throughout the survey period, a brief summary of the day's results was broadcast each night at 9:00 p.m., during which the announcer had a "heart-to-heart" chat with the audience and, according to Coats, "endeavoured to convey a feeling of frankness and sincerity."⁸ The explicitly stated purpose of the survey was to ask listeners to get involved, to make suggestions, to air their criticisms—in other words to become something other than passive

receptacles for whatever station management and Ottawa bureaucrats decided to offer them. Another motive for the survey, and one Coats had been concerned about for years, was to encourage “a more tolerant attitude on the part of listeners.”⁹ Coats hoped that by learning about the varied taste preferences of others, listeners would be less critical of the station when it broadcast programs they did not care for. To encourage frankness, the correspondents were guaranteed complete anonymity.

But the CKY survey was also something loftier than a mere public relations gimmick. Darby Coats, despite, or perhaps because of, his years of experience in the radio industry was, it appears, genuinely struggling with defining his station’s mission during a period of transition, and was anxious to know where he stood with Manitoba audiences as part of that struggle. For Coats, then, it was not the number of CKY listeners that was at issue, it was their desires and their resistances.

Australian cultural studies scholar Ien Ang has argued in her influential book *Desperately Seeking the Audience* that broadcasters view audiences as objects to be categorized and conquered.¹⁰ Using an analysis based in part on the work of Michel Foucault, Ang argues that because broadcasters need to reconstitute their audiences on a daily and hourly basis they desperately develop survey data to gain knowledge of and therefore power over their listeners and viewers. Commercial broadcasters “make” their audiences into consumers, public broadcasters into citizens—but both see themselves in a struggle with “the recalcitrant other,” never perfectly known and therefore never perfectly controlled. For public broadcasters, the task is made more difficult by the different mission. Commercial broadcasters, at a certain level, only need to know how many people in what demographic categories have tuned in in order to sell the time to advertisers. Public broadcasters, on the other hand, have a more qualitative task: they want, or should want, to know not only how many listeners they have, but what they are learning. Public broadcasters thus self-consciously assign to themselves a greater responsibility and a greater authority in making judgements of program quality and service than private broadcasters do. But this does not abrogate their need to try to understand their audiences—for how else can program criteria be developed or assessed? As we shall see, these were precisely the issues Coats was wrestling with as he gathered his sample and wrote his report.

Whatever the motives behind the CKY survey, listeners seem to have responded to it in all sincerity. The survey was conducted by asking listeners to send in a ballot on which they made two lists: those programs they heard on CKY that were their favourites, and those they most disliked. The survey was designed, it may be noted, to elicit

“preferences.” It was based on the prevailing assumption that radio listening was all about individual likes and dislikes, tastes and choices, that the listeners were the “masters of the air.”¹¹ The survey respondents were also invited to do something more, however. Simultaneously with the poll, Coats created a contest that involved writing a letter on the subject “What I Would Like From My Radio.” Everyone who participated in the survey was guaranteed a lovely souvenir—a night picture of CKY’s transmitter in Headingly. Those who took part in the contest could win one of twelve prizes, the top three being radio sets donated by their manufacturers.

Contrary to Coats’s expectations, many listeners sent in letters, often quite lengthy, rather than just ballots. The response seems to indicate that listeners were indeed searching for ways to let their opinions be known, to replace their passivity with agency, to contest the authority of those who determined what they heard on their radios. Many of the letter-writers praised the station fulsomely for conducting the survey. A Norwood man wrote, for example: “I believe this is the first good step forward your station has taken and I hope it will make you realize that there is a public to whom an organization of your kind should cater . . .”¹² A Winnipeg listener offered a rather backhanded compliment: “CKY has itself taken a step which will increase its popularity, by forsaking its

high and mighty attitude and consulting its listeners. . . .” Others wrote about having had to “suffer in silence” up to now, about programs having previously been “rammed down one’s throat,” about being left to “curse in silence.” Not very deeply hidden under the surface, it is clear, was a real resentment that radio stations in general and CKY in particular seemed to be neglecting their audience’s needs and concerns, and a great satisfaction that something was finally being done about it.

The survey induced a total of 3,123 letters, of which approximately 2,000 came from Winnipeg, 1,000 from rural Manitoba, and the remaining small number from border areas of Ontario, Saskatchewan and the United States. The program preference rankings were produced by subtracting the negative from the positive votes (see table on next page). The programs listed included anything broadcast by CKY, whether it was a live local production, records or transcriptions, or came (live) from the CRBC network.

Simply taking the totals, the number one favourite program of the respondents was “The Youngbloods of Beaver Bend,” a CKY-produced farm serial broadcast to the CRBC Western network on Monday nights, which received 1,226 positive votes. “The Youngbloods” also received 161 negative votes, however, which meant that it ended up in second place in the final ranking. Number one overall, receiving 1,160 positive votes and only 11 negative, was the

The explicitly stated purpose of the survey was to ask listeners to get involved, to make suggestions, to air their criticisms—in other words to become something other than passive receptacles for whatever station management and Ottawa bureaucrats decided to offer them.

CKY Listener Preference Survey: The Top Ten

Source: Excerpted from D. R. P. Coats, "CKY Listener Preference Survey."

Program	Source	Type	Pro	Con	Total	Rank
News	Local & CRBC	news	1160	11	1149	1
Youngbloods of Beaver Bend	Local to CRBC	drama	1226	161	1065	2
Let's Go a-Visiting	Local	talks	908	11	897	3
British Variety	Local	records	879	74	805	4
Bridget and Pat	Local	comedy	942	157	785	5
Prof. H.L. Stewart	CRBC network	talks	728	12	716	6
Let's Go to the Music Hall	CRBC network	variety	768	70	698	7
No Mournful Numbers	Local to CRBC	variety	771	193	578	8
Prof. Jackson	Local	talks	529	41	488	9
Church Services	Local	religion	527	51	476	10
Hockey Games	Local & CRBC	sports	573	97	476	10

news, more specifically the CRBC national news broadcast heard in Winnipeg each night at 9:45 p.m. Running down the list of the top ten, the other most popular programs were "Let's Go a-Visiting," a local travel talk; the British variety hour, consisting of records of music hall performers; "Bridget and Pat," a locally-produced domestic comedy with Irish dialogue; the weekly CRBC news commentary from Dr. H. L. Stewart, a philosophy professor at Dalhousie University; "Let's Go to the Music Hall," a CRBC variety program from Toronto; "No Mournful Numbers," also a musical variety program, produced in Winnipeg for the CRBC network; local Professor V. W. Jackson's long-standing nature talks program; and, tied for tenth, the more generic "church services" and "hockey games." All told, six of the top ten programs were from the CRBC; so, however, were three of the bottom ten (the network musical shows "Hands Across the Border" and "Ici Paris," and the Winnipeg-produced comic "Gentleman Jim").

These totals, then, although they must be taken with several grains of salt due to errors in self-reporting, tell us which CKY programs listeners liked the best. But what of the larger issue the survey addressed—what did they *want* from their radios? For answers to that question it is necessary to go beyond the numerical listings to the excerpts from the letters sent in to Coats.

First, it seems that the listeners wanted more of what North American radio had offered them from the beginning. They wanted diversity, novelty, "pep," humour, and professional quality—and they accepted advertising as a necessary evil to pay for all of this. Usually these desires were expressed negatively. So, for example, a respondent from Eriksdale criticized CKY's announcers: "It would be nice to hear a little more life in the announcing and not so much of that correct Oxford English. It sounds a little stale over the radio. A little slang word here and there would go a long way in peppering up the program"¹³ A Winnipeg letter-writer added, "CKY is sadly in need of some real good snappy continuity writers"¹⁴ Others felt that the drama programs produced by both CKY and the CRBC were

inadequately rehearsed, "amateurish and overdone."¹⁵ Despite "The Youngbloods'" overall popularity it came in for particularly negative comments, like this one from someone from the town of Holland: "The greatest piffle I ever heard. Thank heaven the farmers I lived among for twenty-two years neither talked nor acted like that..." or this from a Somerset listener: "For goodness sake get rid of the No-Goods of Boring Bend as quickly as you can. That is a case where a doctor might employ euthanasia"¹⁶ Another frequent complaint was about poorly trained announcers whose pronunciation of words like "Feb-uary," "Dubba-u," "Noos," and "Sun-dee" apparently left a lot to be desired.¹⁷ Listeners also objected to the CRBC/CKY practice (modelled on that of the "tight-laced" BBC—Coats's words) of maintaining the announcers' anonymity. They preferred, they attested, the American practice by which announcers became known personalities, individuals one felt comfortable inviting into one's home every evening, but who also possessed a certain identity as stars.¹⁸

[Listeners] wanted diversity, novelty, "pep," humour, and professional quality—and they accepted advertising as a necessary evil to pay for all of this.

Of all the programs on CKY, those most disparaged were the talks featuring the "deathless monotone[s]" of university lecturers. "Mumbled words and halting sentences spoil any subject, however interesting," a resident of Maryland St. commented, and one from Wellington Crescent added "I would humbly suggest that our ... professors take a course in public speaking or hand their manuscripts over to those who can deliver them so that one can at least distinguish the words."¹⁹ To be fair, it was not just professors whose speech habits were condemned;

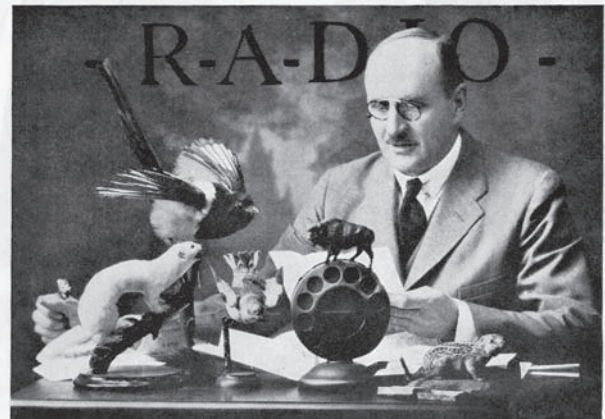
another Winnipeg resident suggested that the station should “disbar permanently all members of the City Council and Legislature; all Aldermen, School Trustees and school children; all grain and stock market reporters, poetry spouters; ... all church services and Sunday speakers with messages; ... and all social, educational and economical uplifters.” Coats remarked drily to his boss: “I gather that this listener does not like radio talks.”²⁰ In fact, however, the writer did not say he disliked all talks, only the type of authoritative talks programming, heavy on officialdom, that the CRBC tended to schedule.

One subject that elicited considerable comment was the use of advertising on CKY. The station did not carry ads during the evening network programs, but did so as much as possible in its other broadcasting hours. The survey responses indicated that in general, listeners accepted advertising as the normal way by which radio stations financed themselves. Coats’s summary of the correspondence about advertising concluded that “the objections [to advertising] refer not so much to the principle ... as to the nature of some of the advertisements, the amount in proportion to music and other entertainment, and to the times at which advertising announcements were broadcast.”²¹ The excerpts he included in his report seem to support his statement, for a number of letter-writers voiced their acceptance of advertising as both necessary and normal for broadcasting (and as reducing the cost of CKY to the taxpayer), but objected to its crudeness, ubiquity and especially to patent medicine ads for liver and kidney preparations. “Our luncheon and dinner hour [have become] an unendurable advertising nightmare,” one Winnipeg woman complained, and another wrote: “I hate to hear my internal organs discussed while I am eating my meals.” A Walker Ave. woman put it more colourfully, simultaneously evoking her feeling that she was part of a community of listeners: “If there are any saucepans in the house to be scraped, we have them scraped when that high-pressure, blatant, bally-hoo patent medicine comes on, and I just imagine thousands and thousands of saucepans all over the country being scraped at the same time.”

While advertising was a fixture on all radio stations, some of the correspondents were aware that as a CRBC affiliate CKY had at least the potential and possibly the responsibility to reduce its commercialism. Several reminded the station managers that it was *their* job to control both the quantity and quality of the ads; one said that he had switched from listening to CJRC to CKY because of excessive advertising. Only one, however, went so far as to say that “If I am ever to get the best out of radio it will only be when the advertising element is entirely eliminated and the cost of the service is provided by the public treasury.” “Then,” he added, “I shall be paying the piper and will have the right to call the tune.” Generally, however, respondents to the CKY survey, while grumbling about ads, were sufficiently acclimatized to the North American commercial radio model that they accepted them as a necessary evil on public as well as private stations. Very few

thought to answer the question “What do I want from my radio?” with the reply: “Uninterrupted programming.”

There are some common themes to be found in these and other excerpts from the letters. The most obvious is the call for more professionalism. One may assume that those who criticized CKY’s (and the CRBC’s) drama productions as amateurish were comparing them with the polished serials available on the U.S. networks, that those who disliked university professors’ mumblings and gruntings were comparing them to Lowell Thomas, H. V. Kaltenborn and other experienced American commentators, that those who wished for a sports announcer who wasn’t illiterate were thinking of Graham McNamee and other American star sportscasters. Winnipeg mayor Ralph Webb, a promoter of the rival station CJRC, reported in 1935 that he had been told by many Manitobans that “they were getting very tired of CKY as they [*sic*] did not measure up to the standards of American broadcasting stations and, therefore, they were forced to go to the Bismarck Station for what they called ‘good programs’ rather than to our own Commission programs.”²² Even those who criticized the advertisements wished for American ones, as, for example, the listener who



PROF. V. W. JACKSON, LECTURER OF NATURAL HISTORY

OUTLINE OF A TYPICAL WEEK'S BROADCAST FROM CKY

SUNDAY

7:00 p.m., Service from Grace United Church; 9:00 p.m., Imperial Oil Hour, Chain from Toronto.

DAILY EXCEPT SUNDAY

9:30 a.m., Grain Market Reports; 10:45 a.m., Vancouver Stocks, Dingwall Time, Weather Report; 11:30 a.m., Grain Market Reports; 11:45 a.m., Lunch Hour Program, News, Mining Report, etc.; 12:30 p.m., M.A.C. Lecture; 12:45 p.m., Manitoba Wheat Pool; 1:00 p.m., Musical Program; 1:45 p.m., Grain Market Reports; 4:00 p.m., Musical Program and lecture; 4:45 p.m., News, Mining Report.

MONDAY

8:15 p.m., Music and Lecture by Young Men's Section Board of Trade; 8:30 p.m., Vapex, Half Hour of Music; 9:00 p.m., Imperial Tobacco Co. Program, Chain from Toronto; 10:00 p.m., “Our Music Shelves” Feature.

TUESDAY

7:00 p.m., Musical Program; 7:05 p.m., Talk by Industrial Development Board; 7:10 p.m., Musical Program; 7:15 p.m., Shubert Fur Market Service; 7:30 p.m., Allis-Chalmers Program; 8:00 p.m., Columbus Hour of Music.

WEDNESDAY

7:00 p.m., Children's Pleasant Half Hour by Uncle Fred; 7:30 p.m., Nature Study Talk by Prof. V. W. Jackson; 8:00 p.m., Radio Bridge Game; 8:30 p.m., Speech by R. B. Bennett of Conservative Association of Manitoba; 9:30 p.m., Peerless Laundry Program; 10:00 p.m., Family Night Feature Program.

THURSDAY

7:00 p.m., Canadian Eveready Hour, Chain from Toronto; 8:00 p.m., Neilson Chocolate Hour, Chain from Toronto.

SATURDAY

8:00 p.m., Lecture by Winnipeg Health League; 8:30 p.m., Old Country Football Results; 8:35 p.m., Studio Dance Orchestra.

Engraved and Printed by STOVEL COMPANY LIMITED, Winnipeg, Manitoba

Archives of Manitoba, Government Records 22, page 15.

A typical CKY broadcast week included a natural history lecture by Professor V. W. Jackson of the University of Manitoba.

commented that CKY's advertising was "generally not done as neatly as on Jack Benny's program."²³ The broader point is that the CRBC generally and CKY specifically were faced with a near-impossible task, especially given their scarce resources – to simultaneously measure up, yet provide an alternative, to the most advanced radio industry in the world.

This speaks to a second general point, namely the frequency with which listeners registered their annoyance with the monotony and repetition of CKY's programs. One respondent complained that "the programs [are] somewhat like a boarding house [meal], in that we [know] exactly what to expect from day to day and from hour to hour"; "We get the same thing week after week, month after month," another groaned.²⁴ Again, these criticisms involved an implicit comparison with the larger and richer American stations, which within the standard format of a well-loved show could provide a rich mix of new characters and new jokes, or new variants on the favourite old ones. Coats seemed to be sympathetic to these criticisms; his footnote comment was: "There is no doubt that some features, particularly those of the CRBC, are allowed to continue long after their popularity has waned, when the same performers are [then] put into a re-vamped show and served up like yesterday's meal warmed in the oven."²⁵ In sum, the clarion call was for more diversity, variety and professionalism on Canadian radio—all unfortunately dependent on more financial and human resources than either CKY alone or the CRBC network as a whole could muster in a large and sparsely populated country in the midst of the Depression. One Winnipeg resident vented his spleen: "Well, you asked for it and it has been smoltering [*sic*] for a long time. Such a lousy station!—And the programs!—I guess the reason your programs are below par is that the pay to the artists is below the minimum of the Dominion Wage Law."²⁶ The challenge of attracting listeners who had regular access to the best of American broadcasting, and for whom it was both the norm and the standard, was huge. A more reasonable complainant wrote in: "The Canadian Radio Commission seems to be trying to imitate the American programs without one thousandth of the capital behind it," and Coats agreed: "We should shun like the plague all imitations of American programs, not that we dislike them for many of them are splendid programs, of course, but the production of expensive shows is impossible in Canada at present." We should "learn to walk without stumbling before we break into a trot!", he added.²⁷

But there is another side to the survey results as well. Prior to the 1930s, Canadian stations like CKY were locally rooted, locally owned, and featured local performers—although those "localities" were for revenue and production reasons always cities and large towns. With the arrival of the CRBC, suddenly virtually all of CKY's prime time evening schedule was taken up with programs from Toronto, Montreal and various other distant metropolitan locations. While none of the survey respondents specifically remarked on this phenomenon,



Archives of Manitoba, Manitoba Telephone System Collection 2.

A radio transmitter towers over buildings in Brandon, January 1929.

their "wish list" of radio features clearly suggests that they found the station too disconnected from both their personal interests and the local community, particularly its rural component. Thus, for example, there were requests for more programs featuring beauty hints, sports, hobbies, manners, books, movies, recipes and household hints.²⁸ Rather than demanding more big shows from big stars, these letter-writers apparently felt that CKY should be supplying them with programs that were closely linked to their domestic lives and personal tastes and interests. There were also many calls for more programs featuring local children's choirs and instrumentalists, for a community sing-a-long program, for a series of local music and drama competitions and so on.²⁹ Mrs. Linda Hold of Charlesworth, a German immigrant, whose letter was the only one that Coats reproduced in its entirety (of which more later), not only asked for more German-language programs but offered to help arrange them by finding the performers.³⁰ All of these suggestions implied a desire for greater *involvement* with the radio station, for a sense that it truly was rooted in and connected to the home and to the community.

Many students of radio and radio history have argued that despite having different tastes and preferences, radio listeners constitute an imaginary community, held together by the sense of a shared experience of listening-in.³¹ Despite the testimony of the saucepan-scraper, the CKY

survey in some ways contradicts that argument. There seems instead to have been a sharp division in the CKY audience between those who called for more polished and professional programs and those who wanted programs both *by* and *about* Manitobans. To some extent, although not entirely, this split also ran along urban/rural lines. Thus the program scoring the very lowest on the ballot—minus 238 points—was the farm market report, which city dwellers found totally tedious.³² Urbanites were also very snide about lectures on agricultural topics and about country music. One commented: “There’s nothing quite as bad as a yodeller, unless, perhaps, two yodellers.”³³ Indeed, these complaints were so frequent that Coats recommended that market reports and agricultural talks should all be moved off CKY to the Brandon station. On the other side, rural listeners wanted CKY to take advantage of its access to telephone lines to go out into the towns and countryside for new programs. One suggestion, for example, was that a community-produced series on the history of Manitoba’s towns be developed; another was that resort dance bands be featured in the summer. Neither of these proposals, it may be hazarded, was apt to raise the level of polished professionalism on CKY’s schedule.

The most overt example in the report of listeners who contested CKY’s offerings and insisted on their right to have their own tastes recognized relates to this issue, and to old-time fiddler music. Coats wrote to his boss:

In reading the Survey letters, I was somewhat surprised at the small number of requests for Old Time programs. Some years ago, the rural mail would have brought requests for little else. I was wondering [about this] when a delegation came into the office with a petition, signed by approximately a thousand names. The petition ... read as follows: “We, the undersigned, consider we are unfairly dealt with in connection with the radio programmes. The radio hours are from 8:00 a.m. until 11:30 p.m. and practically all the music we get is the modern or so-called popular music. People forty years or over, who in most cases buy the radios and licenses, get very little good from them We consider one hour a day of good old time music by a real old timer’s orchestra such as Bob Goulet during the hours when the younger people are out would be appreciated by at least ninety per cent of the older people.”³⁴

While the petition was presented by two Winnipeg residents, and was phrased in terms of older versus younger listeners, it also represents a feeling that CKY was ignoring those with more traditional rural tastes. Those old-fashioned tastes, these petitioners suggested, around which

a sense of community had once been formed, could be—but were not being—fostered by the modern medium of radio. To some extent, then, this evidence suggests, people in southern Manitoba were still defining themselves by their geographical communities, rural and urban, and not as a like-minded “radio community.” Moreover, even the city dwellers expressed a desire for more Winnipeg performers and more personal-interest features. It is very important to note, then, that whether urban or rural, the respondents to the survey believed that radio could and should serve *them*. Against the attempt by the public broadcaster to establish an authoritative national voice, these listeners asked that it serve more truly as the voice of and for *the people*. In both cases, it is apparent, there existed the shared underlying assumption that radio has the power to shape both consciousness and society.

In the context of Canadian radio in the 1930s, the main distinction between the CRBC and the private stations was that while the latter were local, the Commission was primarily a national network. That CKY listeners

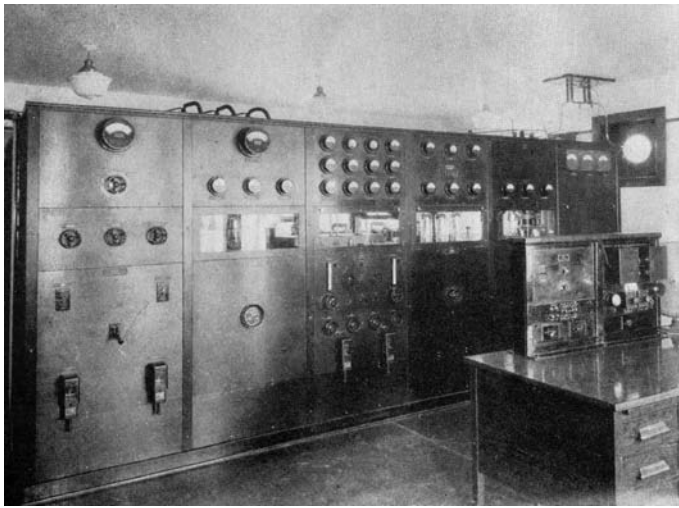
appreciated certain aspects of the CRBC’s offerings, such as the national newscasts, is evident from the poll results. But the more qualitative evidence also suggests that the CRBC had two big problems in terms of gaining credibility: its inability to provide high

quality entertaining network programs that in any way competed with what CBS and NBC had to offer; and its inability to provide locally-rooted, domestically-oriented programming that spoke and related to the everyday lives of the listeners. CKY, as a local station with long-standing roots in Manitoba, yet now a key affiliate of the national public network, was caught between mixed demands: its listeners wanted it to be two contradictory things simultaneously.

Coats’s report on the CKY survey was filled with annotations and comments for his boss, James Lowry. The program director used the occasion of the survey to ruminate on various topics of interest to him, and to push certain programming proposals. It is in these comments that one finds clues as to Coats’s own view of the mission of CKY. First and most importantly, he expressly stated that he considered CKY primarily a public rather than a private station. Endorsing complaints from listeners that sometimes their favourite non-sponsored shows were bumped by commercial programs, he wrote:

While recognizing that the costs of operating CKY must be met and that revenue is essential, such treatment of features known to interest a large number of listeners tends to suggest that profit rather than public service is our prime motive. This is all wrong, of course. Whatever owners of private stations may do, a publicly owned one

Urbanites were also very snide about lectures on agricultural topics and about country music. One commented: “There’s nothing quite as bad as a yodeller, unless, perhaps, two yodellers.”



Archives of Manitoba, Government Records 22, "C.K.Y. From Your Easy Chair" booklet.

CKY's 5,000-watt transmitter was shown in a promotional booklet "C.K.Y. From Your Easy Chair" around 1930.

must not raise doubts as to its purpose—it cannot do so without becoming vulnerable to attacks by opponents of public ownership.³⁵

He proposed, therefore, a scheme that would guarantee certain periods of the day for public service programs while still leaving plenty of room for the necessary commercials as well. More specifically, he agreed with the listeners who complained about advertising: "The profit motive has a strong tendency to lower broadcasting standards through the natural inclination on the part of broadcasters to accept material for its cash value rather than for the contribution it may make to the entertainment or enlightenment of the radio listeners," he told Lowry.³⁶ Coats could not and did not completely reject CKY's entertainment or revenue-generating function, but he did seek to establish its higher goals and its public service orientation more clearly.

Secondly, Coats indicated that as the director of a publicly owned station, he had a responsibility somewhat different from private station managers. One correspondent expressed concern that conducting such a survey implied "the foolish assumption that the customer is always right," to which Coats responded definitively: "The Survey was not intended as a 'popularity' contest to relieve us of the responsibility of using our judgment in selecting program material"³⁷ With respect to the criticisms of talks programs he added:

In my opinion, broadcasting performs its most important function in transmitting the spoken word Those who consider that broadcasting should function as nothing better than a form of variety entertainment show a lamentable lack of vision This does not mean that we are to make broadcasting the purveyor of dry-as-dust speeches. It is our task to overcome all [the] difficulties which

are involved in presenting talks on a wide variety of subjects in a highly interesting manner.³⁸

In other words, Coats's response to the multitude of complaints about the talks programs on CKY was not to cancel them, but to strive to improve their quality, and especially their presentation.³⁹ Nevertheless, given that virtually all the talks programs on the CRBC were offered by middle-class white men in positions of authority, Coats's endorsement suggests that he assumed that public service radio inhabited the (masculine) public sphere. Michele Hilmes has argued that in the United States in this period commercial broadcasting was perceived as "feminine"—most consumers and listeners being women—whereas public-service-oriented programming was masculinized. There is no reason to think that this did not also apply in Canada, particularly given that the CRBC left the field of daytime (women's) programming to the commercial stations.⁴⁰ It is not possible to do a gender analysis of the survey because Coats rarely identified the correspondents by name. Nevertheless, it may be noted that the types of programs most requested were in large part those usually offered in the daytime for women—recipes, beauty tips, and so on. Those seeking a more home- and community-rooted local emphasis may also have been disproportionately female.

Further to Coats's emphasis on talks programs, his decision to reproduce in full the letter of Mrs. Linda Hold, the immigrant correspondent mentioned earlier, was clearly based on her main theme—that through listening to talks on the radio she and her husband had not only successfully learned English, but had also integrated into Manitoba society, or, as she put it, become acquainted with "the land's peculiarities." As Coats told Lowry: "[This] is a letter we should remember whenever we may be tempted to neglect the "Spoken Word" in our programs



Archives of Manitoba, Government Records 22, "C.K.Y. From Your Easy Chair" booklet.

The CKY studio looked like a comfortable lounge, complete with potted plants, circa 1930.

and, perhaps, regard talks as not in keeping with radio as a variety show."⁴¹ Mrs. Hold's suggestion for more foreign language programs, however, was met with great caution by Coats; obviously too much of that kind of programming would abrogate the whole integrative mission.

In his newly-assumed role as a public broadcaster, then, Coats's inclination was not merely to amuse and entertain the largest possible number of listeners, as the private stations bragged they did, but to try to change listeners' habits and expectations of radio, to teach them to be more accepting of others, and of more educational programs. By 1936 he had adopted an authoritative role for himself as a broadcaster. While he did indeed want to understand the listeners' wishes and desires, he also accepted his responsibility to override them for what he believed to be the greater good.

As a key affiliate of the CRBC, CKY, like the national broadcaster, struggled to find a balance between its own authority and its credibility with listeners whose radio tastes had been conditioned since the early 1920s toward polished and popular entertainment, and who still had access to the offerings of private stations, both Canadian and American. There was little point in building and financing a public broadcasting body unless it offered some alternative to what the private stations broadcast. But on the other hand, if the public broadcasters' programs strayed too far from listener tastes and expectations, it would lose not only its audiences, but its political support, its financing, its legitimacy, and its authority.

At the time the CKY survey was conducted, the CRBC had been broadcasting a full program schedule on its national network for two and a half years; by the time Coats wrote his report, the King government had decided that there were so many problems with its administrative structure that it would be dismantled and replaced by the CBC. The CKY survey reveals that listeners, at least those who listened to this station, had not yet come to appreciate or accept Canada's first public broadcaster. While a tiny handful of survey respondents made mention of the public service responsibility of the station, the vast majority made it clear that they expected two things from their radios—high-quality entertainment and local roots. The CRBC was not seen to be offering either, and indeed was not in a position to do so. Any survey that relies on a mail-in response is apt to receive more lemons than laurels, but Coats's careful reading of the letters he received must have discouraged him. He achieved a greater understanding of his listeners, undoubtedly, but his power to use that knowledge to attract their support and interest was severely constrained. The fine balance between serving the public interest and satisfying the listeners eluded CKY's grasp in the mid-1930s.

Nevertheless, Coats was not totally without hope, and we have in his comments to Lowry a very rare example of a Canadian broadcaster thinking through the implications of providing public service programming in the Canadian context. By 1936 Coats was developing a sense of CKY's

VERIFICATION STAMPS

Recalling a Fashion that Passed

One of the interesting phenomena associated with such modern inventions as radio is the rapidity with which they acquire a history. Old days in broadcasting are not very far behind us, and yet for a few pioneers they hold many memories which are worth recording, whether as chapters or mere paragraphs in the romantic story of radio's progress from spark to television.

Who among our readers remembers the craze for collecting "Verification Stamps"? A small percentage, perhaps, though the distribution of those little pieces of paper made much extra work for radio station staffs and caused not a few headaches in the middle nineteen-twenties. Then owners of receiving sets seldom listened to complete programs from far-away cities. The reason was not always that the entertainment was poor, for some of it certainly compared favorably with current offerings. Low powered transmitters and inefficient receivers were too easily beaten by "static"—that was the trouble, and the effect was to make listeners less interested in programs than in the number of stations they could tune in during the evening.

Reception Contests

He was a proud man who could boast to his friends in the office that he had heard twenty-seven stations the night before. A common criticism of announcers was that from the listener who managed to hear a station for as long as ten minutes and didn't get the call letters once. Soon the player of radio golf began to demand documentary proof from the stations he had heard, and shortly there was born a new industry—the printing and selling of verification stamps, issued to stations by an enterprising agency for a few cents each and mailed by the broadcasters to collectors for a dime. It looked like easy money and the beginning of a long era of prosperity for stamp printers—but the fashion changed. High power and the development of telephone wire networks quickly altered listening habits. Today, as everybody knows, the tendency is to tune in one station and stay with it.

CKY had its own stamps made, and some of these are still on hand. On this page we present you, dear reader, with one of these reminders of an almost forgotten stage in the evolution of broadcasting.



RADIO PROGRAMS RETURNING

Below are listed some of last season's favorites scheduled to resume in the near future:—

Back Stage Wife	Mon., Wed., Fri.	11.00 a.m.	October 2nd
Big Town	Tuesdays	6.00 p.m.	September 19th
Carnation Contented Hour	Mondays	9.00 p.m.	October 2nd
Count of Monte Cristo	Saturdays	7.00 p.m.	September 30th
Dick Powell	Tuesdays	6.30 p.m.	September 19th
Doctor Stidger	Weekdays ex. Sat.	10.45 a.m.	October 2nd
Good News	Thursdays	7.00 p.m.	September 7th
Jack Benny	Sundays	6.00 p.m.	October 1st
Lux Radio Theatre	Mondays	7.00 p.m.	September 11th
One Man's Family	Thursdays	7.00 p.m.	October 4th
Peggy's Point of View	Tues., Thurs., Sat.	10.00 a.m.	September 2nd
Silver Theatre	Sundays	5.00 p.m.	October 8th
Stella Dallas	Weekdays ex. Sat.	11.15 a.m.	October 2nd

MTS Allstream Inc.

Verification stamps popular in the 1920s disappeared when radio became oriented mainly towards family entertainment, as was the case in this CKY publication from September 1939.

task that encompassed not only commercially sponsored entertainment (a financial necessity) but also public-service programs oriented towards making the station a "cultural, educational and social force."⁴² He was very realistic about the weaknesses of some of the CRBC's programs, but he articulated a shared mission of providing a radio service that was an alternative to either pure localism or pure Americanism. Most importantly, he advocated that CKY (and by extension the CRBC and CBC) should devote more time and attention to some sort of "perpetual survey" of listeners' likes and dislikes by means of a regular radio magazine.⁴³ He also advised Lowry that he should hire a public relations officer whose job it would be to "endeavour to convert enemies to friends and make people feel that CKY is a live, flesh-and-blood organization tremendously interested in trying to please the public." "His attitude inside the organization," Coats concluded, "should be not one of satisfaction with our service (the most dangerous disease among public servants) but rather that the best is none too good for our employers—the public."⁴⁴ For

Coats, CKY's listeners were the "masters of the air," not as dilettantish consumers but as citizens whom he had a responsibility both to serve and to lead. ❧

Notes

This article is a revised version of the James A. Jackson Memorial Lecture delivered at the University of Manitoba in March 1999. My thanks to the audience members for their helpful comments and queries, and my apologies for the delay in getting it into print.

1. Beville, H. M., Jr., *Audience Ratings: Radio, Television, Cable*, rev. ed. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1988, Chapter 1.
2. Eaman, Ross, *Channels of Influence: CBC Audience Research and the Canadian Public*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994, Chapter 4.
3. Vipond, Mary, "London Listens: The Popularity of Radio in the Depression," *Ontario History*, 1996, vol. 88, pp. 47 - 63. Two 1934 surveys, of high school students only, are discussed in H. F. Angus, ed., *Canada and Her Great Neighbor: Sociological Surveys of Opinions and Attitudes in Canada concerning the United States 1938*; repr. New York: Russell and Russell, 1970, pp. 143 - 147, pp. 369 - 370.
4. Mary Vipond, "CKY Winnipeg in the 1920s: Canada's Only Experiment in Government Monopoly Broadcasting," *Manitoba History* 1986 vol. 12, pp. 2 - 13.
5. See Library and Archives Canada (LAC), R. B. Bennett Papers, M-1294, D. R. P. Coats to R. H. Webb, 19 February 1930, copy, 366173.
6. It is not clear why Coats remained in Canada in the end, but perhaps he was satisfied with the compromise of the 1932 Act, which allowed the continued existence of privately owned stations rather than (as many broadcasters feared in 1928), a public-service monopoly like the BBC.
7. LAC, Records of the Department of Transport, vol. 864, file 6206-162, vol. 4, D. R. P. Coats, "Report on CKY Listeners' Preference Survey," 18 June 1936 [hereafter "Report"], cover page.
8. "Report," Survey Method - 2. Italics added.
9. "Report," Features; see also Records of the Department of Transport, vol. 864, file 6206-162-1, [D. R. P. Coats], "Something to Please Everybody," *Broadcasting* 1923, September, p. 3.
10. Ang, Ien, *Desperately Seeking the Audience*. London and New York: Routledge, 1991. This paragraph is based mainly on the Introduction and Chapters 2 and 11. The "recalcitrant other" quote is on 152.
11. See Mary Vipond, "Desperately Seeking the Audience for Early Canadian Radio," In M. Behiels and M. Martel, eds., *Nation, Culture, Identity: Essays in Honour of Ramsay Cook*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 86 - 96. The phrase "masters of the air" is from "National Broadcasting for Australia," *Radio Weekly*, 28 May 1932, p. 5.
12. "Report." All the quotations in this paragraph are from the section entitled "Survey."
13. "Report," Announcing - 2.
14. "Report," Continuity Writers.
15. "Report," Dramatics - 2.
16. "Report," Features - 4 and Features - 3.
17. "Report," Announcing. Susan J. Douglas argues that by the 1930s American listeners expected radio announcers to speak "official" English and that "malapropisms, wrong pronunciations, overly thick regional accents, and dialects marked the speaker, rightly or wrongly, as ignorant, stupid, and low-class." On the other hand, language was used much more creatively and transgressively on other programs, particularly comedies. Susan J. Douglas, *Listening In: Radio and the American Imagination, from Amos 'n' Andy and Edward R. Murrow to*

Wolfman Jack and Howard Stern. New York: Random House, 1999, 103ff.

18. For more on this aspect of early radio listening, see Lesley Johnson, *The Unseen Voice: A Cultural Study of Early Australian Radio*. London: Routledge, 1988, pp. 82 - 100.
19. "Report," Talks - 8, University Lectures.
20. "Report," Talks - 6, Speakers.
21. "Report." All the quotations in this paragraph and the next are from the section entitled Advertising.
22. Bennett Papers, M-1292, Webb to Hector Charlesworth, Chairman, CRBC, 22 February 1935, copy, 363545.
23. The integration of commercial messages into the scripts of the major American comedy shows was so skilfully accomplished that audiences came to appreciate and enjoy what they nevertheless recognized as shilling. Benny, for example, commenced his program every week with the phrase: "Jell-O, everyone." See Douglas, Chapter 5.
24. "Report," Monotony.
25. "Report," Monotony.
26. "Report," CKY - 2.
27. "Report," Keeping Up with the Jones's.
28. "Report," Subjects Suggested. A similar demand for more women's programming, especially in mid-afternoon, turned up in a survey of 684 individuals and families conducted in all three prairie provinces the following summer, shortly after the CRBC had ceased to exist. See LAC, CBC Records, vol. 338, file 14-4-6, W. E. Ward, "Report to General Manager on Listeners' Survey," August 1937.
29. "Report," Cavalcade of Manitoba Towns, Choirs, Community Songs.
30. "Report," Foreign Languages, Letter from Mrs. Linda Hold, Charleswood P.O., Manitoba.
31. Among those who have applied Benedict Anderson's discussion of nationhood as "imagined community" to radio audiences, see Michele Hilmes, *Radio Voices: American Broadcasting, 1922 - 1952*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997, esp. pp. 11 - 23 and Kate Lacey, "Radio in the Great Depression: Promotional Culture, Public Service, and Propaganda," In Michele Hilmes and Jason Loviglio, eds., *Radio Reader: Essays in the Cultural History of Radio*. New York and London: Routledge, 2002, esp. pp. 28 - 34.
32. The two London surveys had the same finding. See Vipond, "London Listens."
33. "Report," Yodellers.
34. "Report," Old Time Fiddlers.
35. "Report," Regularity of Programs - 2.
36. "Report," Advertising - 1.
37. "Report," Survey - 2.
38. "Report," Talks.
39. Similarly, the 1937 CBC survey indicated that many listeners were tired of "incessant music" and increasingly favoured talks, although that statement was qualified by the suggestion that the goal should not be to increase the number of talks, but to "raise [them] to a higher standard." W. E. Ward, "Report to General Manager," as cited in endnote 28.
40. Hilmes, p. 33.
41. "Report," Foreign Languages.
42. Testimony of Frank Denton in Canada. House of Commons. Special Committee on the Operations of the Commission under the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Act, 1932, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*. Ottawa: King's Printer, 1934, p. 378.
43. "Report," Publicity.
44. "Report," Public Relations.

Commemorating the Construction of the Hudson Bay Railway

Parks Canada
Winnipeg, Manitoba

On 21 September 2007, at the VIA Rail Station in The Pas, the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada unveiled a plaque commemorating the national historic significance of construction of the Hudson Bay Railway. On behalf of the Honourable John Baird, Minister of the Environment and Minister responsible for Parks Canada, James Bezan, Member of Parliament for Selkirk-Interlake, was joined by local legend Ed Johanson in unveiling the plaque with assistance from Dr. Robert O’Kell, Manitoba Member of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada; His Worship Herb Jaques, Mayor of The Pas; Dr. James Mochoruk, Professor of History at the University of North Dakota; Mrs. Sue Lambert, President of The Pas History and Heritage Society; and Mr. Andrew Glastetter, General Manager of the Hudson Bay Railway Company.

* * *

In the 1870s agitation began for a railway line linking the growing city of Winnipeg with a seaport on Hudson Bay. Considered by business and agricultural interests in the West as an alternative to “Eastern domination” and a necessary outlet for western grain destined for Europe, construction of the line did not begin until 1908 due to political and financial difficulties.

Before the financial constraints of the First World War intervened and suspended construction, a line had been built as far as the Kettle Rapids on the Nelson River. One of the major issues confronting the Canadian government was the location of the railway’s terminus on Hudson Bay. In 1912 Port Nelson was chosen, not for its natural harbourage, but for its shorter and easier access. After the



The Hudson Bay Railway under construction, circa 1920.

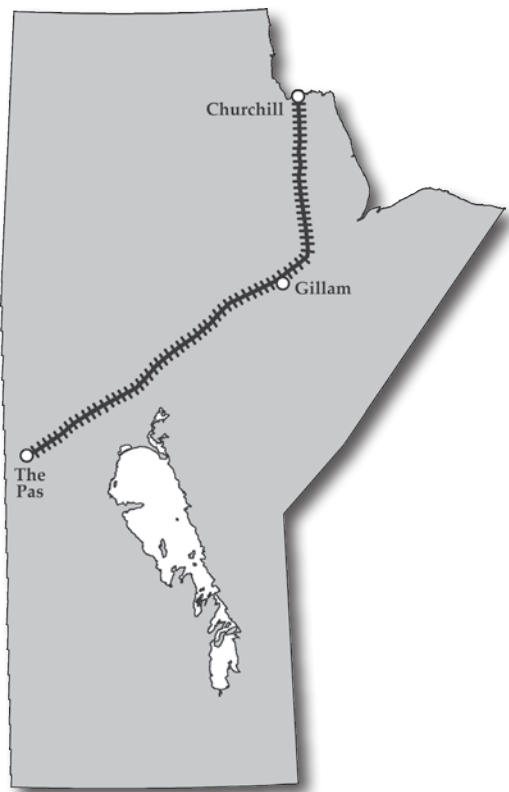
Archives of Manitoba, Transportation - Railway - 19, N13128.

Hudson Bay Railway

war, construction began on port facilities at the mouth of the Nelson River, but in the 1920s, upon the recommendation of Frederick Palmer, an English civil engineer, Churchill was chosen to replace Port Nelson as the terminus, largely because of its natural advantages as a deep-water port.

Construction of the railway was a Herculean task. Hundreds of miles of muskeg capable of swallowing large sections of roadbed and track, as well as areas of shifting permafrost, had to be crossed. Aside from Canadian and American workers, immigrants from Russia, Scandinavia, and Eastern and Western Europe were employed in the construction of the line. Some 3,000 labourers, living in crowded camps and enduring bitter cold and insects, used picks, shovels and wheelbarrows to build roadbed and bridges and lay the track. On 3 April 1929 the last spike was driven at Churchill, and with the completion of port facilities there in 1931 the Hudson Bay Railway was officially declared open. Today, the work of these railway builders is remembered and continues to serve as an enduring recognition to Manitoba's northern potential.

Construction of the railway was a victory for Prairie farmers in their long campaign for a rail outlet to the sea on Hudson Bay. Today, the work of these railway builders is remembered and continues to serve as recognition of Manitoba's northern potential. ❧



The route of the Hudson Bay Railway northward from The Pas was originally intended to terminate at Port Nelson, at the mouth of the Nelson River, but was redirected towards Churchill during construction. Started in 1911, the 800-kilometer line reached Hudson Bay in early 1929.



Parks Canada

A plaque commemorating the Hudson Bay Railway was unveiled at the VIA Rail Station in The Pas, by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada on 21 September 2007.

Plaque text

The Hudson Bay Railway

The completion of this railway line from The Pas to Churchill in 1929 was an outstanding achievement and a victory for Prairie farmers in their long campaign for a rail outlet to the sea on Hudson Bay. Begun in 1911 but suspended during the First World War, it required innovative methods of building and maintaining rail lines over muskeg and permafrost. The railway provided an alternative route for exporting Prairie grain, encouraged mining and hydro-electric development and gave travellers an unforgettable experience of Manitoba's north.

Le Chemin de Fer de la baie d'Hudson

L'achèvement, en 1929, du chemin de fer entre The Pas et Churchill constitue une réussite d'ingénierie et une victoire pour les fermiers des Prairies qui souhaitaient depuis longtemps avoir accès à la mer par la baie d'Hudson. Commencée en 1911, interrompue par la Grande Guerre, la construction de cette ligne nécessita plusieurs innovations, car il fallait maintenir les rails sur le muskeg et le pergélisol. La nouvelle voie facilita les exportations de céréales, stimula l'exploitation des mines et de l'hydroélectricité et permit aux voyageurs de découvrir les beautés du nord manitobain.

Picture the Map: An Online Cartographic Collection of Manitoba History Using “Flickr”

by Larry Laliberte
Winnipeg, Manitoba

Manitoba has a rich legacy of cartographic material, printed throughout the progression from Rupert’s Land to Postage Stamp Province to Gateway to the West. While the cartographic material is numerous, its location is scattered throughout many different institutions, including Library and Archives Canada, Archives of Manitoba and the University of Manitoba Archives & Special Collections, not to mention many other specialized collections scattered throughout the province. The goal of the historical maps of Manitoba digital collection will be the ongoing, identification, location, scanning and displaying of these intriguing images over the Internet.

Guides

While there are many bibliographies of cartographic material relating to Manitoba, for the purposes of identifying material for the online collection, the *Manitoba Historical Atlas: A Selection of Facsimile Maps, Plans and Sketches from 1612 to 1969* by John Warkentin and Richard Ruggles will be used. The 585 page publication by the Manitoba Historical Society contains a wealth of information on Manitoba’s cartographic past, with over 300 maps cited, including the location of the original and annotated, providing commentary about the circumstances surrounding the creation of a particular map or series of maps. While the atlas also provides reproductions of each map cited and annotated, the illustrations are black and white, often only a section of a larger map and most of the maps are at a resolution that does not allow readers to explore the maps at a refined level. Through scanning, these maps can be brought into the digital realm, where their content, colours, textures and icons can be explored and rediscovered by all Manitobans with an Internet connection.

Scanning and Software

In order to digitally convert the printed maps, the project has utilized The University of Manitoba Libraries (UML), recently purchased large format, flatbed scanner that can quickly digitize an area up to 24 x 36 inches at a very high resolution and save the resulting image in a wide variety of file formats. Furthermore, because the scanner is a flatbed model, fragile and/or folded maps



School map. A portion of a map showing school districts before passage of the 1890 Manitoba School Act. Colors were used to denote Protestant, Roman Catholic, and public schools.

still attached to original reports, can be gently laid onto the surface and scanned. It is important to note that not all of the original maps will have to be scanned at the UML. For example, maps identified through Library and Archives Canada’s online research tools can be purchased as high resolution scans which can be added to the online collection, saving researchers and the public time and money in exploring Manitoba’s spatial history. Once a map is scanned, the digital image and associated metadata (title, author, publisher, year, scale, legend information, etc.) are

Continued page 32

Larry Laliberte has been involved in the GIS/mapping field for over seventeen years as both a teacher and consultant, with a focus on the usefulness of GIS within historical research. He is an Environmental Sciences GIS Librarian at the University of Manitoba.



A Bird's Eye View of

This remarkable image of St. Boniface was made in late 1879 by American cartographer Thaddeus Mortimer Fowler (1842-1922). Over the course of a 54-year career, Fowler made hundreds of such "bird's eye" maps throughout the northeastern US states. During a visit to Manitoba, he also made maps at Emerson and Morris, as well as Winnipeg across the Red River. When his Winnipeg map went on sale in February 1880 (at a cost of 50 cents a copy), the *Manitoba Free Press* noted that "a good deal of labor has been expended in producing it, and the details are very

correct, every building and street being properly located and recognizable."

Fowler was employed by J. J. Stoner of Madison, Wisconsin who, in the mid- to late-nineteenth century, specialized in making city panoramas. These views were typically a combination map and aerial image, sketched from about 2,000 feet aloft in a hot air balloon. Whether Fowler used a balloon to draw his Manitoba maps is unknown; he may have simply extrapolated from ground maps.

uploaded to Flickr, an online photo sharing community and repository containing over 2 billion images.

Flickr

One might ask, why Flickr for maps, if it is a photography website? Simple. Maps are graphic records, snapshots of spatial extents, an image, and like photos a pictorial abstraction of time and place. Flickr is also a great venue for displaying and distributing maps as the site provides a flexible set of tools for uploading, organizing, annotating, creating metadata or tagging, embedding, downloading and sharing digital maps. A very powerful feature in Flickr is its built-in Really Simple Syndication or RSS Feed, which alerts individuals who subscribe to Manitoba Historical Maps when new maps have been added to the site.

Flickr is also a community of users who create themed based groups like *Old Maps* and *Manitoba Sights* where images can be contributed and content discussed. Users can also comment on images and compare notes. For example, a member of the Flickr community noticed that two Winnipeg streets, Grosvenor and Dorchester, are erroneously transposed on the Manitoba Historical Maps copy of a 1911 map of the city, but they were correct on his copy, indicating the mistake must have been caught and corrected in the midst of the press run. *Notes* can also be added directly to an image, allowing users to read text and follow any links when they mouse over parts of the map. This can be useful in highlighting, at a glance, important attributes of the map, for example, building names on a Bird's Eye View, or indicating where Fort Garry is, to orientate viewers of more imaginative maps.

On the content provider management side, Flickr generates daily user statistics that not only indicate which maps were being viewed, but also track how people arrived at the map they are viewing. The statistics indicate that most people discover the maps by searching Flickr directly. However, many users also arrive through search engines like Google and Yahoo, and the statistic feature allows the site manager to view the actual search strings that the user typed in. Users also access the maps through other websites that have embedded Flickr generated code that streams images across web pages, based on the keywords associated with the images. A good example of this is the Best of Manitoba website which displays images as they are added to Flickr and tagged with the keyword Manitoba.

Limitations of Flickr

The most critical limit of Flickr for maps is that there is no built-in functionality that allows users to zoom and pan a map without leaving the Flickr site. Many institutions have developed web based map repositories using a software program called Zoomify which gives users, who merely want a quick look at a map, the ability to zoom into and pan an image. However, new scripts and plug-in software are being developed constantly for Flickr, and ideally, a program like Zoomify could be added as an icon that, once

clicked, would allow zooming, panning and the ability to print just the portion of the image being viewed.

There is a 10MB per image size limit when uploading maps; however, this size limitation is offset because the images being delivered online are derived from images scanned according to digital archival standards and as a result can be compressed to under 10MB without any loss of clarity in the map's message. The important criteria of an Internet ready copy of a printed map is that users can explore text and icons at a very detailed view as well as leverage the power and flexibility of Web 2.0 environments, to describe, embed and/or download a map image and re-channel its thematic content into value added, artistic web based creations.

The Value of Historical Maps Online

Old printed maps have always been valued for how they look, especially by those who feel the art of cartography has been lost. However, historic maps are experiencing resurgence through their use in highlighting environmental issues including, urban sprawl and land use change over time as well as their growing importance when negotiating First Nations land claims. Through the use of other digital media, scanned historical maps are being enhanced by the application of various *mashup* techniques available in programs such as Google Earth and Geographic Information Systems (GIS), that *breath new life into old maps* by draping historic images on to 3D elevation data, overlaying current datasets, as well as embedding the maps with associated text, images and audio/video sources.

Cooperation and Copyright

One of the long term goals of the project is the beginning up of an ongoing dialogue with institutions, groups and individuals who curate historical map collections in order to promote the exchange of spatial materials and services in the pursuit of ease of access, for all Manitobans, to their cartographic heritage, in a scanned digital format that lends itself to further enhancement and value added research. Finally, and no digital conversion project can avoid the question, are issues surrounding copyright. Due to their age, most of the Manitoba maps, being placed online, are in the public domain, in which case they can be shared widely with anyone and in any format. What needs to be look at however, is the issue of printed maps only 10 to 40 years old, which are hindered in their digital conversion, storage and subsequent Web 2.0 enhancement, by copyright. Perhaps for maps in this range of dates, we can weave the philosophy of creative commons and common good, and the educational value of having web access to maps that highlight recent cartographic themes in Manitoba. ☛

Manitoba Historical Maps on Flickr
www.flickr.com/photos/manitobamaps

The Murder Oak: A Tale of Tragedy and Justice

by Glen Suggett
Portage la Prairie, Manitoba

The sandy ridges on the landscape south of Delta Marsh provide ideal growing conditions for bur oak, Manitoba's only native oak tree. While thousands of these bur oaks grow throughout the area, a lone oak, visible for miles, is unique. The "Murder Oak," as it has come to be known, grows near a dirt road some three miles west of a modest farm that was very typical of those on the Portage Plains in the 1940s.

Among the many murder trials in Manitoba's past, the "Murder Oak" case of September 1945 stands out. Not only does it illustrate the workings of the criminal justice system of the 1940s, it deals with a case based largely on circumstantial evidence that progressed remarkably rapidly from arrest to conviction to hanging. It took an unusual turn when an attempt was made at racial profiling to defend the accused.

The farm that brought the people involved in these events together belonged to Douglas L. Campbell, who had moved to Winnipeg to serve as the provincial Minister of Agriculture. He rented the farm to Wesley Owens and his wife Maxine, who lived there during the summers of 1943 to 1945. The Owens had two young children, a hired girl to help with housework, and a hired man to help with the farm chores. All lived together in the two storey house, with the Owens family using the bedroom on the main floor. The hired girl and hired man each had a bedroom upstairs. The help had every Saturday night and every other weekend

off, so on most weekends the Owens family had the house to themselves.

The hired girl was sixteen year-old Pearl Dell from Portage la Prairie. She looked older than her years and spoke often of a boyfriend named Nick, who she had met at a dance earlier that summer and had gone out with several times. Pearl often spent weekends in Portage, either at her

parent's home or with her older sister, who was married with her own home nearby. The hired man was 48-year-old Baldwin "Baldy" Jonasson, a bachelor born in Iceland who at the age of two arrived at the Lake Manitoba Narrows with his parents. In winter, Baldy fished on Lake Manitoba and in summer he worked at farms in the Portage area. Unlike most Icelanders of the day, who prided themselves on their ability to read and write, Baldy was illiterate. However, he did own a car, which was more than most farm hands could afford, and he had a good reputation as a reliable farm hand. Few knew that, in 1927, Baldy had been convicted for assaulting a young girl.

Baldy and Pearl appeared to get along well through the summer of 1945. He frequently gave her a ride to Portage for the weekend

and back to the farm on Sunday evening. It was one such Sunday night, 9 September, that Baldy went to Pearl's sister's house to give her a ride back to the Owens farm. Monday was washday, and when she had left for the weekend, Pearl assured Mrs. Owens that she would be back by Monday morning to help with the wash. Monday came and went, but there was no sign of Pearl or Baldy.

On Tuesday morning, 11 September, Jim Wilkinson, a neighbour, was leaving his yard in a horse-drawn wagon and saw something lying on the roadside. He drove up and discovered that it was Baldy, who was very weak and could barely speak. He had a blood-soaked bandage on



G. Suggett

The Murder Oak as it appeared in 2006.

Glen Suggett is a Wildlife Lands Manager with Manitoba Conservation. He lives north of Portage la Prairie, near the site of the Murder Oak. This article is from a forthcoming book on the environmental and cultural history of Delta Marsh.

The Murder Oak



Library and Archives Canada, E006154983.

A muddy road leading to the Murder Oak.

his neck and a cut across his left wrist. Jim returned home to get his brother Art, who had a car. When Art arrived, Baldy said that he had an accident and his car was stuck in the ditch further down the road. They picked Baldy up and placed him in the back seat. Weak from loss of blood, he hoarsely whispered to Jim that Pearl was in his car – dead. Art drove to a nearby farm, which had a telephone, to summon the police. The Wilkinson brothers then took Baldy to the Portage Hospital.

Later, an RCMP officer heard Jonasson's version of events. He claimed that an accident had occurred west of where his car had been found. It had rained hard on Sunday and the roads were slippery. He had taken a corner too sharply and hit a culvert. Pearl's head had gone through the windshield, as had his own head. He removed a piece of windshield glass from her neck and she died in his arms without saying a word. He then got the car back on the road and proceeded towards the Owens place but he had become very weak and the car ran into the ditch. He spent Sunday night, all of Monday and the early hours of Tuesday morning in the vicinity of the car, alternately passing out and crawling to where Jim Wilkinson found him.

Investigators at the scene soon found inconsistencies in Baldy's story. The path taken by his car could be traced

easily by following the imprint made by the car's tires in the soft mud. A hammer and some broken glass were found in a nearby pasture, blood stains were found on a gatepost, and a straight razor was discovered in the grass. When the car was removed from the ditch, its windshield was found to be broken in two places, with most of the glass inside the vehicle. There was no blood on the windshield or on the dash – most was on the floor on the driver's side. Baldy did not have any injuries to his head that would suggest he had gone through a windshield. There were only two clean cuts – one to his neck and another to his wrist.

An autopsy was performed on Pearl Dell to determine the extent of her injuries and cause of death. Traces of mud were found on the inside of her thighs and there were some fine cuts in the toe of one shoe. She had suffered a blow to her forehead from a blunt object, such as a hammer, with sufficient in force to render her unconscious. Her throat had been cut twice by a sharp instrument, such as a straight razor. There were no injuries to her head that would be consistent with striking a windshield. None of the wounds had traces of glass in them. After reviewing the autopsy results and investigations at the scene, the RCMP returned to the hospital. When confronted with the evidence, Jonasson changed his story:

I didn't quite know what I was saying when I told you before ... I had been to Langruth that day, and as it was raining, I wanted to get back early ... I went up to the pasture; I stopped to open the gate and shut it when I went through. I went over towards Wes' place and then the engine stalled. And we sat talking for a while and she said, "Let me see your hand," and then she cut my arm. I then went and cranked the car. I didn't feel it much at first. I turned the car around, and when I got out of the car to open the gate again she cut her throat and threw the razor out of my side of the car, as I had the door open. I then tried to go on with the car as she died right there. She had kicked the windshield out on her side. As I was turning to go east I ran into the culvert and my head went through the windshield on my side, because I wasn't driving right, I guess; and that is when I cut my neck on the windshield. I tried to make Wes' place but went into the ditch.

The physical evidence did not support either of Baldy's versions. Had their heads gone through the windshield or the windshield been kicked out, it was unlikely that most of the glass would be recovered inside the car. Small fragments were found inside the pasture all the way to the point at which the car came to rest, suggesting that the windshield had been broken in the pasture and not at the gate where Jonasson claimed Pearl had kicked out the windshield. The blow to Pearl's head occurred before her throat was cut, and it seemed improbable that she could hit herself over the head with a hammer and cut her own throat twice before throwing the razor out of the car. A coroner's inquest was convened where it was concluded there was sufficient evidence to charge Jonasson with the murder of Pearl Dell.

The Canadian justice system in 1945 dealt with serious criminal cases remarkably quickly by today's standards. The alleged murder occurred on 9 September and, upon completion of the investigation, Baldwin Jonasson was formally charged on 4 October. A preliminary hearing was held 16, 17 and 23 October, and Jonasson was committed to stand trial. On 13 November, he appeared in the Court of Kings Bench to face a judge and jury. The case was heard before Mr. Justice Adamson and a jury of twelve men. Mr. W. D. Card KC appeared for the Crown and Mr. H. D. Sparling represented the accused.

The trial took place over five days, from 13 to 17 November. The Crown presented its case first, calling medical witnesses, Pearl's father, the Owens, the Wilkinson brothers, and the policemen who had investigated the scene.

The first witness was Dr. G. P. Armstrong who had examined Jonasson in the Portage District Hospital. He testified that Jonasson's wounds were caused by a sharp instrument rather than glass from a windshield. He also said that Jonasson did not have any other apparent head

injuries that would be consistent with his head going through the windshield. Dr. George Hamlin was then called to testify about the wounds suffered by Pearl Dell. He stated that there were two marks to the vertebrae, indicating that there had been two cuts. When questioned about the possibility of suicide, he stated that it was not likely that the two wounds could have been self-inflicted. He had also examined the wounds suffered by Jonasson and had not found any traces of glass in the wounds. Dr. John Kettlewell, who performed the autopsy on Pearl Dell, was next called to the stand. He testified that she had suffered two wounds, one on the forehead above the right eye and the other on the neck. The wound to her forehead was crescent-shaped and likely caused by a blunt instrument, such as a hammer, while the neck wound was inflicted by two separate incisions by a sharp instrument, one of which severed the jugular vein. He said that she likely died within two minutes of her throat being cut due to the massive loss of blood. He was unable to determine if she had been sexually assaulted.

Next, Maxine Owens and the father of Pearl Dell were called in turn to establish the relationship between the victim and the accused. Jim and Art Wilkinson testified regarding their discovery of Jonasson on the road and how later they accompanied the police during their investigation. There was no police tape cordoning off the crime scene on that occasion. It was actually Art Wilkinson who discovered the murder weapon while wandering around with the police. Jim Wilkinson testified in considerable detail about the whereabouts of various pieces of evidence, such as the razor, as well as testifying to the absence of vehicle tracks in contact with the culvert under the road, which Jonasson had said was the cause of his accident. Art Wilkinson's testimony substantiated that of his brother and he described his discovery of the apparent murder weapon.

Wesley Owens was called to testify about his conversation with Jonasson when he visited him in the



Library and Archives Canada, E006154985.

Baldwin Jonasson's car as it was found by the RCMP during their murder investigation.



Library and Archives Canada, E006154979.

The murder weapon.

Portage District Hospital. Jonasson had related his first version of events to Owens during his visit and then repeated it to the RCMP. Owens also testified that Jonasson kept a hammer in his car, similar to the one found in the pasture, but he did not recognize the razor as belonging to Jonasson.

The first RCMP officer called to the stand was Joseph Vachon, stationed in RCMP Headquarters in Winnipeg, who had been assigned to investigate the case. He was an eight-year member of the force at this time, specializing in fingerprints, photography and plan-drawing work. At the trial, he explained the details of various photographs he had taken of the crime scene and the map he had drawn showing the path taken by the car and the locations at which various pieces of evidence were collected. Also entered as an exhibit and discussed by Vachon, was the windshield, reconstructed from the pieces found inside the car. He described the route taken by the car and the absence of any evidence to suggest that the car had come into contact with the culvert under the road. In the course of his testimony, he incorrectly identified Jonasson's vehicle as a 1939 Plymouth coupe, when it was actually a 1937 Chevy coupe. However, no one seemed to notice the discrepancy. Although Vachon was identified as an expert in fingerprints, no fingerprint evidence was introduced at the trial.

Upon completion of Vachon's testimony, Sergeant James Newman was called to relate his conversations with Jonasson and his investigation of the crime scene. In his cross-examination of Sergeant Newman, Jonasson's defence lawyer tried an unusual line of questioning by asking, "In all your experience as a police officer, how often have you prosecuted Icelanders for homicide?" Mr. Card, the Crown prosecutor, objected and Judge Adamson responded, "Objection allowed. What has that got to do with it?" So much for racial profiling.

John Mallow, also an RCMP officer, was called to testify about the blood samples taken from Pearl Dell and Baldwin Jonasson. The science in this regard was fairly primitive at this time, but he could determine that Dell was type O and

Jonasson was type B. He was unable to find blood on the hammer and was only able to identify Jonasson's blood on the razor.

Corporal John Watson with the RCMP then testified about his investigation of the crime scene with Sergeant Newman. He indicated that he had recovered several small pieces of the windshield at various points all the way from inside the pasture to the point at which the car came to rest. He also stated that the gate to the pasture was closed when they attended the scene. Jonasson had mentioned opening the gate to drive through after Pearl had supposedly cut her own throat, but he did not mention stopping to close the gate behind him before continuing on. There was also some discussion of the crank Jonasson said he had used to start the car in the pasture. The crank was never found even though a thorough search had been made of both the car and the pasture.

Upon the conclusion of the Crown's case, Jonasson's lawyer indicated that he would like to make a motion. The jury was excused so that Judge Adamson could hear the motion in their absence.

MR. SPARLING: I make a motion that your lordship direct the jury to bring in a verdict of acquittal on the grounds that the circumstantial evidence adduced by the prosecution does not reach the standard of certainty required by the law. The whole of the evidence in the case is circumstantial. No evidence has been produced



Library and Archives Canada, E006154978.

Jonasson's car, a 1937 Chevy coupe.

that Baldwin Jonasson killed Pearl Dell with malice. I submit that there must be convincing proof that this was the case, before any onus rests on the accused at all. In the absence of that proof it would be dangerous. I submit the circumstances must not only be consistent with the guilt of the accused, but inconsistent with any other conclusion other than guilt. It would take a good deal to lead one to think that the accused would murder his friend for no reason whatsoever. No motive has been established or suggested. I submit that that fact alone would demand convincing proof that the accused voluntarily killed Pearl Dell. It is not for the accused to prove his innocence, even though killing by him has been established; it is for the Crown to prove that he not only killed her; I submit the Crown must prove beyond reasonable doubt that Pearl Dell didn't commit suicide. The accused's explanation may be true.

THE COURT: Which explanation?

MR. SPARLING: Of suicide. Can there be any doubt at all of his condition of mind when he gave his first explanation? In addition to the exhausted condition he was in, one of the doctors said he could not fictionize. Well, his story was so ridiculous in view of the circumstances that it is indicated that he himself was unfit to make a statement, and if he couldn't fictionize, his statement was not true. The Crown haven't established how she received the blow on the forehead; it could still be antemortem, and could still be self-inflicted. I submit that every supposition not itself improbable which is inconsistent with his innocence should have been made. There is no ownership of the lethal weapon and self defence is not an improbable proposition.



Library and Archives Canada, E00319278.

Baldwin Jonasson at the time of his preliminary hearing, his throat still bandaged.



Library and Archives Canada, E006154990.

It does not fit. An unidentified man assisted police by demonstrating the unlikelihood that Jonasson's throat was cut when his head went through the windshield.

THE COURT: Self-defence?

MR. SPARLING: It is a possibility. He has made two or three statements.

THE COURT: But he has never suggested that it was necessary to kill her in order to preserve his own life.

MR. SPARLING: That is a possibility my lord.

THE COURT: I suppose all things are possible.

Judge Adamson dismissed the motion and said that even though the evidence was all circumstantial, he would leave it to the jury to decide the case. He said "That is the value of a jury. Men of everyday experience and knowledge come here; they know what happens and doesn't happen in the ordinary affairs of life. It is thoroughly a matter for the jury."

Mr. Sparling's tactic, which may have proven effective in a courtroom today, had little effect on the court in 1945. It appeared from his subsequent defence of Jonasson that he had been counting on his motion for acquittal to carry the day and was not well prepared to carry out a thorough defence of his client.

Sparling first called an expert witness, Dr. Trainor, a Winnipeg pathologist, in an effort to dispute the findings of the autopsy. Dr. Trainor testified that it could have been possible for a person to hit themselves with a hammer and then cut their own throat twice before losing consciousness. However, his testimony did not stand up well under cross-examination. Sparling then called Mary Homes, a cousin of Jonasson's to testify as to his good character and establish that he had not shaved while staying at her house the weekend of Pearl Dell's death. The implication was that if he had been in possession of a razor, he would have used it to shave himself. He then called John Devine, an employee of Moore's Taxi in Winnipeg, for his expertise on windshield glass. His testimony did little to support Jonasson's claims

that Pearl had kicked out the windshield on her side and that his side was damaged when his head went through it. Next, a former employer of Jonasson's was called to confirm his good character. This line of questioning went nowhere as well. Then, Sparling called Jonasson to the stand to testify on his own behalf. In a questionable move, after trying to establish Jonasson's good character, he asked Jonasson about his previous charge of criminal assault in 1927. He then went on to question Jonasson about his version of events the night of Pearl Dell's death. Jonasson denied that either the hammer or the razor were his and said that Pearl had committed suicide.

Mr. Card then had the opportunity to cross-examine Jonasson. He asked him several questions related to his trouble in 1927 mentioned by the defence, making sure the jury understood that he had been convicted for indecent assault on an eight-year-old girl. Card then went on to expose the improbability of Jonasson's versions of events the night of Pearl's death. Jonasson answered most of Card's questions with "I don't know" or "I don't remember." Card would repeat a statement made by Jonasson and then query "is that true?" to which Jonasson usually responded "as far as I know" even when there was an apparent contradiction. The prosecutor then asked Jonasson about the hammer recovered in the pasture. In response, Jonasson claimed that he had lost his hammer earlier in the summer and while the hammer in the court looked like his, it was not his.

Card then turned to the condition of the victim's body. "There was mud on Pearl's thighs and above her dress. "How would mud get on her thighs?" he asked Jonasson. "Did you have your hands on her that night?" It was a damning accusation in the form of a question, hitting its mark with the jury regardless of Jonasson's quick denial. The jury could now assume a motive and piece together the events of that night for themselves. Jonasson had made advances that were resisted. He hit her with the hammer to knock her out and then cut her throat to keep her quiet. Upon coming to his senses, Jonasson had tried but failed to commit suicide. Following Card's blistering cross-examination of his client, Sparling abruptly announced that the case for the defence was concluded.

In his charge to the jury, Judge Adamson dealt with the issue of the Crown's case being based on circumstantial evidence. There were no witnesses and Jonasson denied responsibility for the death of the young woman.

Now, the accused is charged that he Baldwin Jonasson Between the 8th and the 12th of September, 1945, at the Rural Municipality of Portage la Prairie, in the Central Judicial district, in the Province of Manitoba, murdered Pearl Dell. I think it is sufficient for our purpose in this case to define murder in this way; if the offender means to cause the death of the person killed, that is murder. It is very simple, isn't it? If the offender means to cause the death of the person killed, it is murder. Every homicide is prima facie murder; if one person kills

another, prima facie it is murder. If one person kills another the law presumes that he intended to do so. Everyone is presumed to intend the natural consequence of his act. No question of drunkenness or provocation or self-defence arises here, so I say to you that if you find that the accused, using a lethal weapon, caused Pearl Dell's death, he is guilty of murder as charged.

Now, one other thing, gentlemen, I wish to tell you which is a question of law; in this case the entire evidence, I believe – no, I should not say the entire evidence – a very large part of the evidence is circumstantial. Perhaps you might say it is all circumstantial. Now, when may a judge or a jury convict upon circumstantial evidence? Before you can convict the prisoner – find the prisoner guilty you must be satisfied that not only that those circumstances which you find to be established are consistent with his having committed the act, but you must also be satisfied that the circumstances or facts were such as to be inconsistent with any other rational theory or explanation; you must not only be satisfied that the circumstances or facts are consistent with his guilt, but you must be satisfied that they are inconsistent with any other rational explanation. To put it another way: Where the evidence adduced by the Crown is what is commonly described as circumstantial, the jury should be brought to realize that they ought not to find as established against the accused any other fact beyond a reasonable doubt than because the guilt of the accused is the only reasonable explanation of the fact as established by the evidence. It has been said that there is no motive here; that no motive has been disclosed. Whether there is no motive or whether there is not is a question of fact, and that is a question for you. You have heard the theory advanced by the Crown, which brings in a certain sex angle. Whether or not that is the case, is a question for you; whether there is anything in that – a question of fact or conclusion from the fact – for you. But I should say this, that if you find that there is no motive you should be very careful in analyzing the evidence before convicting, especially on circumstantial evidence.

On 17 November 1945, after lunch and about an hour of deliberation, in less time than it had taken the judge to summarize the evidence of the case, the jury advised the court that it had reached a unanimous verdict. The final moments of the proceedings were recorded as follows:

2:13 pm Jury Returns

2:19 pm Judge takes his seat.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Gentlemen of the jury, have you agreed upon your verdict? If so, who shall speak for you?

Capital Punishment in Manitoba

The "Murder Oak" case is one of only 52 in Manitoba where capital punishment was meted out. On 6 September 1845, a Saulteaux named Capinesseweet was executed by the Hudson's Bay Company for murdering another Saulteaux. Better known was the execution by firing squad, on 4 March 1870, of Thomas Scott by the provisional government of Louis Riel. Manitoba's first execution took place on 26 August 1874 when Joseph Michaud was hung for murder. The last execution was carried out on 17 June 1952 when Henry Malanik was hung for the murder of a policeman.

FOREMAN of the jury rises.

CLERK OF THE COURT: How say you, do you find the prisoner guilty or not guilty?

FOREMAN: Guilty.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Gentlemen of the jury, hearken to your verdict as the Court records it; you say you found the prisoner guilty; if so, so say you all.

JURYMEN GENERALLY: Guilty.

THE COURT: Gentlemen of the jury: You have discharged what I am sure was a very disagreeable task, and I am glad to say you have discharged it very conscientiously. On behalf of all, I have to thank you. You are discharged.

Mr. CARD: I move the sentence of the court.

THE COURT: Prisoner, stand up. Have you anything to say? The jury have found you guilty of murder; have you anything to say before sentence is passed upon you?

BALDWIN JONASSON: I am not guilty.

THE COURT: The jury have found you guilty; there is no alternative for me but to pass upon you the sentence which the law prescribes: The

sentence of the Court is that you be taken to the gaol for the Eastern Judicial District in the Province of Manitoba, at Headingly, and that you be there confined as the law requires, until Friday the 8th of February 1946, and that on that day, between the hours of 12:45 in the forenoon and 8 o'clock in the forenoon you be taken from the place of confinement to the place of execution, and that you be there and then hanged by the neck until you are dead, and may God have mercy on your soul.

Jonasson's lawyer launched an appeal, but it was denied. Several letters written by members of the Icelandic community and a petition signed by residents of the Narrows area were sent to the Prime Minister and Minister of Justice requesting that Jonasson's sentence be commuted to life in prison. The authorities were not swayed by these appeals.

Shortly after midnight on Friday, 8 February 1946, as scheduled, Baldwin Jonasson was led to the gallows in Headingly Gaol. To the end he proclaimed his innocence. Regardless, the sentence was carried out as specified and he was hanged by the neck until he was dead. He would not be the last person to be executed in Manitoba; eight more men would be led to the same gallows until the very last execution occurred in 1952.

Was an innocent man executed? The judge and jury did not think so. There was no evidence presented of fingerprints on either the hammer or razor and the analysis of the blood and other evidence on the body was crude by today's standards. However, the jury believed Jonasson was responsible for the death of Pearl Dell because there was no other plausible explanation for the circumstances. No one will ever know what really happened that night in 1945, but it ended with the death of a young woman. Five months later, the matter came to a conclusion with another death in another place. The case was closed forever.

The pasture where Pearl Dell died is now a barley field, and the road remains seldom traveled. Standing vigil to this day is the only surviving witness to the crime, a lone oak tree, known ever since as the Murder Oak. ❧

Future History

In upcoming issues of *Manitoba History* ...



- The introduction of public automobile insurance in Manitoba
- Manitoba's early film exhibitions
- HSI: Historical Scene Investigation !
- Mapping the Red River valley in the 1870s
- Prairie monuments: A video history of Oakville
- A history of Red River dredging
- The life and work of Reverend Harry Lehotsky
- Roblin City: Metropolis on the Churchill River
- Book reviews & more

The Nor'Wester Comes to Red River

In late September 1859, William Coldwell and William Buckingham traveled from Toronto to St. Paul, Minnesota. From there, they planned to travel to the Red River Settlement to start a newspaper, The Nor'Wester. The enterprising journalists purchased Red River Carts and oxen, loaded their equipment and, along with Reverend John Black and his family, headed off. Buckingham mailed a letter, on the eve of their departure, to his colleagues at the Toronto Globe. In it, and in two subsequent letters, he described their plans and the events of the road. The journey had an inauspicious start when their oxen reared up and dumped their printing press on the ground. It begs the question: How might the course of Manitoba history have been different if Coldwell and Buckingham had, in frustration, abandoned the venture at this point? These three letters were transcribed by Ward Skinner of Nova Scotia, from handwritten originals in the possession of Janice Forbes, great-granddaughter of William Buckingham. We are grateful to Mr. Skinner for bringing them to our attention. Editors.

On the Eve of Starting¹

We shall travel with our own teams and drive through four-in-hand. Mr. Burbank, one of the most enterprising citizens of St. Paul, and to whom we are indebted for many favours, highly approves of the plan. Our material and luggage weighs close up on thirty hundred, and the Rev. Mr. Black's luggage, &c, is something over six hundred. There are our two selves, Mr. Black, his wife, her sister, and his little boy. Our cavalcade will include what I have just enumerated, a teamster, provisions, tent and bedding for the journey, three Red River carts, each drawn by an ox and carrying ourselves and part of the baggage; and a waggon and two yoke of oxen. We gave \$40 for each oxen, \$10 for the waggon, \$20 for each cart and harness, and about \$30 and the run of the commissariat waggon to the teamster. We expect to be able to sell our teams at Fort Garry for nearly as much as we gave for them at St. Paul. About two miles from this city we shall fall in with a party of nine or ten half-breeds, who are returning to Red River with, I am told, (but do

not vouch for the truth of it) a Roman Catholic Bishop for a new bishopric to be constituted in the settlement. Every vehicle that comes down goes back laden to its full extent. I have just been speaking with an enterprising American, who is about to establish an hotel in the settlement, and has come down to make the necessary purchases. He returns

on Saturday. Yesterday I talked with the editor of the paper, started 250 miles westward from St. Paul, in Dakota Territory, in the midst of the Indians. There were only three shanties where he pitched his tent, and only a dozen readers within a circuit of I don't know how many miles. I also fell in yesterday with Mr. J. W. Taylor, who arrived at St. Paul on Saturday evening after a long visit to the North West, including a month's residence at Selkirk. He speaks in glowing terms of the country. He states that the Red River people are in need of everything but money, of which, according to him, they have an abundance. The St. Paul people are evidently of the same opinion for they are preparing to do great things there next year. I am told there is only one through mail a month by this route to Red River, and the day of its departure I can only learn at St. Cloud as we go up. The weather is glorious, and everything betokens a prosperous journey. In a month if all be well, we shall be at our Journey's end. Fancy four oxen prancing up to the gates of Fort Garry with the Nor'Wester.



Lois & Robert Mountain

William Buckingham (1832 - 1915) who, with partner William Coldwell, founded *The Nor'Wester*, the first newspaper in the Canadian West, in 1859. The portrait was painted in 1870 at Ottawa, where Buckingham was a secretary for Alexander MacKenzie.

On the Open Prairie Near Lake Itaska²

The Reverend John Black having determined to stop to hold a preaching here yesterday (Sunday) I embrace the opportunity of giving you a few incidents of our journey thus far. Our departure from St. Paul was such as to leave anything but pleasant associations connected with it. The oxen they gave us were as wild as March hares, and no sooner were they yoked than they bolted off through the streets at an alarming speed, greatly to the dismay and

bodily danger of the citizens. The only injury sustained however was to our own property, and this was not a trifle. The paper was jerked on one side of the road and the cases of type on the other. The former was easily picked up – not so the latter, which received such a “distribution” as was never seen before. However, we managed to pick up most of the “sorts” and together they constituted a heap of “pi” sufficient, I hope, to serve us during the remainder of our journey. The oxen were then lashed, with heavy ropes to end of the waggon, and amid the jeers of the little boys and the good wishes of the other folk, we made a start once more for the Red River. But the night had stolen a march upon us. It was already dark, and we pitched our tent about two miles from the city. Next morning we were up betimes, and were early on the road. A harder one to travel I never experienced. For we had not made more than twenty yards towards the 500 miles when the wildest of the oxen again kicked up his heels, and the next minute the wheels of the luggage cart were spinning in the air. It had turned completely over, breaking the cart bows and smashing the trunks. A council was then called, and in the end Mr. Black departed for St. Paul to procure another waggon to take the place of two of the carts (the ox in the third cart was docile and did his duty well). In the afternoon with the waggon and a pair of extra oxen, for which Mr. Burbank had given us credit. The carts we managed to sell for their value to a man at St. Anthony,

who was about starting for the settlement with hardware. Under the new arrangement we got on very well. The cart carries the ladies, and the paper for the Nor'Wester. The waggons the press and type for ditto and the baggage and other et ceteras. The camp was pitched near St. Anthony; and a terrible night it was! We had thunder, lightening, and rain the whole time and were fortunate in being able to obtain shelter in a neighboring cottage. In the morning the weather cleared and since then it has been delightful for traveling. The distance we have traveled is somewhere about 35 miles, through a country which is very sandy in many parts, giving the oxen some ugly tugs. Whilst waiting at Anoka, two miles below, yesterday afternoon, for the planking of a bridge which was in the course of repair, we fell in with Capt. Blakely, who was on his way to St. Paul. He appeared greatly vexed to think that so much noise had been made about this route, until they were in a position to take all the traffic which is pouring in upon them. The boat, he says, needs considerable repairing. She is now tied up at the settlement and early in May they intend sending up for her and getting her repaired, so as to make the return trip early in June.

In the Woods Near Crow-Wing, Minnesota³

As you will perceive, from the point at which I date this letter, our progress continues to be slow. We journey about 17 miles only per day, wind and weather permitting; for when it blows and rains we stop altogether. On the whole, the weather has been and continues to be propitious. Generally, the mornings are very cold and frosty, and the remainder of the day is hot, until the evening, when it again becomes frosty. But we have had two or three heavy storms both of hail and rain, and for the folks whose habitation is unbleached calico, these are not so pleasant. There is, however, not one amongst us who does not do full justice to his rations. You may be interested to know of what these are composed. The catalogue, alas! is not a long one. In the morning, coffee, biscuit, and pork. At noon, pork, and coffee. But small as is the variety, the quantity and quality are there, and we eat enough to keep an army on march. At Little Falls we had the misfortune to break the axle of one of the wagons and we were detained there a day to get it repaired. Last night again, the Nor'Wester wagon was within a hairsbreadth of being tumbled into a ditch, through the carelessness of one of our teamsters. From these and all other calamities may we in future be preserved! To-morrow we winter in a country where there are no wheelwrights and what we should do then in case of accident I will not venture to imagine. One of our oxen has grown blind since our departure and at Suax Rapids one of the Hudson Bay Co's employees (Mr. MacKay) placed one of the Company's oxen at Mr. Black's disposal. So we have now 10 oxen, two wagons, a cart, two teamsters, one dog and ourselves. To-morrow we expect to be joined by the train of Mr. McKinney, who is on his way back to establish the hotel I told you of and we go through the Chippewa country together. We are likely to have a little



Archives of Manitoba,
Transportation - Red River Cart I, N16060.

Red River traders in St. Paul, 1860.



Archives of Manitoba, Transportation - Red River Cart 18, N17754.

Red River cart train with oxen grazing near St. Paul, Minnesota, 1866.

bother with these rascally Indians, who are now spreeing it at Crow-Wing where they have assembled to get their pay, and where we are told they have already received a few knock-down arguments from carters whose cattle they have attempted to run off. The "wood-road" is our route. It is represented as being the best at this time of year—the water of the streams being low, and there being good pasturage for the cattle—the latter a most important consideration as we find by the lank sides of our oxen produced by the dry grass they have been obliged from want of better food, to eat since they left St. Paul. The stoppage of the boat must be a terrible disappointment to the Red River folks, many of whom had sent down large orders, and whose goods cannot now reach the settlement until next spring. McKay also informed us that dry goods and merchandise of all kinds were rotting by the way, the men who had been hired to haul them having taken two great loads and been obliged to throw off a portion of them on the road side. I am very glad we are accompanying our own goods, though tedious by the journey. Coldwell is now assisting the ladies to get supper, and to-morrow I shall be driver of the one ox-team. You will therefore see that we follow other occupations than the business we are on our way to prosecute. We are getting semi-barbarians in appearance. Wash our faces as often as we can get the chance—about once in two days, and put on clean shirts (to do which we are obliged to clear out half a mile beyond camp) once a week, and that on Sunday. Can't you send over a missionary to teach habits of cleanliness? If so, please send soap and water with him. ☛

Notes

Coldwell and Buckingham arrived at the Red River Settlement on 1 November 1859. No more letters appeared in the *Globe* but details about the journey were provided in early issues of *The Nor'Wester*, which commenced publication on 28 December 1859, and in Coldwell's reminiscences to the Winnipeg Press Club, reported in the *Manitoba Free Press* on 2 April 1888.

1. Reprinted in the *Toronto Globe*, 7 October 1859.
2. Letter of 3 October 1859; reprinted *Toronto Globe*, 17 October 1859.
3. Letter of 10 October 1859; reprinted *Toronto Globe*, 20 October 1859.

MHS web links

The Nor'Wester and the Men Who Established It

www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/transactions/3/norwester.shtml

The Crucial Decade: Red River at the Outbreak of the American Civil War

www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/transactions/3/civilwarredriver.shtml

J. W. Chafe: Winnipeg's Renaissance Man

by Warren Chafe
Ottawa, Ontario

James Warren Chafe went by many names. To his team mates on Winnipeg's Shamrock Baseball Club in the 1920s, he was "Chick" Chafe—a pitcher with an astonishing "roundhouse" curve. To young CJRC radio listeners from 1942 until 1947, he was "Uncle Jim" who read the funnies. To CBC listeners of the Canadian and International Services through the 1940s and 1950s he was "J. W. Chafe" the broadcaster; he was also J. W. Chafe, the educator, to his colleagues in the Winnipeg public school system. As an actor with traveling companies, he was "Jas. Chafe", "Chick Chafe", "Mr. Warren Chafe", or "James Chafe." He was "Duck" to his grandchildren and to me, he was "Dad."

His parents were Newfoundlanders who arrived in Manitoba by train in 1892. He was born in the Rural Municipality of Springfield in 1900 where his father had begun to farm. By 1903 the family had moved into Winnipeg, where Dad attended school. He was left-handed but teachers in those days forced him to change to the other hand. Being forced to write right-handed was traumatic and he believed that it put him at great disadvantage at school and

Warren was born in Winnipeg and bought up in his family's Oak Street home. He has a BA (Winnipeg) and an MA in economic history (Toronto). A former Hudson's Bay Company employee and federal public servant, he has been researching his Manitoba family's history, is compiling a compendium of his father's many unpublished works, and teaches sailing and marine navigation.



W. Chafe

James Warren Chafe (1900-1984): actor, athlete, author, broadcaster, educator, musician, and playwright.

at times throughout his life. Also notable in those years was the imposition of his parents' fundamentalist religion. His Pentecostal mother, sometimes-Pentecostal father, and their strange "holy-roller" comrades infused his mind with a skepticism of religion that lasted throughout his life.

In high school Dad began to be involved with school plays as an actor and musician. This evolved into a life-long love affair with acting, drama and playing musical instruments. In November 1919 he was a member of the cast for *Macbeth* staged at the Winnipeg Collegiate Institute. Graduating from high school (the only one of his family to do so), he launched into a varied career. He became, often at the same time and spanning several decades, an actor, athlete, author, broadcaster, educator, musician, and playwright. These categories broadly describe his avocations and help to focus on the depth and range of his achievements.

Chafe the Athlete

Dad often spoke and wrote of his love for the type of hockey that was played when Winnipeg and he were young. His hockey rink—an outdoor one, of course—was just west of the Winnipeg General Hospital near his home on Bannatyne Avenue. He spent many fun-filled hours there—his stories of early Winnipeg are full of names of local hockey greats and their accomplishments.¹ He revered their talents because, as a skinny teenager himself, he admired athletic skill over brawn. Later in life he developed strong views about the loss of skill in hockey as a result, he felt, of decades of dominance by the NHL. Lacrosse was also



W. Chafe

Puttin' on the ritz. J. W. Chafe as an actor in New York, 1928.

a favourite sport in his early years as was speed skating. One of his feats was jumping over wooden barrels on speed skates at Sherbourne Rink. Dad said he was “pretty fair” at it but not as good as the fellow who set a record by jumping over thirty-five barrels. Dad also played competitive tennis and badminton in his thirties and both became social sports later in his life.

During his late teens Dad became a pitcher for several teams around Winnipeg and in June 1921 he pitched in the Winnipeg Senior Men’s Amateur baseball league. His team was the “Granites” with whom he set a pitching record that would stand for decades. Most batters were right-handed and were uncomfortable facing a southpaw pitcher who could float a slow ball with a massive breaking inside curve just before the plate. The *Free Press* reported, after a 1921 game, that:

The chief attraction proved a young pitcher, with a freak ball. Chick Chafe is the name of this young phenom, and in breaking into senior company the youngster had the honor of creating a new strikeout record for the league, when he whiffed nineteen ... batters in nine rounds of play and incidentally helped defeat the “Freighters” 12 to 3 in a long drawn-out amateur baseball contest. This boy Chafe ... shot up a slow curve ball, which was so slow and broke so wide that one fan very properly named it “the stopover.” Whatever the name it proved a mighty effective curve ... (as) the ball seemed to have an uncanny habit of nestling in the catcher’s big pad.²

So memorable was this record that, thirty years later, the same paper reported on an experiment designed to show whether a pitcher’s slow curve ball really drops away quickly as it approaches the plate—or whether the drop is merely an optical illusion. The results showed that there was indeed a deviation from the normal trajectory of the missile. Dad was described as:

a respectable school teacher and radio broadcaster to little children, [and] was in those days a thoroughly annoying, not to say subversive fellow. What made him especially detestable was the fact that he was a left-hander and the possessor of the biggest roundhouse in-curve ever seen before or since in Winnipeg. In a regulation game at Wesley Park back in the early 1920s, he was in the most effective form. That maddening curve was the means of his striking out 19 batters in the nine-inning game; and it was some weeks before these victims were able to straighten out their backs, twisted as they were almost into the shape of corkscrews from vainly reaching after the elusive ball half way to Balmoral Street ... In all the years since then ... no Winnipeg senior pitcher has ever duplicated Mr. Chafe’s distressing feat [to the batters].³

Much later, about 1948, Dad pursued golf with a zeal bordering on obsession. As a beginner he struggled with lessons, but as with everything else he took up, the struggle was part of the higher ground to be gained. His ability grew in leaps through self-study and prolonged practice so that later, with some talent acquired, he was gratified with a profound sense of achievement. He then played at every possible opportunity over the next thirty years. His wife became a “golf widow” and I was a “golf orphan.” Dad enjoyed the social side of the 19th hole but without the drinking, no doubt as a result of his religious upbringing.

In the 1950s, Dad took up figure skating. He and his family belonged to a local social club that had a large rink.



W. Chafe

An Apple for the Teacher. Chafe used old classroom registers, among other documents, in writing his 1967 book on the centenary of the Winnipeg School Division.

He had always been a good skater but as a hockey player and speed skater. Now he rose to the challenge of learning to do waltzes and foxtrots on the ice. His love of music and his athletic sense of timing were a help in learning to ice dance. There was a synergy in this sport that appealed to him and he persisted at a beginner level for several years.

After finding himself exhausted from touring exhibits at Expo 67 in Montreal, Dad realized that he was in poor physical shape. Back home he pored over the Royal Canadian Air Force's *Five Basic Exercises* and took up jogging. After "sticking with it" (his memorable words used in many uphill battles) at age 68 he found he could, at first, run short and eventually longer distances. He worked up to three miles, three times a week until he was about 78. When winter made running outside treacherous he worked out on a stationary cycle or he jogged back and forth across the basement floor of his home clad only in his underwear. With gusto Dad would recite poetry and Shakespearean soliloquies aloud as he ran. This annoyed my mother no end.

Chafe the Actor

After a year or two of amateur acting in Winnipeg during the early 1920s, Dad got bitten by the professional acting bug. He saw a billboard in 1924 that advertised for

actors to work in the USA and so, traveling first to North Dakota and later to New York, he followed his dream. Bit parts gradually grew into larger roles. In four years, he traveled over 50,000 miles and performed in over a hundred plays, moving progressively to better theatre companies and gaining experience. Toward the end of the '20s he began to feel a need to go home and do something "important" —to him this meant becoming a school teacher. Acting companies were about to be upstaged by "the talkies," moving pictures with sound. His desire for a new career and the decline of traveling acting companies coincided.

The second phase of Dad's acting career occurred in his 50s when he played a minor role and co-directed the musical *South Pacific* for the Manitoba Theatre Centre. In January 1961, he played a part in another MTC production *The Biggest Thief in Town* with Winnipeg's Jim Duncan and Arnold Spohr. He also acted in local television plays through the next decade.

Chafe the Educator

Dad returned to Winnipeg in the spring of 1929. In evenings and on weekends he played baseball in Wesley Park (no records but laudable reports from the press about his pitching), he acted in plays at the Dominion Theatre, and he played the trombone in a local orchestra. After a brief stint selling shoes for the Hudson's Bay Company, he entered "Normal School" (a one-year provincial teaching program) to become a teacher that fall. He taught for a year then, in 1930, became assistant principal at Norwood Collegiate. He moved the next year to Taché High School and on to General Wolfe and Norwood Collegiate. In his spare time, he dated fellow teacher Georgina Swanton, and they married in 1934. He continued to teach while completing his BA (1935) and BEd (1938) part time in the evening.

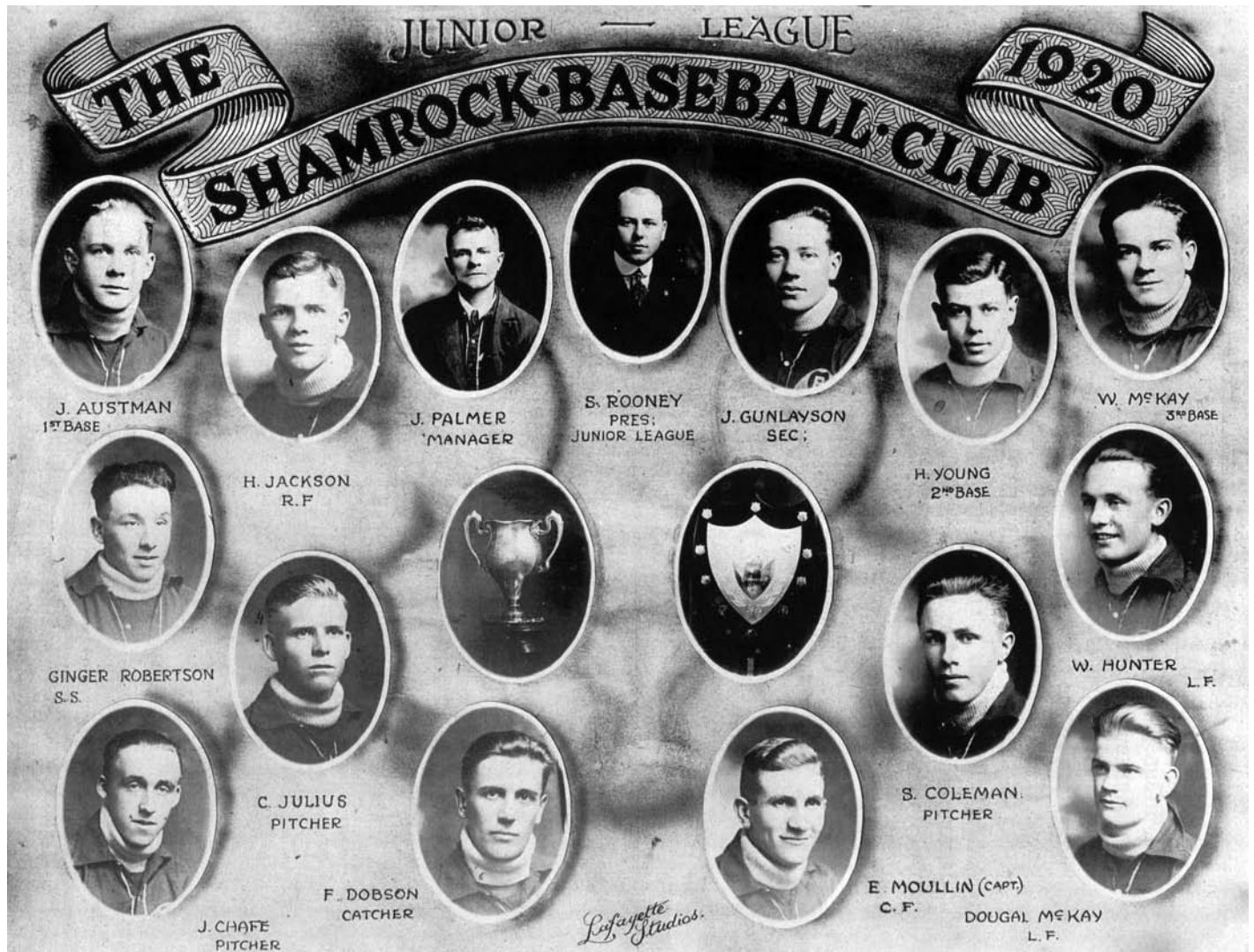
In 1938, after accepting a teaching exchange position in New Zealand, Dad sailed with my mother and two year-old sister across the Pacific Ocean. In true Chafe fashion, he kept a journal of life on board ship for the three-week journey. He wrote that he taught English to a number of Jewish refugees escaping Nazi Germany. In New Zealand he was assigned to schools in Christchurch and then Auckland. Ever the inquisitive writer, he was fascinated by the Maori culture and later wrote factual documentaries and a radio play about Maori life for Canadian and overseas radio. Returning to Winnipeg, in the early 1940s Dad started teaching Canadian history and English at Gordon Bell High School and, as a small part of the War effort, helped to organize the student Air Cadets. He also taught drama, directed school plays and, outside of school time, began to write plays for local radio stations CJRC and CBC. Over the next eleven years he produced more than 100 radio programs, many of which were broadcast on the CBC's International Service. He, like others, was impressed by Gordon Bell's outspoken and charismatic principal, O. V. Jewitt, about whom he wrote a newspaper article on

Jewitt's retirement in 1955. The article was later aired on an episode of the program *Points West* on CBC radio. In 1958, accompanied by my mother and me, Dad went to western Germany to teach high school at the Department of National Defense School of the Third Fighter Wing, Royal Canadian Air Force, in Zweibrücken. In his two years there he determinedly studied and practiced speaking German at every opportunity.

Dad became the principal of Alexandria Elementary School in 1951 then moved to Norquay Elementary from 1955 until 1958. Near the end of his term at Norquay, he realized a golden opportunity for his pupils on the occasion of the last run of Winnipeg's streetcars down Main Street on almost the same day as the closing of the old Norquay School building just off Main Street at Euclid. He gathered his pupils along Main Street to wave farewell to the last street car and, in a memo to teachers that morning, showed the similarities between Norquay School and the city street railway:

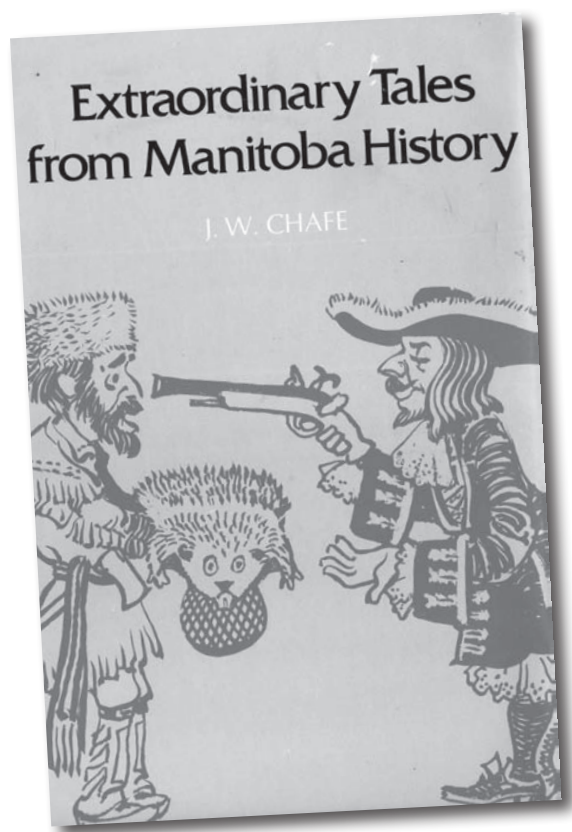
Year	Street Railway	Norquay School
1882	First horse-car	School (wooden building) opened
1890	Horse & car barn burned	Wooden school burned
1892	First electric cars on 5 September	New (present) school opens on 5 September
1955	Last electric car on 19 September	Last classes held in present school on 30 September

Dad remained in the Winnipeg public school system until his retirement as principal of Mulvey Elementary in June 1966. Interestingly, Mulvey was in the same building and facilities as Gordon Bell High School had been twenty years before where he had been a teacher there.



"Chick" Chafe pitched for the Shamrock Baseball Club in 1920.

W. Chafe



J. W. Chafe's 1973 book *Extraordinary Tales From Manitoba History* was an eclectic collection of amusing, lively and often irreverent stories from the past. With the help of author Warren Chafe, the Manitoba Historical Society has made an electronic version of the book and is making it available on the MHS web site:

www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/books

Chafe the Author

Dad was a prolific author of articles, scripts, and books produced in two periods: from the early 1940s to 1950, and from 1967 to 1973. Writing in evenings, on weekends and during holidays, his seven history books—all published—were as follows:

Early Life in Canada. In 1943, this little hard-covered book, written in collaboration with fellow educator Sybil Shack, was published by Ryerson Press of Toronto. The book was part of the "Guidebook Series in Social Studies." Set in a mythical Pleasant Valley School somewhere in Manitoba, it featured an on-going narrative of questions and answers between a fictional Miss Gordon and her 8-10 year old students.

We Live Together, A Study in Inter-Dependence. This 36-page monograph was a fictional and historical study written for 8 to 10 year olds. Published in 1944 by Copp Clark of Toronto, it was a tale of two young boys, Bill and Bob, who learn about economic inter-dependence in Canadian

society. Its chapters presented "lessons" for the boys who travel across Canada to see the world around them for the first time. Their exposure varies from grandparents to industry workers to service providers in society.

Canada - A Nation And How It Came To Be. In the mid-1940s Dad collaborated with United College history professor A. R. M. Lower (1889-1988) to produce a textbook for the anglophone Canadian high school market. First released in 1948, the book was reprinted in 1958, 1961, 1963, and 1964. It was the standard Grade 11 and 12 textbook in Ontario and the Prairie Provinces for many years. The book emphasized to teachers (and urged students to accept) three major themes: first, that Canada is a geographical monstrosity and provides a strange bed for the union of two of the most incompatible and stubborn cultures in the world, French and English, and that despite fundamental differences, they "do rub along together." Second, it stressed that Canada had become a proud and sovereign nation with her own distinct social values despite the dual influences of Great Britain and the United States. And finally, it took the view that Canada has acquitted herself well through two world wars, and had formed herself into a competitive industrial nation high in the ranks of progressive countries.

Canada, Your Country. This easy-to-read textbook, published in 1950, was targeted at junior high school students. It covered Canadian history from the Vikings, through to Jacques Cartier and the early French settlements, to the years immediately after Newfoundland joined Confederation in 1949. Upbeat, clearly written, and with many "How to..." projects for young students, the book ended by noting that an individual could play a small but significant part in influencing public policy and improving this country.

An Apple for the Teacher, A Centennial History of the Winnipeg School Division. Published in 1967, this historical narrative commemorated the centenary of the School Division No. 1 in which he attended school and later taught. He had been commissioned by the School Board "to preserve for the future" the major events and some lighter moments in the development of the city's public schools. The book focused on the many people who nurtured the educational system along the road, and it was also a history of Winnipeg through the years.

Chalk, Sweat and Cheers, A History of the Manitoba Teachers' Society was published for the Society's fiftieth anniversary in 1969, following two years of intensive research and assistance from fellow teachers. Dad was selected to lead the project because, in the words of the Society's President, of his "long and distinguished teaching career not only as a recognized writer, but a character in the history he relates." His complex story of the MTS told of the evolution of the Province, the livelihood of teachers, and the fights for a rise in educational standards. It was thorough and detailed, ending with a severe reminder that, despite technological advances and innovations, teachers remain at the core of education.

Extraordinary Tales From Manitoba History. After the seriousness of the above two union histories, Dad welcomed the challenge provided to him by the Manitoba Historical Society. This delightful little book, published in 1973 by McClelland & Stewart under the auspices of the MHS with a grant from the Manitoba Centennial Corporation, skimmed “lightly through the pages of Manitoba’s long story”, and told tales of history in which early Manitobans have done things—unusual, tragic, funny things—that are not taught in schools but “perhaps should be.” It was an eclectic collection of stories—amusing, lively and often irreverent accounts of human episodes in the Province’s earlier years—that have been told before, but which he “warmed up” a bit. From the fight for furs and trading monopoly, to the Riel rebellion, and to the long-traveling bells of the St. Boniface Cathedral, the collection combined anecdote, comic opera, fun and farce.

In his seventies, Dad wrote several books of historical fiction but none was published. Two were set in Assiniboia in the early 1800s. Another was located in the interior of British Columbia in the 1970s and crafted as a science fiction novel with a historical bent. For him, the fun and challenge was in the planning and word crafting, not in its ultimate commercial success or potential to make money. In the late 1970s, he began to write his autobiography. It was to be another history book, his eighth, entitled *When We Were Young: Winnipeg and I* covering the years 1900 to about 1919. Although he worked on it until almost the day he died, the manuscript was never published. Instead, excerpts were published in a local weekly *Seniors Today*. Over forty of these articles appeared from 16 June 1982 until 14 June 1984, after he had died. Each article was an intriguing vignette of Winnipeg life in the early twentieth century.

Dad was acutely aware of Canada’s growing independence from England and he had written extensively about it in his books. Canada’s membership in the League of Nations, her appointment of diplomats to foreign countries, the 1931 passage of the Statute of Westminster which allowed Canada to conduct its own affairs abroad, and the experience of the Second World War—all these and other smaller steps—had elevated Canada to new levels of independence. As an observant bystander, Dad was enormously proud of his country and believed he was fortunate to be able to write about this evolution. In 24 May 1955, on the occasion of Queen Victoria’s birthday, he called the local press to his school office. He proceeded to repudiate the long-practiced celebration in Canada of her birthday. “Canadians should be celebrating *Canada’s birthday*, not the birthday of this long-dead English Queen,” he proclaimed with certitude. The press deemed his opinion newsworthy and had a small field day with it. Local reaction was swift. There were many calls to our home and few were supportive. Then came the knock on the door. A “burly ape,” in his words, had arrived to defend the honour of the Empire. Dad managed to dissuade him. Ten years later, the federal government adopted the distinctive new Canadian flag and in 1982 proclaimed Canada Day

in celebration of the nation’s birthday. Dad felt vindicated and so pleased!

Chafe the Broadcaster

From 1942 to 1947 Dad read the *Winnipeg Free Press* Saturday comic strips over CJRC radio. This station called upon young Winnipeg listeners “to listen when ‘Uncle Jim Reads The Funnies’ while mother prepared the evening meal in peace.” He taped them every Saturday morning. Initially they aired on Saturdays at 5:00 p.m. and in the later years on Sunday mornings. In the late 1940s he produced and moderated “Junior Jury,” a live radio program on CJRC. The Jury comprised four bright young people, aged 11 and 12. They would listen to “Uncle Jim” read a letter from a young writer seeking social advice about a family or adolescent problem, then they would offer advice, opinions and solutions on the spot. It is possible that he wrote these letters himself. The show lasted one or two seasons. Between 1951 and 1954 he wrote and broadcast some fifteen pieces for the CBC International Service. These included forays into women’s history in the west for the program *Pioneer Women of the West*, and ten radio broadcasts for the CBC National Services on such topics as “Food - Canadian Food!”, “Prairie Landmarks”, and “Lower Fort Garry”. Three “Go West” pieces under the CBC’s *Those Were the Days* program and a large number of short talks under various program names were broadcast between 1951 and 1965. In 1957 and 1958, he interviewed a number of interesting characters for CBC’s *Roving Reporter* program, including the Warden of Stony Mountain Penitentiary, a famous Canadian owner of racing pigeons, and Mrs. Daisy Gainsford, granddaughter of Sir John A. Macdonald. The interviews aired locally and sometimes internationally.

Dad wrote six radio plays that aired, mostly on CBC local and International Services, between the early 1940s and the mid-1950s. He played the characters in some of the parts, learning the accents and dialects as he went along. One play was *A Trapper’s Tale*, a comic narrative set in the north featuring a French Canadian trapper, his Scottish buddy with a thick brogue, an attractive blue-eyed blonde, a Mountie and a ... well, a pet skunk. It was a love story of sorts, written in rhyming verse reminiscent of Robert W. Service. The story was straightforward, ending happily, and was totally inoffensive. He played the part of the trapper. Another of his radio plays was *The Amazing Adventures of Peter Radisson!*, produced for CBC Radio in thirteen episodes. The story, set in the 1600s, was for ten year olds and focused on liberally-interpreted aspects of Peter’s capture by Iroquois, attacks by wild and hungry wolves and by equally wild and money-hungry Englishmen. The story aired in May to June 1950. *The Adventures of John Tanner, White Indian* was another historical play about a fourteen year old boy, John Tanner, born “near Lake Ontario” about 1800, who had adventures as an adopted Chippewa Indian in Lord Selkirk country, that is, in Manitoba. The boy’s almost unbelievable experiences were of the sort written in that era to capture the imagination of youngsters. The

program aired in 1951. *Small Town Teacher* was a CBC radio play, possibly not produced, about a young teacher in fictitious Turnerville, Manitoba. Then he wrote *Arctic Adventure* in thirteen episodes in 1952, intended for six to ten year olds. A young Air Cadet survived an air crash in the Northwest Territories and was rescued by “white,” that is, blond Eskimos (Inuit). He lived with them as a family member, and had adventures with a walrus, polar bears, wolves, and icebergs. It was recorded in May to July 1951 but I do not know if it aired. *New Zealand Adventures*, also with thirteen episodes, was written in the early 1940s for CBC radio, after his exposure to aboriginal culture in New Zealand in 1938-39. It was a fictional work about two young boys, one Canadian and the other Maori, who experience incredible adventures in and on the South island of New Zealand.

Chafe the Musician

In his early high school days Dad learned to play the trombone in the orchestra. As a sixteen year-old he took up street-corner playing with Winnipeg’s Salvation Army Band, again with the trombone. There were stories in the family of his playing across from ale houses and the like on Logan and up and down Main Street. The Salvationists were seen as “do-gooders,” of course, and this perhaps appealed to him as he may well have been searching for approval from his Pentecostal parents. He could also chord on the piano and, at family gatherings, he would dig deeply into his sing-along repertoire and play a variety of pieces. One that I remember particularly was “Has Anybody Seen My Cat?” that he would spontaneously chord and make up silly rhyming verses as he went along.

Conclusion

Dad was always doing something—often things unfamiliar to him—but he took on challenges and mastered them. He continued to live this way until practically the day he died. In the winter of his 83rd year he was still writing daily to complete the manuscript of his autobiography. In it, he reflected on his life’s achievements:

As a young fellow, I was a nut on sports. Spent too much time on them: hockey, speed skating, and

baseball. In only one did I attain any distinction; as a pitcher I achieved a strike-out record that made me famous—temporarily ... Then, I became a nut on the theatre. With much more success; for five years I made a good living acting—all over the States. Came the Depression, theatre folded, and I switched from the ‘glamorous’ to the ‘dull’—teaching. And found it far from dull; in fact, soon decided that, well, maybe that’s what I was born for. I spent three years abroad: a year in New Zealand, teaching—and seeing that wonder-world; two in Germany teaching, but spent a lot of the time learning the language. Then for twenty years after age forty, I did a lot of “after four o’clock” radio. Children’s programs: for five years I read the *Winnipeg Free Press* Saturday comics on Saturday morning radio; and wrote and read a hundred or so stories from Canadian political and social history. Adult programs: I acted in dramas; broadcast prairie news to England; interviewed oldtimers—one, the granddaughter of Sir John A. Macdonald. And in my “spare” time, I wrote seven history books. All this, of course, while carrying on as teacher and principal. And why did I do it? I guess it was the challenge; to be able to look forward to the moment when I could say: ‘I doo’d it!’

A true “renaissance man,” my Dad, James Warren Chafe, died on 27 April 1984, at age 83.

Notes

- 1 Chafe cited such Manitoba “greats” as Goalie “Stonewall” Byron, defenseman Bobbie Benson (at 135 pounds), Connie Johannesson, Slim Halderson, Captain Frank Frederickson, and Mike Goodman. They were primarily second generation Icelanders from Gimli who had enlisted and went overseas with the 223rd Battalion. J. W. Chafe, “When Winnipeg Won the Hockey Olympics,” *Winnipeg Free Press*, 17 March 1964.
- 2 *Winnipeg Free Press*, 24 June 1921.
- 3 W. H. Metcalfe, “The Brain and Mr. Chafe,” *Winnipeg Free Press*, 30 May 1952.

Frederick Philip Grove: Reexamining a Prominent Prairie Writer

by Klaus Martens
Universität des Saarlandes, Saarbrücken, Germany

He who can honestly say, "I meant to do this or that and did it," very likely did not pitch his aim very high. I have met many men in my life who have done things and whose names are consequently known far beyond the confines of their country. With a few of them I have been intimate; and of these there was none but said that he had failed. What others called their achievements, they considered mere by-products of their striving for something greater, something beyond their reach, perhaps beyond man's reach. What made them great was not what was within their grasp; it is so easy to do what is within one's grasp. What made them great was that they reached for the stars. For only he can, even in the smallest thing, go beyond the limit accessible to all men who sets his goal in the realm of what is accessible to no man. A beacon reached, as I have expressed it in another connection, is a beacon left behind; only the beacon that cannot be reached will always beckon (From F. P. Grove, "A Treatise on J. W. Crow," p. 4 - 5).



Archives of Manitoba, Personalities - Grove, F. P. 1, N23274.

Frederick Philip Grove (1871-1948).

Of Frederick Philip Grove, the great German-Canadian writer based in Manitoba during perhaps the most important period of his life, a great deal needs to be said or needs saying again. In the years since his central role in the shaping of the Canadian literary institution much has changed. Canadian literature has developed enormously; it has recovered equally from traumas of colonial and post-

colonial heritage to develop a firm identity of its own. At the same time, reassessing some of what has been said and left unsaid about Grove, but also about Canadian literature, has become a literary and historical debt due. Often pushed aside in more recent compilations of Canadian literary history, Frederick Philip Grove, as the first Canadian writer of intercultural significance, can now be introduced to a new audience as an intriguing avant-garde author in his own right, but also as a figure central to the inception of modern Canadian literature after the Great War.

Grove's life and career may be told as three interlocking stories. First, there is the story of Grove's personal struggles and his past in Europe as an accomplished and prolific novelist, essayist and highly

productive translator of French, English, and Spanish poets and novelists but also of the *Arabian Nights*. Second, we follow the odyssey of a pseudonymously living immigrant teacher through the small towns and the lonely villages of pioneer Manitoba—Haskett, Morden, Winkler, Virden, Gladstone, Leifur, Falmouth, Ferguson, Eden, Ashfield, Rapid City, Winnipeg—and his human struggles as a Canadian writer and dedicated family man. Third, the story of Canada's literary and cultural development in the 1920s to 1940s must be told.

In 1994, Klaus Martens founded the Centre for Canadian and Anglo American Cultures at the Universitaet des Saarlandes, which teaches courses devoted to Canadian culture and society. The Centre communicates the global importance of Canadian culture to the general public via art exhibitions and literary readings. Martens' 2007 book on Frederick Philip Grove was entitled *Over Canadian Trails, F. P. Grove in New Letters and Documents*.



Archives of Manitoba, Gladstone - 3, N1258.

Children of Gladstone, some of whom would become acquainted with F. P. Grove when he became principal of their school, marched down town streets in commemoration of Empire Day, 23 May 1915.

In his public and private life, Grove has been known as a controversial figure. It is perhaps less well known that he was a fascinating and often admirable human being, besides having clearly been one of the most pivotal figures in the making of twentieth-century Canadian literature. At the beginning of the third millennium, almost sixty years after the author's death in 1948 and the many conflicting findings and sometimes hasty speculations about his hidden European past and his life in Canada, a reassessment of Grove's life and achievement in the context of his times is a task of restitution long overdue.

As early as 1951, the Canadian writer, teacher, and culture-critic A. L. Phelps observed about his long-time friend and protégé: "Grove remains for most Canadians acknowledged, but unread—an author with a reputation and no public" (Phelps, *Canadian Writers*: 36). This was true at the time and has since become doubly true, not only as a result of Grove's once unavoidable obfuscation of his past spent in Europe, an early period both socially difficult and literarily impressive. When, twenty-five years after his death, Grove's German name and identity first became known, the very sensation of the discovery did not enhance his reputation but unfortunately deflected readers' attention from Grove's work and his very real achievements towards incriminating occurrences then only

partly known and, due to insufficient knowledge, only whispered about.

Typical of a titillating view of Grove arising from these circumstances is the vague characterization by J. Hind-Smith: "Frederick Philip Grove—the most mysterious figure in Canadian literature—who hid his 'bad' background and his real identity under the name 'Grove,' and whose injured and self-defeating pride led him to create supermen and tyrannical fathers in his books" (Hind-Smith, *Three Voices*, p. 146). To be sure, if there was anything "bad" about Grove's solid background rooted in the *petite bourgeoisie* of the city of Hamburg in northern Germany before the end of the nineteenth and the first decade of the twentieth century, it must be the year 1903-1904. It was that year that he was forced to spend in a Bonn prison because of the betrayal of a formerly close friend, a rich young man who, for literary and other favours rendered, had first consented to lend him sizeable sums of money and then had abruptly turned around, called the loan when Grove was abroad, and, out of jealousy, informed on him to the police when Grove was unable to pay. The period in prison he spent furiously working on two novels of his own, translating a large number of other works, and connecting with such leading European writers of the day as André Gide and H. G. Wells. Indeed, if *anything* at all might be called

“bad” about Grove’s past as Felix Paul Greve, it might be his impossibly heroic efforts at achieving a superior education in spite of his lowly beginnings, his mastery of five new and ancient languages, his astonishing success in moving in the best circles of society, his enormously successful attempts at making and remaking himself. Grove went against everybody’s expectations for somebody of his background and refused the ready-made moulds of class and education. For despite his humble origins, Grove had, back in Germany, pulled himself up by his bootstraps by becoming a well-known writer and (to this day) an enormously influential translator with many of the works he translated from English or French still in print. This astounding feat Grove repeated on a much larger scale in Canada, his chosen country, after the usual, very recognisable “American” pattern and—driven in times of war and uneasy peace by the twin spectres of renewed poverty and social ostracism—in a similar, sometimes overly self-assertive manner.

Soft-spoken and mild-mannered Grove was not. These are the attributes of the sheltered and well-to-do, perhaps the Mr. Brownlows of Dickensian fame. Those having by force of necessity to claw their way up the social ladder, the *Oliver Twists* of this world, rarely are. Creating himself anew in Canada at the age of thirty-five, Grove was not content with remaining a teacher, his first career in rural Manitoba, but aimed at resuming fully his career as a writer, an editor, a mediator of *World Literature*, and a translator. He was notably successful in this in both Manitoba and Ontario, more successful, in fact, than in his old life but for a similarly short period of hardly more than a decade. He was driven to use all means at his disposal to succeed. He had, as he reiterated time and again in his writings about himself and in his correspondence, no time to lose. Recurrences of psychosomatically induced illnesses were brought upon him by his permanent condition of overwork and made him think that his life expectancy might be short. Due to the Germanophobic atmosphere generated in Canada by both world wars and strongly in evidence in the inter-war period, Grove’s original inclination to change his name and begin a new life in Canada was reinforced by political circumstances unanticipated and beyond his control. The assumption of a different identity and the creation of a new and usable past, probably initially meant to keep him, an enemy alien, out of trouble with the authorities, also influenced his role as a writer when he succeeded in finding his writerly voice again, this time in English. Paradoxically, the experienced European man-of-letters after the Great War had to shore up the fictitious identity he had begun to make up for himself by pretending to be a novice writer, inexperienced in the world of book publishing. This was a wise move although he could not have foreseen the particular strictures attendant upon the Canadian market that would soon dog him. He had to make himself over into an English-language writer

who had never before been published in spite of having, during the previous two or three decades, supposedly produced the several manuscripts he was now, in the 1920s, offering to his Canadian editors. This not only served to explain the pre-modernist style of his books but the time supposedly needed for the creation of the several books he was holding in readiness. Nobody seems to have suspected Grove’s truly Balzacian writerly furor in pouring out book after book in just a few years’ time. Grove had to make himself appear as that rare person, the learned (working) man with a cosmopolitan background seemingly unused to preparing his manuscripts with a typewriter, instead submitting his astonishing texts in tiny, almost illegible longhand on both sides of the pages of a school scribbler, and then reversing the booklet and writing in the spaces left between the lines, creating, as it were, something of a palimpsest. No wonder his academic friends and mentors felt they had discovered an uncut diamond. No wonder as well when the truth about Grove’s background came out a quarter of a century after his death, his friends and sponsors felt duped—as if he had intentionally set out to deceive them. He had merely cast himself in a role that circumstances forced him to keep on playing, although those who wanted to see often enough noted the chinks and cracks in his autobiographical armour.

The uneasy feeling that the public had been deceived certainly is a major, although not the only, reason for the marked falling-off in Grove’s reputation after the discovery of his German past. Influential academics and writers like A. L. Phelps and Watson Kirkconnell, the critics W. A. Deacon and Desmond Pacey, and the journalist and poet Thomas Saunders, his staunch supporters, either did not, like Kirkconnell, Pacey and Phelps, long outlive the momentous discovery of their protégé’s identity, or their judgments were now strongly influenced by D. O. Spettigue’s 1972 - 1973 findings about their friend. These, in addition to a number of valuable and incontrovertible



Archives of Manitoba, Gladstone - Schools - 1.

Postcard of Gladstone School, circa 1910, where F. P. Grove would teach in 1916.

facts about the author's life, contained much speculation and hearsay about a possibly still un-revealed criminal past which provided a less than shaky ground for those who wanted to continue championing Grove on the basis of his considerable achievements. At this point, there remained uncertainty about what else might turn up.

Much did turn up in the following decades, but the literary climate in Canada, too, was changing, and it helped to cast a pall over Grove's once solid-seeming reputation. The Canadian literature movement of the late 1950s to the 1970s attempted to renew Canadian literature by, among other things, cutting the ties to some of its history and jumping squarely into an international—post-modern and gender-oriented—present. All of a sudden Grove seemed old fashioned. Perhaps it was felt one could do without such a difficult, even to a degree, un-Canadian subject. On the other hand, with four of Grove's books present since 1957 in McClelland & Stewart's *New Canadian Library*—a collection meant to establish a canon and used primarily for educational reading—the overwhelming presence of a sober, slow, and serious writer like Grove certainly was, for the younger, revolutionary generation of writers who began publishing in the sixties and seventies, like the dead hand of a past best forgotten. If the initial sensation of the discovery of Grove's identity produced a short burst of renewed reader and critical interest in the author, this was coterminous with a remodelling of the concept of "CanLit." Margaret Atwood's almost single-handed rewriting of the Canadian literary tradition from a feminist and post-new-critical perspective that helped to cut it short.

P. Hjartarson's and D. O. Spettigue's publications regarding the fate and new American identity of Grove's former German wife Else, whom he seems to have abandoned in Kentucky before going to Canada, again produced some new interest in Grove. Else Greve married again and metamorphosed into the New York artist Baroness Elsa von Freytag-Loringhoven. Unfortunately for Grove, the very subjective and fragmented papers of Baroness Elsa as a "Dada artist" in New York, furthered by the renewed vogue for feminist and gender-oriented studies of the 1990s, began to cast Grove's achievements far into the background due to subsequent comparative criticism of the couple as artists from the vantage point of the mid-1980s to the early years of the third millennium. This criticism tended to emphasize Elsa's modernity and artistic extremism over Grove's alleged conservatism and stolidity (I. Gammel, *Baroness Elsa*, p. 151).

Now that the roles had been—somewhat unfairly, it appears—distributed, it was tempting to speculate even further than had been the case after Spettigue's discovery of Grove's German roots. In 1989, Canadian poet-critic Stephen Scobie drew the erstwhile couple together in a fictional encounter in Greenwich Village (Scobie, "Felix Paul Greve"). More realistically, perhaps, influential poet-critic and novelist Robert Kroetsch linked Grove's European and New World careers in an intriguing poem of post-modern cast, identifying Grove's riding over prairie trails with

his writing about them, and the trace he left in literature. By then, Grove and the Baroness had become the stuff of fiction, lifting them out of the realms of probable literary history. On the other hand, both Robert Kroetsch and Rudy Wiebe, among contemporary fellow novelists, appear to recognize Grove's close ties with world literature for what they were and what this meant for Canadian literature after his original background had become clear. Grove was not a stolid writer somewhat belatedly emulating such outdated European period styles as Realism and Naturalism. Rather, his own European writings in those styles showed him to have been a small but constitutive part of those movements. In Canada, he was the living tie, the then only bridge between European literary internationalism and the still somewhat parochial Canadian literary landscape before Morley Callaghan was rumoured to have broken bread with American High Modernists in Paris, establishing an indirect link, however tenuous, of his own at a later date than Grove.

All of the above said, it is imperative to (re-)contextualize F. P. Grove in order to achieve a better understanding of this centrally important author as a Canadian and international literary phenomenon of a high order. It needs to be remembered, first of all, that in his beginnings he was only one of a handful of Canadian authors to have started their Canadian writing careers out of Manitoba shortly before and after the First World War. Ernest Thompson Seton, having settled in Carberry, Manitoba, was the first to use the prairie landscape and its human and animal inhabitants to stock the emotional and mental arsenal which went into his writings and into the heads and hearts of countless children in Canada and the world over. Robert J. C. Stead, the son of Manitoba homesteaders originally from Ontario, published realistic novels of life on the prairies between 1924 and 1926.

Nellie McClung, from Manitou, Manitoba, graduated from the same Normal School in Winnipeg to become a teacher as Tena Grove did, the writer's Canadian wife. McClung and her family had walked from Ontario to Manitoba, homesteading and hewing out a new life in the prairie province. Laura Goodman Salverson's family arrived on a flatboat on the Red River before trekking to the Icelandic settlements on Lake Winnipeg. Her vividly remembered *Confessions of an Immigrant's Daughter* (1939) wonderfully evokes the spartanic life of immigrants in an alien world on the Manitoba prairie. Martha Ostenso was a Manitoba teacher before becoming the author of *Wild Geese* (1925). If Thompson Seton became the advocate of wildlife and roughing-it-in-the-bush-exercises for young scouts, urging the conservation of the prairie, and if McClung as a writer fought for women's suffrage and the cause of temperance, then Grove, here resembling Salverson and Thompson Seton, became the advocate and teacher of immigrants and the herald of the indigenous landscape, the prairie in Manitoba and Saskatchewan.

The writing of Sinclair Ross of Saskatchewan who has been said to have "defined the Canadian genre of prairie

realism" in his novel *As For Me and My House* (1941) and to have "influenced in some way nearly every writer from the Canadian prairies" had its natural foundation in F. P. Grove's series of books in which he pioneered "prairie realism" of serious literary pretensions: *Over Prairie Trails*, *The Turn of the Year*, *Settlers of the Marsh*, *Our Daily Bread*, *The Yoke of Life*, *Fruits of the Earth*. If many of Grove's close observations of nature in *Over Prairie Trails* and *The Turn of the Year* seem reminiscent of Thompson Seton's achievement in *Wild Animals I have Known* (1898), then—as has often been said—the masterly and closely observed nature studies in *Over Prairie Trails* make him something of a Canadian Henry David Thoreau, the Thoreau of *Cape Cod* and *The Maine Woods*, to be sure, while his own obsessive recordings of his health, state of mind and economic situation—his Thoreauvian 'chapter' "Where I lived and what I lived for"—to me contain vivid traces of the similarly narcissistic keeper of daily records in *Walden*. Grove's close and intuitive relationship with his horses Peter and Dan, the observation of a wolf, the minute studies of plant life and the extreme manifestations of the weather may be read as grown-up versions of Thompson Seton's *Molly and Rag* and *Cottontail*, *Woolly* or *Redruff*. There was continuity in theme and development into advanced non-juvenile narrative.

Perhaps F. P. Grove should be seen to have played, for Canadian writers after him, a role similar to that of Susanna Moodie for Margaret Atwood in her single-handed definition of a female Canadian tradition in several of her works from "The Journals of Susanna Moodie" to *Alias Grace*. I hold that Grove should be apprehended in his formative role as a founding figure, an immigrant marking a Canadian writerly beginning, incorporating it, becoming its most important earliest twentieth-century icon. Aritha van Herk recently pointed out that Nellie McClung on the basis of her autobiographical writings in *Clearing in the West* (1935) might be regarded as a fitting icon of Canadian literary beginnings on a literary and cultural level. This is certainly even more true of Frederick Philip Grove who produced a huge literary canvas, first roughing it in the marshes of Manitoba and then attempting to squire it in the cleared fields of southern Ontario, all the time helping to put Canada on the literary map of the world—as a confirmed Canadian from inside Canada, an immigrant bent on imaginatively creating the archetypical Canadian experience of beginning again, unafraid, undaunted.

Suppose I went out on the road once more, leaving wife and child? Suppose I merged myself once more in the life which is that of the unemployed—for mankind as such is unemployed so long as a fraction of it is—I could see myself sitting by the roadside, jotting down thoughts or imaginations that have come to me. I should taste once more the triumph of creation, the utter triumph of the pangs of birth; and I should *grow* inwardly as nothing can make a man grow except the vicarious living

of scores of other lives (F. P. Grove, *In Search of Myself*: p. 457). ☞

The Selected Published Works of Frederick Philip Grove

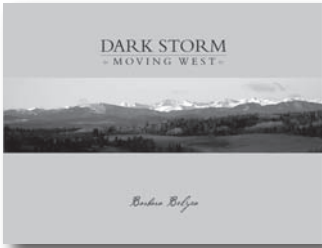
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Reviews

Dark Storm Moving West by Barbara Belyea

Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2007, 202 pages.

ISBN 9781552381991, \$49.95 (paperback).



A brinkman, Barbara Belyea prefers polarization: rather than build on foregoing work, *Dark Storm* sweeps it aside to make room for her disagreements with historians and ethnographers in five imbricated essays that combine archival research and castigations of received historical interpretations. They identify errors and then precede less to debate the work of others than to correct it. Frequently uncollegial, their judgemental tone imparts an ominous sense that the titular dark storm is a barely repressed charge of dishonesty, or at least disingenuousness, by historians and ethnographers of western North America.

Of the unnumbered essays, some of which have appeared before in earlier forms, "Myth as Science: The Northwest Passage" traces how historians' uncritical acceptance of Captain Cook's appeal to the empirical inaccurately and simplistically sets him over against both the explorer John Meares and the cartographer Alexander Dalrymple. "David Thompson: HBC Surveyor" argues that the uncared acceptance of Thompson's decision to switch to the North West Company has disinclined historians from a more complex understanding of him in the context of contemporary Hudson's Bay Company writers. "Decision at the Marias" counts the cost of an insufficient scrutiny of the mandate and achievement of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark by historians who see their success in terms of the values of the culture that they represented and not, as Belyea sees it, as the successful result of their grudging reliance on Native intelligence. "Mapping west of the Bay" impugns received historical interpretation for its failure to understand Native maps as anything more than "early stages of an evolution towards the scientific accuracy of modern European maps" (53). "The Silent Past is made to Speak" censures historians who ask us "to believe that family life was the norm [in the HBC fur trade] although posts continued to be built and run as if it were not" (96), and to think that the work of the HBC trade was regulated by order, not by class. And "Outside the Circle" upbraids ethnographers for standing outside the circle of Native cultures but arrogating to themselves an authority that claims the understanding of those inside the circles.

Space does not permit any one review to address Belyea's plethora of arguments. They merit attention because of their detailed, if not impartial, discussions. Of course, Belyea's own arguments are not immune to

shortcomings and errors. One arresting oversight comes in the final two essays. "The Silent Past is made to Speak" treats the representation of fur trade life by historians who, in Belyea's view, have inferred aspects of that life when archival records fall silent. She predicates her position on the authority of official Hudson's Bay Company journals and correspondence alone. Allowance is made for no other sources or genres of written records, or of non-written evidence from the "test" decade of 1792 - 1802 (what about personal letters, North West Company sources, and artefacts in museum collections?). The last essay, "Outside the Circle," treats the limitations and perversions of ethnographers' written representations of oral cultures. Written ethnographies are deemed partial and inaccurate for understanding Native cultures; fur trade journals are deemed sufficient and reliable for understanding fur trade culture. So, while historians are chastened for interpreting or imagining beyond what some official HBC writings tell us, ethnographers are castigated for reducing cultures to writing (although the work of one of them offers Belyea the occasion [124] to indulge in just the sort of imaginative interpretation that, in the previous essay, she denounces in the work of historians). If ethnographies pervert cultures, why do some of the business records of one company not do likewise, emphasizing some details to the exclusion of others, as all writing does?

In the deficient presentation *Dark Storm*, the University of Calgary Press has done the author a disservice. Despite the book's foot-long width, most of the maps are reproduced at too small a scale to readily illuminate the text's arguments. (As well, the quality of reproduction is inferior to that in Ruggles's *A Country So Interesting* [1991]; compare, for example, reproductions of the same map in Ruggles, Pl. 14 and Belyea [79]. As they ought to have been, maps are not cross-referenced to *A Country*, which has become the standard published source, and either Ruggles' titles for the maps should have been adopted or a reason ought to have been given for introducing a variant.) Because alternatives, including fold-out maps and a complementary website on which a zoom feature could be introduced, were not adopted, many points of discussion can be assessed only by readers willing to persevere with a magnifying glass.

Of greater concern is the deplorable difficulty one encounters in determining which of the many maps and illustrations discussed in the text and endnotes are reproduced and which are not. Readers are denied the courtesy of parenthetical references to figures or plates, which would have rendered a softcover book with awkward dimensions less difficult physically to hold, read,

and consult. (Further on the matter of dimensions, which presumably were adopted — unsuccessfully — so that the maps could be reproduced on a legible scale, footnotes rather than endnotes ought to have been deployed: the floppy width of the softcover discourages routine flipping from text to endnotes, many of which are discursive and not only citational.) Meanwhile, too little information about the maps and illustrations appears in their captions; Belyea does not note their dimensions (problematical when the text makes an issue of “scale” as a concept of the representation of space), their media (the text sometimes offers this information by mentioning “ink” and “paper” in passing), or their use or not of colouring (that the map on page 56 is coloured is clear only because a colour version of it appears on the inside front and back covers, but this case is unique). These deficiencies are lamentable especially because Belyea directs readers to dwell on the materiality of mapping, reporting, storytelling, inscribing, and the like. How the author could decry sins of commission by historians and ethnographers and yet overlook these sins of omission is a question.

The bibliography is good, as far as it goes (why does it list no archival sources?), although some absences are inexcusable: the essay on Thompson fails to discuss Jack Nisbet’s *The Mapmaker’s Eye* (2005); Bruce Greenfield’s essay on the problem of the authority of Lewis and Clark (1991) raises issues germane to “Decision at the Marias”; failure to consider John Philip Reid’s *Patterns of Vengeance* (1999)

and *Contested Empire* (2002) leaves incomplete Belyea’s case against Edith Burley’s *Servants of the Honorable Company* (1997); a consideration of Murray and Rice’s edition, *Talking on the Page: Editing Aboriginal Oral Texts* (1999), could have helped steer the discussion in “Outside the Circle” beyond rather worn-out criticisms of ethnographical practice (did *Maps and Dreams* [1981], Hugh Brody’s unmentioned book, not implicitly penetrate the matter well enough?); and, in the same vein, it is surprising indeed that the Delgamuukw case finds no place in a discussion about the different relationships that obtain between teller and hearer and between writer and reader.

Because the book’s aim and tone — correction, judgemental — discourage debate, because its focus widens more than once implicitly or explicitly to lecture its readers on the “job of historians” (57, 107) and ethnographers, because its title advertises a western progression while, by awkward contrast, the essays start at the Pacific and move inland, because Belyea refuses to offer a sustained argument, and because its physical qualities render this softcover unwieldy, *Dark Storm Moving West* will be easy to ignore, but, somewhat like the efforts of gadflies, its arguments ought disinterestedly to be weighed for the sake, where warranted, of advancing the understandings and practices of the disciplines it confronts.

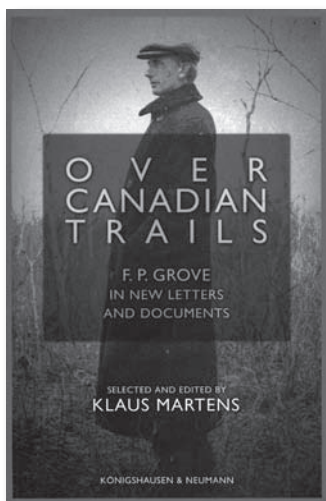
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Over Canadian Trails: F. P. Grove in New Letters and Documents, selected and edited by Klaus Martens

Würzburg: Königshausen and Neumann GmbH, 2007, 662 pages.

ISBN 9783826035968, € 58.00.



Over Canadian Trails was a pleasure to read. The research behind the writing was a monumental task. The volume, while literary analysis, is also historical, geographical, and sociological. Telling someone’s story through letters, interviews and a host of other documents from financial ledgers, official registries to newspaper articles and literary announcements must have been daunting and is most certainly the result of many

years of research. Klaus Martens certainly succeeded. At 662 pages, much of Grove’s adult life can now be examined

in one volume. Martens frames the travels, trials and tribulations of F. P. Grove in six periods, roughly based on his geographic locations. The first chapter is devoted to Grove’s life prior to arriving in North America. While one of the shortest chapters, 72 pages to cover 30 years, Chapter 1 does the job of setting up the context of Grove as a writer, immigrant, and victim of friendship gone bad. The first he pursued throughout his adult life. The latter was an experience that carried on with his concerns over the publishing industry in Canada.

Chapters Two to Six trace Grove’s life and travels, as resident and speaker, across Canada. What must be incredibly rewarding to Martens is that he was able to collect and assemble 300 pages of documents and commentary to describe only eight years of Grove’s life from 1922 to 1929 (Chapters Three and Four). Grove and his family struggled financially, as they did with Grove’s ill-health, during most of their lives in Canada. As noted by Martens at several points, Grove was trying to establish

himself during troubled times (two world wars and the Great Depression) and when Canadian literature was still in its infancy.

One of the greatest strengths of *Over Canadian Trails* is that the correspondence is two-way. That is, Grove's life is not documented only by letters received by Grove. The importance in this is not only providing a more complete story but also allows the reader to the opportunity to be part of Grove's life. In particular, the correspondence between Grove and Phelps is noteworthy. At times the tone between them was terse, but each always expressed interest and concern for the other and their families. This correspondence also illustrates that Grove was not alone in struggling as a Canadian writer during this period. Also important are the letters between Grove and his wife during his lecture series across Canada after the death of their daughter. The letters are very matter of fact with Grove mostly signing off with "bye bye."

Any criticisms of *Over Canadian Trails* are small. In reading some passages, the reader is unclear of the source and importance of the reference. In particular, there seems to be an unwritten assumption that the reader has read many of Grove's works – and in particular *In Search of Myself*. While this would be a reasonable assumption, more commentary on the importance of the passages cited would have provided more of a story. However, at 662 pages, it is understandable why such commentary was kept to a minimum (perhaps like Grove's experience, Martens faced page limits with his publisher!).

Another criticism is that some photos and other graphics do not seem to be placed where they are relevant to the text. This could have been resolved by labelling each as a Plate or Figure. Having said this, such actions could have detracted from its flow – and the story that Martens was telling. In fact, whether intentional or not, as presented the reader must be fully engaged in cross-referencing Martens' commentary and analysis, the reproduced letters, and the other visual representations to understand Grove's experiences. I found myself going back and forth for my own interest and in doing so uncovered gaps in letters, from or to Grove, such as between 1909 and 1917 (pp. 71 - 110). For readers wanting more, *In Search of Myself* by Grove is a must read. For those whose passions lie with the loss of Grove's daughter, Phyllis May, *A Dirge for My Daughter: Poems* (selected and edited by Klaus Martens, Würzburg: Königshausen and Neumann GmbH, 2006) is a must read.

Taken together, Martens has assembled an eclectic, if not close to complete, volume of letters, passages, documents, and photographs. It will be interesting to see if its publication results in the emergence of "new" letters that families have stored away in attics across Canada. As a resident of Brandon, Manitoba whose hometown is Simcoe, Ontario, I will continue to follow the developments of Grove's life in Canada. Perhaps, *Over Canadian Trails* will create a new wave of interest in Grove's work. I hope that it does.

Doug Ramsey

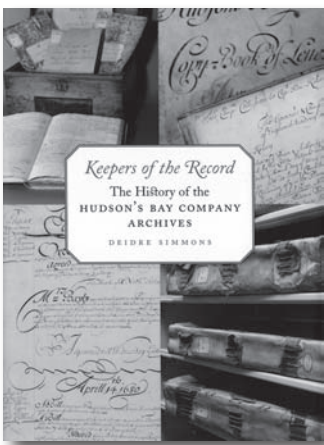
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Keepers of the Record: The History of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives

by Deidre Simmons

Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007, 360 pages.

ISBN 9780773532915, \$80.00 (cloth).



"World class" is a term one hears frequently these days. To their promoters, cities are "world class" as are museums and even sports and entertainment facilities. Many Winnipeggers, however, are unaware that for over three decades their city has been home to a truly "world class" resource, the business records of the Hudson's Bay Company. With documents dating back to the late 17th century,

the Hudson's Bay Company Archives (HBCA) is one of the oldest and most complete archival repositories in the world.

Its detailed and voluminous records chronicle, not only one of the oldest continuously operating companies in the world, but a history of the land, people and economic and social relations of over half a country. Almost every major city in western Canada had its origins as a Hudson's Bay Company trading post. Historians, writers, geographers, climatologists, genealogists, and those simply interested in history, have made use of the HBCA for decades, and the vast number of books, articles and television shows based wholly or in part upon these treasures are a testament to their importance in documenting the history of Canada. Deidre Simmons' *Keepers of the Record* is fair testament to this legacy and is an informative chronicle of the process of record keeping over three centuries of "trading into Hudson Bay."

The significance of *Keepers of the Record* rests on how it meticulously (perhaps over meticulously for some

readers) documents the documentation – detailing the sheer volume of Company records, who kept them and why, and the way that the HBC’s almost fanatical penchant for record keeping influenced company policy making, and by inference, how the fur trade – and later such things as land sales – affected the evolution of the Canadian west over three centuries. Much of Simmons’ story is nicely contextualized within the broad history of the period and the great sweep of business, political and social themes that helped define England and North America over three centuries. Few details escape the author’s attention, from the earliest documentation set within the context of late 17th century business record keeping, to the way that the records were unpacked and shelved after their transfer to Winnipeg in 1974. Some 2000 meters of documentation containing thousands of London Committee minute books, letter books, account books (York Factory records alone contain almost 2000 account books), servants’ records, post journals, ships’ logs, and diaries, make the HBCA a treasure trove for researchers. In addition, the archives boasts a library of rare books, approximately eight thousand maps and atlases, five thousand architectural drawings, 130,000 photographs, a documentary art collection, as well as sound and moving images.

The oldest records in the HBCA date to almost the founding of the Company in 1670, and as early as 1683 the HBC’s governing committee directed the factors at its posts on Hudson Bay to keep daily journals. From storage in a locked iron-bound chest carried to committee meetings at Garraway’s Coffee House in the 17th century, to the shelves of Hudson’s Bay House in 19th century London, Company records were generally neglected. It was only with the 250th anniversary of its founding in 1920, and a growing sense of its own historical significance, that the Company set the stage for a more or less formal archives for its now vast collection of records. The Company’s first archivist, Richard

Gower, was appointed in 1931 and while it recognized the growing scholarly interest in the historical value of its records, the HBC continued to maintain tight control over who was given access to its archives. And while these restrictions gradually subsided over time, especially with the move of the archives to Canada in 1974, the HBC and its archivists have, until recent decades at least, remained vigilant over the use of its records for historical research.

Keepers of the Record is a very detailed book. Simmons chronicles the history of record keeping through the Company’s transition from a small, and generally unprofitable, joint stock fur trading concern to its incarnation as a large (and occasionally still unprofitable) retail chain. The nature of its records, the creation of every major type of record and record keeping system, as well as the policies and procedures developed by the Company are discussed in great detail, especially through the book’s first six chapters. Unfortunately, it is this level of dense detail, and the occasionally plodding nature of the presentation, that will restrict the appeal of this book to archivists and perhaps a small number of scholars who have used the HBCA in their researches.

While *Keepers of the Record* provides considerable information on early archival documentation, the final two chapters, covering the period from 1930 to 1974, have little to say about the creation of twentieth century records. Instead, they focus upon the establishment of the Archives and its use by early fur trade historians, as well as the promotion of Company history through the creation of a publication program. Of the many researchers who have been given access to the HBCA over the years, Simmons highlights two who have written histories of the Company: E. E. Rich’s two volume history published in the 1950s and known for its thoroughness and scholarship, and Peter C. Newman’s three volume hash published between 1985 and 1991. That these two authors are mentioned by Simmons in the same sentence is indeed puzzling. While Rich spent hundreds of hours sifting through many yet to be catalogued records, Mr. Newman, it is reported, spent a total of one afternoon touring the Archives.

The substance of *Keepers of the Record* ends with the transfer of the Archives to Winnipeg (and here Simmons provides considerable information about how that story unfolded) leaving it to a postscript to discuss the collection of modern records such as photographs, film and audio recordings. Unfortunately, short shrift is given to the enormous work that has taken place over the last thirty years in developing conservation techniques, microfilming records, improving the catalogue, and creating scores of new record groups. Simmons does, however, chronicle the donation by the HBC of its Archives to the Province of Manitoba in 1993 and the establishment of the Hudson’s Bay Company History Foundation using the millions in tax savings realized by the Company through its donation.

Although well illustrated, many of the photos that appear in *Keepers of the Record* are poorly reproduced, a problem when one is attempting to depict centuries-old



G. Goldsborough

HBCA sampler. Items from the voluminous collections of the Hudson’s Bay Company Archives were on display at the Archives of Manitoba on 22 November 2007 as part of a ceremony commemorating inclusion of the collection in the UNESCO Memory of the World Register.

journals and letters, and the visual quality of the book is further compromised by the pedestrian quality of the paper. The appeal of this book would have been enhanced considerably if the publisher, McGill-Queen's University Press, had seen fit to accompany the manuscript with attractive colour reproductions of select HBCA materials on high quality paper, perhaps in a coffee table format.

That being said, *Keepers of the Record* is a significant work and Simmons has provided readers with a competent

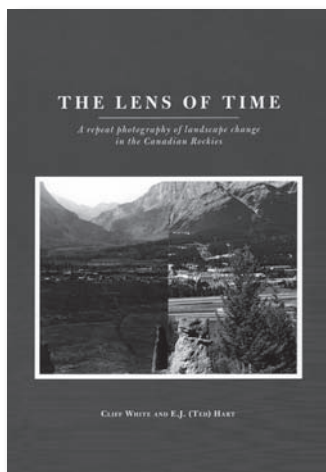
archival history. And if the presentation is at times tedious, one does occasionally catch whiffs of the dust jacket's evocation of "the slightly musty smell of leather and crisp vellum and the ghostly presence of the people who created the pristine script, writing by candlelight in unheated ... dwellings in the wilderness of Hudson Bay or in the centre of London."

Robert Coutts
Parks Canada, Winnipeg

The Lens of Time: A Repeat Photography of Landscape Change in the Canadian Rockies by Cliff White and E. J. (Ted) Hart

Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2007, 312 pages.

ISBN 9781552382370, \$69.95 (paper).



Railways are credited with opening vast areas of western Canada to human exploration, settlement and, in many cases, degradation. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the Rocky Mountains of western Alberta. Although people arrived there long before the Canadian Pacific Railway, access was limited to the hardy and persistent. The CPR (and later the Canadian Northern and Grand Trunk Pacific) drew

the attention of resource developers and tourists to the mountain grandeur. (Railway mogul William C. van Horne is said to have declared that "If we can't export the scenery, we'll import the tourists.") Measuring the changes wrought by improved access to remote places is difficult, however, because there are few quantitative ways to compare their original condition to the present state. Fortunately, the CPR encouraged photographers to travel along its line, sometimes enticing them with free passes and supplies. The result is that we have many excellent images of the Rockies going back to the 1880s. The practice of "repeat photography" – comparing old images with ones taken at the same locations today – has numerous applications. Biologists can demonstrate changes in the distribution and species composition of forests and loss of critical habitat for animals. Geographers can document retreating mountain glaciers. And managers and planners can draw attention to changes in infrastructure and urban encroachment into natural spaces.

In *The Lens of Time*, authors White and Hart take us on a repeat photography tour of the Alberta Rockies (with a brief sojourn into BC) that begins at Calgary, passes through

Banff and Jasper National Parks, and ends in Edmonton. Over 100 pairs of photographs along the route are featured. The authors know their stuff. Both are long-time residents of Banff where the pace of change over the past century has been quickest. Dr. White is a fourth-generation Banffite and biologist with Banff National Park's Resource Conservation Section. Hart has over thirty-five years in the archival and museological fields, and is now Executive Director of Banff's Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies.

The use of repeat photography to study landscape change in the Rockies is not new. Research projects have been done at various places in the US, and the Rocky Mountain Repeat Photography Project (<http://bridgland.sunsite.ualberta.ca>), coordinated by a group at the University of Alberta, has taken thousands of photographs of Jasper and Waterton Lakes National Parks. Compared to these academic projects, *The Lens of Time* seems aimed at a general audience. The book is a large, coffee-table format with large photographs and relatively short passages of descriptive text. It covers all the relevant human activities, including railway construction, logging, mining, tourism, and park development.

A purist might quibble with the composition of modern photos in this book. Many are taken at slightly different angles, sites, or seasons than the originals so the impact of a strict "before and after" comparison is diminished. Part of the difference in composition can be ascribed to changes in camera lenses and film formats through time. And in remote mountainous terrains such as those featured here, there is only so much one can do to find the exact site visited in the past. Modern views at some sites are obscured by trees that are a result of forest fire suppression in the twentieth century. Indeed, this is one of the striking and consistent differences between old and new photographs. As the authors note: "Compared to the late 1800s, the landscape of today is one of less ice and snow, more evergreen trees, less grasslands, and of course, a much more visible presence of humans." (p. 237)

The book is structured with alternating chapters of repeat photography sandwiched between essays on such themes as the past role of people in the mountain ecosystem, railways and the establishment of parks, the interaction of government and private enterprise in park development, and balancing park use and preservation. Cumulatively, it builds a complex story of the changing attitudes of people over time, from an early attitude of boosterism fueling rampant exploitation of natural resources to the gradual evolution of a view that the area should be preserved for future generations but with full awareness that humans are intrinsic to the ecosystem, and must be accommodated. Thus, environmental degradation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was mitigated as national parks began to adopt conservation as their underlying principle, starting in the 1920s:

[S]ome new thinking about the sanctity of national parks started to emerge, and although it would be many years before the concept of parks as fully protected areas took hold, after the passage of the National Parks Act of 1930 the concept of “inviolability,” protection against major development that would impair parks and reduce their ability to be enjoyed by all Canadian in perpetuity, began to inform decision making. (p. 189)

The last chapter of *The Lens of Time* provides an excellent overview of landscape changes in the Rockies. It considers the historic fire frequency determined using dendrochronology (study of tree rings). And it highlights the ecological principles determining plant and animal distribution in the region: ecosystem control by top-down (animals control the plants) versus bottom-up (plants control the animals) mechanisms, vegetation succession by primary (glaciation) and secondary (disturbance) factors, keystone species (influential single species), predator-prey interactions, and habitat fragmentation and migration corridors. They are careful not to lay all the blame on people today, as one might be tempted to do:

[S]cientists are increasingly aware that much of the landscape change visible in the photographs in this book, and many of the national parks’ most vexing ecological issues, are not simply impairment caused by modern human use and development. More fundamentally, they are due to the dramatically different ways current peoples use the landscape compared to past cultures. For example, the lack of burning shown in recent pictures is not just because modern cultures put out lightning-caused fires, but most importantly, because Native American practices of routinely burning the landscape have ended. (p. 194)



Glenbow Archives, NA 673-27



C. White, 2003-05L-36

Cascade Mountain is the only common element in this pair of photographs of Banff Avenue from *The Lens of Time*, as it appeared to visiting Winnipeg photographer A. B. Thom circa 1886, compared to that of author Cliff White in 2003.

The authors append several useful sections after the concluding chapter, including short biographies of prominent mountain photographers, latitude and longitude coordinates for many of the photographs (to help future repeat photographers to visit these places again), and maps of the photo locations along the entire route.

This book is a great blend of science and history. My only complaint is that it does not have a strong, concluding statement of what it all means. Or maybe it does. Its last photograph shows snow-capped peaks in the background of a new home under construction, surely a telling indicator of things to come. As W. C. van Horne knew, people are instinctively drawn to mountains so it seems unlikely the pace of change will ever abate in the Alberta Rockies. The struggle to find a balance between development and conservation will go on, with the public discussion informed by books like this one.

Gordon Goldsborough
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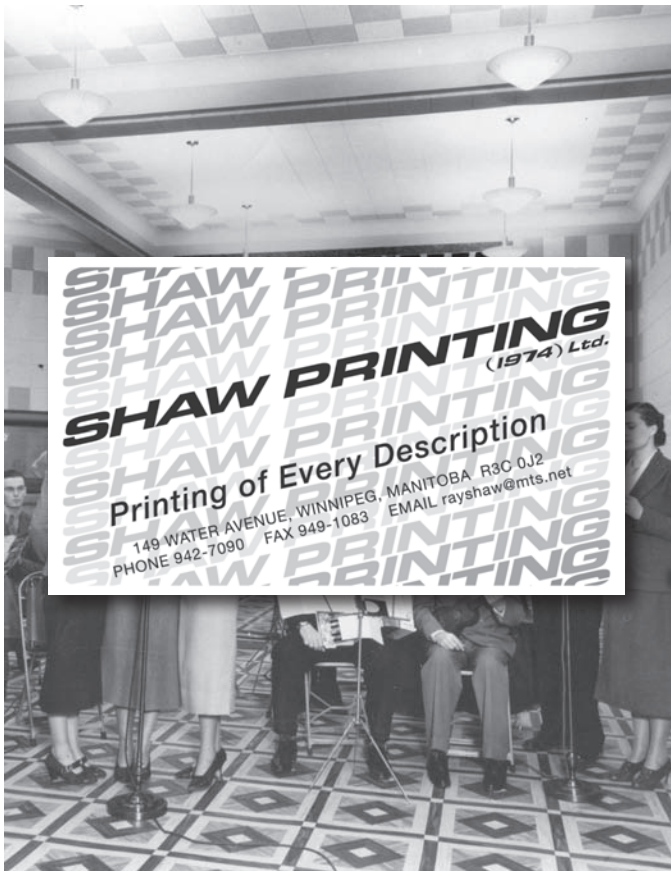


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