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Manitoba History

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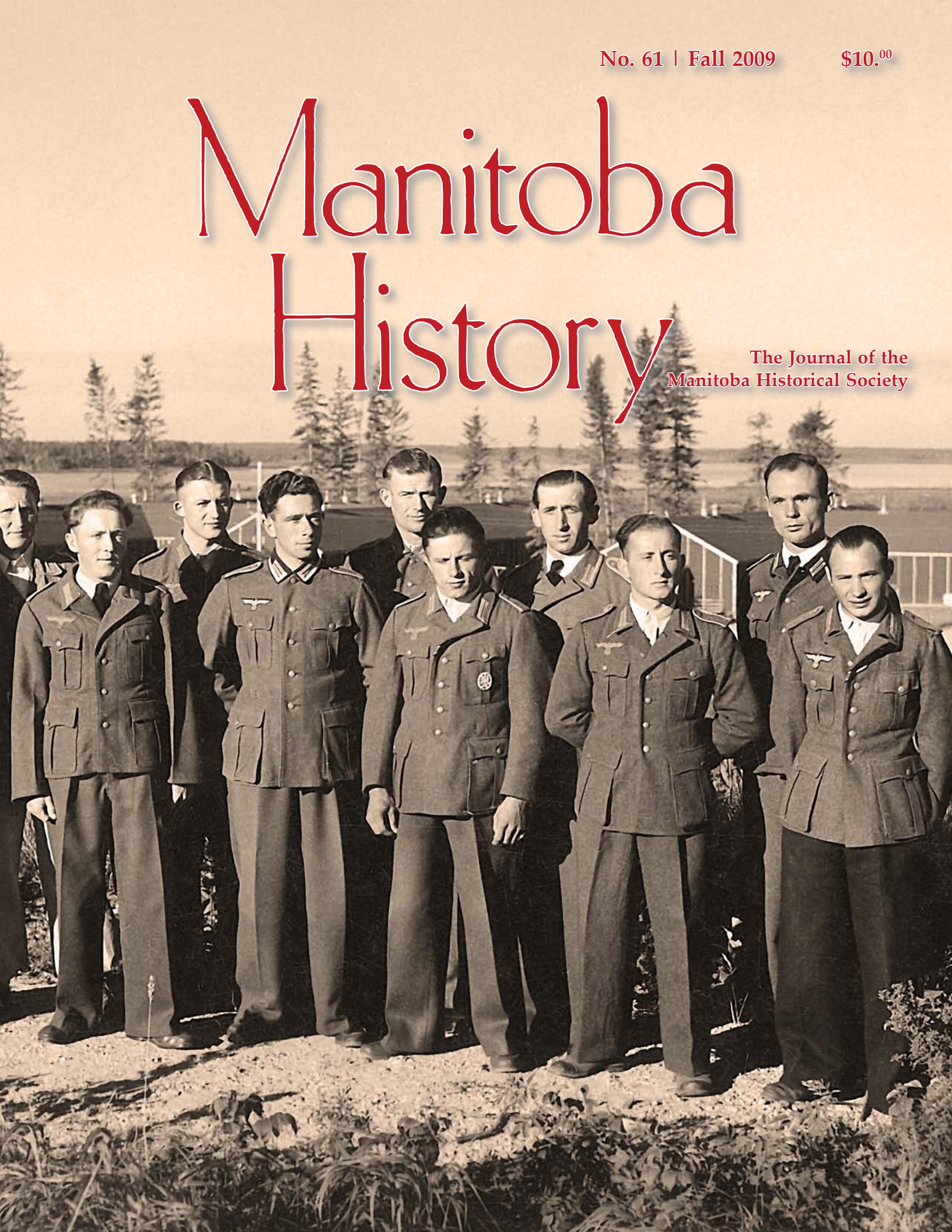

Manitoba History

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- promote and encourage public interest in Manitoba and Canadian history
- encourage research and publications relating to the history of Manitoba
- foster the preservation of property relevant to an appreciation of the history of Manitoba
- assist in the formation and work of local historical societies in furthering the objectives of the Society throughout Manitoba

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German prisoners of war line up for a photograph at the work camp in Manitoba's Riding Mountain National Park during World War Two.

Photo credit: Parks Canada.

Gazette

Reviews

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The Jewish Community of Winnipeg and the Federal Election of 1935 in Winnipeg North

by Henry Trachtenberg
Winnipeg, Manitoba

> As Canadian citizens, and as Canadian citizens only, the Jewish voters will go to the polls ... They will cast their ballots for whomever they see fit. One thing alone will prompt their decision ... no man can possibly hope to receive [their] vote who advocates or implies in any shape, manner or form the overthrow of established government by force or the establishment of a dictatorship that even remotely resembles Fascism, Nazism or isms of any other description.[1]

So commented Winnipeg's Jewish English-language weekly newspaper, *The Jewish Post*, about Tim Buck, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada (CPC) as he ran for a seat in Parliament in the constituency of Winnipeg North—a bastion of left-wing political support - during the federal election campaign of 1935. This election was a major test of strength for the newly revived and increasingly popular CPC, for the more moderate, social democratic Independent Labour Party-Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (ILP-CCF), and for the Liberals who hoped to sweep back into national power after five years in the political wilderness. It was also an election of crucial importance for the Winnipeg Jewish community, which was heavily concentrated in the multi-ethnic riding. This article examines the support of that community for the Social Democratic, Liberal, and Communist candidates in Winnipeg North during the campaign of 1935.[2]

A little more than a decade ago, historian Franca Iacovetta contended that historians had tended to avoid researching and writing about Jewish-Gentile splits and relations between various ethnic communities because of the difficulties that they confronted, including "criticism or a studied neglect from colleagues on the other side of the divide." About the same time, two historians from Manitoba advanced the proposition that historical writing about immigrant groups on the Prairies had evolved from pluralism to "postmodern cultural analysis", with social identity being perceived as "more ephemeral, more ambiguous, more individual than it was in earlier generations." While there is certainly much to recommend these perspectives, it is also the case that a return to political history—written within a broadly construed social history of ethnic communities—can tell the scholar much about how ethnic identity was constructed and utilized at certain key moments.[3] This article attempts to provide exactly this type of analysis.

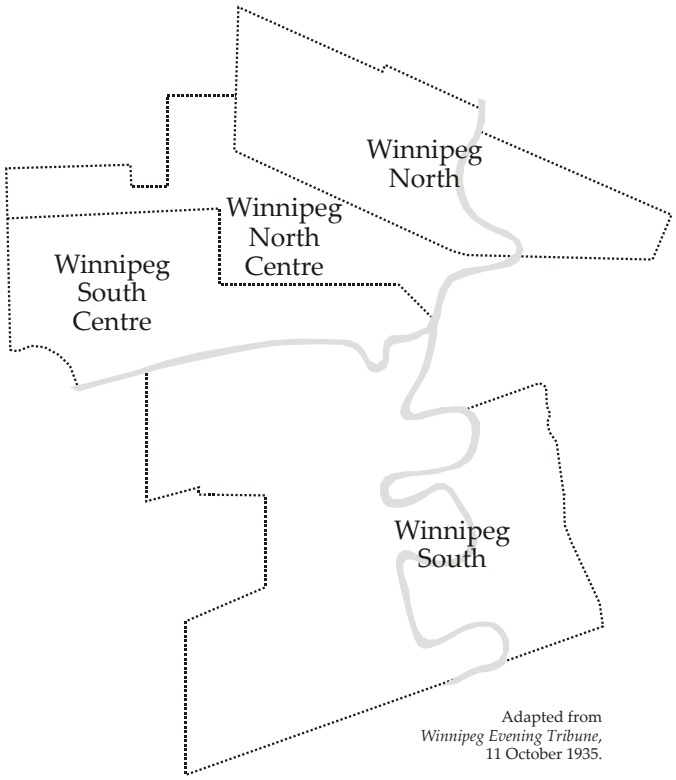
In 1935, Winnipeg's Jewish population was approximately 17,000, about 90% of whom lived in the working-class North End, which comprised most of Winnipeg North. Although at the national level in the 1930s Canadian Jews were "few and powerless" with little political or economic clout, their concentration in specific geographic areas such as Montreal's St. Louis and Laurier wards, Toronto's Wards 4 and 5, and Winnipeg's North End, did give them limited political influence, if not strength.[4]

At this time the Winnipeg Jewish community was composed largely of immigrants or their children. It was still a marginal socio-economic group, only partially acculturated to and barely tolerated by, the host society.[5] If it was marginalized, though, it was not without internal resources. With more than twenty institutional buildings and fifty *landsmanshaften* (free loan, sick and mutual benefit organizations composed of people from the same locality in Europe) and several women's groups, such as the pro-Zionist Hadassah and Pioneer Women, the various components of the Jewish community enjoyed a rich associational life. More to the point, many of these institutions were housed within walking distance of the geographical centre of the Winnipeg Jewish community, near the intersection of Aberdeen Avenue and Salter Street, leading one commentator to observe that "the vibrancy [of the Jews'] cultural, educational, political, and social life made the North End a unique place and culturally rich, a veritable Jerusalem or Vilna, the latter a lively Lithuanian city of unparalleled Jewish intellectual life."[6]

Henry Trachtenberg was born in Winnipeg and obtained his Bachelor of Arts and Master of Arts degrees in History from the University of Manitoba. His doctoral dissertation in History at York University was on anti-Semitism, politics, and the Winnipeg Jewish community from 1882 to1940. He is an historian with the Historic Resources Branch of the Manitoba Department of Culture, Heritage, Tourism and Sport. This article is based on his private and independent research.

Winnipeg Jewry, nonetheless, did not live in isolation from either its ethnic neighbours or the dominant society. One of the most important ways in which the community sought to define and to defend itself within Winnipeg and Canada was in the political realm. Thus, ever since the early 1890s, Winnipeg Jews had participated in electoral politics both to ward off external hostility and contempt from the host society and to seek the acceptance and respect of that society. Their political consciousness had been growing in the years since then, but it reached a crescendo in the 1930s, when "[t]he Depression and the German refugee question ... expanded Jewish political awareness and involvement." Given the "similarities between American and Canadian Jewish historical experiences", an explanation of Jews' "hyperactivity" in politics is a relevant context for Winnipeg Jews' involvement in the 1935 federal election:[7]

> Fear undoubtedly is the greatest single factor accounting for Jews' high level of political activity ... The Jews of America are a product of the psychic ravages of the western world's deeply entrenched pattern of Jew-hating ... The fear is pandemic and whether that fear is at the surface of those Jews who involved themselves in politics or buried deep within them, it ... is the prevailing motive for a great part of their activity.[8]



Constituency boundaries in Winnipeg, 1935.

Over the years, the Jews of the North End—who comprised about one in five residents in Winnipeg North, third only to individuals of Anglo-Celtic and Ukrainian ancestry—and probably a higher percentage of actual voters, had gained political experience in nominating, running, campaigning for, and electing Jews to municipal, provincial, and federal office. Indeed, as Howard Palmer commented, "[a]lthough the attention of many [Canadian ethnic] groups was focused [in the 1930s] on events abroad, there also was a growing interest in Canadian politics among groups that had been in Canada for a generation or more. This coincided on the prairies with the emergence of protest parties that were more open to non-Anglo-Saxons than the mainline parties."[9]

... a return to political history—written within a broadly construed social history of ethnic communities—can tell the scholar much about how ethnic identity was constructed and utilized at certain key moments.

Most Jews living in the North End of Winnipeg supported the political left throughout the inter-war period. Social Democrats voted for the Labour Election Committee (LEC) in 1919, the Manitoba ILP after 1920, and the ILP's successor, the CCF, after 1933, although the ILP, which was affiliated to the CCF, maintained its name and a separate existence for the next few years, including during the 1935 federal election. Marxists supported the CPC, originally named the Workers' Party of Canada. While it is important to note that only a minority of Winnipeg Jews actively belonged to any left wing parties, nevertheless, as Gerald Tulchinsky observed of the 1920s and 1930s, the "strongest of Winnipeg's Jewish political organizations, though not necessarily the most numerous, were leftist... [M]any young Jews were drawn to the radical and moderate left during the 1930s ...."[10] Indeed, as Harry and Mildred Gutkin, Winnipeg Jews who grew up in the North End in the 1930s, observed:

> ... [P]olitics became a way of life in the North End, where a multitude of factors contributed to make political sensitivity inevitable [and Winnipeg Jews] were directly exposed to social disparities and to the hardships of inequitable economic conditions, and their radicalism grew directly out of their personal experiences.[11]

The 1935 election campaign in Winnipeg North was extremely partisan and passionate, perhaps most notable for the ongoing "bitter" struggle between the two opposing forces of the political left in Canada, the CPC, still an "unlawful association", represented by Buck, who was 44, and the ILP-CCF in the person of the 49-year-old Jewish incumbent Member of Parliament (MP), Abraham Albert Heaps. Indeed, according to Heaps' son Leo, the electoral battle was the "most tumultuous" that his father was ever

involved in, and the "rancour and bitterness generated by the Communists did not die down ... until long after [e]lection [d]ay". Similarly, *Dos Yiddishe Vort* (*The Israelite Press*), Winnipeg's Yiddish-language newspaper published twice weekly, described the electoral campaign as "one of the most heated ... in the history of the North End which sent thousands of voters to the ballot box." Perhaps not without a little humour, former Manitoba Attorney-General and Dean of the Faculty of Law at the University of Manitoba, Roland Penner, recalled an example of the passion generated during the campaign. The home of his parents, City of Winnipeg Communist alderman Jacob Penner and Rose Penner, at 347 Lansdowne Avenue, served as Buck's "election central":[12]

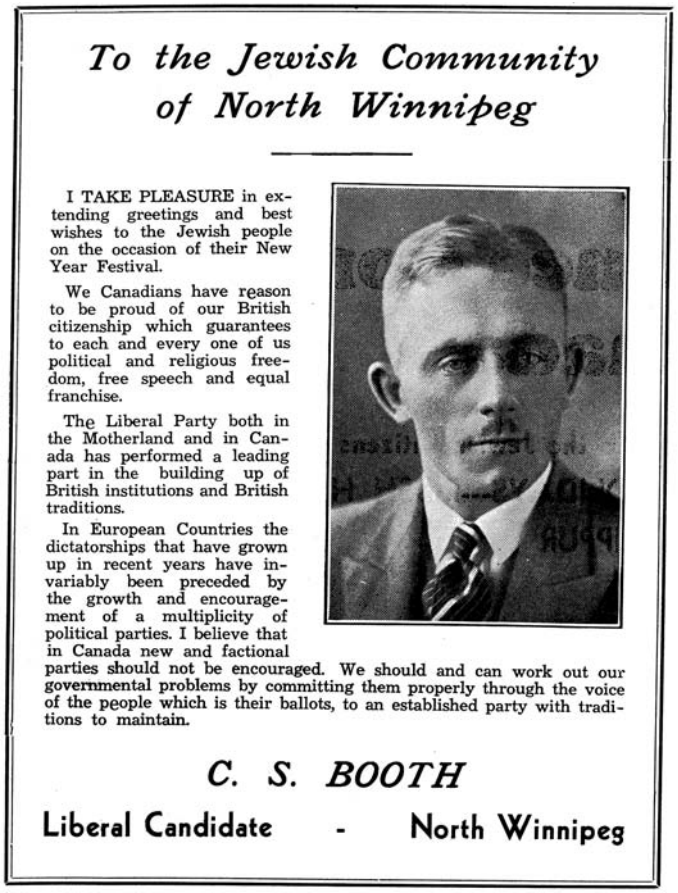
... the "strongest of Winnipeg's Jewish political organizations, though not necessarily the most numerous, were leftist... [M]any young Jews were drawn to the radical and moderate left during the 1930s. ..."

> ... Across [our]front veranda, a huge banner called upon the electorate to 'Vote Tim Buck, Communist—The People's Choice!' .... The anti-[C]ommunist sentiment of many people in Winnipeg North was expressed in surplus tomatoes from what surely must have been the largest harvest on record, most of them used to 'decorate' our... banner and, regrettably, a considerable number going astray to decorate our neighbour's veranda. They *[sic]* were not amused.[13]

In addition to Buck and Heaps, the election was contested by Liberal Charles Stephen Booth, 38, a Winnipeg lawyer and president of the Winnipeg North Liberal Association, and on behalf of the Douglas Social Credit League of Winnipeg, by Fred J. Welwood, a manufacturer and president of the League (it was not yet formally called a political party). The Conservative Party, perhaps realizing that its unpopularity in the constituency would make any nomination futile, did not run a candidate, the official reason being that it did not wish to splinter the vote and thereby allow Buck to be elected.[14]

Heaps, who was born in Leeds, England, arrived in Winnipeg in 1911 and obtained employment as an upholsterer with the Canadian Pacific Railway. He soon became active in the local labour movement, serving as the Winnipeg Trades and Labour Council statistician and secretary of the Labour Representation Committee, the trades unionists' political organization. He was elected as a City of Winnipeg alderman for the North End's municipal Ward 5 and then consolidated Ward 3, and was arrested in 1919 as a leader of the Winnipeg General Strike. Long before the federal election of 1935, therefore, Heaps had become a formidable political force. As *Dos Yiddishe Vort* commented that year, Heaps had an "outstanding reputation" and was "very popular in labour circles and in the community at large and even in the general non-Jewish circles he [was] regarded as very strong." Elected to Parliament in 1925 as the ILP candidate for Winnipeg North, and re-elected in 1926 and 1930, Heaps had made "tireless efforts as the most credible economic critic in the [House of] Commons" during the 1920s and early 1930s. He had been a member of the "Ginger Group" led by James Shaver Woodsworth, the ILP, then CCF leader and MP for Winnipeg North Centre, and with Woodsworth, had been, and remained, a forceful and "impressive" spokesman for working class interests and a champion of social welfare measures such as unemployment and sickness insurance. The two men had been instrumental in bringing about the introduction of old age pensions in 1927.[15]

In the House of Commons, Heaps spoke on dozens of subjects, introduced motions or amendments to motions about reducing hours of work, and, in 1933, successfully had opposed a bill to amalgamate the Canadian Pacific and Canadian National railways, claiming that thousands of railway workers would lose their jobs if the merger occurred. By 1935, Heaps, who politely refused an



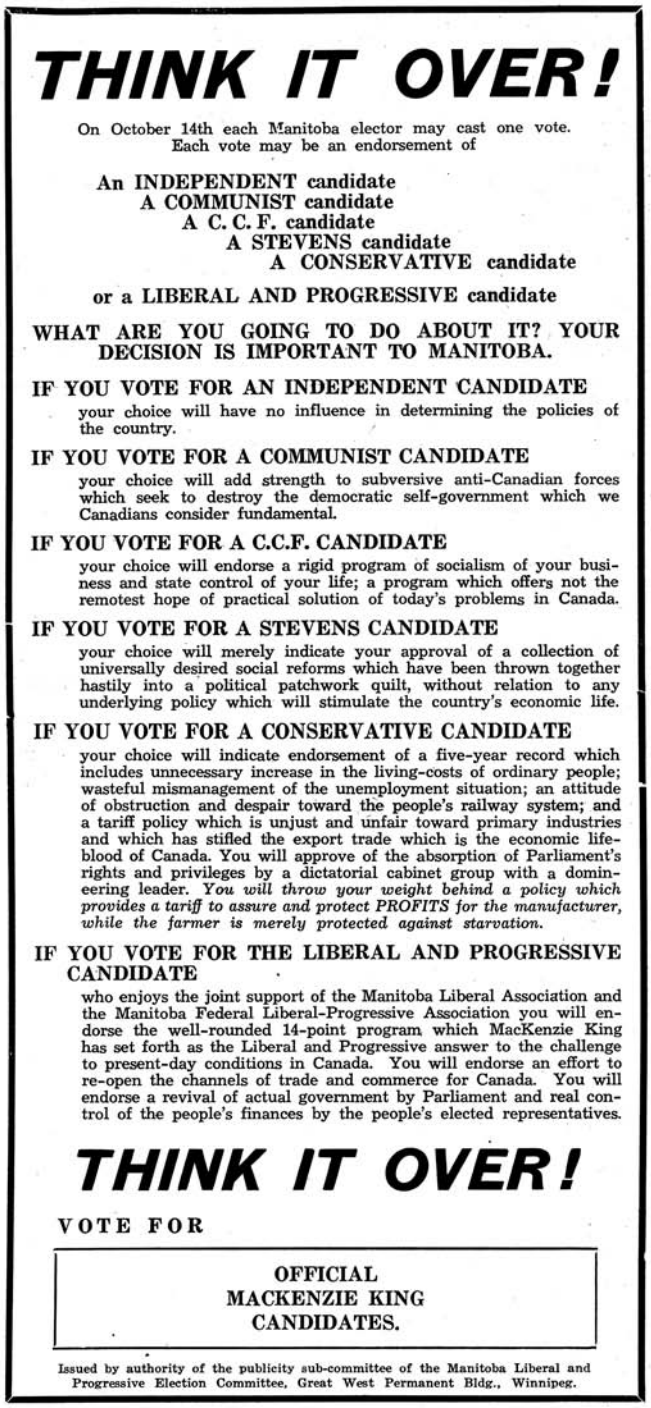
Manitoba Legislative Library

Election advertisement by C. S. Booth in *The Jewish Post*, 26 September 1935.

appointment offered by Conservative Prime Minister Richard Bedford Bennett to the Senate, was able "to move with some assurance among a variety of people: statesmen, union activists, newspaper reporters, and his own ethnic constituents", was the "nemesis of any member of the House who rose to speak without adequate preparation", and had an "almost infallible capacity to produce the appropriate information on demand."[16]

The fact that Heaps was not an observant Jew had not damaged his standing with his Jewish constituents. For instance, during the 1935 campaign, he was one of the invited speakers at a community banquet honouring the services of an Orthodox rabbi who was leaving Winnipeg, and he addressed the Young Women of the Knesseth Israel Synagogue Sisterhood. Of greater importance to Jewish electors, though, was the fact that Heaps had been a vocal spokesperson for much more lenient Canadian immigration and refugee policies, especially in the matter of allowing Jewish refugees from Germany into Canada. Although Heaps, an honourary president of the Jewish Immigrant Aid Society of Canada (JIAS), met with little success in this regard, he was one of the few MP's who sounded the alarm concerning anti-Semitism in Europe and Canada from public platforms.[17]

During the election campaign, direct appeals were made by all four candidates to the North End's Jewish electors. *Dos Yiddishe Vort* may have exaggerated their number when it claimed there were between 8,000 and 9,000 Jewish voters, but without doubt they constituted an important part of the North End's electorate—a grouping which no politician could ignore if he hoped to win the riding. Heaps certainly had the upper hand in this regard. Not only was he Jewish, but he benefited from the existence of a strong ILP organization at the municipal and provincial levels that not only assisted him in his election campaign, but was instrumental in the election of several of his closest friends and political colleagues, all of whom were very popular in significant parts of the Winnipeg Jewish community. These included John Queen, former arrested Winnipeg General Strike leader and City of Winnipeg alderman for Ward 3, now Manitoba Member of the Legislative Assembly (MLA), Provincial ILP leader, and Mayor of Winnipeg; two British-born Jews, lawyer, former Winnipeg school trustee, and now MLA, Marcus Hyman, author of the Manitoba Anti-Defamation Act (sometimes called the Hyman Act), and John (Jack) Blumberg, a former street railway man, who was a City of Winnipeg alderman for Ward 3 and Winnipeg's acting mayor during the time of the election; and Morris Abraham Gray (Gurarie), a Jew originally from Russia. Gray was the manager of a steamship line agency and honourary secretary of the JIAS, both of which positions brought him into regular contact with Jewish immigrants in and coming to Winnipeg. He was also a City of Winnipeg alderman for Ward 3 and during the federal election campaign was elected by his fellow aldermen as chairman of the City of Winnipeg's Special Committee on Unemployment Relief. Indeed, Heaps' nomination papers were signed by Gray and Blumberg among others. Beyond this, Heaps' campaign in the Jewish community benefited from the active involvement of at least three other well-known Jewish communal leaders: Joseph Alter Cherniack, a lawyer, former treasurer of the Manitoba ILP and unsuccessful ILP aldermanic candidate in Ward 3 in 1927 and 1928; Samuel Green, a leader of the Poale Zion, a Labour Zionist organization formally known as the United Jewish Socialist Labour Party, affiliated to the ILP in Manitoba and, internationally, to the British Labour Party;



THINK IT OVER!

On October 14th each Manitoba elector may cast one vote.
Each vote may be an endorsement of

An INDEPENDENT candidate
A COMMUNIST candidate
A C. C. F. candidate
A STEVENS candidate
A CONSERVATIVE candidate

or a LIBERAL AND PROGRESSIVE candidate

WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO ABOUT IT? YOUR DECISION IS IMPORTANT TO MANITOBA.

IF YOU VOTE FOR AN INDEPENDENT CANDIDATE
your choice will have no influence in determining the policies of the country.

IF YOU VOTE FOR A COMMUNIST CANDIDATE
your choice will add strength to subversive anti-Canadian forces which seek to destroy the democratic self-government which we Canadians consider fundamental.

IF YOU VOTE FOR A C.C.F. CANDIDATE
your choice will endorse a rigid program of socialism of your business and state control of your life; a program which offers not the remotest hope of practical solution of today's problems in Canada.

IF YOU VOTE FOR A STEVENS CANDIDATE
your choice will merely indicate your approval of a collection of universally desired social reforms which have been thrown together hastily into a political patchwork quilt, without relation to any underlying policy which will stimulate the country's economic life.

IF YOU VOTE FOR A CONSERVATIVE CANDIDATE
your choice will indicate endorsement of a five-year record which includes unnecessary increase in the living-costs of ordinary people; wasteful mismanagement of the unemployment situation; an attitude of obstruction and despair toward the people's railway system; and a tariff policy which is unjust and unfair toward primary industries and which has stifled the export trade which is the economic life-blood of Canada. You will approve of the absorption of Parliament's rights and privileges by a dictatorial cabinet group with a domineering leader. *You will throw your weight behind a policy which provides a tariff to assure and protect PROFITS for the manufacturer, while the farmer is merely protected against starvation.*

IF YOU VOTE FOR THE LIBERAL AND PROGRESSIVE CANDIDATE
who enjoys the joint support of the Manitoba Liberal Association and the Manitoba Federal Liberal-Progressive Association you will endorse the well-rounded 14-point program which MacKenzie King has set forth as the Liberal and Progressive answer to the challenge to present-day conditions in Canada. You will endorse an effort to re-open the channels of trade and commerce for Canada. You will endorse a revival of actual government by Parliament and real control of the people's finances by the people's elected representatives.

THINK IT OVER!

VOTE FOR

OFFICIAL
MACKENZIE KING
CANDIDATES.

Issued by authority of the publicity sub-committee of the Manitoba Liberal and Progressive Election Committee, Great West Permanent Bldg., Winnipeg.

Manitoba Legislative Library

The Jewish Post, 10 October 1935.

and Meyer Averbach, a lawyer, Talmud Torah (Hebrew Free School) teacher and principal, Winnipeg school trustee for Ward 3, and executive secretary of the Western Division, Canadian Jewish Congress. All worked actively for Heaps' re-election and appeared on the campaign platform with him. Moreover, extrapolating ILP support at the municipal level, 6,000 votes, to the federal, *Dos Yiddishe Vort* asserted that Heaps had a base vote of 9,000.[18]

A general election committee to co-ordinate Heaps' campaign was established, as was a Heaps Young People's Election Club, and the North Winnipeg Women's Labour Group held a social and dance, at which Heaps spoke, to raise funds for the ILP-CCF candidate. Heaps was the beneficiary, not only of provincial ILP support, but of the organizational and financial participation over several years of ILP women members and followers in Winnipeg North. As Joan Sangster noted, in Winnipeg "women's neighbourhood ILP groups had been active for some time and since 1932 were federated into a city-wide Women's Labour Conference. Within the neighbourhood groups, fundraising and political education were the key activities. Besides holding euchres and bazaars, women examined the important questions of the day." As well, a Jewish Committee for Heaps, with its own campaign office, was formed, including many leaders of the Winnipeg Jewish community and representing a cross-section of occupations and socio-economic classes. The committee advertised Heaps' candidacy in *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, advising Jewish voters that it would be an "odious crime" for them to oppose a candidate who was their co-religionist, especially an honourable and devoted public servant like Heaps who had served Winnipeg Jewry for twenty years.[19] The committee's advertising reflected, and to some degree, played upon, the fears of Winnipeg's Jews about anti-Semitism:

> ... [F]or a time [William] Whittaker [leader of Winnipeg's neo-Nazi Canadian Nationalist Party, was] quiet thanks to the work of our Jewish representatives; it is, however, misleading to think that Whittaker and people like him have disappeared completely. And they may, God forbid, crawl out from their holes and further spread the poison of scorn and hatred against us—WHO WILL HAVE US IN MIND IF NOT OUR OWN, OUR JEWISH REPRESENTATIVE?[20]

Heaps, who campaigned on radio, as did Booth and Buck, also was endorsed by many Jewish and Gentile communal leaders who appeared at meetings with him, including J. B. Graham, secretary of the Winnipeg and District Trades and Labour Council, and other labour leaders; the Reverend Evan M. Whidden, pastor of the North End's Baptist Tabernacle Church; as noted, Samuel Green of the Poale Zion, which had endorsed Heaps and requested its members and friends to work actively for his reelection; Simon Belkin, a vice-president of the Canadian Jewish Congress and director for Canada of the Jewish Colonization Association (JCA); and Louis Rosenberg, manager for Western Canada of Jewish farm settlements for the JCA. Indeed, at his opening campaign event on 11 September, *The Winnipeg Evening Tribune* reported that Heaps had "an imposing array of supporting speakers" from the ILP, the CCF, the CCF youth movement, the Trades and Labour Council, and others active in the labour movement who had endorsed him.[21]

Heaps sharply attacked his political opponents, for example, condemning Social Credit for its alleged similarities to National Socialism and suggesting that some Social Credit leaders in Winnipeg were anti-Semites. He criticized Liberal Opposition Leader William Lyon Mackenzie King for taking credit for the introduction and passage of old age pension legislation, contended that Booth was "marching hand in hand" with Buck to defeat him, and scornfully reprimanded some Liberal candidates for attempting to win support by holding "entertainments at which pop, cigars, and cigarettes were provided." In this regard, an advertisement from Heaps' Jewish committee alleged: "Come into [the Liberal] committee rooms and you will be rewarded. This is the way some North End Jewish Liberal *untershtippers* [underhanded corrupt manipulators] are appealing to Jewish voters."[22]

Heaps was the beneficiary, not only of provincial ILP support, but of the organizational and financial participation over several years of ILP women members and followers in Winnipeg North.

Heaps' most animated attacks, however, were directed at the Communists. At his first campaign meeting, described by *The Winnipeg Evening Tribune* as "enthusiastic", before an audience of 400 at St. John's High School, Heaps alleged that the CPC wanted change "by force and ultimate dictatorship", and displayed two Winnipeg North Communist election pamphlets, one in Yiddish, the other in English, which vehemently attacked the ILP, but whose authorship was denied by the Communists. Heaps also claimed that the Communists were engaged in "misrepresentation and slander, both on the platform and in personal canvassing". He continued: "I don't know why these people who have had no experience with responsible government should try to force Communism on us ... I say to the Russian people, 'hands off Canada'." At the end of the campaign, Heaps stated that for the Communists, "no methods [had] been too low, and no means too unscrupulous for them to adopt in their efforts to discredit" him. At "considerable personal risk", Heaps attended several CPC meetings where he asked for the platform and attempted to answer the various charges made against him by Buck and other CPC speakers. Indeed, on one occasion, a Jewish women's election meeting, with Mrs. Goldie

W. Beeching and P. Clarke (editors), *Yours in the Struggle: Reminiscences of Tim Buck* (Toronto: NC Press Limited, 1977), p. 192.

Communist candidate Tim Buck addresses the crowd at a Dominion Day rally in Winnipeg, 1935.

Steinberg of Heaps' Jewish committee as chairperson, and Heaps and Beatrice Brigden, the CCF candidate in Brandon, as speakers, was held at the Freiheit [Liberty or Jewish Friends'] Temple, the political, cultural, educational, and social headquarters of Winnipeg's Jewish Communists. The Comintern, and hence the CPC, regarded Zionism as "a deviation incompatible with bolshevization". The CPC, opposed to a partition of Palestine into Arab and Jewish sections by "British Imperialists", accused Zionist leaders of being responsible for "the present deplorable situation" by conducting a policy of "replacing the Arab population" and a campaign of "discriminations against the Arab people". The Communists condemned "acts of terrorism against the Arab population perpetrated by the small but dangerous Fascist group amongst Palestinian Jewry." It was not surprising, therefore, that Heaps took the Communists to task on their positions respecting Palestine:[23]

> Firefighters against anti-Semitism—the same Jewish [C]ommunists who in 1929 supported the Arab pogroms in Israel, and work with the Arab effendis to inflame the Arabs against the Jews ... They are against anti-Semitism only when it is the Communist line. They are ready to go with the worst *pogromchiks* [pogrom participants].[24]

Heaps had visited Palestine in 1933, and learned of the difficulty that the Palestine Citrus Exchange was encountering in exporting oranges and grapefruit to Canada because of its high tariffs. As a result, he made representations to the Bennett government and, after protracted negotiations, was successful in having the citrus products enter Canada duty free. Appealing to the majority of Winnipeg Jewry who were Zionists, and reinforcing his position with his Poale Zion supporters during the campaign, Heaps reminded Jewish electors of his efforts.[25]

While it is difficult to quantify the impact of Winnipeg's two daily newspapers on Jewish voters' intentions, Heaps benefited from an endorsement—"some support" as the newspaper termed it after the election—by *The Winnipeg Evening Tribune*, which, during the election campaign, reprinted Heaps' remarks in the House of Commons on 25 April 1934, defending the Natural Products Marketing Act from the charge of undue interference with the rights of the individual. Moreover, in the course of the campaign the newspaper published an editorial on the topic, asserting that Heaps had proved to be "an able defender" of the legislation when he delivered the "notable speech affirming not only the merits of the Marketing Act but showing by simple illustration that Parliament had not in any way abandoned functions it has been in the habit of exercising." Also during the campaign, the newspaper criticized King for stating in Winnipeg that, based on voting in the House of Commons, the CCF members did not "know their own minds". On the contrary, claimed *The Tribune*, Heaps, Woodsworth, and other CCF MP's were "men of independent minds, so far as questions which interest[ed] other political parties [were] concerned. Their votes in [P]arliament [were] evidence of that." According to the Winnipeg daily, the electors of Winnipeg North would be "voting for or against Communism." Although Booth was a "good citizen", his cause was "a forlorn hope" and Buck, the choice of a militant minority, was "repugnant to 75 per cent" of Winnipeg North electors. In order to defeat Buck, therefore, constituency residents were urged to vote for Heaps who had "rendered creditable service" in Parliament. Indeed, after the election, *The Tribune* made clear its endorsement of Heaps in the editorial "North Winnipeg Aftermath": "Not only as the alternative to a Communist but on his own merits, The Tribune feels that North Winnipeg will have an able and useful member in A. A. Heaps."[26]

The *Winnipeg Free Press*, which supported Booth and the Liberal Party, described Heaps as an "admirable candidate with a good parliamentary record" for people who agreed with his views, and with other CCF MPs, as

one of a group of "men of independent minds" who voted accordingly regardless of "the crack of the party whip to which members of other parties so regularly submit". Nevertheless, in the newspaper's estimation, Heaps was an "undesirable candidate".[27]

Perhaps not surprisingly, however, there was not even muted support for Heaps from *The North-Ender*, the anti-Labour, anti-Communist weekly community newspaper, which suggested that voters should support Booth, if only because there was no Conservative candidate. As it had done during the federal election campaign of 1930, *The North-Ender* launched a vitriolic attack on Heaps. The newspaper condemned him for alleged decreased attendance in the House of Commons and on parliamentary committees, and claimed that he was no longer "enthusiastic" in advancing working class causes and had been one of the "most active enemies the reorganizer [Sir Henry Thornton] of the Canadian government railways had to meet", whose votes had "put the finishing touches to the harassed railway-builder." The paper also contended that the residents of Winnipeg North had not received any benefits from their "impotent" representative who belonged to a "small and isolated coterie". Shockingly, *The North-Ender*, which was full of news about Jewish organizations and individuals, and which carried advertisements from Jewish business and professional people, referred to Heaps as "Abie", "the aristocrat",[28] and openly crossed into anti-Semitic territory when it asserted:

> That [Heaps' election as an MP] has been of considerable benefit to 'Abe' goes without question. He is no longer a poor man, nor yet dependent upon the indemnity given members of parliament. That was to be expected seeing Abe Heaps is a Jew and given opportunity the inherent acquisitiveness of his race was bound to bring about a state of affability, enabling him to use his position to advantage.[29]

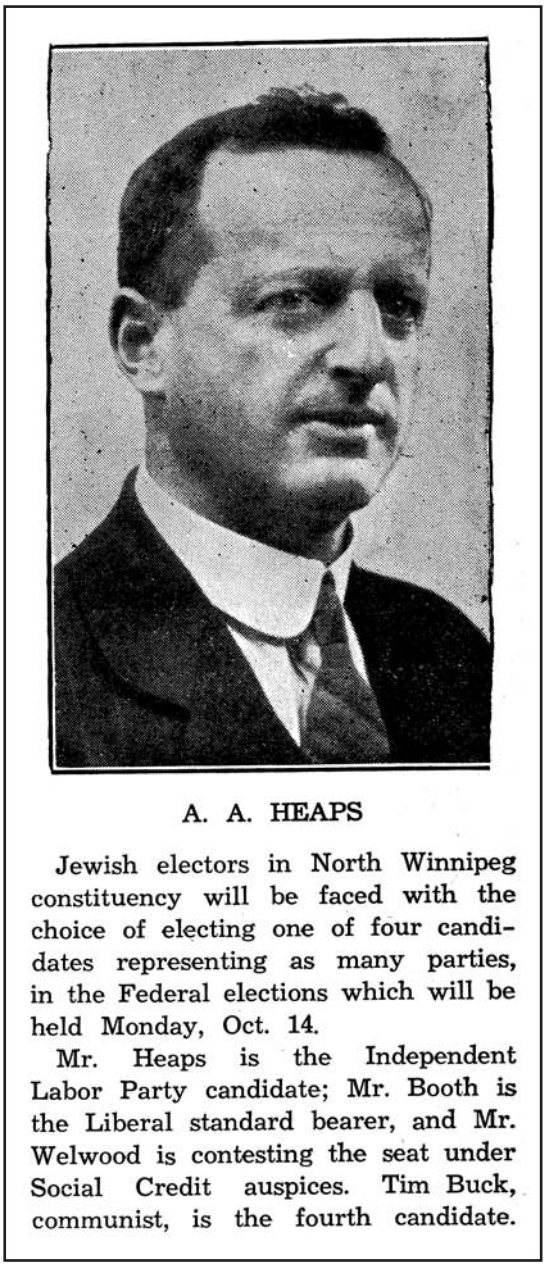
The article set off a firestorm in the North End, particularly in the Jewish community. *The Jewish Post*, for instance, accused *The North-Ender* of engaging in a "moral crime" through the "disgusting spectacle of an insipid attempt at Jew-baiting" "unashamedly and in language more befitting a publication of perverted Nazis [Julius] Streicher or [Josef] Goebbels."[30] In a Yiddish editorial, the newspaper took *The North- Ender* to task:

> ... [W]hen [*The North-Ender*] seeks through false attacks to discredit an MP on the ground that he is a Jew, and it attacks at the same time all Jewish citizens, this is ugly and cheap politics. *The North-Ender* must know that over 15,000 Jews live in North Winnipeg, and about 8,000 of them are registered on the election lists for the coming election ... With its attack it sought to give a slap in the face to eight thousand Jewish voters who are truly loyal citizens ...[31]

In a well considered political move, Booth also protested *The North- Ender's* scurrilous reference to Jews, stating that the article had "the effect of stirring up racial prejudices and antagonisms among the people of North Winnipeg".[32] In the end, as in 1930, under threat of legal action, *The North-Ender* apologized to Heaps, admitting that its allegations were "without foundation". The newspaper also expressed regret about the reference to Jews, stating that the article was written by a staff member and had "slipped through" in the editor's absence, and there had been no intention to cast "any reflection whatever upon the Jewish people", with whom the newspaper had a "friendly spirit". There is little question, however, that the attack on Heaps and Jews strengthened Heaps' candidacy among many Jewish voters, who responded defensively to the perceived danger.[33]

Fred Welwood was not the original nominee of the Douglas Social Credit League in Winnipeg North. The visits to Winnipeg, and their mass meetings during the election campaign, of the recently elected Social Credit Premier of Alberta, William Aberhart, and of the Very Reverend Hewlett Johnson, the Dean of Canterbury, a "flaming evangelist of Social Credit", reinforced interest in Social Credit, and its organization in Winnipeg seems to have occurred at a rapid pace. The initial and rather tumultuous nomination meeting in Winnipeg North consisting of 38 accredited representatives of groups supporting Social Credit and 200 other attendees was split into two groups, one of which did not wish to nominate a candidate, fearing that it would strengthen Buck's candidacy by further dividing the vote. After several ballots, however, Joseph Bellan, a 23-year-old third-year Jewish law student at the Manitoba Law School, was nominated. Undoubtedly, he was aware of the anti-Semitism of Social Credit's founder, Major Clifford Hugh Douglas, who had visited Winnipeg in 1934 to expound his theories. Although this probably was not known to the majority of nominators, it may help to explain why, as he later told members of his family, he had no interest in Social Credit theories, political philosophy, or party organization. It also may help to explain why, perhaps wishing to undermine the Social Credit cause, with several of his friends in attendance at the nomination meeting, Bellan entered his name in nomination only as a joke. Both the *Winnipeg Free Press* and *The Winnipeg Evening Tribune* were surprised by the nomination, thinking that Welwood, chairman of the nomination meeting and, as mentioned earlier, Douglas Social Credit League of Winnipeg president, or his chief organizer for the past three years, would be nominated. Indeed, shortly before the nomination deadline, Bellan withdrew and his place was taken by Welwood.[34]

Welwood, a resident of Winnipeg for more than forty years who had once been active in Socialist circles, was the President of F. J. Welwood and Company Limited, a manufacturing concern in Elmwood, a part of the constituency east of the Red River where few Jews lived. He had been promoting the "Douglas Theory" of Social



A. A. HEAPS

Jewish electors in North Winnipeg constituency will be faced with the choice of electing one of four candidates representing as many parties, in the Federal elections which will be held Monday, Oct. 14.

Mr. Heaps is the Independent Labor Party candidate; Mr. Booth is the Liberal standard bearer, and Mr. Welwood is contesting the seat under Social Credit auspices. Tim Buck, communist, is the fourth candidate.

Manitoba Legislative Library

Candidates in the 1935 election were summed up by this notice in *The Jewish Post*, 10 October 1935.

Credit for two to three years. There is no evidence that Welwood was anti-Semitic, and he probably saw no incompatibility between his promotion of Social Credit and his solicitation of Jewish voters' support. He sent New Year's greetings to the Jewish community through *The Jewish Post*, and, when the Social Credit nomination meeting was called for Friday night, 4 October, the Jewish Sabbath, he held a "special" assembly for Jewish voters the previous evening at the Talmud Torah. Welwood held public meetings in North End schools, and through *The Jewish Post*, advertised his candidacy and "Douglas Social Credit and the National Dividend" and an explanation of Social Credit as a "scientific system" in *Dos Yiddishe Vort* and *The Jewish Pos*t.[35]

King had not wanted the Winnipeg North Liberal Association to oppose Heaps in the federal elections of 1926 and 1930, probably because of Heaps' and Woodsworth's crucial support for the Liberals in the House of Commons, and it had agreed. However, in 1935 and the years immediately preceding, King gave no such indication. In the fall of 1934, therefore, the Winnipeg North Liberal Association re-constituted itself. According to Booth, the executive and members of the association had been "particularly successful" in co-ordinating "the efforts of all racial [sic] groups [in Winnipeg North] for the common good" and members of the executive "composed of the five major racial [sic] groups (Anglo-Saxon, German, Jewish, Polish and Ukrainian) ha[d] worked together amicably and effectively…." At a nomination meeting at St. John's High School, which *The Jewish Post* reported would be attended by a "substantial number of Jews", Booth, with 119 votes, defeated Dr. Henry Yonker, who received 80 votes, and J. F. Davidson, with 31. King extended his congratulations, and later Booth was one of the Liberal candidates who met him in Winnipeg as he headed to Brandon and a Western Canadian campaign tour. As well, Booth was a platform member at King's mass meeting at the Winnipeg Auditorium, and spoke at the same location to a crowd of 3,500 at a Liberal meeting where the featured speaker was Mitchell Hepburn, Premier of Ontario.[36] Born in Malvern, England, where he received his early education, Booth came to Winnipeg in 1912 and resided in the North End for the next 23 years. He attended public schools in Winnipeg North, the University of Manitoba, and the Manitoba Law School. During World War I, he served with the Western Universities Battalion for four years and later the Royal Air Force as a pilot in northern Russia. A member of the Royal Canadian Legion, he was a major in the non-permanent force, as officer commanding "B" Company, Winnipeg Light Infantry. He was past president of the Better Business Bureau and the Young Men's Section of the Winnipeg Board of Trade, and, when nominated, as noted previously, was president of the Winnipeg North Liberal Association, and had been active for a decade in Liberal politics and federal campaigns. An official or director of several fraternal, charitable, and sporting organizations, Booth, whose election committee opened its campaign office on north Main Street, was described by the Winnipeg Free Press as "[a]mbitious and enterprising" and by The Jewish Post as "well known to the Jewish community of Winnipeg". The Liberal candidate claimed that as a "product of the North End", who had attended local schools "with your children", with his "wide interests" he had been in "constant association with the Jewish people".37

Although the Liberal Party campaigned under the slogan "King or Chaos", and on their party platform of 1933, Booth ran on the theme that it was time the constituency was represented on the government side of the House of Commons. During his campaign, he "maintain[ed] a vigorous offensive" against the "Communistic and Socialistic programmes" of the CPC and CCF, respectively.[38] In an

attempt to remind voters that Heaps and Woodsworth had been arrested during the Winnipeg General Strike, Booth contended that Heaps should admit that the CCF's purpose was to establish a Soviet Bolshevik regime in Winnipeg. According to Booth, although Buck stood for Socialism of the "imported or Russian" "revolutionary" kind and Heaps represented the "home-manufactured" "constitutional" version, and their means were considerably different, the objective of both was the same. Communist voters supported the CPC, according to the Liberal candidate, because of their "unhappy personal circumstances". The Communist leaders, however, were "wolves in sheep's clothing who were welcome to return to their chosen lands as soon as they wished." As for the CCF, Booth stated that the party was split between doctrinaires who wanted complete state ownership and reformers willing to allow firms to remain privately owned. Moreover, he asserted that the CCF's "stupid nationalism" would rob consumers and keep the cost of living up, wages down, and workers unemployed, whereas the Liberal platform would cut the cost of living 25%, increase wages, and provide employment for all workers. For Booth, the choice facing electors was between dictatorship under Socialism and personal liberty under Liberalism. Similarly, S. (Solomon) Hart Green, a Jewish lawyer, former Manitoba Liberal MLA for the North End from 1910-14, and Booth's predecessor and successor as president of the Winnipeg North Liberal Association, who, along with others, had signed Booth's nomination papers, urged voters to reject Heaps because he was a Socialist.[39]

Hon. David Croll Warmly Received By Large Audience

An audience of close to 500 people braved a freezing temperature of the Olympic rink Wednesday evening to hear the Hon. David Croll, first Jewish Cabinet Minister in the Dominion, speak here on behalf of C. S. Booth, Liberal candidate in the Federal elections. S. Hart Green, K.C., presided.

Mr. Croll was introduced to the audience by the Hon. W. J. Major, K.C., attorney-general of the province, and was referred to as the "official daddy of the famed Dionne Quintuplets. Mr. Croll as Minister of Public Welfare in the Ontario cabinet is entrusted with the important task of preventing the exploitation of the children. Mr. Major pointed to the splendid work done by Mr. Croll in introducing legislation to this effect.

The audience predominantly Jewish, could see in Mr. Croll the sterling example of a Canadian citizen who strictly through ability and application rose to his present position of importance in the Dominion, Mr. Major said, where equality without regard to race or religion is observed as in no other country in the world.

Mr. Croll regaled his audience with humorous anecdotes and a keen analysis of conditions in Canada referring particularly to the privately owned Bank of Canada and the exclusion policies of the Bennett government. C. S. Booth spoke briefly.

The Jewish Post, 10 October 1935. Manitoba Legislative Library

Certainly, Booth's campaign was aided by some high-profile members of the Jewish community such as Green, who gave a radio address endorsing Booth's candidacy, and Reubin J. Kimmel, an insurance agent who was treasurer of the Winnipeg North Liberal Association. Despite his lack of fluency in Yiddish, Green was well-known to Winnipeg Jews and his endorsement clearly carried some weight.[40] The North Winnipeg Junior Liberal Association, which had a Jewish vice-president, lawyer Harry G. Goodman, and a number of young Jewish business and professional members, also endorsed Booth, who argued that the Liberal Party was more concerned about the problems of young people than any other. The association established a committee to canvas the constituency home by home. Its members did not want to be represented by a Social Democrat, and certainly not by a Communist, and were attracted to the Liberal promises of individual political and economic freedom.[41]

Although the Liberal Party campaigned under the slogan "King or Chaos" ... Booth ran on the theme that it was time the constituency was represented on the government side of the House of Commons.

At his opening campaign meeting at St. John's High School on 23 September, described by the *Winnipeg Free Press* as "largely attended", Booth appeared on the platform with the following individuals who also spoke: Green, who presided; Jewish lawyer and journalist Hyman Sokolov and other vice-presidents/chairmen of "ethnic group" sub-committees; and two individuals popular with Winnipeg Jewry, the Honourable William J. Major, Manitoba's Attorney-General who had supported and ensured passage of the Manitoba Anti-Defamation Bill, and lawyer Edward J. McMurray, the former Liberal MP for the constituency and Solicitor-General in the first King government, both proponents of open immigration. Booth claimed that King's administration had enacted old age pensions and an open-door immigration policy which was, at best, only partially correct. He also asserted that the King government had given equal rights to women and that if the Liberals formed the next government, they would adopt "low tariff principles to bring down the cost of living".[42]

Booth and the Manitoba Liberal and Progressive Election Committee advertised in *The Jewish Post*, *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, *The North-Ender*, *The Winnipeg Evening Tribune*, and the *Winnipeg Free Press*. Keenly aware of the anxiety of Winnipeg Jews, Booth's advertising included a statement made by King saying that "We Don't Want Any Hitlerism or Fascism in Canada". Booth claimed that the Liberal Party had "performed a leading part in the building up of British institutions and traditions", including political and religious freedom, free speech, and the equal franchise, whereas the "growth and encouragement" of a multiplicity of political parties had led to dictatorship in continental Europe. His message was clear: in Canada,

"new and factional parties should not be encouraged" and governmental problems could be solved by voting for "an established party with traditions to maintain".[43]

Jewish and other North End electors were informed that a vote for Buck would "add strength to subversive anti-Canadian forces" seeking to destroy democratic self-government, while a ballot for Heaps was support for a "rigid program of socialism of your business and state control of your life". A vote for Booth, however, would be an endorsement of "an effort to re-open channels of trade and commerce for Canada", "a revival of actual government by Parliament", and "real control of the people's finances by the people's elected representatives." Booth also claimed that the Liberal Party was the first to nominate Jewish candidates for Parliament, the first to have a Jewish Cabinet Minister, and the first to help elect a Jew to the Manitoba Legislature.[44]

In an effort to persuade Jewish voters to support Booth, Winnipeg North Liberals invited David Croll, the Ontario Minister of Public Welfare and Municipal Affairs, who was advertised as "the first Jewish member of the Legislature to hold a cabinet position", and who had become known nationally as the guardian of the Dionne Quintuplets, to speak in Winnipeg on 9 October. The arrangements were made after a meeting of about fifty Jewish women at the home of S. Hart Green, who was chosen as chairman of the reception committee. As well, a Jewish women's Liberal campaign committee to support Booth was formed. The predominantly Jewish audience, assembled in the Olympic Rink, heard Green, who presided, urge them to vote according to the principles advocated by a candidate and not on the grounds that he was a co-religionist or neighbour. Booth spoke briefly and Croll was introduced by Attorney-General Major, who stated that Croll was "the sterling example of a Canadian citizen who strictly through ability and application rose to his present position of importance in Canada" where "equality without regard to race or religion is observed as in no other country in the world." In turn, Croll "regaled" the assembly with "humorous anecdotes" and a "keen analysis" of conditions in Canada, particularly regarding the Bank of Canada and the Bennett government's restrictive immigration policy. Although Croll's comments in a newspaper interview about the positive necessity and inevitability of "state medicine" which would help "those people who are unable to pay a doctor", may have appealed to many Jewish electors, Croll's appearance most likely was not a factor in the election outcome. The Liberals unsuccessfully attempted to have the presidents and congregations of all Winnipeg synagogues arrange a reception for Croll. Furthermore, "only" 400-500 people came to hear him speak, apparently he "did not want to undertake [the] trip" but was "forced to do it by the party", and in his speech, he almost entirely omitted any attack on Heaps.[45]

Booth may have benefited a little more from Liberal leader King's mass meeting in Winnipeg where King emphasized economic solutions to the Depression which appealed to many Jewish voters, as well as electors in general. Moreover, if Bennett and his government were not regarded sympathetically by Canadian Jews who wanted Canada's immigration doors opened to German Jewish refugees and European Jews in general, in 1935, King's public position on the matter was not known.[46]

While Booth and the Liberals posed an important electoral threat to Heaps, even if the CCF's *Manitoba Commonwealth* claimed that Booth was "simply a stumbling block in the way of teaching the Communists that North Winnipeg ... had enough of them," and that his candidacy was an "interference" in the "fight against the forces of revolution and dictatorship", it was the candidacy of Tim Buck which garnered the most attention in the hotly contested constituency of Winnipeg North. Born in Beccles, Suffolk County, England, Buck received a common school education, was apprenticed to the machinists' trade at age 14, and joined the Amalgamated Society of Engineers during his third year of apprenticeship. After immigrating to Canada in 1910, he worked as a machinist in automobile, tool, and steam-engine building factories. Buck then lived in the United States for a number of years and became increasingly involved in Marxist political parties. After the formation of the CPC in 1921, he became one of the party's district organizers and then its industrial director, heading the Canadian section of the Trade Union Educational League. After winning a particularly vicious series of internal party struggles against Jack Macdonald and his supporters in 1928-29, Buck emerged as General Secretary of the CPC in 1929.[47]

Both Buck's candidacy and the CPC's standing and growth were strengthened by the national publicity he gained when, as one of the "Toronto Eight" in 1931, he was sentenced to five years, subsequently serving two years, nine months (1931-34), in Kingston Penitentiary after being convicted of being a member and an officer of an "unlawful association" under the infamous Section 98 of the Criminal Code. An attempt on his life by penitentiary guards during a prison riot in October, 1932, only helped to confirm his role as an embattled underdog. Buck emerged from prison in November 1934, with the status of "a public figure". He then ran unsuccessfully as a Communist candidate for the Board of Control in Toronto. In September, 1935, the *Winnipeg Free Press* claimed that he "glorie[d] in the title of 'red agitator'." A "dedicated hard-working party member of pleasant, amiable personality who ... could be trusted by Moscow", his strength was his ability to "divine what

[I]t was the candidacy of Tim Buck which garnered the most attention in the hotly contested constituency of Winnipeg North.

policies or practices were acceptable to the party, to the Comintern, and ... to Stalin."[48]

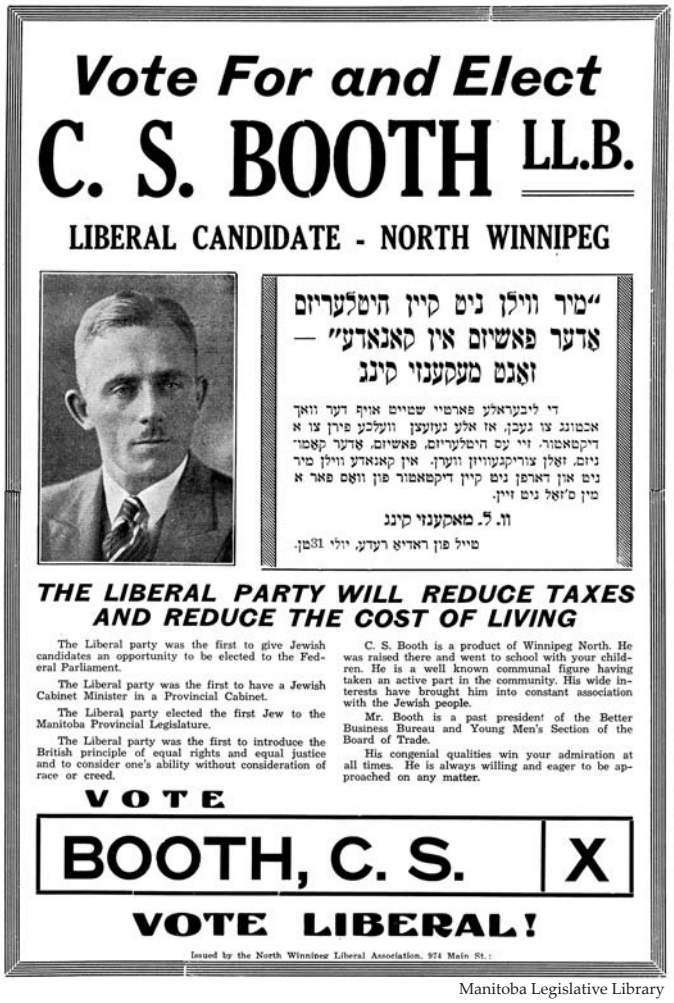
Buck entered the 1935 electoral contest after the CCF rebuffed Communist efforts to establish a united political front, an arrangement the ILP also had rejected in Winnipeg North a decade earlier before the 1925 federal election. Buck later claimed credit for conceptualizing the popular front in Canada idea. However, as one historian of the Communist Party has noted, "Buck had a strange conception of what constituted bridge-building: the CCF failed to see any comradeliness in his decision to contest A. A. Heaps' North Winnipeg seat ..." Even before, and then again as a result of the CCF rejection, there were bitter words between candidates of the ILP-CCF and the CPC at the municipal, provincial, and federal levels with both sides claiming to be the legitimate representative of North End electors. Indeed, the founding of the CCF in 1933 had "brought about a torrent of abuse by the Communist Party, the most virulent it had ever directed at social democracy." At least until the autumn of 1934, for example, when, prompted by the Comintern, in theory they dropped the terms, Buck and other Communists referred to ILP-CCF candidates as "labour fascists" and "social fascists". As a historian of Canadian Jewry observed, the "struggle between Jewish Communists and non-Communists for leadership of the Jewish working class was a hallmark of the immigrant community in the inter-war period."[49] The 1935 federal election campaign was no different.

The animosity between Buck, and Woodsworth and Heaps, was extraordinarily deep. According to the Communists, Woodsworth and Heaps, the "right wing" "old guard" of the CCF, were "rock-ribbed reactionaries who refuse[d] to admit that only a united front ... can hurl over the attacks of the capitalists on the standard of living of the working class" and who engaged in "ruthless expulsions and disruptions" to prevent unity even if it meant "smashing" the CCF. It was the duty of the CPC to "unmask" the CCF leaders opposed to the united front concept who were "invariably found acting in the interests of the capitalists." For the Communists, there was "no neutral ground." At a meeting at Woodsworth's home in Winnipeg in 1935, Woodsworth asked Buck if he was going to run in "Heaps' constituency". Buck replied in the affirmative, informing Woodsworth that although he preferred to run in a constituency in Toronto where he lived, his CPC colleagues wanted him to run in a high profile seat in the geographical centre of Canada where national attention could be focused. When Buck expressed interest in CPC candidates running in constituencies approved by the CCF to avoid a CPC-CCF conflict, the united front concept, he offered to run instead in the Winnipeg South constituency if an "arrangement" could be made. Woodsworth ordered Buck to leave and never spoke to him again. Woodsworth's position was endorsed by the *Manitoba Commonweath*, which stated that "these United Front chaps should change their motto to 'Chaos' for the workers and glory for the troublemakers hired by Russia."

Regardless of this development, during the 1935 election campaign Woodsworth, Heaps, and other CCF candidates continually assured voters that the CCF had "no link with the Communist Party" and "believed the new economic system could be brought about by constitutional means." Because he would not stand aside for Buck, the CPC specifically labeled Heaps a "reactionary" and its attention became centred on Winnipeg North. Nor was the CCF sparing in its criticism of Buck, whom it referred to incessantly throughout the campaign, and even months earlier, as "Carpetbagger No. 1" and "the Toronto carpetbagger".[50]

Buck's status as a "parachute candidate" from Toronto hurt his candidacy—and it was a point that the Heaps campaign brought up frequently. Mayor Queen, speaking at a Heaps meeting, noted that he found it strange that a party appealing for a "united front" would bring from Toronto "its strongest candidate" to contest the seat against a man who had "served Labour well in the House for the last decade." Nevertheless, Buck had visited Winnipeg earlier in the summer, making an open-air public address on Dominion (Canada) Day, visiting with fellow comrades, and "spending a relatively leisurely three weeks laying the basis of his candidacy in the forthcoming federal election." In the early 1930s, in many urban centres, Communists, forced to operate through front groups, put down roots that would enable them to play fuller community roles throughout the next dozen years. Such was the case in Winnipeg North. What one historian has written about the CPC nationally applied to the Manitoba constituency: "[T]he Communist Party reached its peak among immigrant workers during the [D]epression. It welcomed foreign-language affiliates, used foreign-language organizers, and established newspapers to reach ... Jewish [and other Eastern and Central European workers] in their own languages. It remained strongest among the Ukrainians, Finns, and Jews who had been radicalized before the war."[51]

Buck's candidacy undoubtedly was strengthened because the Depression had hit Manitoba "early and hard" and Winnipeg was a "large and volatile metropolis" with a "large and vociferous group of unemployed." Certainly, there were many unemployed Jewish Winnipeggers. The Friendly Hebrew Unemployed Association, for example, held meetings at the Zionist Hall in Winnipeg North during the election campaign. Moreover, Buck had the advantage of running in a constituency described by an historian of the CPC as a "Communist stronghold", where estimates of the Communist base were between 4,000 and 7,500 electors. In Winnipeg North, "the Communist challenge consisted mainly of radicals of East European origin" who "provided much of the support for Communist candidates in elections to various layers of government", and the CPC "could count on a large number of eastern European immigrants to support its ideological mixture of Marxism and nationalism." According to Ivan Avakumovic, "[h]atred of Nazism ... and the Jewish tendency to take a prominent part in public affairs in democratic societies enabled the



Vote For and Elect

C. S. BOOTH LL.B.

LIBERAL CANDIDATE - NORTH WINNIPEG

"מיר ווילן ניט קיין היטלעריזם
אדער פאשיזם אין קאנאדע" —
זאגט מעקענזי קינג

די ליבעראלע פארטיי שטייט אויף דער וואך אבמוג צו נעבן, אז אלע נעוועזן וועלכע פירן צו א דיקטאטור, זיי עס היטלעריזם, פאשיזם, אדער קאמוניזם, זאלן צוריקגעווייזן ווערן. אין קאנאדע ווילן מיר ניט אין דארפן ניט קיין דיקטאטור פון וואס פאר א מין ס'זאל ניט זיין.

ז. ס. מאקענזי קינג

טייל פון ראדיא רעדע, יולי 31סטן.

THE LIBERAL PARTY WILL REDUCE TAXES AND REDUCE THE COST OF LIVING

The Liberal party was the first to give Jewish candidates an opportunity to be elected to the Federal Parliament.

The Liberal party was the first to have a Jewish Cabinet Minister in a Provincial Cabinet.

The Liberal party elected the first Jew to the Manitoba Provincial Legislature.

The Liberal party was the first to introduce the British principle of equal rights and equal justice and to consider one's ability without consideration of race or creed.

C. S. Booth is a product of Winnipeg North. He was raised there and went to school with your children. He is a well known communal figure having taken an active part in the community. His wide interests have brought him into constant association with the Jewish people.

Mr. Booth is a past president of the Better Business Bureau and Young Men's Section of the Board of Trade.

His congenial qualities win your admiration at all times. He is always willing and eager to be approached on any matter.

VOTE

BOOTH, C. S. | X

VOTE LIBERAL!

Issued by the North Winnipeg Liberal Association, 974 Main St.

Manitoba Legislative Library

Election advertisement by C. S. Booth in *The Jewish Post*, 10 October 1935.

CPC to recruit many Jews in... Winnipeg, and, thanks to the party's opposition to anti-[S]emitism in Canada and abroad, to gain the sympathies of many Jews who did not go so far as to join the CPC."[52]

Also, in the North End, the CPC had gained very valuable political experience and acumen running candidates at the municipal, provincial, and federal levels in the 1920s and early 1930s. Included was Joseph Kahana, an unsuccessful Jewish candidate for school trustee in 1927. Winnipeg Communists had tasted victory with the election in 1926, and re-election in 1928 of William Kolisnyk, then the general manager of the Workers and Farmers Cooperative Association (later renamed the People's Cooperative Limited), as alderman for Ward 3. In 1933, Jacob Penner, who had run unsuccessfully for mayor of Winnipeg in 1931 and 1932 and whose wife Rose, was Jewish, was elected as an alderman for Ward 3 heading the aldermanic poll in the North End, and Andrew Bileski (Bilecki), Kolisnyk's successor as general manager at the Co-op, was elected in the same ward as a school trustee, both under the Workers' Unity League (WUL, the radical and aggressive national union adjunct of the CPC) banner. Martin J. Forkin, formerly of Brandon, who had unsuccessfully contested the mayoralty of Winnipeg in 1933, was elected as a Communist alderman for Ward 3 in 1934, also topping the aldermanic vote in north Winnipeg. Although Leslie Morris, the CPC candidate in Winnipeg North in the federal election of 1930 had not been elected, he had run a vigorous campaign and obtained more than 2,000 votes, which energized North End Communists. His unsuccessful runs for an aldermanic seat in Ward 3 in 1931, and 1932, when he lost by 32 votes, paved the way for Penner's and Forkin's subsequent elections. Penner, who was fluent in German, but given its proximity toYiddish easily made himself understood to a Jewish audience, signed Buck's nomination papers, along with Kolisnyk and others. Forkin and Penner often appeared on the platform with Buck and spoke at his election campaign meetings in school gyms, assembly rooms, and ethno-cultural group and sports halls throughout the Winnipeg North constituency. Another Communist connection to the Jewish community was through Buck's campaign manager, James Litterick, who was head of the WUL in Manitoba, Provincial Secretary of the Communist Party in Manitoba and provincial Communist election campaign manager. Litterick's wife, the former Molly Bassin, was Jewish. And from Moscow, where he was undergoing medical treatment, William Z. Foster, the Chairman of the Communist Party of the United States, sent Buck best wishes for his electoral success, noting that in past years on visits to Canada he had spoken to " the workers of North Winnipeg" and expressing the hope that they would elect Buck as "their champion".[53]

Jews were "largely responsible for the introduction and development of the dressing, dyeing and finishing of furs and the manufacture of fur clothing, men's, women's, and children's clothing and hats and caps in Winnipeg." The early 1930s had seen a number of lengthy, vicious strikes and lockouts in Winnipeg's garment industry with its hundreds of Jewish workers as well as several Jewish employers. Indeed, during the election campaign, a threatened strike of 600 to 700 cloakmakers, men and women, was narrowly averted only with the active involvement of the Manitoba government. The numerical strength of Jews in the union was reflected in the fact that a mass meeting to discuss strike action based on demands for higher wages and shorter hours was held at the I. L. Peretz (Yiddish) Folk School auditorium at the corner of Salter Street and Aberdeen Avenue in the geographic heart of the Jewish community. The cloakmakers earlier had been organized under the Industrial Union of the Needle Trades and the WUL, but, during the election campaign, were reorganized as part of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and a collective agreement was signed with employers.[54]

At the same time, fur workers in Winnipeg were organized by the International Fur and Leather Workers' Union, and 80% of the cap manufacturers in Winnipeg signed agreements with the Cap and Millinery Workers International Union. The organizers and local officials of

all three unions were Jewish. Although many of the three unions' members, such as Max Panitch, a member of the Fur Workers' Union and the Poale Zion who joined the CCF in 1934, supported Heaps, other Jewish workers such as the employees of the kosher City Bread Company, affiliated with the WUL, reinforced a class political consciousness within the Jewish community and provided Buck with a very dedicated and enthusiastic nucleus of campaign workers. So strong did the Communist cause appear that a few months before the election, Edward J. McMurray had observed that the "fight" was "so close" that he could "estimate that the Communist would be elected."[55]

Buck and the Communist Party certainly had an appreciation of the importance to his campaign of the Jewish electors in Winnipeg North. On 14 September, the Communist election committee held a banquet and dance in the auditorium of the Talmud Torah. Buck also benefited from being the only candidate to appear at the Hebrew Sick Benefit Association (HSBA) Hall on 4 October, to speak on the topic "My Stand on War" before a standing room only crowd attending a symposium of the North End First Voters Club, founded the previous April to "interest young people in the [f]ederal election campaign", to encourage

Buck and the Communist Party certainly had an appreciation of the importance to his campaign of the Jewish electors in Winnipeg North.

them "to cast their ballots and [to acquaint] them with the platform and issues involved." Buck and Booth accepted the invitation, but Booth withdrew, probably because Heaps would not participate. Heaps replied with regret that his re-election committee objected to the "trickery of this camouflaged Communist group calling itself a first voters club with a handful of [C]ommunist supporters" and to the flyers announcing that Heaps would be in attendance. The First Voters denied Heaps' allegation, and expressed its appreciation to Buck, who spoke about his opposition to war.[56]

Buck, who advertised in *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, under the auspices of the Communist Jewish Election Committee, held a meeting in the I. L. Peretz Folk School auditorium on 26 September, where other speakers included Forkin, and Sam Carr (born Shloime or Schmil Kogan or Cohen) in Yiddish. Buck also made a direct appeal to Jewish women voters at a meeting called by the *muter farein* (mother's society) of the Freiheit Temple on 1 October. At the same assembly, Carr, the highest-ranking Jew in the CPC and another of the "Toronto Eight", "whose intelligence and commitment were such that he became a national organizer in 1930" at age 25, six years after he arrived in Canada, spoke. Carr, who was the Communist Party's federal election national campaign manager and Buck's right-hand man, and who had earlier in 1935 helped to organize the famous "On-to-Ottawa" March of the Unemployed, was "generally considered to be the real brains of the Party". Carr, who was also fluent in Ukrainian, spoke to an assembly in the Ukrainian Labour Temple, and addressed in Yiddish the Daughters of Peace at the small Talmud Torah on the topic "War and Fascism". Buck, with Carr and Alderman Jacob Penner and other Yiddish-speaking Communists, spoke at other Jewish mass meetings at the Talmud Torah and HSBA Hall, appealing to Jewish electors on the theme that "A Vote for Buck is a vote against Fascism and anti-Semitism and for a secure existence in the battle against exploitation and for a Socialist world", a theme advanced by Carr in an address on a Winnipeg radio station on 12 October.[57]

In addition to holding campaign meetings and mass assemblies, banquets and dances, the Communists "mobilized brigades of workers in car squads, held parties and attacked Heaps with barrages of newspaper articles", distributed leaflets, and engaged in "large scale door-to-door canvassing." According to Donald Avery, "[a]ll available manpower and financial resources were mobilized in this attempt to send the CPC national leader to the House of Commons." During the election campaign, the *Winnipeg Free Press* commented that every political party gave Buck "credit for conducting an aggressive campaign", and *Dos Yiddishe Vort* observed that Buck, "a good speaker" who made a "sympathetic impression", had "perhaps the best-organized election machine in town" with "a large number of very energetic 'campaigners'." After the election, the *Manitoba Commonwealth* claimed that Buck had "put up a strenuous fight" and the candidate stated that he was "overwhelmed with invitations to supper to Ukrainian and Jewish comrades to meet other Ukrainian and Jewish comrades."[58]

Nevertheless, in addition to opposition from *The Jewish Post*, *The North-Ender*, and both of Winnipeg's daily newspapers, Buck's campaign was weakened by the demand of the station manager of CKY radio for pre-approval of the Communist candidate's speeches and by a common view expressed by the *Winnipeg Free Press* that the "Communist strength in North Winnipeg ... does not exceed 25 per cent of the vote ... and this is not enough to elect [Buck]." Moreover, Buck's comments during the election campaign that "anti-Semitism was not a racial *[sic]* problem, but a class problem" and that it was "used by rich Jews, as well as by rich Gentiles, when it suits their purposes", most likely did not help Buck to gain the support of Jewish electors who were not Communists or Communist sympathizers.[59]

For the first time since it was founded in 1910, *Dos Yiddishe Vort* openly endorsed a candidate in a federal election, Heaps, and urged its readers to vote for him because of his "tremendous efforts for the electorate and for the Jewish community who appreciate the importance of Jewish representation in Ottawa." On the other hand, *The Jewish Post* hinted at support for Booth and in keeping with its pre-election editorial position reflecting its

anti-Communist outlook, when Buck was not elected, the newspaper expressed satisfaction that voters "were determined to prevent a Communist who represented less than twenty-five percent *[sic]* of the votes from capturing the seat."[60]

While on election day, 14 October, the Liberals were the "principal beneficiary of the distemper of depression" winning a large majority (171 seats, two Liberal Progressives also were elected) in all provinces except British Columbia and Alberta, on a bright and warm day in Winnipeg, in a heavy turnout in Winnipeg North with 29,321 out of a possible 37,764 electors casting their ballots, Heaps was re-elected. He was one of only two—the other was Woodsworth—CCF candidates elected in Manitoba, and one of only seven elected throughout Canada. Heaps was able to hold off the Liberal wave which swept Manitoba, winning 14 of 17 seats. Although he may not have been as "easy" a "winner" as stated by the *Winnipeg Free Press*, which claimed that he and Woodsworth had "stag[ed] great fights to retain their seats", Heaps was victorious at 60 of 99 polls (including the advance) and received the largest number of votes of any candidate running in Manitoba. Heaps obtained 12,093 votes to 8,412 and 19 polls for Booth, who benefited from the national and provincial swing to the Liberals and from the absence of a Conservative candidate, which one source stated was worth between 1,000-2,000 votes. Rather surprisingly, given Buck's energetic campaign and some pundits' prognostications—*The Winnipeg Evening Tribune* commented, for example, that Buck "was thought to be" Heaps' "chief opposition"—the CPC leader received only 7,276 votes and was victorious at 20 polls. Welwood received 905 votes and lost his deposit.[61]

Heaps thanked his volunteer workers and the voters who had elected him, deploring the return of "dirty politics" and asserting that the candidates opposing him had been supplied by their respective parties with "almost unlimited funds" to defeat him "at any cost", claims also advanced by the *Manitoba Commonwealth*. He contended that his campaign had put up a "clean fight", unlike the Communists of whom he could not "say the same" and whom, he alleged, had engaged in impersonation at the polls. Booth, on the other hand, asserted that Heaps had received a majority of votes from Anglo-Celtic electors who had been "stampeded" by the "somewhat slimy tactics" of Conservative Party strategists and *The Winnipeg Evening Tribune*, a collusion denied by the newspaper, to vote for Heaps in order to ensure Buck's defeat. According to Booth, "Buck was never a threat", only a "red herring" and Winnipeg North was "not even slightly pink", let alone "red". Booth also claimed, and there is evidence to support his contention, that he had received the majority of votes from electors of Ukrainian, Polish, German, and other non- Anglo-Celtic ancestries, "the so-called 'foreign voters' of North Winnipeg". Indeed, on 26 September at a meeting at Prosvita Hall at Flora Avenue and McKenzie Street, all the non-Communist Ukrainian organizations pledged their support to Booth because they believed the Liberal platform would "serve our present day ills and improve conditions in Canada and especially solve the problem of unemployment." In this northwestern part of the constituency, where there few Jewish electors, of 25 polls, Booth won 15, Buck nine, and Heaps only one. Heaps, furthermore, finished third at 22 of the 25 polls, often trailing Booth and Buck by considerable margins. If, however, Booth included Jews in his claim, he was wrong.[62]

An historian of the CPC in Winnipeg has commented that Buck was the only Communist candidate of 13 to save his deposit, and that the election "showed that the political fortunes of the Communist Party were on the upswing; the great improvement in its organizational structure was of considerable importance in its success." Nevertheless, running third, let alone not winning, must have been, as the triumphalist *Manitoba Commonwealth* put it, "the shock of his life" for Buck, "whom the Communists thought was another Stalin". According to this interpretation, "outside that section of the Ukrainian population who [we]re being led by the Communists," the electors of Winnipeg North "did not want anything to do with that class of ideas and ... said so in no uncertain voice." Buck had received "a stinging defeat", and amid the "wailing and gnashing of teeth" at Communist headquarters, a planned victory demonstration and dinner for Buck were cancelled, and the lights were shut off and the office closed shortly after the returns came in.[63]

One interpretation of the election result in Winnipeg North suggests that the "labour vote ... continued to elect" Heaps—and the CCF candidate did exceedingly well in the Anglo-Celtic working class areas in the northern part of the North End, sweeping all 23 polls on streets such as Atlantic, Bannerman, and Cathedral, and in Elmwood, an outcome recognized by Buck, who claimed that "the English" elected Heaps. While *The Jewish Post* was not incorrect in stating that "Jewish citizens voted as individuals, definitely destroying the myth that there existed a 'Jewish vote'", it was the support of Jewish voters that was critical to Heaps' triumph. As Ivan Avakumovic has noted, "Buck gained fewer Jewish votes" than did Heaps. Indeed, Heaps won, frequently by margins of two or three or more to one, 25 of the 27 polls closest to the centre of the Jewish community, on streets such as Aberdeen and Redwood, and was second to Buck at the two polls won by the Communist candidate. Booth did not win any of the 27 polls, coming in second at

While on election day ... the Liberals were the "principal beneficiary of the distemper of depression" ... Heaps was re-elected. He was one of only two—the other was Woodsworth—CCF candidates elected in Manitoba, and one of only seven elected throughout Canada.

15 and third at 12, while Buck was second at 10 and third at 15. The importance of the votes of Jewish electors to Heaps' success was illustrated by a commentary on the editorial page of *The Winnipeg Evening Tribune* which, referring to Heaps as "Abie", ironically touched on a Jewish, perhaps anti-Semitic, linguistic stereotype: "Mr. Heaps' rooms had spilled their contents onto the sidewalk. Babble, babble, babble. 'I tell you yet Mr. Fingelstraum a triumph it is and I can prove it.' 'Am I so pleased too I want you to know'." As *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, which expressed happiness with Heaps' electoral success, commented, Heaps obtained his largest majorities from the "dedicated English working class population" in Elmwood and from the "devoted Jewish quarters", noting that "the Jewish districts have again given [Heaps] their confidence."[64]

Heaps' re-election demonstrated both ethnic and class voting by the Jewish community of Winnipeg North. For some Winnipeg Jews, Heaps' ethnicity and religion, and therefore, the supposition that he would have a particular sensitivity to and understanding of Jewish concerns, were of greatest significance in how they cast their ballots—for one of "their own". For others, however, the social democratic principles represented by Heaps and the CCF determined their vote and perhaps for a majority of Jewish electors, both factors combined resulted in their support for Heaps. Of paramount importance to his Jewish supporters, however, Heaps' victory ensured that he would continue to represent their interests and concerns in Parliament for the next five years.

Notes

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1. *The Jewish Post* (hereafter *JP*), 10 October 1935. See also *The Canadian Jewish Chronicle* (Montreal) (hereafter *CJC*), 11 October 1935.
2. Ivan Avakumovic, *The Communist Party in Canada: A History* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975), p. 94; Norman Penner, *Canadian Communism: The Stalin Years and Beyond* (Toronto: Methuen Pubs., 1988), p. 149. In 1935, *The Jewish Post* also published two pages in Yiddish per issue.
3. Franca Iacovetta, *The Writing of English Canadian Immigrant History*, Canada's Ethnic Group Series, Booklet No. 22 (Ottawa: The Canadian Historical Association, 1997), p. 2; Gerald Friesen and Royden Loewen, "Romantics, Pluralists, Postmodernists: Writing Ethnic History in Prairie Canada", in Gerald Friesen, *River Road: Essays on Manitoba and Prairie History* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1996), p. 183.
4. Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Seventh Census of Canada 1931, vol. II, Population by Areas, vol. III, Ages of the People* (Ottawa: Dept. of Trade and Commerce, 1933, 1935), pp. 704-05, and 306, 442, *Census of the Prairie Provinces 1936, vol. I, Population and Agriculture* (Ottawa: Dept. of Trade and Commerce, 1938), pp. 64-65, 106-107; Louis Rosenberg, *Canada's Jews: A Social and Economic Study of the Jews in Canada* and *The Jewish Community of Winnipeg: A Statistical Study* (Montreal: Bureau of Social and Economic Research, Canadian Jewish Congress, 1939, 1946), pp. 34-47, 322, and17, 36-65, 76-78; Irving Abella, "Presidential Address: Jews, Human Rights, and the Making of a New Canada", *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 2000, New Series, vol.11, pp. 4-5, and *A Coat of Many Colours: Two Centuries of Jewish Life in Canada* (Toronto: Key Porter Books Ltd., 1990, 1999), pp. 179-188; *Winnipeg Free Press* (hereafter *WFP*), 25 September 1935; Gerald Tulchinsky, *Branching Out: The Transformation of the Canadian Jewish Community* (Toronto: Stoddart Publishing, 1998), pp. 1-2.
5. In 1931, 35.6% of Winnipeg's Jews were engaged in the retail and wholesale trade, 23.4% in manufacturing, 12.3% in clerical positions, and 7.2% in the professions. More than 550 Jewish men and women—the numbers grew substantially in the next few years—more than 25% of the total, were employed as an urban proletariat in the garment industry. Others worked for the railways and in the building trades. See *WFP*, 21,26,27,28,30 September 1935; *Winnipeg Evening Tribune* (hereafter *WET*), 6,7,16,30 September 1935; Rosenberg, *The Jewish Community of Winnipeg*, pp. 17, 36-65, 76-78; Henry Trachtenberg, "The Winnipeg Jewish Community and Politics: The Inter-War Years, 1919-1939", *MHS Transactions*, Series III, Nos. 34 and 35, 1977-78 and 1978-79, pp. 115-53.
6. Tulchinsky, *Branching Out*, pp. 7-8; Rosenberg, *The Jewish Community of Winnipeg*, pp. 11-27.
7. Arthur Chiel, *The Jews in Manitoba: A Social History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press,1961). pp. 25-42, 133-34; Harry Gutkin, *Journey into Our Heritage: The Story of the Jewish People in the Canadian West* (Toronto: Lester and Orpen Dennys, 1980), pp. 25-32, 39-48, 102, 199-201; Stephen Isaacs, *Jews and American Politics* (New York: Doubleday, 1974), pp. 15-16; Gerald Tulchinsky, "The Contours of Canadian Jewish History", *Journal of Canadian Studies* Winter, 1982-83, vol. 17, no. 4, pp. 46,52; Bernard L. Vigod, *The Jews in Canada*, Canada's Ethnic Groups Series, Booklet No.7 (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1991), p. 12; Henry Trachtenberg, "Peddling, Politics, and Winnipeg's Jews, 1891-1895: The Political Acculturation of an Urban Immigrant Community", *Social History*, Mai-May, 1996, vol. XXIX, no. 57, pp. 159-86.
8. Isaacs, *Jews and American Politics*, pp. 15-16.
9. Rosenberg, *The Jewish Community of Winnipeg*, pp. 11, 17-18, 20; Trachtenberg "The Winnipeg Jewish Community and Politics: The Inter-War Years, 1919-1939", *MHS Transactions*, 1978-79, pp. 115-53; Howard Palmer, *Ethnicity and Politics in Canada Since Confederation*, Canada's Ethnic Groups Series, Booklet No. 17 (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1991), p. 11.
10. Trachtenberg, "The Winnipeg Jewish Community and Politics: The Inter-War Years, 1919-1939", *MHS Transactions*, 1978-79, pp. 115-53; Tulchinsky, *Branching Out*, pp. 9,123; James Naylor, "Canadian Labour Politics and the British Model, 1920-50", in Phillip Buckner and R. Douglas Francis, eds., *Canada and the British World: Culture, Migration, and Identity* (Vancouver, Toronto: UBC Press, 2006), p. 289.
11. Harry and Mildred Gutkin, *The Worst of Times, The Best of Times: Growing up in Winnipeg's North End* (Toronto: Fitzhenry and Whiteside,1987), p. 20.
12. John Herd Thompson and Allan Seager, *Canada 1922-1939: Decades of Discord* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1985), pp. 227-29; Leo Heaps, *The Rebel in the House: The Life and Times of A. A. Heaps, M.P.*, rev. and enl. ed. (Toronto: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1984), p. 149;

Craig Heron, "Buck, Timothy", and Allen Seager, "Heaps, Abraham Albert", in James Marsh, ed., *The Canadian Encyclopedia Year 2000 Edition* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1999), pp. 319,1056; *Dos Yiddishe Vort* (hereafter *DYV*), 15 October 1935; Penner, *Canadian Communism*, p. 149; Roland Penner, *A Glowing Dream: A Memoir* (Winnipeg: J. Gordon Shillingford Publishing, 2007), p. 49.

13. Penner, *A Glowing Dream*, pp. 41,49-50.
14. *JP*, 8, 22 August 1935; *The North-Ender* (hereafter *NE*), 25 July, 8, 15, 22, 29 August, 19 September 1935; *WFP*, 25 September 1935. Although an H. H. Stevens Club organized by a Jewish dentist, A. C. Brotman, who became its treasurer, was formed in the North End, and received significant coverage in *The Jewish Post* and *The North-Ender*, the Reconstruction Party did not nominate a candidate in Winnipeg North. *WET*, 5, 7 October 1935; *WFP*, 5 October 1935; *JP*, 8 August 1935.
15. A. L. Normandin, ed., *The Canadian Parliamentary Guide 1930, 1936* (Ottawa: Parliament of Canada and Provincial Legislatures, 1930, 1936),pp.168,185; Seager, "Heaps, Abraham Albert", in Marsh, ed., *The Canadian Encyclopedia Year 2000 Edition*, p.1056; Harry and Mildred Gutkin, *Profiles in Dissent: The Shaping of Radical Thought in the Canadian West* (Edmonton: NeWest Pubs. Ltd., 1996),pp.299-325; Kenneth McNaught, *A Prophet in Politics: A Biography of J. S. Woodsworth* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959), pp. 119-20,168-71,219-20; Susan Mann Trofimenkoff, *Stanley Knowles: The Man from Winnipeg North Centre* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1982), pp. 106-08; David Walden, "'Following the Gleam': The Political Philosophy of J. S. Woodsworth", in J. William Brennan, ed., "*Building the Co-operative Commonwealth": Essays on the Democratic Socialist Tradition in Canada* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, University of Regina, 1985), pp. 48-49; Allen Mills, *Fool for Christ: The Political Thought of J. S. Woodsworth* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), pp. 122-23; Grace MacInnis, *J. S. Woodsworth: A Man to Remember* (Toronto: The Macmillan Co. of Canada Ltd., 1953),pp.185-93; Robert Bothwell, Ian Drummond, and John English, *Canada, 1900-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press,1987), pp. 205-06,227; *DYV*, 8 October 1935; Dominion of Canada, *Official Report of Debates House of Commons, 1935*, vol.1 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1935), p. 151. At the national level, the electoral platform of Woodsworth and the CCF was based on the Regina Manifesto of 1933. *Maclean's*, 15 September 1935, vol. 48, no. 18, pp.11, 31-32.
16. Heaps, *The Rebel in the House*, pp. 123-46; Gutkin, *Profiles in Dissent*, pp. 328-333; *WET*, 12 September, 10, 11 October 1935. Heaps' importance to Woodsworth, who appeared with Heaps at a campaign meeting on 10 October, and to the CCF and its parliamentary group, was evident in 1935 when Woodsworth asked Heaps to take up the matter with Secretary of State Charles Cahan of the Reverend Stanley Knowles' citizenship status. Heaps did so. Knowles, who was born in the United States, wished to seek the federal CCF nomination in the constituency of Winnipeg South Centre in the election of 1935. Knowles, who spoke on behalf of Heaps at the latter's first campaign meeting, was naturalized, nominated, ran, and lost. *Manitoba Commonwealth* (hereafter *MC*), 13 September, 4 October 1935; Trofimenkoff, *Stanley Knowles*, pp. 179-80; Dominion of Canada, *Official Report of Debates House of Commons*, 1933 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1933), vol.III, pp. 2685-2686, 3262, vol. IV, pp. 3810, 3838-3840, 4013, 4047, 4103, 4329, vol.V, 4617, 4725; *Official Report of Debates House of Commons, 1932-1933*, Index Volume (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1933), p. 75, 1934, Index Volume (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1935), p. 84, *1935*, Index Volume (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1936), pp. 90-91.
17. Gutkin, *Profiles in Dissent*, p. 334; Irving Abella and Harold Troper, *None is too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe, 1933-1948* (Toronto: Lester and Orpen Dennys, 1983), p. 10; Heaps, *The Rebel in the House*, pp. 130, 132; Simon Belkin, *Through Narrow Gates: A Review of Jewish Immigration, Colonization and Immigrant Aid Work in Canada (1840-1940)* (Montreal: Eagle Pub., 1966), pp. 170, 174, 221; Ivan Avakumovic, *Socialism in Canada: A Study of the CCF-NDP in Federal and Provincial Politics* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978), pp. 83-84; Michael Marrus, *Mr. Sam: The Life and Times of Samuel Bronfman* (Toronto: Viking, Penguin Books Canada,1991), p. 260; *JP*, 12, 19 September 1935; *DYV*, 4 October 1935.
18. Thomas Peterson, "Manitoba: Ethnic and Class Politics", in Martin Robin, ed., *Canadian Provincial Politics: The Party Systems of the Ten Provinces*, second ed., (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1978), p. 86; *DYV*, 8 October 1935, 27 February 1940; *WFP*, 24 September, 16 October 1935; *WET*, 16, 24, 25, 30 September, 7 October 1935; *MC*, 9 August 1935; *NE*, 12 September 1935; Archives of Manitoba (hereafter AM), Clara Fainstein Collection, MG14 C63, Blumberg and Gray interview files; Manitoba Legislative Library Biography Scrapbooks B11, pp. 25, 182, B12, p.231; A. L. Normandin, ed., *The Canadian Parliamentary Guide 1933 and 1938*, Pierre Normandin, ed., *The Canadian Parliamentary Guide 1966* (Ottawa: Parliament of Canada and Provincial Legislatures, 1933,1938,1966), pp. 395, 447, 546-47; Henderson Directories Ltd., comp., *Henderson's Winnipeg Directory 1935*, vol. LVII (Winnipeg: Henderson Directories Ltd., 1935), pp. 209, 589, 786, 1168; Naylor, "Canadian Labour Politics and the British Model, 1920-50", in Buckner and Francis, eds., *Canada and the British World: Culture, Migration, and Identity*, pp. 289, 292, 296. During the election campaign, Hyman also spoke on behalf of Woodsworth, the Reverend Stanley Knowles, CCF candidate in Winnipeg South Centre, and the CCF candidate in the constituency of Springfield. *WFP*, 23 September 1935; *WET*, 28 September 1935; *MC*, 16 August 1935.
19. *DYV*, 24 September, 1, 4, 11 October 1935; *JP*, 22 August, 26 September 1935; *NE*, 10 October 1935; Joan Sangster, "Women and the New Era: The Role of Women in the Early CCF, 1933-1940", in Brennan, ed., "*Building the Co-operative Commonwealth": Essays on the Democratic Socialist Tradition in Canada*, pp. 86-87; *MC*, 5 April, 9, 23 August, 13 September, 4, 11 October 1935.
20. *DYV*, 1 October 1935.
21. *Ibid*., 24 September, 4, 8 October 1935; *WET*, 6 September, 12 October 1935; *NE*, 5 September 1935. Some clothing workers' unions in Montreal and Toronto, with large numbers of Jewish members, contributed $10 each to Heaps' campaign.
22. *DYV*, 1 October 1935; *WFP*, 12 October 1935; *WET*, 12 October 1935; *NE*, 12 September 1935.
23. Heaps, *The Rebel in the House*, p. 149; Norman Penner, *Canadian Communism: The Stalin Years and Beyond*, p. 102; *DYV*, 1, 4, 11 October 1935;*WFP*,12 October 1935; *WET*, 12,17 September 1935; *MC*, 13 September 1935; Communist Party of Canada, *We Propose... Resolutions* (Toronto: New Era Publishers,Ltd., December 1937), p.71.
24. *DYV*, 11 October 1935; see also Lita-Rose Betcherman, *The Little Band: The Clashes Between the Communists and the Political and Legal Establishment of Canada, 1928-1932* (Ottawa: Deneau Pubs.,1982), p. 98, and Avakumovic, *The Communist Party in Canada*, pp. 13, 122.
25. *DYV*, 1,4,11 October 1935; Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC), Abraham Albert Heaps Papers, MG27 III C22, vol.1, Palestine file, Isaac Rokach, Tel Aviv, to Heaps, 24 April 1933, M. A. Marshall, Montreal, to Heaps, 5 May 1933, Heaps to J. Hestrin, New York City, 8 May 1933; Heaps, *The Rebel in the House*, p. 30.
26. *WET*, 3, 4, 8, 12, 15, 16 October 1935; Dominion of Canada, *Official Report of Debates House of Commons, 1934* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1934), vol. III, pp. 2534-40, 3138-41, 3223, 3231, 3234, 3246-47, 3434-35, 3444.
27. *WFP*, 3, 9, 10, 11 October 1935.
28. *NE*, 15 August 1935; *JP*, 22 August 1935.
29. *NE*, 15 August 1935.
30. *JP*, 22 August 1935.
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.*
33. *NE*, 22 August 1935.
34. *WET*, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 18, 21, 22, 23 September, 5, 7, 9 October 1935; *WFP*, 14, 19, 21, 23, 24, 25 September, 5 October 1935; *JP*, 8 August

1935; *DYV*, 21, 23 August 1935; *MC*, 27 September 1935; conversation with Bernie Bellan, son of Joseph Bellan, Winnipeg, 24 July 2009.

35. *JP*, 26 September, 10 October 1935; *DYV*, 27 September, 1, 4, 8, 11 October 1935; *NE*, 19 September, 17 October 1935; *WET*, 10, 20, 24 September, 5, 7 October 1935; *WFP*, 21, 24, 26 September, 5 October 1935.

36. LAC, William Lyon Mackenzie King Papers, MG26 J1, vol. 200, S. Hart Green to King, 2 June 1934, and King to Green, 4 June 1934, pp. 170843-44; *JP*, 1,8,22,29 August, 5,12 September 1935; *NE*, 8 August, 26 September 1935; *WET*, 19,21 September 1935; *WFP*, 20, 25 September, 3 October 1935; Mills, *Fool for Christ*, pp. 101-102; Henderson Directories Ltd., comp., *Henderson's Winnipeg Directory 1935*, pp. 687, 1295; Robert A. Wardhaugh, *Mackenzie King and the Prairie West* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), p. 177. Davidson's first name and initials cannot be fully ascertained.

37. *JP*, 8, 29 August, 12 September, 3, 10 October 1935; *WFP*, 20, 25 September 1935.

38. *Maclean's*, 15 September 1935, vol. 48, no. 18, pp. 10, 29, 30-31, and 15 October 1935,vol. 48, no. 20, pp. 40-41; H. Blair Neatby, "William Lyon Mackenzie King: The Conciliator in Politics", in Neatby, *The Politics of Chaos* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1972), pp. 78-80, and *William Lyon Mackenzie King 1932-1939: The Prism of Unity (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976),* pp. 33-39; J. L. Granatstein, Irving Abella, David Bercuson, R. Craig Brown, and Blair Neatby, *Twentieth Century Canada* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., 1983), p. 226; The Honourable Vincent Massey, ed., *The Liberal Way: A Record of Opinion on Canadian Problems as Expressed and Discussed at the First Liberal Summer Conference*, Port Hope, September 1933 (Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1933); *JP*, 22 August, 12, 19 September, 3 October 1935; *NE*,10 October 1935; *WFP*, 20, 23, 24, 26, 28 September, 11 October 1935; *WET*, 17, 24, 27 September, 7, 10 October 1935. Booth often advertised under the slogan "Vote Liberal—Get Action" in concert with the Liberal candidates for the other three federal constituencies in Winnipeg, and in this general advertising sponsored by the Joint Publicity Committee of the Winnipeg Liberal Candidates, Booth's policies reflected those of the national Liberal party. *WFP*, 20 September, 10, 11 October 1935; *WET*, 21 September, 12 October 1935; *DYV*, 4 October 1935; *NE*, 26 September, 10 October 1935.

39. *WET*, 24 September, 7 October 1935; *WFP*, 24,26 September, 11 October 1935; *JP*, 8 August, 12,19 September 1935; *NE*, 10 October 1935.

40. *JP*, 12, 19 September, 3 October 1935; *DYV*, 1 October 1935; *NE*, 29 August, 12, 19, 26 September 1935; *MC*, 27 September 1935; *WFP*, 23, 24, 26 September 1935; Henderson Directories Ltd., comp., *Henderson's Winnipeg Directory 1935*, pp. 741, 882, 891, 1029.

41. Henderson Directories Ltd., comp., *Henderson's Winnipeg Directory 1935*, p. 777; *WET*, 12 September, 7 October 1935; *JP*, 12 September 1935.

42. *JP*, 12, 19, 26 September, 3, 10 October 1935; *DYV*, 24 September, 1 October 1935; *NE*, 12, 19, 26 September, 10 October 1935; *WFP*, 20, 23, 24, 27 September 1935; *WET*, 21, 22, 23, 25, 28, 30 September, 4, 5, 8, 10 October 1935; Henderson Directories Ltd., comp., *Henderson's Winnipeg Directory 1935*, p.1180. See the full page Mackenzie King advertisements in *WET*, 11 October 1935, and *DYV*, 27 September 1935.

43. *JP*, 12, 26 September, 3, 10 October 1935; *WFP*, 20, 24, 27 September, 8, 10, 11 October 1935; *WET*, 21, 25, 28, 30 September, 4, 5, 8, 10, 12 October 1935; *DYV*, 24, 27 September, 4 October 1935; *NE*, 26 September, 10 October 1935.

44. *WFP*, 23, 25 September, 3, 10 October 1935; *WET*, 23 September, 8, 10 October 1935; *JP*, 12, 19 September, 3, 10 October 1935; *DYV*, 24 September, 4, 8, 11 October 1935.

45. *JP*, 19 September, 3, 10 October 1935; *DYV*, 24 September, 4, 8, 11 October 1935; *WET*, 23 September, 8, 10 October 1935; *WFP*, 23, 25 September, 10 October 1935.

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Advocating for Manitoba Children with Mental Disabilities: Parent Associations in the 1950s and 1960s[1]

by Christopher Adams
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Along with other parts of the western industrialised world, Manitoba experienced its own post-war baby-boom. Over a ten year period ending with the 1951 Census, the province's natural population (which excludes migration-related numbers) grew by 107,510 people. Ten years later, the 1961 Census revealed a ten year natural population increase of 149,690 for the province. The impact on local communities across Manitoba was profound when one considers that there were only 776,541 individuals living in Manitoba in 1961. Premier Duff Roblin and his Progressive Conservatives, who chased from power the long ruling and tight spending Liberal-Progressives and their leader Douglas Campbell in the provincial elections of 1958 and 1959, put the province on a new road with regard to social spending. Between 1958 and 1969, the provincial government's budgeted spending in the area of health and social welfare increased by 367% and in education by a whopping 591%.[2]

As the province's general population grew, there naturally occurred what can be called a "mini-boom" of those born with mental disabilities.[3] At the same time, the life expectancy of those who were in the public's care tripled with the use of such medical practices as tube feeding and antibiotics.[4] Although it is difficult to provide precise population figures for the number of mentally disabled children and adults in Manitoba during the 1950s and 1960s, a 1965 report authored by John Christianson for the provincial government titled *A Study of the Education of Handicapped Children in Manitoba* put forward an estimate of 3 percent, with 30,000 put forward as the number of people who had some form of mental disability.[5]

University of Manitoba Archives & Special Collections, Tribune Collection, Personalities Files.

Beatrice St-Amant (1888-1957) established a facility for mentally challenged children in a Transcona farmhouse. It became the basis for today's St-Amant Centre.

Unfortunately the basis for these population numbers was not rooted in Manitoba-specific data but was drawn from the United States where the President's Panel on Retardation submitted in its 1962 report to Congress that three percent of the American population lived with a mental disability.[6] Two decades later, the three percent incidence figure was still being used in Manitoba when the Manitoba Task Force on Mental Retardation presented its report to the Minister of Community Services and Corrections in 1982, saying that approximately three percent of Manitobans had "some level of mental retardation."[7]

If using the imported but seemingly unchallenged incidence figure that was used in the early 1960s onward in Manitoba, and assuming that the incidence rate remained constant over time, estimates for the number of Manitobans with mental disabilities can be calculated using census data. Table 1 provides population figures for the province from 1921 to 1981, with estimates provided for each decade based on three percent incidence. The bottom row shows the estimated growth in the number of individuals with mental disabilities for each decade. In 1951, there was a ten-year increase of 1,410 individuals with mental disabilities, and in 1961 an additional 4,350 individuals with mental disabilities were living in the province (see Table).

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Historical Estimates of Population with Mental Disabilities in Manitoba.
Data were calculated by the author using census figures.

	1921	*1931*	*1941*	*1951*	*1961*	*1971*	*1981*
Provincial population	610,000	700,000	730,000	777,000	922,000	999,000	1,036,000
Estimate of those with mental disabilities (based on 3%)	18,300	21,000	21,900	23,310	27,660	29,970	31,080
Decade over decade increase of those with mental disabilities	-	2,700	900	1,410	4,350	2,310	1,110

With regard to birthrates, and again using what could be called the "3% rule of thumb," Christianson estimated that 690 children with mental disabilities were being born each year in Manitoba, with 333 deemed to be "dependent," that is, non-"educable" or non-"trainable." At the same time, and this time using provincial government data, Christianson reported that "approximately 1,200 children with moderate to severe mental retardations are known to community agencies" and that "about half of them are registered in schools operated by the Association for Retarded Children."[8]

Institutionalization and the Medical Paradigm

Until well into the 1980s, "the language" of public policy as it pertained to Manitobans with mental disabilities, as elsewhere, was largely shaped by healthcare-related perspectives. That is, individuals with these disabilities were regularly treated as patients needing placement in "mental hospitals" or treated as "out patients." During the 1950s and 1960s, the Manitoba Home in Portage la Prairie, otherwise known as the "Manitoba School for Retardates" (which was originally titled the "Home for Incurables" when built in 1889 and 1890[9]) was one of the two major provincial centres for children with mental disabilities, with the other being the relatively new St. Amant Centre in Winnipeg.

Between 1958 and 1969, the provincial government's budgeted spending in the area of health and social welfare increased by 367% and in education by a whopping 591%.

In 1957, the Manitoba Home had 907 child and adult residents with the number reaching 1,240 in the late 1960s.[10] At this time, its operations included 600 staff, including a medical superintendent, three fulltime psychologists, physical therapy wards, special education classes, vocational training workshops, and a dairy farm which produced 240 gallons of milk per day. According to journalist Don Rennie, in a series of local newspaper articles published in *The Daily Graphic* in August 1968, the institution processed on a weekly basis 56,000 pounds of laundry, and each year served an estimated 500,000 meals.[11]

Manitoba's second major, yet far less imposing, residential institution was St. Amant Centre. Its founder was Beatrice St. Amant, a widow who needed to find services for her disabled son. It is worth quoting at length from an unpublished account which is provided by the institution of St. Amant:

> Born Beatrice Cyr at Maria-de Bonaventure, St. Morice, Quebec, she came to St. Jean Baptiste in 1914 after completing her studies in the east. She became a teacher and in 1916, married Herman St. Amant. Mr. St. Amant passed away during the Spanish Flu Epidemic only ten months after the birth of their son Gerard, leaving his grieving widow to provide for herself and their son. Mrs. St. Amant returned to the teaching profession.
>
> More challenges awaited her. At the age of five years, Gerry developed epilepsy. By 1935, his seizures had become so frequent and severe that he had to be taken out of school.
>
> Late in 1939, Mrs. St. Amant, then teaching at Ste. Genevieve, resolved to give up teaching to care for her son. Although she communicated with numerous hospitals and nursing homes she was unable to find a facility in all of Canada to care for her son. The fruitless results of her own efforts made her realize that countless other families were faced with the same problems as herself.
>
> As a result, in August 1939, Mrs. St. Amant purchased a sprawling wood frame turn-of-the-century farmhouse three kilometers west of Transcona, with funds she received from the sale of her home in Ile des Chenes. Trying to think of a name for the home, she recalled reading a pamphlet describing the perseverance of Mother Youville, foundress of the Sisters of Charity (The Grey Nuns). With this in mind, she called this home, " The Youville Epileptic Hospital".[12]

Following a heart attack which struck St. Amant in 1954 (who later died in 1957), the Grey Nuns took control and provided facilities for 25 children on the fifth floor of the St. Boniface Home for the Aged and Infirm (otherwise known as "Hospice Tache"). Operations were then moved

University of Manitoba Archives & Special Collections, Tribune Collection, 18-5023-10.

Beatrice St-Amant (right) with staff and children of the St-Amant ward for retarded children at the St. Boniface Home for the Aged and Infirm, October 1956.

to St. Vital Hospital in 1959. Originally opened as the St. Boniface Sanatorium to treat patients who had tuberculosis, it was located at 444 River Road. By the late 1960s, and with its continuing focus on children with mental disabilities, its residents numbered 275, while also serving children residing elsewhere within the more general community.[13] In 1974, the institution was renamed St. Amant Centre in honour of its founder, and since 2006 operates under the simplified title of St. Amant.[14]

Those working to develop better residences and services may have done their work too well by providing more open access to institutional care. The public believed that children with mental disabilities should be placed in residential institutions. However, with the exception of those whose children required intensive medical care to survive, this made life difficult for many parents who might otherwise have cared for their children at home. In a 1979 report prepared for the National Institute on Mental Retardation, Paul McLaughlin described his perspective on how this affected parents:

> It was not very long ago that it was a great stigma to have a mentally retarded child. The medical profession looked upon the birth of a mentally retarded infant as a great tragedy from which the family needed protection. Typical advice stressed preventing mothers from seeing their children and early institutionalization. If kept, such children were later institutionalized or hidden away in shame.[15]

Liz Siemens, a Winnipeg parent whose child was born in the 1960s, recalled: "I used to feel apologetic about Brenda's needs, mainly because I was constantly being told that all our problems would be solved if only I would put her in the institution permanently.[16] Another parent, Nicola Schaefer, whose child was born with physical and intellectual challenges, also recalled:

> Meeting these parents made me realize several things. First, there were very few kids around as badly handicapped as Cath who were living at home. Second, apart from the meagre physiotherapy

> service at the children's hospital, there was absolutely nothing going in Winnipeg, and nothing in sight for such children; except, of course, custodial care, and there was a huge waiting list even for that. Third, nobody in authority thought it was worthwhile trying to do anything at all with our children. My conclusion was that if one was daft enough to keep a child like Catherine one just coped as best one could.[17]

Parent-Led Organizations

Just as Manitoba's farmers historically responded to social and economic challenges by banding together to create their own community facilities, schools, pool elevators, and newspapers,[18] parent-led organizations inevitably sprouted across the province in order to find ways to support the growing number of families who had special needs for their children, and, in many cases, to directly provide new services.[19] Parents turned to each other to find child care support, special education programming, and transportation. They also sought each other out in order to respond to the arcane yet very real social stigma of having a child with a mental disability. As such, the formal beginnings of the parent associational movement in Manitoba occurred in 1951 when the Manitoba Association for Retarded Children (ARC) was created by six parents of children who were living at the Manitoba Home in Portage la Prairie.[20] The Winnipeg branch of the Association for Retarded Children was formed five years later, in 1956. The ARC's activities in its first decade of operations in Manitoba included:

- training activities, including pre-school, sheltered workshops, and adult occupational training;
- recreational activities, including those relating to social and physical recreation;
- public relations activities, including those pertaining to parent, staff and child-related issues;
- support for research in the different professional areas.[21]

As direct service providers, parent organizations quickly grew in importance. This is evident when examining 1962-63 school year figures which show the Manitoba ARCs operating 50 classes comprising 525 students with mental disabilities. That a parent-led organization should carry the burden of providing special educational services rather than the provincial government was not unusual. This was the pattern for most parts of Canada, with the exception being Saskatchewan and Nova Scotia where such services were provided directly through the regular school board system, and in B.C. where some classes were provided through the public school system.[22] Not surprisingly, therefore, the Manitoba ARCs derived much of their income from the provincial Department of Health and local governments, on top of parent fees and donations.[23]

Special education services remained chiefly with the Manitoba ARCs until the Department of Education took over in the fall of 1967. At this time there was a developing recognition that both adults and children required special programs and supports. Therefore, in 1968 the Association for Retarded Children, operating with twenty-five branches in the province (otherwise labelled "locals")[24] was renamed the Canadian Association for the Mentally Retarded (CAMR).[25] Although no longer a provider of special education classes, it continued to provide vocational and essential skills training adults, including the operation of 16 sheltered workshops in the early 1970s.[26]

By the mid-1980s, the number of CAMR branches in Manitoba remained unchanged at twenty-five.[27] The organization's focus, however, continued to evolve as it shifted further towards addressing the need for community-based residential supports. By being part of the community, people with mental disabilities have better access to education, recreation and employment opportunities, especially when they interact with other members of the province's diverse population. Therefore, in 1985, in a decision to pursue more fully its role as an advocate for individuals with disabilities, rather than as a direct service provider, the national CAMR along with local branches such as the Winnipeg CAMR, changed its name to the Association for Community Living (ACL).[28]

Parent-Led Organizations as Interest Groups

From a political science perspective, the history of Manitoba's parent-led organizations is a good example of how interest groups often develop in response to changing social needs. In an influential article published in 1969 titled "An Exchange Theory of Interest Groups," the American political scientist Robert Salisbury identified three types of benefits that interest groups or organizations offer their members. These are "material", "solidary" and "expressive" benefits.[29] Material benefits include goods and services that may otherwise not be available. In the case of the ARCs in Manitoba during the 1950s and 1960s, parents felt a strong need to band together to "get things done" and therefore launched an extensive system of special education classes and child-related support services.

Solidary benefits are those that give members a sense that they are with "like minded" individuals. Hobby and recreational clubs as well as professional associations are typical examples. In addition to acquiring much needed services for their children (material benefits), many parents belonging to parent associations were seeking to meet others in order to exchange ideas and to share stories.

The third type, expressive benefits, pertains to advocacy-related activities such as public relations and lobbying. In the case of the ARCs, this included parents successfully pushing for greater government involvement in special education programming, better healthcare services, and new resources to help people with mental disabilities to become better integrated in the community.

In 2011, the provincial chapter of the ACL will mark a milestone as it celebrates 50 years of service, collaboration, and advocacy on social and policy issues in the Province

of Manitoba. Each of its three names—the Association for Retarded Children in the 1950s and 1960s, the Association for the Mentally Retarded in the late 1960s to the mid-1980s, and the current Association for Community Living—reflect

From a political science perspective, the history of Manitoba's parent-led organizations is a good example of how interest groups often develop in response to changing social needs.

the changing needs of parents and individuals with mental disabilities, as well as each of the historical eras in which the organization operated. ☙

Notes

1. The author would like to thank Curtis Brown for his insights regarding an earlier version of this article. However, all errors remain with the author. This article is dedicated to Nevada Pearce Khan and other young Manitobans who benefit from their parent's care, as well as the work done by other parents to obtain much needed supports and programs.
2. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1957, 1968 as cited by Cy Gonick, "The Manitoba Economy Since World War II," James Silver and Jeremy Hall, eds., *The Political Economy of Manitoba*. Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1990, 29. For an overview of the impact of the Roblin government during this period see also Christopher Adams, *Politics in Manitoba: Parties, Leaders, and Voters*, Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2008, pp. 37-39.
3. In this article the author uses the term "mental disability" in place of the now arcane term "mental retardation", which is now seen as socially offensive. The older term is used only as it appears in titles or quotations.
4. Manitoba Task Force on Mental Retardation, *Challenges for Today, Opportunities for Tomorrow*, Winnipeg: Manitoba Community Services and Corrections, 1982, p. 2.
5. John Christianson, *A Study of the Education of Handicapped Children in Manitoba: Report on the Education and Training of Handicapped Children*, Winnipeg: Department of Education, pp. 10, 15.
6. For an overview of the President's Panel on Retardation which has since been renamed to "The President's Committee for People with Intellectual Disabilities," see www.acf.hhs.gov/programs/pcpid/pcpid_history.html, accessed 23 May 2009.
7. Therefore, based on this estimate, the Task Force calculated that with a general population of one million, the number of individuals with mental disabilities in the early 1980s was 30,000, with 10,000 requiring some form of special assistance and services. Manitoba Task Force on Mental Retardation, p. xxviii.
8. Christianson, p. 15.
9. These and other figures regarding the early years of the Manitoba Home at Portage La Prairie are provided by Anne Collier, *A History of Portage La Prairie and Surrounding District*, Altona: Friesen & Sons, 1970, p. 161-164. Worth noting is that Collier refers to the original title as "Home of Incurables" but other references report it as being a Home for Incurables, see www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/people/smith_wp.shtml, accessed 27 June 2009.
10. Manitoba Task Force on Mental Retardation, p. 133, however the Task Force does not specify the specific year. Collier gives the figure as being an estimated 1,200 for 1968.
11. As cited by Collier, p. 164.
12. "St. Boniface St. Amant (1888-1957)," n.a., unpublished document. The author would like to thank Jennifer Rodrigue, Communications Coordinator for St. Amant and the St. Amant Foundation, for providing access to this document.
13. Manitoba Task Force on Mental Retardation, p. 133.
14. St. Amant, "Mission, History and Philosophy", www.stamant.mb.ca/main/MissionHistPhil.html, accessed 22 May 2009, "Beatrice St. Amant (1888-1957)", and 'St. Amant: Where We Began and Where We Want to Go," unpublished document, provided by St. Amant to the author.
15. Paul McLaughlin, *Guardianship of the Person*, Downsview: National Institute on Mental Retardation, 1979, p. 12.
16 Liz Siemens, "Liz and Brenda Siemens," *The Positive Path : Profiles of Disabled Manitobans*, Laird Rankin, ed., Winnipeg: The Council of Exceptional Children, 1981, p. 111.
17 Nicola Schaefer, *Does She Know She's There?*, Don Mills: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1982, pp. 53-54.
18 Christopher Adams, "Early Manifestations of Globalization: Pre-1930s Farm Policy and Farmer Politics," *Prairie Forum: The Journal of the Canadian Plains Research Center*, Fall, 1997.
19 In order to reduce confusion, the term "parent-led" is used in this article in place of the usual term "parent organizations". This is because in the public policy literature the term "parent organization" is used to distinguish between the larger, usually national, organization and their local or provincial affiliates. For example, the Canadian Diabetes Association is the parent organization of the provincial associations. A parent-led organization operating within the disabled persons' movement is simply an organization that has its origins and membership rooted in the parents of children with disabilities.
20 Association for Retarded Children in Greater Winnipeg, *Annual Report: 1968*, pp. 20-21.
21 Christianson, p. 17.
22 Christianson, p. 24.
23 Christianson, p. 17.
24 *Ibid*., p. 22.
25 Association for Retarded Children in Greater Winnipeg, *Annual Report: 1968*, p. 8.
26 Manitoba Department of Health and Social Development, *Mental Health and Retardation Services: A Review and Preliminary Model*, Winnipeg: circa 1972, p. 44.
27 David Wetherow, Executive Director, Association for Community Living, interview with author, 20 April 1986.
28 David Wetherow, Executive Director, Association for Community Living, interview with author, 9 April 1986.
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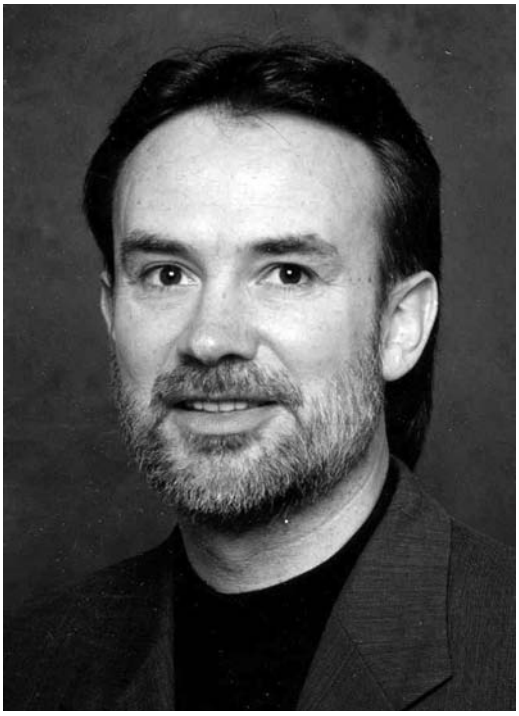
Gazette

The Life and Work of Reverend Harry Lehotsky

by Amirah Sequeira
Winnipeg, Manitoba

The following essay was chosen the winner of the 2007 Dr. Edward Shaw Award in the Young Historians Competition sponsored by the Manitoba Historical Society. At that time, Amirah Sequeira was a student at Grant Park High School. Editors.

For years, Winnipeg's West End has been a neighbourhood notorious for its crime and poverty. The area started its steady decline in the years following World War II. Affluent families who had resided in the area started to move to Winnipeg's suburbs, and many of the homes were converted into rental housing and quickly became dilapidated. For the past forty years, the area has been marked by crime, poverty, homelessness and drugs. Most of the people living with these problems have a strong desire to change their lives for the better, but they lack the encouragement to do so. Reverend Harry Lehotsky made it his life's work to provide this encouragement.



New Life Ministries

Reverend Harry Lehotsky (1957-2006)

"Crazy Harry"

Harry Lehotsky was born to Walter and Hildegard Lehotsky in 1957. He was the only son in a family of three children, in between sisters Karen and Ardice. His parents had immigrated to New York City from Yugoslavia and Germany, and it was there that Harry was raised. As a kid, he loved basketball, and his carefree nature led to the nickname "Crazy Harry." Although he was never too concerned with school, he was always a sharp and intelligent boy. His interest in inner-city ministry began as a child, as he attended church with his parents who were actively involved in "Walter Rauschebusch's old church in Times Square." Harry later said that "it was there that I accepted my need for our Saviour and Lord." [1]

However, despite his religious upbringing, Harry became quite rebellious as a teenager. He was involved with gangs and drug abuse. Mainly addicted to heroine, he was the supplier of the drug to his group of friends. It was only after a near death experience that he was able to remove himself from the world of gangs and drugs. At the age of seventeen, Harry was driving with his friends one night, when he overdosed on heroine. All his friends were high at the time, and when Harry became unconscious, his friends abandoned him, leaving him out on the street alone. By a turn of fate, he was found by a police officer and taken to the hospital. Upon recovering from this experience, he began to turn his life around.

A New Perspective

After graduating from New York's Central High in 1975, Harry pursued his studies of Christianity. His desire to demonstrate that God's forgiveness and love were relevant in the inner city, led him to North American College (now Taylor University College.)[2] He then attended the Gordon Conwell Theological Seminary in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1979 and 1980. In 1980–1981, he did his second year of seminary at the Seminary Consortium for Urban Pastoral Education in Chicago (SCUPE). While in Chicago, he resided in the infamous Cabrini Green neighbourhood. Although now very well known for its transformation, at the time it was a neighbourhood filled with poverty, crime, and racial tension. Harry was one of a few white men living in a prominently African-American and Immigrant neighbourhood. At this time, Harry became even more aware of the challenges faced in a poverty-stricken inner-city neighbourhood. His experiences in Chicago and New York set the stage for the conflicts and challenges he would later face in Winnipeg's West End.

After completing a year at SCUPE, he moved to Sioux Falls, South Dakota, to do his last year of seminary at the North American Baptist Seminary (NABS). Harry felt it

was important to maintain his connection with the North American Baptist Conference and with the rich heritage of pastors such as Walter Rauschenbusch. Harry really valued his time at NABS, and especially valued the things taught to him by Professor Dr. Stan Grenz. In remembering his time at NABS, Harry said, "Very subtly and graciously, Stan helped me to integrate my heritage as a Baptist with my training in community activism and love for the city." [3]

In October of 1981, while studying in Sioux Falls, the 24-year-old Harry met the women who would later become his wife. Virginia had grown up in a small town in South Dakota, close to Sioux Falls, in a Mennonite family. At the time she met Harry, she was working as a bookkeeper at the seminary. The two met briefly once, and later went out for lunch. Following Harry's graduation from the North American Baptist Seminary in May of 1981, Harry and Virginia went to New York for 2 weeks, so that Virginia could meet Harry's parents and get to know New York. She recalls how Harry seemed to put her through a "walking test", wondering if she (a small town girl from South Dakota) would be able to find her way around the Big Apple. Harry was never a man to make decisions lightly, he took care and concern in everything he did. Virginia passed the test, and the couple was married on 28 August 1982, in New York City.

The newlyweds moved permanently to New York. Harry worked as a law clerk while also working as a Youth Pastor, and Virginia was working for a recycling paper brokerage. In October of 1982, Harry was giving a workshop on urban ministry at the 1982 NAB Triennial Conference in Niagara Falls, when the Manitoba Baptist Association of North American Baptist Churches heard him speak. They immediately contacted Harry, and invited him to Winnipeg to lay a foundation for community ministry.[4] The concept involved creating a structure of participation through the church to respond to issues of local concerns, to give voice to conscience, and help with human needs. The Lehotskys accepted the offer, and after nearly a year of waiting for immigration papers to come through, they moved to Winnipeg in November of 1983.

The Beginning of the New Life Ministries

The Manitoba Baptist Churches purchased a house for the new pastor and his wife on Ellice Avenue, right in the heart of Winnipeg's West End. While Harry and Virginia lived in the upstairs of the house, they used the downstairs for church activities. Thus the New Life Ministries (NLM) was born. The couple started out by holding Bible studies in the downstairs of their home on Ellice. These studies started out with only about five people. Virginia Lehotsky still recalls the first members of the church, made up of a few couples, families, and single women from around the neighbourhood. After a year, they started holding Sunday church services in the house as well. While on one day twelve people might have attended the service, on another they may have only had three. Virginia Lehotsky confessed that there were times when she would feel quite depressed, wondering if the ministries would ever take off. However, she was always reassured by Harry, and his persistence and motivation. He firmly believed in the idea of urban ministry, and never doubted that the ministries would be successful in their mission.

To achieve this success, Harry took it upon himself to conduct a survey to understand what the community wanted. He found that rather then wanting a regular church, the people needed better schools, improved housing, and a place for community activities. These three needs became the focus of Harry's efforts.

In the early days of the ministries, Harry spent time a lot of time creating a network throughout all of Winnipeg. He began to make personal contacts with many people in the community, including city hall, and many different agencies, always desiring to know what was happening in the society in which he lived. He also spent a lot of time reading at home, and was always looking to better his understanding and knowledge of his faith.

In February of 1985, a decision was made to identify the new church group as an inner city church, with a mission of service.[5] With a growing family, Harry and Virginia then realized that they would require the entire house to live in. They began looking for a place to rent on Sundays, and found a small church at 514 Maryland, not too far from their home on Ellice. The church had previously belonged to a Scottish Presbyterian group, but was now rented out to a Pentecostal group. Starting in October of 1986 it was rented to the New Life Ministries in the afternoons.

By 1987, The New Life Ministries was now operated out of the church on Maryland, and when the owners of the building decided to sell it, the Manitoba Baptist Association purchased it for the New Life Ministries.

Joining Up, Reaching Out

Throughout the following years, Harry became involved in many different community projects. He worked in John M. King School, located right across from his house, as a part of the parent council. Even before his first son started attending preschool, he was pressuring the school system to recreate the playground. From 1988 onwards, he was very involved with the elementary school, even serving as president of the parent council.

Harry made connections throughout the community, joining up with any group that he felt was combating an important issue. In 1991, the New Life Ministries started a community drop in centre called the "New Life Centre." All community residents were encouraged to drop in, talk, use the computer or phone, play games, and have snacks. The program was staffed with about three volunteers per shift who manned the doors.

In 1993, the NLM expanded its facilities with a combination of donated land, financial donations from friends and attendees, and a grant from Employment and Immigration Canada. The donations and grants were especially encouraging, as the larger community had begun to recognize their work and the challenges they faced.

In the mid '90s the New Life Ministries set up a coffee house every Friday where bands could perform. Youth and adults alike were invited to the church to listen to music and relax. Virginia Lehotsky remembers how the coffee house was a great way to encourage people to do something else on a Friday night instead of partying, drinking, or using drugs. She points out that it had a very positive influence on many people, which Harry had not expected. The idea encouraged a sense of community spirit. It helped to establish friendships and communication between members of the community, which in turn led to reformation of many individuals. The NLM started up many different ministries, including men's and women's groups, an employment cooperative, a kids club, a youth group, and a community development group.

In 1996, Harry began to lead prayer walks. They would walk through the community, sometimes stopping to pray aloud, and sometimes praying silently. The group prayed with individuals on the street, outside of drug dens and crack-dealing arcades, and in empty houses, all with the conscious decision that by walking through the area they were inviting the intervention of God in the community. They hoped to inspire community members to take the first step needed in reform and rehabilitation, by reaching out a welcome hand to anyone who was in need. In the mid '90s, massage parlours were introduced in the west end, and Reverend Lehotsky was a big part of the fight against them. He shocked everyone by holding a prayer service inside a massage parlour, an event that made the evening news!

Although the New Life Ministries was a Baptist church, perhaps its strongest characteristic was that it would serve the people and the neighbourhood without any regard to an individual's belief. Harry Lehotsky always offered his friendship and services of the ministry without any condition or pressure to come to church.

Raising Homes from Squalor

In the Bible, there is a character by the name of Lazarus. Upon becoming really sick, Lazarus's family approached Jesus, asking for him to save their loved one. By the time Jesus reached him, Lazarus had died. Jesus then raised Lazarus from the dead, and the man who was reborn became a symbol of rebirth and regeneration.

From the time, Harry moved to Winnipeg in 1983, one of the foremost problems in the west end was the issue of housing. Housing was steadily declining in the neighbourhood, and was in need of rehabilitation. Through his observations in the community, he learned that many apartment buildings were owned by absentee landlords (mainly from Ontario) who did not take proper care of the buildings. Many people living in these apartment buildings were surviving on welfare, which provided people with very little housing assistance, and the homes they had to live in were very poorly run.

Throughout his career, Harry lived right in the heart of the West End, refusing to move away from his place

New Life Ministries

Lehotsky confronted drug problems in Winnipeg's inner city.

of work. This inspired many members of the New Life Ministries, stimulating a desire to find quality long term housing in the West End neighbourhood, instead of moving to other areas of the city. Harry recognized that for the community to grow, the population needed to stay in the area, instead of leaving as soon as possible. In order to achieve sustainable development in the community, people who reached success needed to stay and cycle money back into the area. As many members of the ministry started renovating their homes, they slowly picked up skills needed to refurbish houses. Volunteers from the church helped renovate eight area buildings. Several prayer walks through the neighbourhood led them to respond to the challenge of renovating an old gang house.

Under Harry's leadership, the entire congregation agreed on the importance of revitalizing homes for ownership and improving rental housing and management. The formal housing ministry, Lazarus Housing, was then started.[6] The housing initiative was to raise homes from the squalor, and give them life again.

The first renovation began with a house on Beverley Street, which was donated by the government. It was renovated with $15,000 seed money from the Sill Foundation, and about two years of donated materials, funds and volunteer labour. The first project was extremely successful, and a great looking home was sold in the West End.[7] Lazarus wanted to move faster, and they were able to do so with funding from the Winnipeg Development Agreement. A contractor, Ralph Mueller, then gave up his own private contracting business to work with Lazarus full time. With the help of the Manitoba Baptist Association and the Royal Bank, Lazarus emerged into a full force housing project. They purchased derelict homes, renovated them, and then sold them to low income homeowners, who were committed to the community.

For Harry, it was important that the project also worked to employ local people, restore homes, and thus continue

to build the dream of a healthy community. To this date, Lazarus housing has renovated and sold twenty, and another seven are underway.[8]

Nehemiah Housing

From Lazarus Housing emerged a concept for a new housing initiative. Throughout the years, Harry was always aware of the need for quality, affordable, supportive rental housing for people who were working hard to improve their lives. In 1998, Nehemiah housing was formed, a non-profit renovation company, established to provide emergency housing for people with little money, and who were considered high risk. Through the help of the Winnipeg Housing and Homeless Initiative, they renovated three apartment buildings in 2001 and another three in 2002. The apartment buildings had all been near to closure due to fires or building and health code violations, before they were bought by Nehemiah.[9]

Politics

Due to the nature of his work, Harry had been involved with politics throughout his career. In 1999, he decided to run formally in the Manitoba Provincial Elections, for the riding of Minto. Many community members wondered why the Reverend, known as the angel of the inner city, would choose to get involved with politics. His wife explained it very well. "Harry just wanted to do everything he could to make a difference." It came as a huge shock however, when he decided to run as a Progressive Conservative. Many thought he should have run with the New Democratic Party, due to his social justice work and beliefs. Harry found, however, that his philosophy agreed more with that of the Conservatives. He really believed in giving a hand up, not a hand out, a concept that he felt the Conservative party advocated. After so many years working to rebuild the inner city community, he had come to understand the difference between the two.

However, his decision to run as a Conservative greatly affected the response of voters. Throughout his campaigning, Lehotsky found a pattern in the belief of many community residents. Although they admired the work he had done, and acknowledged that he could do so much more if he were to be elected, they would not vote for him because he was not an NDP candidate. Harry lost the election to NDP MaryAnn Mihychuk, who won 63% of the votes.

Losing the election was a disappointment to Harry, who felt that party initials had come to mean more then community involvement. Looking back at the election, Harry felt that the outcome was for the best. The loss of the election resulted in much more time for the ministries, and many great accomplishments to come.

Ellice Café and Theatre

In 2004, Harry took on one of his greatest projects yet. The government sold an old building on the corner of Ellice and Sherbrook for a very low price to Lazarus Housing. The building had earlier been home to an East Indian deli and pharmacy, as well as a theatre, which showed Bollywood movies. Upon the closure of the business, the government claimed the historic building. It then became a very special project to Harry Lehotsky and the New Life Ministries.

New Life Ministries

A mural painted in 2006 on the Lazarus Housing building in downtown Winnipeg paid homage to Lehotsky and his work.

Lazarus Housing got to work on the building; the theatre space was renovated to create an accessible venue for affordable and positive leisure and entertainment and the attached café was restored. The café would seat around 60 people, and the theatre 230.

Harry hoped the theatre and café would provide subsidized low-income food service and jobs primarily for the residents of the NLM transitional housing program. He hoped that a community feeling would be developed, encouraging skill development through volunteering, job training, and employment. The business would also assist the New Life Ministries in providing community service without relying on operating funds from the government.

The theatre and café opened its doors in February of 2005. As Harry said, "it became a great place for white collar, blue collar, and no collar people to enjoy an affordable, quality meal."

The Family Man

Despite his complete devotion to his work, the reverend always put his family first. Harry and his wife Virginia had

three boys. Their oldest son Mathew was born on January 23rd of 1985, two years after the couple moved to Winnipeg. Twins Brandon and Jared were born in 1987, just as the New Life Ministries were opening their doors at the new church on Maryland Street.

Harry had a very special relationship with each of his sons. Virginia recalls how he never once missed a basketball game. It was his goal to raise his sons to be strong, independent men, and to find their own niche in life. While Virginia admits that she sometimes worried about raising her sons in the West End, she is also so appreciative of the many lessons that it has taught them. Despite facing certain challenges, they have developed an understanding of diversity and conflict resolution. For Harry, there was no other place he could live. He simply could not justify working to rebuild and sustain a community, and not residing in it. He could not accept any form of hypocrisy.

Virginia did often feel that Harry took on a lot of responsibility, but she never once stopped him. She always knew that Harry could handle whatever he took on. She, like many others, admired his passion for social justice.

Mathew Lehotsky is currently finishing his degree in Actuarial Science at the University of Manitoba, planning to graduate in 2007. Brandon and Jared only graduated from high school in 2006, but Brandon is interested in education, and Jared is interested in construction. Virginia Lehotsky always thought that her sons would move away from the West End neighbourhood. However, the three sons have recently purchased the house next door, which is the last house being renovated by Lazarus Housing. Despite the challenges faced in the West End, Harry's sons have remained faithful to the neighbourhood, about which their father cared so much.

The Beginning of the End

Beginning in March 2006, Harry began to experience severe pain in his abdomen. On Easter weekend, the pain became unbearable, and Harry spent the day in urgent care. He returned home soon, after making a booking for a CT scan.

On Sunday, 14 May (Mothers Day), Virginia took Harry to the Health Sciences Emergency, due to increased pain in his abdomen. After settling in, Harry asked Virginia to return home and get some sleep. The next morning, on 15 May, Virginia, Mathew, and Associate Pastor Larry Gregan went to the hospital. The doctor had looked at Harry's scans, and asked to speak to Harry alone first. He was told that he had pancreatic cancer. Virginia Lehotsky recalls waiting for the doctor to then tell her what treatment he would undergo, however, nothing came after. The cancer was terminal, and the doctor predicted that Harry had only between six weeks and nine months to live.

The next day Harry insisted on going back to work as usual. He woke up at his usual time of 4:30 am, and went to the church. For the next two months, Harry continued to work at his usual pace, refusing to yield to the cancer. As July approached, Harry became weaker. On 16 July Virginia and Harry finally decided to stop working, as they realized that time was short.

Harry was honoured that summer with a mural painted on the side of a Maryland street building. The building was renovated by Lazarus Housing, and sits beside the New Life Ministries. The mural depicts the work that the great reverend did throughout his entire life.

Never giving up, Harry continued to read sermons every Sunday at church services well into September. As the end approached, he would speak to the congregation while sitting on a small stool. He continued to publish columns for the *Winnipeg Sun* until 22 October. In the early morning of Saturday, 11 November 2006, Reverend Harry Lehotsky died at his home at age 49.

A Lasting Legacy

While many human beings dream of making change, few achieve what they originally set out to do. It is a hard thing to stay true to the causes you are out to help. Reverend Harry Lehotsky did not just talk the talk, he walked the walk. He knew no boundaries in his fight to improve the quality of the inner city, and help the people who were in need. He was never afraid to voice his opinion about what he believed to be the hypocritical nature of government bureaucracies and organizations. Harry Lehotsky put visions into action and works before words, and the difference he made is visible throughout the community in which he lived.

The mural painted in honour of the reverend contains the words: "We may never live so intensely as when we love strongly. To understand things and people, we must love them. Walter Rauschenbauch"

Reverend Harry Lehotsky did just that. He loved everything he did, and everyone he worked with. He conducted his life with the common thread of hope, faith, and commitment. For that, the West End's much-loved son will always be remembered, and his work will be continued. ☙

Notes

All biographical information was obtained from personal interviews with Virginia Lehotsky, wife of Harry Lehotsky, on 18 January 2006, and with Jennifer Neufeld, a friend and employee at the Ellice Theatre and Café, on 16 January 2006.

1. North American Baptist Seminary "Staying In Touch" newsletter, January 2006. www.nabs.edu/leadership/index.php?id=162&parentid=143
2. *Ibid*.
3. *Ibid*.
4. "History of the New Life Ministries," New Life Ministries, www.geocities.com/nlm514/history.html
5. *Ibid*.
6. "Lazarus Housing," New Life Ministries, www.geocities.com/nlm514
7. *Ibid*.
8. Frontier Centre for Public Policy, "Harry Lehotsky, Inner City Preacher, Activist and Change Agent," no. 75, 2006, www.fcpp.org/main/publication_detail.php?PubID=1442
9. "Nehemiah Housing," New Life Ministries, www.geocities.com/nlm514

Riding Mountain POWs: The Teacher's Tale

by Bill Waiser
Department of History, University of Saskatchewan

It started with a phone call one evening.

"Are you Bill Waiser?" the caller asked.

"Yes," I replied.

"Author of *Park Prisoners*?"

"Yes."

"Go get the book," she told me.

I often get emails and telephone calls about my writing. Some people want to tell me that they enjoyed one of my books; others want to talk about some aspect or provide new information. But this call was different. The woman on the phone seemed anxious, as if something was wrong.

When I picked up the receiver again, with book in hand, she told me to turn to page 235. That was the part of *Park Prisoners* where I talked about the German prisoners of war who were being held in Riding Mountain National Park during the Second World War and how they slipped away from their camp at night to visit the outlying communities. The page in question was about a raid on a farmhouse in the Olha district, when several camp guards caught the local schoolteacher doing a jigsaw puzzle with two prisoners.

"I'm the schoolteacher," the caller announced.

When Canada went to war in September 1939, Prime Minister Mackenzie King was determined to fight a "limited liability" war. The federal Liberal leader wanted to avoid large manpower commitments and therefore the possibility of conscription for overseas service. Instead, Canada would contribute to the Allied cause in other ways, such as training pilots and ground crew, testing chemical weapons, and interning prisoners of war.

This last duty, serving as the Allies official gaoler, assumed growing significance following the defeat of the German Afrika Korps in 1942. By the end of the year, more than 16,000 German prisoners of war were being held in Canada, the majority at Lethbridge and Medicine Hat in southern Alberta. Eventually, 34,000 were housed at more than two dozen sites across the country.

One of the more unusual internment facilities was found in Riding Mountain National Park near Dauphin, Manitoba. In October 1943, 440 German prisoners were transferred from Medicine Hat to a woodcutting camp on Whitewater Lake in the heart of Riding Mountain. Almost one in two Canadian households at the time used wood as a source of heat, and the federal departments of Labour and National Defence wanted to use the prisoner labour to help avert a possible fuel shortage that winter.

This was not the first time that one of Canada's National Parks had housed a work camp. Starting in 1915, thousands of men—from enemy aliens to relief workers to conscientious objectors to relocated Japanese Canadians—had been held in western Canada's prairie and mountain parks during the two world wars and the Great Depression. Here, they built roads, visitor facilities, and stone-and-log buildings, all in the interests of developing the parks and attracting more tourists.

But the Whitewater camp was unlike any other camp that the National Parks Bureau had operated for other groups over the past quarter century. Constructed at an estimated third of a million dollars, the camp featured six large bunkhouses (each with its own washroom and shower facilities) and a number of other structures, including a hospital and power plant.

What was probably most surprising, though, was that there was no enclosed compound, let alone guard towers. The boundaries of the camp were designated by blazes on a ring of outlying trees. Beyond that, there was nothing but mile after mile of wilderness.

Project officials believed that the lack of fencing would serve as an inducement to the men to work. But just in case, to help the Veterans Guard keep track of the prisoners, the men wore blue denim work clothes with a red stripe down the outer leg of the trousers and a large red circle on the back of the shirt and jacket. The outfit was not only resented by the prisoners, but also made them uneasy—as if they were carrying a target on their backs.

The Germans prisoners quickly adapted to their new wood cutting duties. Camp authorities, in turn, placed considerable trust in the men. They operated the camp power plant, had regular access to horses and trucks, and often went to town to help pick up supplies. Officials granted these privileges on the understanding that the camp would not function without the cooperation of the prisoners.

When not cutting wood, the men spent their leisure hours talking about the war, reading, or playing games.

A specialist in western and northern Canadian history, Bill Waiser joined the faculty of the University of Saskatchewan in 1984. He has published eleven books including Saskatchewan: A New History *(2005) commemorating the province's centenary and* Who Killed Jackie Bates? *(2008). He was awarded the Saskatchewan Order of Merit, the province's highest honour, in 2006.*

Some had theatrical or musical talents and staged regular performances. Others turned their hands to crafts, fashioning all kinds of items out of wood, including dugout canoes.

They missed, however, the outside world and the company of family and friends, especially women. The absence weighed heavily on the men's minds, all the more so as their first winter in their forest prison dragged on.

This need for companionship prompted some of the prisoners to slip away overnight, using crude compasses fashioned from watches that they had ironically ordered from Eaton's catalogue. They would visit the small immigrant communities along the southern boundary of the park and then head back to camp before roll call the next morning.

Apparently, the Germans were favoured guests at local dances and parties because they carried with them rationed goods, especially sugar for the local stills. Local farmers with sleighs routinely picked up the men at the park boundary and gave them a change of clothing.

Rumours soon began to circulate about park prisoners being sighted in Olha, Horod and other local districts.

Lieutenant Mann, the officer in charge of the Veterans Guard, alerted the local RCMP detachment in Dauphin, but the Mounties would not get involved unless the prisoners were reported missing or a civilian lodged a complaint. Internment officials did not regard the men as escapees, since they always returned to camp.

The Germans, meanwhile, always used the same excuse for their absence—they had simply gone for a hike and become lost. They realized that any mass escape attempt would mean an end to their Whitewater days and immediate shipment to a maximum-security facility.

Mann decided to take matters into his own hands and planned a late-night visit to the communities on Saturday, 19 February 1944. The detail first raided the home of Peter Chrun near Seech, where they found two prisoners in the company of Catherine Chastko, teacher at the Zaparoza School. "The prisoners' visit had evidently been pre-arranged," Mann noted in his official report, "as the teacher, admitted having previously met them at a dance."

The patrol then proceeded to Seech where it broke up a wedding dance and nearly came to blows with several local men, including Peter Chrun who insisted that prisoners had never before visited the schoolteacher at his home. By the next morning, seven Germans had been rounded up and placed under guard back at camp until it was decided what to do with them. Mann also contacted the provincial Department of Education about the schoolteacher.

Catherine (Chastko) Dobrowski wanted to talk to me about the February 1944 incident. That was one of the reasons for her phone call—to tell her side of the story. She planned to visit her daughter who lived on an acreage outside Saskatoon, and we agreed to meet there. I promised to bring along the government documents I had used for the account in the book.

Over coffee, Catherine explained how there had been a shortage of teachers in rural Manitoba during the war and that she had been asked to help out at the end of Grade 11. After a six-week course at Wesley College in Winnipeg in the summer of 1943, she was placed at the Zaparoza School, about fifteen miles north of her family home at Shoal Lake. She was just seventeen.

Catherine boarded with farmer Peter Chrun, his wife Anne, and their two small girls. She enjoyed working with the students, many of them children of European immigrants like herself. Otherwise, she felt isolated. She consequently jumped at the chance in the new year to attend a Saturday dance at nearby Seech with some local women her age.

Parks Canada

An extensive complex of barracks housed German prisoners of war in Riding Mountain National Park during World War Two.

Bill Waiser

Catherine (Chastko) Dobrowski in 1943, shortly before her encounter with German POWs in Riding Mountain National Park.

At the dance, Catherine was surprised to find German prisoners of war. That is when she learned that the men were regular visitors to the area and that she should not be afraid of them.

This advice was tested a week later—19 February—when she was asked to babysit the Chrun children while Peter and Anne attended a wedding dance about two miles away. Around 10:30 pm, there was a knock on the farmhouse door. Outside stood two prisoners who wanted to come in to warm up.

Catherine hesitated, but let them in because it was snowing heavily. The men introduced themselves as Willi and Reinhard and offered to help with the jigsaw puzzle on the dining room table.

No more than an hour later, there was another knock on the door. This time, it was Lieutenant Mann from the camp, who ordered the two Germans to come with him. Catherine, through tears, told Mann that she never invited the men to visit her, and she had met them only once at the Seech dance a week before.

Mann did not believe her and headed off to the wedding party to find out what the Chruns knew about schoolteacher's relationship with the prisoners. However, it was the wrong time and wrong place to conduct such an interrogation and the situation became ugly, with shouting and pushing, because many of the wedding guests had been drinking.

The following day, Catherine was worried about her fate while the rest of the community blamed her for ruining the dance.

It fell to the two Germans, Willi and Reinhard, to try to set things right. About two weeks later, they came back to the Chrun farmhouse in the middle of the night and asked to see Catherine. They had gifts for the family—a ship in a bottle and a small handmade wooden box filled with chocolate bars—and apologized for the trouble they had caused everyone.

It turned out that someone on the road that night had told Willi and Reinhard that Catherine was alone and in need of company. That same person then alerted the camp guards. Footsteps found in the snow outside a window at the Chrun home the next morning suggested that at least two people had evidently been watching Catherine and the prisoners as they worked on the jigsaw puzzle.

The two Germans also told Catherine that Mann had taken a short detour on his way back to the park camp that night to stop in Shoal Lake to find her father and complain about her behaviour.

Catherine never saw the two prisoners again. Nevertheless, it did not mean that the Germans stopped visiting. That April, another prisoner knocked on the door of the schoolhouse and asked if he could watch her teach the children. He noticed that the clock in the classroom was not working, repaired it, and then left.

Sometime thereafter, Catherine found another prisoner sitting on the steps of the schoolhouse when she let the children out for recess. He got up, apologized for the intrusion, and moved on.

Catherine returned home at the end of the school year. Her father, to her relief, never mentioned the incident. But it was apparent that her teaching days were over. That summer, she headed east to Ontario and found work on an assembly line in a munitions factory.

Whitewater camp, meanwhile, continued to operate until the spring of 1945 when the government decided to close the facility and transfer the prisoners to other work projects. The Germans had become bored with woodcutting and deliberately slowed down production.

Once the last batch of prisoners was removed, a Winnipeg wrecking firm razed all the buildings and cleaned up the site. The Parks Bureau was determined to wipe out any sign of the camp—as if it had never existed.

The Parks people, however, could not destroy the fact that during the latter years of the Second World War, animosities were set aside and Riding Mountain's German prisoners of war found a home-away-from-home in the immigrant farming communities beyond the park's boundaries.The dances at Seech were never quite the same again. ∞

The Geography of Bilingual Schools in Manitoba

by John C. Lehr and Brian McGregor
Department of Geography, University of Winnipeg

Language rights have long been a thorny issue in Manitoba politics. When Manitoba entered confederation in 1870 a dual educational system was established allowing Roman Catholics to operate their own tax-supported schools independent and separate from the Protestant section. These rights came under attack in the late 1880s when the Manitoba government determined that the province should have a single non-denominational English language school system. In 1890 the dual system of Catholic and Protestant schools was abolished, a centralized Department of Education was created to administer the newly non-sectarian schools, and English was made the sole official language of the Provincial Legislature and courts.[1] After the election of Wilfred Laurier 's Liberal federal government in 1896, Manitoba 's provincial legislature softened its stance on the language issue, conceding in a somewhat ambiguous amendment to the Manitoba Schools Act, that bilingual instruction could be used under certain circumstances.[2]

The purpose of this amendment was to sooth French susceptibilities; achieve an amicable compromise on the issue of French language rights and to pave the way for an eventual unilingual English education system. Its proponents thought that only French Catholics and a few Mennonite communities would take advantage of the opportunity but the massive increase in Slavic immigration into Manitoba after 1896 soon changed the situation.

Ukrainian immigrants arriving from Galicia and Bukovyna, then a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, were almost all adherents of the Greek Catholic or Greek Orthodox Churches. Greek Catholics acknowledge the Pope as the head of their church but maintain the Slavic liturgy and a tradition of secular (married) priests. In Canada they fell under the jurisdiction of Archbishop Langevin's Roman Catholic Diocese of Saint Boniface, which saw an opportunity to extend its influence into the emerging Ukrainian colonies and to use them as a political weapon to defend and extend French religious and language rights.[3]

Schools and churches were usually the first institutions established by settler communities. Schools often came first because the province mandated they be built where and whenever ten children of school age were present in a district further than three miles from the nearest school. On the other hand, the families of the children attending one of these schools might belong to a number of different religious denominations and choose to worship at some distance from their homes. Each rural school served an area of roughly 18 square miles or one-half of a Township whereas a church's congregation might be scattered over a far wider area. Thus, the establishment of schools is an excellent indication of the location of the frontier of settlement in western Canada at any given time.[4]

In addition to the French, Germans (mostly Mennonites), and Ukrainians took advantage of the amendment to the Manitoba Schools Act that specified when ten pupils in a school spoke a language other than English "the teaching of such pupils shall be conducted in French, *or such other language*, and English upon the bilingual system" (authors' italics). By 1915 there were 276 Bilingual schools in Manitoba.[5] One hundred and fifteen were French/English, 67 were German/English, and 94 were Ukrainian/English schools.

One year later, in 1916, Manitoba's bilingual school system was abolished. It was a casualty of patriotic fervour inflamed by Allied propaganda and driven by resentment of special privileges given to Mennonite conscientious objectors and enemy aliens from Austria-Hungary. A good dose of anti-Catholic and anti-French prejudice also helped to seal the fate of bilingual schools in the province. To be fair, there was a genuine fear of Balkanization among Manitoba's governing English elite, and establishment of a provincial system of secular unilingual English-language schools was seen as an antidote. Nevertheless, when the relatively small number of bilingual schools (276) is compared to the much larger number of unilingual schools (over 1,200) in the province, it becomes clear that this concern was somewhat overblown. In fact, large areas of the province were entirely devoid of bilingual schools.

Not surprisingly, the distribution of bilingual schools in Manitoba paralleled the geography of ethnic settlement in the province. When mapped, the presence of a bilingual school can identify a small area of ethnic clustering that would be easily submerged when using data sources

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that present aggregate data for large geographic areas, such as census divisions. Since each bilingual school's catchment area was about half a township this map enables us to present an accurate representation of the location of three of the most important ethnic/linguistic groups to settle in Manitoba.

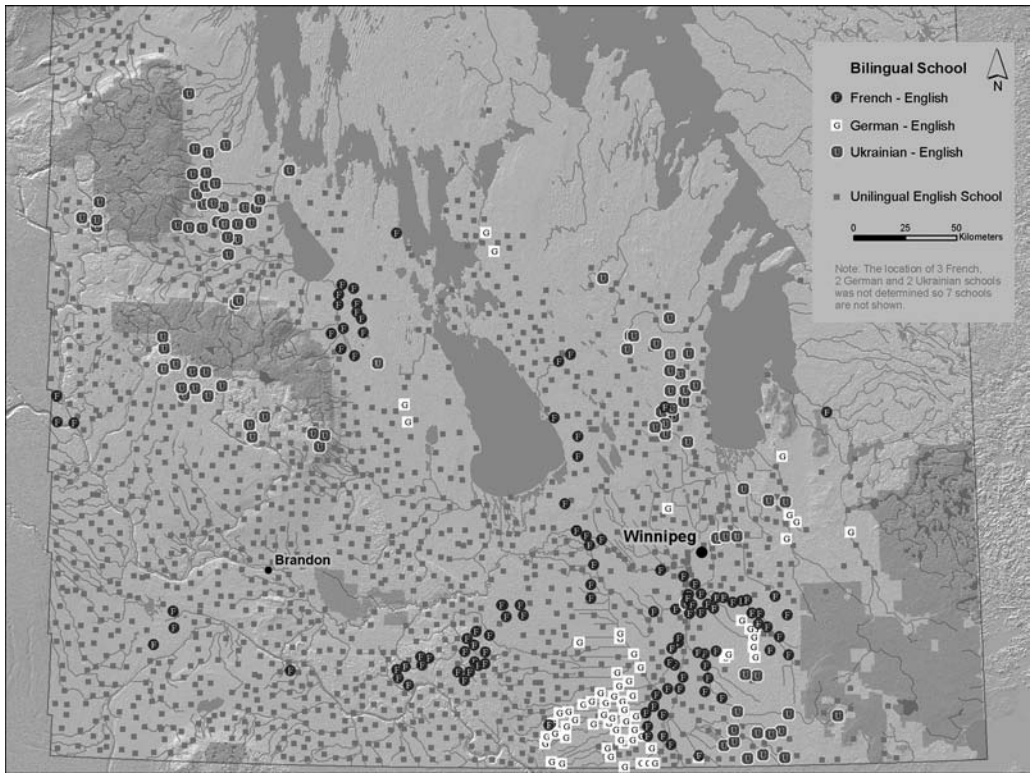


Figure 1. Bilingual schools in southern Manitoba, 1915.

Figure 1 shows that German-speakers were clustered in the East and West Mennonite reserves south of Winnipeg but smaller pockets of German settlement occurred in the northwest of the Interlake region, west of Lake Manitoba in the Glenella area, and in the Brokenhead and Whitemouth regions. Ukrainians were found in the "colonies" of Stuartburn, Cooks Creek, Interlake, Dauphin and the Strathclair/Shoal Lake district. A small Ukrainian and Polish settlement south of Saint Norbert is marked by a solitary Ukrainian school amidst a sea of French schools. French settlements followed the Red, Assiniboine and Seine Rivers but the presence of French schools identified smaller clusters of French settlement in the southwest of the province and south of Lake Dauphin. By adjusting symbol size to indicate the number of students attending each bilingual school a better indication of the numerical size of each ethnic community can be conveyed.

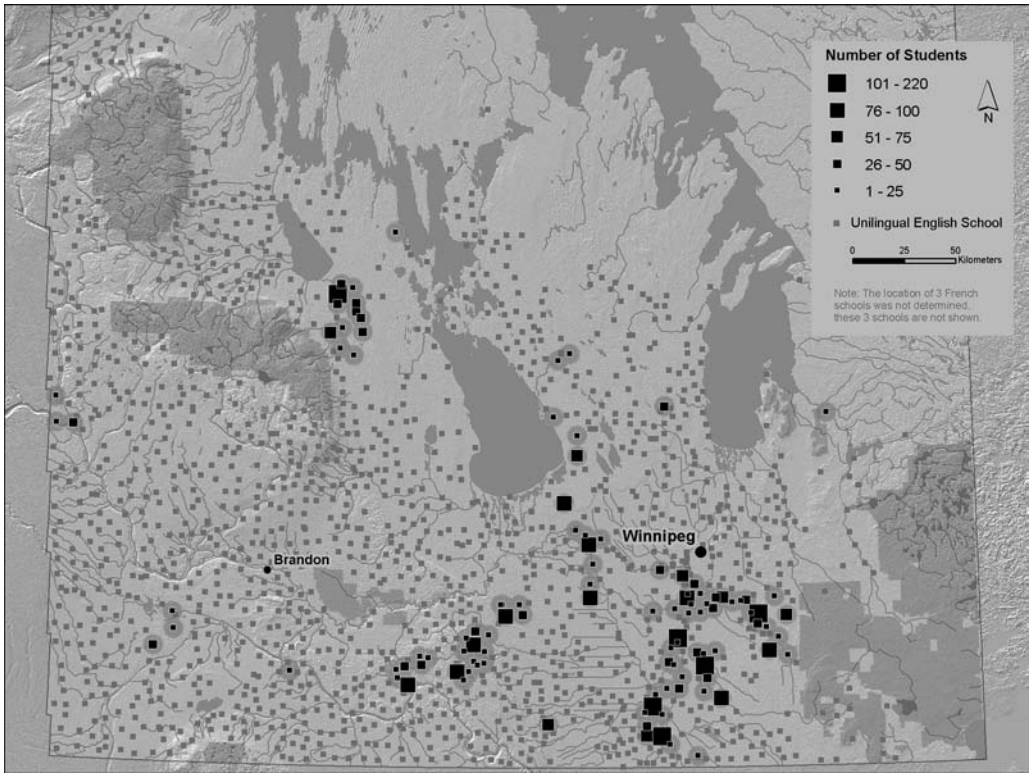


Figure 2. French–English bilingual schools, 1915.

An inventory of bilingual schools in Manitoba in 1915 noted the birthplace and place of education for all bilingual schoolteachers. In the French schools most teachers were born in Manitoba (38%) and Quebec (27%) with only 15 percent born in France. Teachers in the German schools were mostly born in Manitoba (64%) with 13 and 11 percent born in Russia and Germany respectively. In Ukrainian schools the situation was quite different as at least 70 percent of the teachers were born overseas, mostly in Western Ukraine.

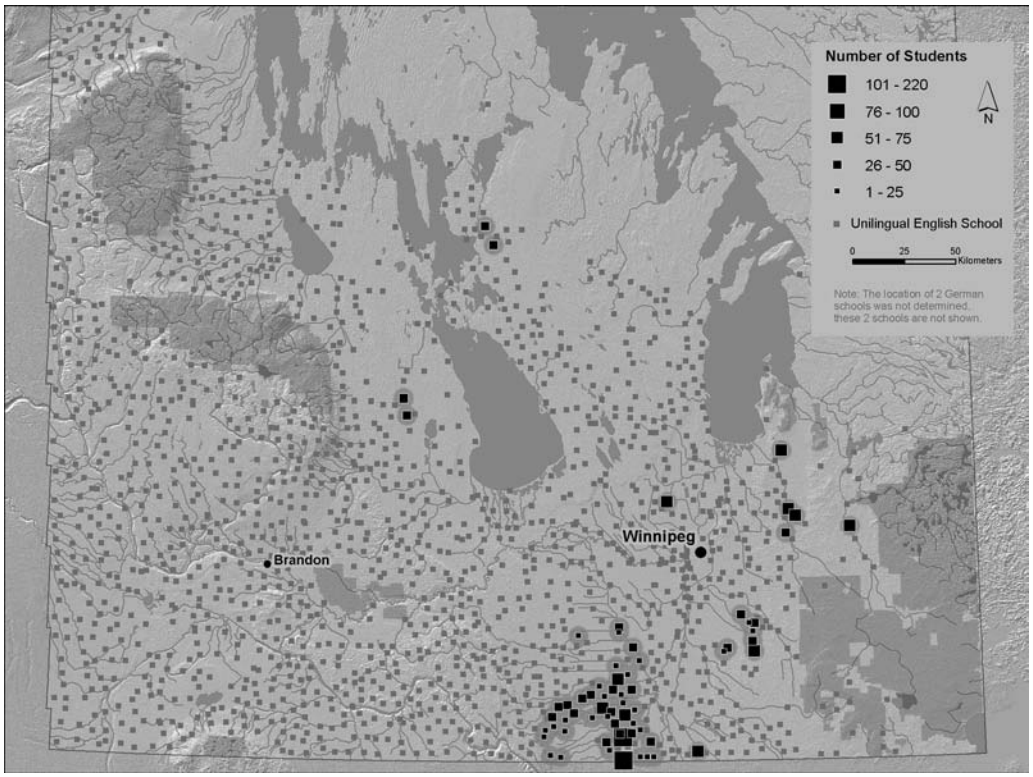


Figure 3. German–English bilingual schools, 1915.

Only four percent were born in Manitoba, a reflection of the recent arrival of Ukrainians in Manitoba.

Most teachers in French bilingual schools were educated in Manitoba (45%) or Quebec (20%), with 12 percent receiving their education in France. Teachers in the German schools were most likely to have been educated in Manitoba (73%); 16 percent were educated in Europe and Manitoba, but only two percent received all their education in Europe. Most Ukrainian teachers received some or all of their education in Manitoba, 54 percent were completely Manitoba educated and 16 percent were educated in Europe and Manitoba. Only four percent received their entire education in Europe.

These differences in the background of teachers employed in the French, German and Ukrainian bilingual schools are all explainable in terms of the circumstances of each group's immigration, their length of residence in Manitoba and their level of education at the time of immigration. For example, the Manitoba government established a Ruthenian Training School in 1902 to train bilingual teachers for the frontier schools in Ukrainian districts. Many of those who attended had received some education in Ukraine before their families immigrated to Canada. Mennonites, who had relatively high rates of literacy when they came to Manitoba in 1874–1876, had sufficient time to produce a generation of Canadian-born and educated teachers by 1915, and hence had a higher ratio of Manitoba-educated teachers.

Not every student who attended a bilingual school belonged to the group speaking the other language of instruction.

For example, occasionally unilingual English-speaking students living in, or on the fringes of, a "foreign" settlement

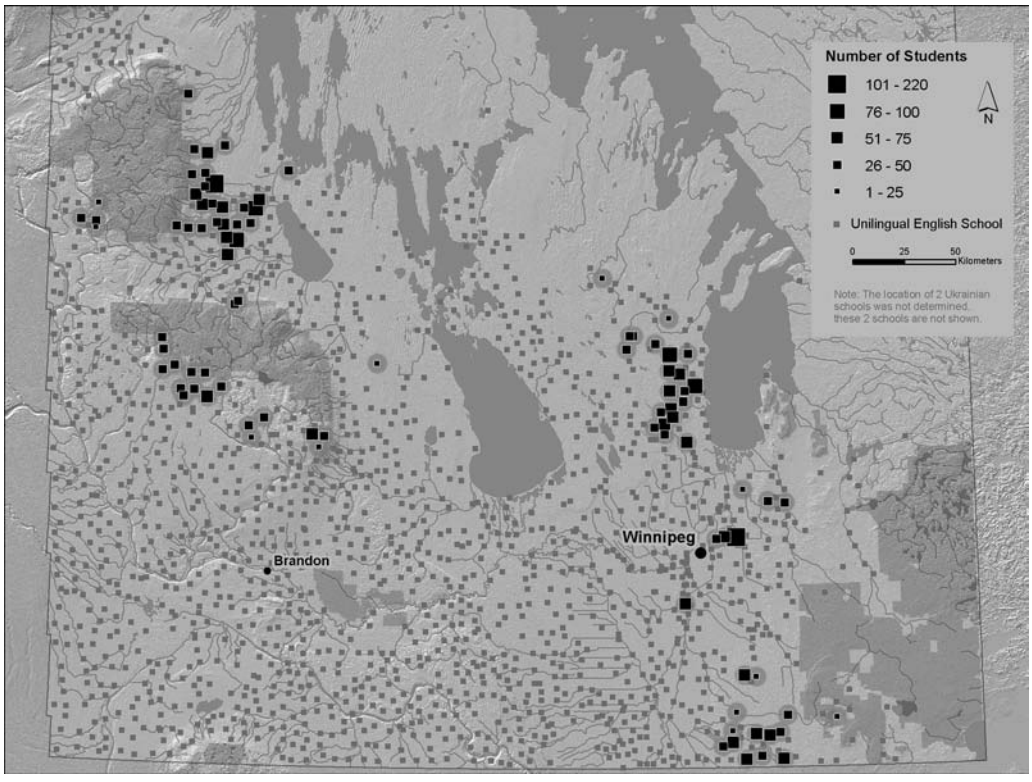


Figure 4. Ukrainian–English bilingual schools, 1915.

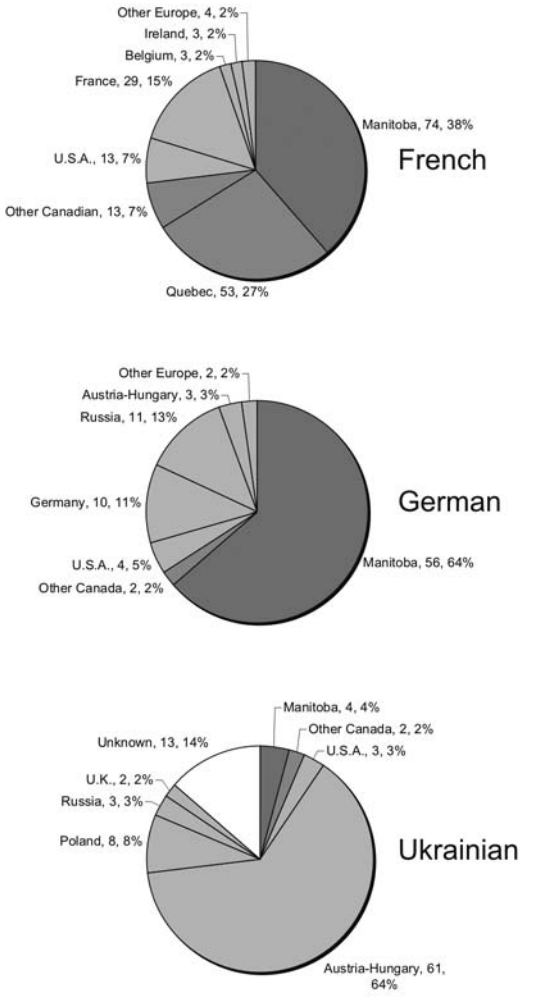


Figure 5. Birthplace of teachers in bilingual schools, 1915.

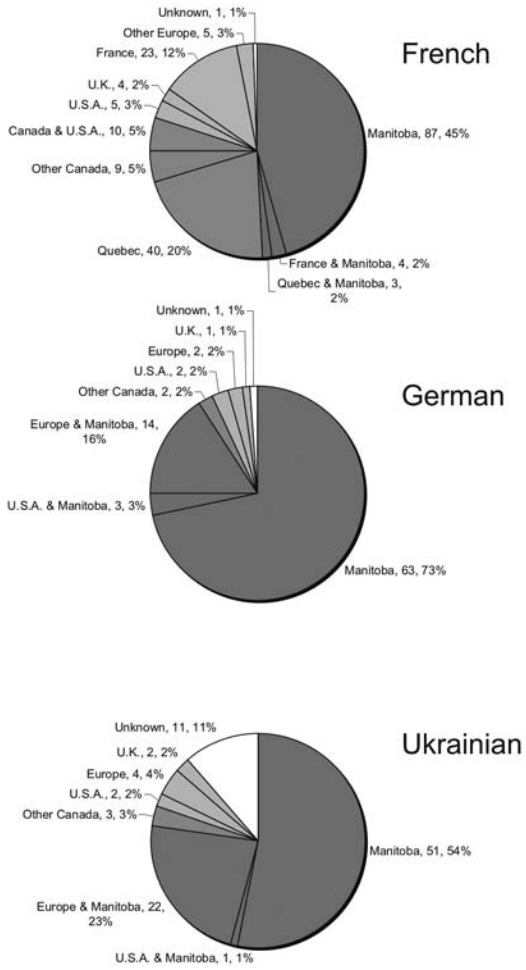


Figure 6. Place of education of teachers in bilingual schools, 1915.

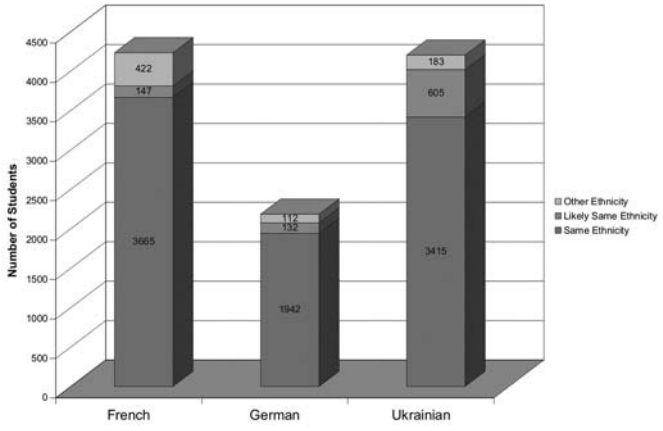


Figure 7. Number of students in bilingual schools by second language and ethnicity, 1915

would find themselves in a bilingual school where the de facto language of instruction was Ukrainian or German and the language of the playground was certainly not English. Such students usually became proficient in the lingua franca of the district. School inspectors worried that in schools where teachers spoke limited English and few if any of the students had much proficiency in the language, integration of the immigrant population into mainstream Canadian life would be impeded.

Mapping historical data and depicting it graphically can offer insights often overlooked in a simple reading of the text. These maps and graphs may help to put the Manitoba Schools Question into a geographical context and thereby provide a clearer understanding of a crucial issue in Manitoba's history.

Notes

1. Gerald Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies: A History*, (Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press, 1984), pp. 217-218.
2. *Statutes of Manitoba,* 1897, C. 26, Section 10.
3. Cornelius J. Jaenen, "Ruthenian schools in western Canada, 1897–1919" *Paedagogica Historica* 10 (3): 524-526 (1970).
4. John C. Lehr and Brian McGregor, "Using schools to map the frontier of settlement on the Canadian prairies," *Great Plains Research* 18: 53-66 (Spring 2008).
5. All data cited here were obtained from the *Inspection Reports, Bilingual Schools, 1915*, Department of Education, Manitoba, Archives of Manitoba.

Gazette

The Allmans of Colony Street: 1882-1899

by Anne Lindsay
Department of History, University of Winnipeg

In the first decades after the 1870 Rupert's Land Transfer and the formation of the Province of Manitoba, the City of Winnipeg experienced enormous changes. An unprecedented demographic shift followed the opening of the province to settlement by European and Euro-Canadian newcomers in 1870 and the shift from a largely fur trade focused culture. By the 1880s, a short lived economic boom in Winnipeg, prompted by the announcement that the much anticipated railway would run through the city, quickly gave way to bust, and bust, in turn, became modest growth. By the last part of the nineteenth century the Manitoba Schools question raised issues that were not resolved until the late 20th century. Scholars have described, discussed, and debated the often hectic growth and development of Winnipeg and the related issues and challenges, such as these, that this posed as larger, depersonalized events. Yet this history was experienced by, shaped and was shaped by, individual people and families for whom these times were much more than abstract ideas, and through whose lives these events can be better understood at a personal level.

Manitoba Free Press, 29 October 1925
Daniel Allman (c1846-1925).

Daniel and Kate Allman and their children were such people. Daniel Flynn Allman, his wife Kate (nee Fortescue) and their two young daughters arrived in Winnipeg as the boom of 1881 was busting in 1882. Coming from Ireland, they were part of the wave of new, often entrepreneurial, immigrants who arrived in huge numbers looking for opportunity in boom of early 1880s Winnipeg. From their arrival in 1882, the Allman family lived and worked in Winnipeg, and by 1897, was well enough settled to be able to own a brand new home at 270 Colony Street. By tracking the lives of the family through newspaper articles, city directories, and related documents, it is possible to see how individual people and families experienced and influenced the events that have become significant markers in Winnipeg's early history as a city.

In the Manitoba census of 1870, the newly formed province of Manitoba had a population of roughly 12,000; fewer than 1/6 of whom claimed to be of European or Euro-Canadian stock. Of the remaining people, about half claimed French-speaking and a third English-speaking mixed Aboriginal and European ancestry.[1] Following a boundary extension to the province in 1881, and more significantly, a massive influx of European and Euro-Canadian settlers, merchants, and land speculators, the population of the province rose to about 66,000. In 1881 the railway announced that it would indeed run through Winnipeg, the resulting boom swept through the city, and drew even more immigrants to the province. The boom, with its spectacular land values, was a very brief phenomenon; the bubble had burst by the spring of 1882, but by 1885, the local economy had recovered to some extent, and continued to improve at a much more sustainable level until 1913. In 1886, of the roughly 109,000 people who called Manitoba home, 24 percent were of English origin and another 24 percent Scottish, followed closely by the 20 percent who claimed Irish origin. More than 70 percent of Manitobans had been born in Canada, and 18 percent were from Britain.[2]

Four of the new Winnipeggers who immigrated in this period; Daniel Allman, his wife Kate, and their daughters Kate Mary and Margaret Mary arrived from Ireland in the spring of 1882, just as the great economic boom in the city was about to fail.[3] Daniel Allman, born about 1846, his wife Kate (nee Fortescue), born March of 1858, Margaret Mary, born about 1 January 1881, and Kate Mary, probably born about June 1881, not long before the

On Christmas Eve 2008, author Anne Lindsay was asked by a descendant of Daniel Allman to dig into his family roots in Winnipeg. She was too busy to take the job but, her curiousity piqued, she made a few casual inquiries. As often happens, she became hooked and ended up using the information she found to write two papers towards her history degree at the University of Winnipeg. Now when she passes the Allman Block on Main Street—which has been recently renovated—she think of the Allmans and all the history they saw.

Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg-Buildings-Business-Hudson's Bay Company-Main 11-1, c1882.

The Hudson's Bay Company store in Winnipeg was a busy place of commerce on unpaved Main Street when, in 1887, Daniel Allman began working as a buyer in the men's wear department.

family left for Canada, settled into a home on St. Mary's Avenue in 1882, probably near or attached to the business Allman ran as a "draper."[4] As the economic boom of 1881/82 collapsed, Allman, along with many others in the city, was faced with a shrinking market and fierce competition from failing merchants mounting distress sales. Things became so bad that a committee of local business interests was struck in 1883 to organize stock liquidations for failing companies so that "fire sale" prices would not ruin businesses that were still able to keep their doors open.[5] In 1883, the *Steen & Boyce Winnipeg City Directory* listed Daniel Allman as a "merchant" at the corner of Edmonton Street and St. Mary's Avenue.[6] In 1884, perhaps in an effort to put the family on a more secure financial footing, Daniel Flynn Allman moved from his shop on St. Mary's Avenue to working for a clothing store, the *Golden Lion* (Parkes and Company), at 432 Main Street.[7] On 20 March, 1883, while Mrs. Allman was pregnant with their son Michael Patrick, Kate Mary, age one year and nine months, died and was buried the next day from St. Mary's Church, now St. Mary's Cathedral, on St. Mary's Avenue.[8] On 12 July 1883, Michael Patrick Allman was born, followed by his brothers Daniel Joseph (23 April 1885) and David Fortescue (probably 27 April 1887), making, by 1887, in all a family of four children living.[9] At about the same time, the family moved from St. Mary's Avenue to 121 Edmonton Street, so that by the time the 1887 *Henderson's Directory* was canvassed, Daniel Allman was listed as living at that address.[10]

In 1887, too, Daniel Allman began working for the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) as a clerk, buying for their men's clothing and furnishings department.[11] By this time, the Hudson's Bay Company had been trading in North America for over 200 years; but its foray into the world of the department store was a very recent undertaking. The enormous demographic and environmental changes that resulted from the unprecedented numbers of immigrants from Canada and Great Britain, many of them much like the Allmans, meant that new urban markets were forming and the trade of the Hudson's Bay Company was significantly altered, especially in the south.[12] The HBC responded to the demands of these new consumers by opening its flagship retail department store in Winnipeg in 1881, beginning a new era in its business history.[13]

The first Hudson's Bay Company department store was built on Main Street, not far from Upper Fort Garry, where the company had conducted business during its fur trade period. Four stories tall, featuring steam elevators and distinct departments including "dry goods, groceries, carpets, dressmaking, millinery, wines and liquors," as well as a restaurant and candy factory, the enormous edifice, which occupied an entire city block, and, because it faced on both Main Street and York Avenue, was actually able to present two impressive facades, also accommodated space to warehouse furs and merchandise.[14] This new facility had been constructed, during the boom of 1881/82, to tap into the prosperity of the time. Its neoclassical design, as David Butterfield and Maureen Devanik Butterfield write, "originally denoting a spiritual space, became an inviting entrance into a luscious world of commerce."[15] But as the boom collapsed in 1882, the Hudson's Bay Company was left with a surfeit of both space and luxury goods purchased during Winnipeg's brief but spectacular boom.[16] Following

Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg-Churches-St. Mary's Cathedral 5-1, c1882.

The Allmans were among the devout Anglophone Catholics who worshipped on St. Mary's Avenue at the namesake church.

the 1882 collapse, Winnipeg's economy did recover somewhat, and by 1884, the Hudson's Bay Company store on Main Street employed 54 clerks in its wholesale and retail enterprises.[17] By the late 1880s, when Daniel Flynn Allman began working for the Company, the Winnipeg sales shop was again experiencing financial issues. The Hudson's Bay Company approached these problems through efficiencies like staff reductions, accounting reform, and centralized purchasing, but by 1889 the Winnipeg facility still had an overstock that had to be wholesaled off at a loss.[18] In the late 1880s, the Company attempted to address some of its issues by centralizing dry goods purchasing. In particular, the Company felt that British buyers were not able to understand or anticipate the local market. The Company decided to locate their purchaser in Canada rather than Britain, in the hopes that this tactic would allow for stock decisions that better reflected the purchasing patterns of local people, people like the Allmans.[19] It is possible that Allman's familiarity with the local men's wear market stood him in good stead, because, despite the Company's business issues, Allman continued with the Hudson's Bay Company for twelve years, living during this time in homes inside the fashionable area known as the "Hudson's Bay Reserve."[20]

The Hudson's Bay Reserve was a large block of land that centred on what is now the downtown of Winnipeg. As historian Gerald Friesen notes, after the Rupert's Land Transfer, the social landscape of Winnipeg changed from a loosely organized village in the 1870s to a city with definite residential and commercial districts following the land boom of 1881-82. Of the three residential areas that developed during the boom, the Hudson's Bay Reserve, located on land the Hudson's Bay Company was granted title to as part of its compensation for surrendering its interests in Rupert's Land was the most desirable. The Reserve, as a residential district, was located in the south end of the growing city, along the Assiniboine River. [21] In the words of social historian David Burley and Mike Maundor, "a gradient of status and wealth stretched more or less incrementally downward north from the river, across Portage and beyond."[22] The Allman family never lived in the most fashionable part of the Reserve; from at least 1887, when local directories began including home listings, the Allman family lived at 121 Edmonton Street, then in 1890, they moved to 192 Kennedy Street, still in the Reserve. There they remained until 1897, but they did live in the Reserve.[23] Nor did they move far away when they were able to buy their own home in the late 1890s. The Reserve was bounded on its west side by Colony Creek. Along west side of the creek ran Colony Street, and it was to 270 Colony Street that the family moved in 1897.[24]

Moving out of the Hudson's Bay Reserve into a brand new home was not the only significant change in the family's life around this time. 1898 was the last year Daniel Allman was listed in the *Henderson's Directories* of Winnipeg as a clerk with the Hudson's Bay Company. By early 1899, Allman was working for the "Fit Reform Wardrobe Company," and travelling on buying trips to the east coast for them.[25] His next step was to enter into business on his own behalf. By October 1899, Daniel Allman had taken over the "Cheapside" store at 580 Main Street.[26] Allman marketed himself and his new venture enthusiastically, and used newspaper ads to publicize his store, a men's clothing shop in the Cheapside Block; ads which included the motto "One Price Store."[27]

The residential community in which the Almans lived, and the business community where Daniel Allman worked were not the only communities that both informed and were informed by the family and families like them. The Allmans were Roman Catholic, their parish St. Mary's, the English-speaking church on St. Mary's Avenue. Just as the Hudson's Bay Company had built a new building that reflected the changes going on around and to it, so, too, did St. Mary's Church. In 1881, the year before the Allmans arrived in Winnipeg, and the same year the Hudson's Bay Company built its new department store, St. Mary's Church undertook a major building project. Having outgrown the earlier building that had served as both church and priests' residence, the parish erected a new separate church building designed to accommodate as many as 1000 people. The new building, a Romanesque Revival style brick structure, had a solid, straight forward appeal. It was consecrated 4 August 1881. This building served the parish until 1896 (probably the same year the Allmans began building their own new home), when the church was considerably altered, and twin towers were added, giving it the Victorian architectural appearance it has to this day.[28]

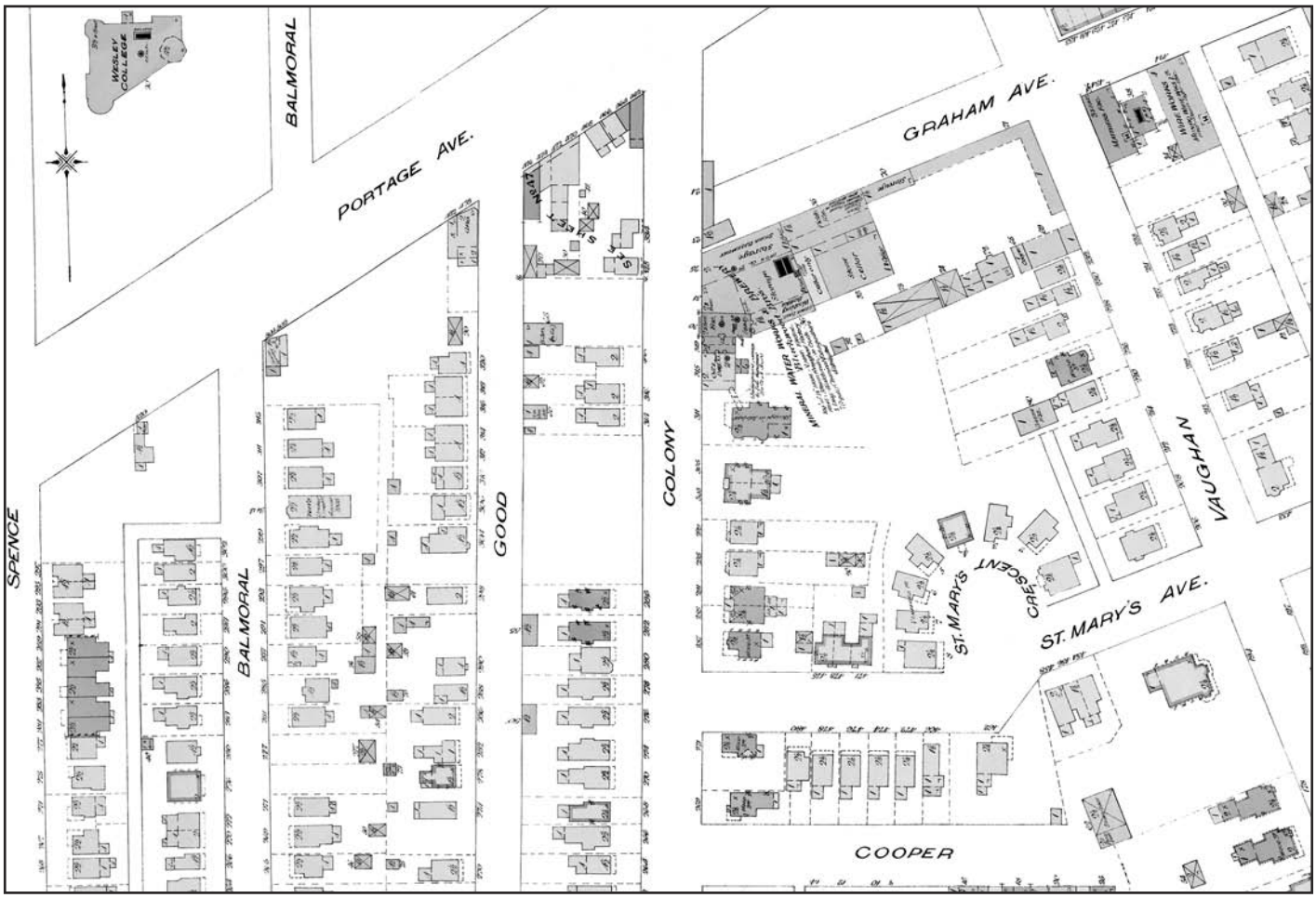
The Voice, 13 June 1902.

The Allmans advertised their clothing wares in such venues as *The Voice* and other Winnipeg papers.

The Allman family were intimately involved in their parish. From the death of their daughter, whose funeral took place in the new structure not long after it was built, throughout their lives, they marked their family's major events in St. Mary's Church (later Cathedral). Daniel

Allman was an active member of the Catholic Mutual Benevolent Association, acting as treasurer or secretary treasurer for fifteen years until he retired in 1904, and the Allman children attended St. Mary's Academy, a Catholic school.[29] In 1891, Daniel Allman was one of the participants in the St. Patrick's Day celebrations of the Catholic Mutual Benefit Association at the Opera House, an event featuring "Irish Music and Oration by Hon. Ignatius Donnolly – Irish Elloquence as Born and Trained in America."[30] If, as Gerald Friesen argues, the Hudson's Bay Reserve and its associated institutions were ways in which "the respectable classes established and refined their own perception of the proper social order," while the Catholic community may not have had access to some of the key social institutions of the Protestant "respectable class", particularly the Masonic Lodge and St. George's Society, they were certainly capable of creating, supporting, and using their own institutions to inform and encourage change in their community, Daniel Allman among them.[31]

People like the Allmans were not only shaped by, but also shaped their communities, as when an issue arose in Manitoba that pitted Catholics against Protestants. In the late 1880s, the reigning provincial government suspended the rights to government funded separate Catholic (generally French) and Protestant (generally English) schools. This dual system had been entrenched in Manitoba's entry into Confederation, and its suspension was ultimately determined to be unconstitutional, although this determination by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council did not actually result in the reinstatement of the system. It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss this complicated issue adequately, but it is important to note that, on the separate schools question, French and English speaking Catholics were able to come together to agree on wanting, and lobbying for, a continuation of the dual system.[32] In 1894, Daniel Allman weighed in publicly on this matter, identifying with the Catholic community when his name appeared in a newspaper article titled "Their Money Talks: Catholics Hold Another Meeting on Wednesday Night and Back Up Their Assertions By Hard Cash- Nearly $1,000 Subscribed." At the meeting, held at St. Mary's School, Allman publicly pledged $20 toward the total to be used to work to reinstate government funding for Catholic schools.[33]



Adapted from fire insurance maps at Library and Archives Canada, MIKAN No. 3776248.

The neighbourhood. In 1897, the Allman family moved into a comfortable home at 270 Colony, south of Portage Avenue, among a row of houses on the west side of the street (in the lower, centre of this 1906 map). Wesley College (now the University of Winnipeg) was a short walk to the northwest, and the Blackwood Brothers' beverage works was just up the street, on the east side.

As the city was undergoing such profound demographic changes, it was also experiencing significant land use changes. Land that had been used for very modest farming and small business ventures during the fur trade era became subsumed in the demand for residential lots, as people like the Allmans looked for a place to live an urban lifestyle. A good example of this change can be seen in the "Spence Estate." Since long before the 1870 Rupert's Land transfer, just to the west of the Hudson's Bay Reserve, retired fur trader, cooper, miller and farmer James Spence owned several contiguous river lots. Spence, born in Scotland in 1815, came to the Red River Settlement to work for the Hudson's Bay Company in 1839. In 1844 Spence turned his hand to farming and milling, as well as continuing to operate a cooperage from his property.[34] As the city grew, Spence began to sell off pieces of his land, so that, when the 1881 land boom hit Winnipeg, what had been Spence's property along Colony Creek was already being offered for sale by a number of land speculators.[35] The land was desirable for its proximity to the centre of the city, but subject to flooding by Colony Creek.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, engineering, and particularly drainage projects had become quite popular, and ditching was used to gain access to more and more land from what had been wetlands.[36] Colony Street ran parallel to and then crossed Colony Creek. Colony Creek had been pressed into service to drain land to the north, but was not able to handle the spring runoff or very heavy rains. To add to the misery, some people had become in the habit of depositing garbage in the creek, and local residents claimed the creek had become clogged with "sewerage and accumulations of filth."[37]And so an effort began to have the creek filled in and drainage issues handled by sewers in the late 1880s.[38] In 1896, the city decided to allow local residents to fill in the creek with "refuse earth…provided that the immediate residents did not object," not only filling in the creek, but also giving builders a convenient place to offload clean fill.[39]

As St. Mary's Church was being transformed from its Romanesque Revival style to reflect a more Victorian sensibility, as the question of French and Catholic rights played out in the political and judicial arena, and as Winnipeg continued to expand past its old fur trade boundaries, the Allman family moved beyond the confines of the Hudson's Bay Reserve. In 1897, the family moved into their new home at 270 Colony Street, on what had been the James Spence Estate. The family were the first people to own the new residence at 270 Colony.[40] By early 1899, Daniel Flynn Allman was working for the "Fit Reform Wardrobe Company," and travelling on buying trips to the east coast for them,[41] and by October 1899, he had taken over the Cheapside store at 580 Main Street to undertake business in his own name.[42]

The next decades would offer the Allman family a new set of opportunities and challenges as the family moved forward into the twentieth century, but in the years from their arrival in Winnipeg in 1882 until 1899, as they stood on the precipice of a new century, the Allmans had not only established themselves in Winnipeg, but influenced and shaped the future of the city and province through their membership in its residential, business, and particularly its religious communities. The Allman family experienced, informed, and was informed by their times.

The lives of the Allmans help to illustrate how what might seem like impersonal events; epidemic diseases expressed in statistical tables of deaths by age group, boom and bust economic cycles analysed through actuarial accounting, and political and religious tensions reviewed for their place in larger political and religious movements, were all experienced by individuals at a very personal level. The Allmans mourned the death of their small daughter, made strategic decisions to survive raucous economic times, and banded together with like-minded people to influence the sort of education their children would receive. They informed the course of politics through lobbying, and business with their purchasing power. By considering their lives in the nascent City of Winnipeg, a community that was transforming itself at what must at times have seemed like almost break neck speed, it is possible to better understand the effects community had on individuals, and individuals had on community. ❧

Notes

I thank the Archives of Manitoba staff, and especially Chris Kotecki, for their help in tracking down information. I would also like to acknowledge help from the staffs of the Manitoba Legislative Library and the City of Winnipeg Archives, and Randy R. Rostecki.

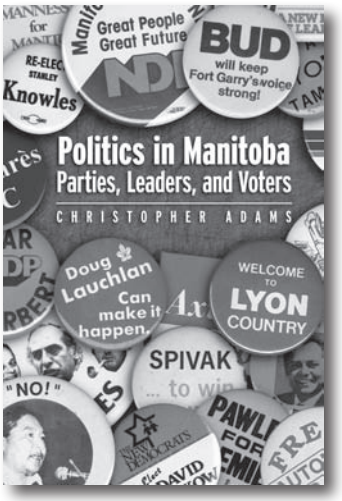
1. Gerald Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies: A History*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 201. Winnipeg's population rose by 221% in the years from 1881 to 1891. Eleanor Stardom, *A Stranger to the Fur Trade: Joseph Wrigley and the Transformation of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1884-1891*(Winnipeg: Rupert's Land Research Centre, 1995), 59.
2. Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies,* 202, 353; Harry Shave, "Early Winnipeg Boom Makes History," *Manitoba Pageant*, 10:3; and Alan F. J. Artibise, *Gateway City: Documents on the City of Winnipeg 1873-1913*, (Winnipeg: Manitoba Record Society, 1979), 70-71. Artibise notes that, in 1881, Winnipeg's population was 8,000, and in the decade that followed it more than tripled. Artibise, "The Urban West: The Evolution of Prairie Towns and Cities to 1930," in Gilbert Arthur Stelter and Alan F. J. Artibise, eds. *The Canadian City: Essays in Urban and Social History,* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 1984) [138-164], 141.
3. Hugh O'Reilly, personal communication, 24 December 2008. 1901 Census of Canada, District: Manitoba, City: Winnipeg (#12) Subdistrict: Ward No. 3, C-8, Page 6; and 1906 Census, District: Manitoba, Winnipeg District, (#10) Subdistrict: 03G (Ward three), Page 13. Both census documents are available at Automated Genealogy: http://automatedgenealogy.com, accessed 20 January 2009; Harry Shave, "Early Winnipeg Boom Makes History," *Manitoba Pageant*, 10:3.
4. In this case, given Allman's subsequent career, it is likely he was selling clothing or fabric rather than home furnishings. In the 1906 census, Margaret's age is given as 23, suggesting she was born about 1883, but that seems unlikely. In the 1901 census, where she is listed as born in 1881, she is also listed as born in Ireland. This accords with the account in her obituary. She would have had to have been born before early in 1882. 1901 Census of Canada, District: Manitoba, City: Winnipeg (#12) Subdistrict: Ward No. 3, C-8, Page 6; and 1906 Census, District: Manitoba, Winnipeg District, (#10) Subdistrict: 03G (Ward three), Page 13; and "Margaret M. Donovan" *Winnipeg Free Press*, 19

October 1962. Kate Mary Allman died in Winnipeg at the age of 21 months, on 20 March 1883, at the family home on St. Mary's Avenue, and was buried the following day. "Allman, Kate Mary," *Manitoba Free Press*, 22 March 1883. This means she was born about June 1881.

5. Stardom also notes that some businesses were known to buy back their own liquidated stock at bargain prices, leaving their creditors the biggest losers. *A Stranger to the Fur Trade*, 61-62.
6. Steen & Boyce: (1883) "Allman, Daniel." Microfilmed copies of directories, Manitoba Legislative Library. This directory did not provide private but only business listings.
7. *Henderson's Directories (Northwest) 1884,* available on microfilm at the Manitoba Legislative Library, Hereafter: *Henderson's Directories*. "Allman, Daniel;" and *Manitoba Daily Free Press*, 6 November 1885, "Dry Goods" advertisement.
8. Obituary: "Allman, Kate Mary" *Manitoba Daily Free Press*, 22 March, 1883. Michael Allman was born on 12 July 1883 in Winnipeg. Manitoba Vital Statistics, registration 1883-002955; and 1901 Census of Canada, District: Manitoba, City: Winnipeg (#12) Subdistrict: Ward No. 3, C-8, Page 6. Winnipeg in the early 1880s was only just realizing its new size and the public health issues that came with this. In an article in the *Manitoba Free Press* in 1881, the author wrote "We think the compulsory use of earth closets would be a step in the right direction. It requires no stranger's eye to observe our defect in this matter; and the sooner some remedy is applied the better it will be for the health of the city." 17 February 1881. Typhoid fever was common enough that it was nicknamed "Red River Fever," and other serious diseases were common as well, so that negotiating the first five years of early childhood was treacherous. City of Winnipeg: Pathways to Winnipeg History, www.winnipeg.ca/clerks/docs/pathways/Typhoid01/Typhoid01Pg01.stm, accessed 20 January 2009. See also George S. Davis, *The Medical Age: A Semi-monthly Journal of Medicine and Surgery,* 1886, 536. PDF copy at http://books.google.ca/books?id=qNtWAAAAIAAJ&printsec=titlepage#PPA536,M1, accessed 20 January 2009.
9. 1901 Census and Manitoba Vital Statistics registrations 1883-002955, 1885-002263, 1887-002578.
10. *Henderson's Directories, 1887*, "Allman, D. F."
11. *Henderson's Directories, 1886-1888*. The ownership of the Golden Lion changed in 1887, which may have influenced Allman's decision to change employers. *Manitoba Free Press* 16 August 1887.
12. Stardom, *A Stranger to the Fur Trade,* 59.
13. Available online at www.mhs.mb.ca, accessed 20 January 2009. See also "Company Histories," www.civilization.ca/cmc/exhibitions/cpm/catalog/cat2405e.shtml, accessed 20 January 2009; "Winnipeg; Stores", www.hbc.com/hbcheritage/history/places/stores/winnipeg.asp, accessed 20 January 2009; and "Greater Winnipeg: Vignettes/Greater Winnipeg/Pavilion-York," www.virtual.heritagewinnipeg.com/vignettes/vignettes_135W.htm, accessed 20 January 2009.
14. Stardom, *A Stranger to the Fur Trade,* 16-17; and David Butterfield and Maureen Devanik Butterfield, *If Walls Could talk: Manitoba's Best Buildings Explored and Explained* (Winnipeg: Great Plains Publications, 2000), 80-81.
15. Butterfield and Butterfield, *If Walls Could Talk,* 80-81.
16. Stardom, *A Stranger to the Fur Trade,* 61-62.
17. Stardom, *A Stranger to the Fur Trade*, 61-62.
18. Stardom, *A Stranger to the Fur Trade* , 70, 74-75, 78.
19. Stardom, *A Stranger to the Fur Trade*, 70.
20. *Henderson's Directories,* 1887, "Allman, DF;" "D.F. Allman, Pioneer Resident Here, Dies," *Manitoba Free Press,* 27 October 1925; and *Morning Telegram*, 13 September 1899; *Henderson's Directories*, 1886-98.
21. Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies*, 210.
22. David Burley and Mike Maunder, *Living on Furby*: *Narratives of Home, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1880-2005*, (Winnipeg: The Institute of Urban Studies, University of Winnipeg, 2008), 20.
23. *Henderson's Directories, 1887-97* inclusive.
24. *Henderson's Directories, 1896-98*.
25. *Morning Telegram*, 13 September 1899; and *Henderson's Directories,1899*.
26. *Henderson's Directories*, *1900*; and *Morning Telegram*, 13 September 1899.
27. See, for example, *The Voice*, 13 June 1902, 7.
28. *Manitoba Free Press,* 9 August 1880; 8 September 1881; *Manitoba Morning Free Press*, 3 April 1896; and Randy R. Rostecki, "Some Old Winnipeg Buildings," MHS Transactions (1972-73), www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/transactions/3/winnipegbuildings.shtml, accessed 20 January 2009; and Butterfield and Butterfield, *If Walls Could Talk,* 56-57. City of Winnipeg Archives, personal communication 22 January 2009. D.F. Allman is listed as the owner on the tax rolls from 1895.
29. *Manitoba Free Press*, 4 February 1904; for an example of the children's accomplishments at St. Mary's Academy, see *Manitoba Free Press,* 28 December 1891, 5 November 1892; *Manitoba Free Press,* 5 February 1894, 2 June, 1897.
30. *Manitoba Free Press,* 18 March 1891.
31. Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies*, 211.
32. Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies*, 215-218; and James A. Jackson, "Railways and the Manitoba School Question," MHS Transactions,(1973-74) 3:30, www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/transactions/3/railwayschools.shtml. The exact causes of this crisis continue to be debated by scholars, the simple idea that this was an anti-French or anti-Catholic movement has been challenged with more nuanced theories by scholars in the later 20th century. For an overview of some of these ideas, see: Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies*, 215-218.
33. *Daily Nor'Wester,* 24 August 1894, 2.
34. Harry Shave, "The Cooper Gave Good Advice," *Winnipeg Free Press* 16 March 1963, Manitoba Legislative Library Scrapbook B13 26 June 1962 to 13 February 1965, 85; "James Spence," in *Pioneers and Early Citizens of Manitoba: A Dictionary of Manitoba Biography from the Earliest Times to 1920.* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Library Association, 1971), 223.
35. For example, see *Manitoba Free Press,* 30 November 1876, 4 October 1878, 4 May 1881, 5 October 1881.
36. John Warkentin, "Water and Adaptive Strategies in Settling the Canadian West," MHS Transactions (1971-72) 3:28, www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/transactions/3/waterstrategies.shtml, accessed 20 January 2009.
37. *Manitoba Free Press,* 28 September 1888.
38. For example, see *Manitoba Free Press*, 21 August 1879, 9 October 1879, 20 July 1886, *Manitoba Free Press,* 2 May 1896, *Daily Nor'Wester* 7 October 1896, 4.
39. *Daily Nor'Wester* 21 October 1896, 2.
40. City of Winnipeg Archives, personal communication, 22 January 2009. D. F. Allman is listed as the owner on the tax rolls for the property from 1895, suggesting that he may have had the house built for the family and not purchased it already constructed but, as building permits were not issued by the City until 1900, it is not possible to know this.
41. *Morning Telegram* 13 September 1899; and *Henderson's Directories,1899*.
42. *Henderson's Directories*, *1900*; *Morning Telegram* 13 September 1899.

Reviews

Christopher Adams, *Politics in Manitoba: Parties, Leaders and Voters*
Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2008, 200 pages.
ISBN 978-0-88755-704-0, $24.95 (paper)



Every self-respecting Manitoban should own a copy of *Politics in Manitoba* and every political scientist and historian in Canadian Politics should keep it at hand for references to the political history of the keystone province. For too many years the secrets of this eminently workable central jurisdiction have gone unrecorded, and Adams does a fine job of revealing some of them. Of course, ambitious undertakings of the global sort often have problems of a Sisyphean scale associated with them. Adams' effort is no exception.

The great value of this book is that it provides a model for other province-specific studies of political parties and party systems to follow. The work begins with a review of the Manitoba party system, emphasizing party support patterns. Following that is the most complete review of the history of each of the political parties (Progressive Conservative, Liberal, New Democratic Party) ever done in a book of an overview nature. After that is a review, called Understanding Manitoba Party Politics, which is a bookend to the initial chapter, offering theoretical explanations of the evolution of the party system. Handy surveys of survey information and election data are provided.

Reviews of other provinces' parties have been done by the academy, but they largely tend to be party-specific. Saskatchewan had its David Smith and the Liberals and of course Lipset and the CCF; Alberta had its Macpherson and the Social Credit; and even Manitoba had its Wiseman and the CCF-NDP. But few had all of the parties. Here, then, is the way it should be done.

One of the particular strengths of the book is the way in which the historical strengths and dilemmas of each of the parties is offered. Sometimes the two are intertwined. The Conservatives have come to office over a history based on their two great bulwarks, the business class and the farmers. The former brought Duff Roblin and Gary Filmon to power, the latter Walter Weir and Sterling Lyon. But these are narrow bases and they often provide internal tensions for the party in its efforts to broaden its base towards blue collar and white collar service-sector workers. The winning strategy seems to be to have a leader with urban appeal—Roblin, Filmon—cajoling the rural vote in the "march towards the centre." But there, most of the time, the PCs meet the NDP which has long staked out its *bona fides* with centre-left social/educational/health policies. What is left for the Conservatives is simply to wait out the NDP.

The Liberals have suffered traditionally from being three different parties at three different times, thus having an indistinct image, and now being internally divided. The party formed one element of the two party system that lasted until 1922, forming governments under Thomas Greenway and T. C. Norris; then it was a rural party, dominating during the "quasi-party system" of 1922-1958; then it was one of three parties in a three-party system that slowly drifted into a two-and-a-half party system thereafter, leaving it as the "half-party" until into this century. Its dilemma is deep: it is essentially an urban party, unable to break out of Winnipeg since hostility to federal Liberals put it there forty years ago, and voters have kept it to the 12-13% range for the last decade.

The NDP partakes of a long tradition of urban-based labour politics. Moreover, it is a class-based labour party which benefits from a history of moderate leaders (Schreyer, Pawley and Doer) establishing a working coalition between urban voters and less prosperous farmers, Aboriginals and northern labourers. Being in power, its dilemmas are not evident, except to worry about a post-Doer future.

Such is the interesting story Adams tells, but there are other aspects that need mentioning. At one point, the book seems to have two different theses. One thesis, of a sort, is that the many "themes" that are common in the international political science literature have affected the development of parties in Manitoba. There is, first, geography. There are three regions linked to three different forms of social and economic development and each of the parties is linked to them. A second is that over time ethnicity is replaced by economic self-interest: the initial wave of British Ontarians with their monarchism and liberal individualism was later joined by non-British immigrants forced to survive on clientelist politics until radical class analysis during and after the Winnipeg General Strike moved the province to working-class electoral politics of a "Third Way" kind.

Then there follows a hodge-podge of factors: the parties are shaped by the international political economy (137), by national policies (137), by the effects of their national party counterparts (137-8), by the special nature of party leadership at particular points in history (138-140), by party organization (140-1), by party funding rules (141), by the effects of modern media (141-3), and lastly by electoral systems (143-4).

One is left with the impression that Manitoba parties are affected by just about everything. That could be a bit of a stretch. However, this is not the end of the story. It seems there is in fact a second overarching explanation (145-6): that there are longer term factors and shorter-term factors which determine whether parties succeed or fail in gaining voter support. The tendency in the social sciences is to see factors in a kind of nested relationship with one another: some factors are more important than others, or some factors are acted upon by others in a kind of prepotent relationship. So it seems that there is in fact a kind of nested relationship offered by Adams. *Longer-term* factors involve regionalism, economic classes and social groupings. *Then*, "coupled with these [longer-term factors] are historically significant events such as the introduction of railways, economic recessions and world wars." (Thus, added in one throw-away line and not explained further, is a combination of something like Lipset's formative events thesis and catastrophic events reasoning.) *Then* there is the explanation that "together these factors largely shape the values and perceptions within the political culture." *Then* is added to this the fact that there are the *shorter-term factors* which influence voter preferences like media coverage, economic conditions, platforms, strategies during campaigns. *Then* to the shorter term factors is added the electoral system, representative democracy, and the degree of voter participation. And I won't even go into the chart accompanying all of this ("Schema for Understanding Party Preferences") which hints at a whole different range of explanation.

This is nestedness with a vengeance. There are of course problems with this framework. It is overly complicated. It is only hinted at in the first chapter. It is mentioned only in passing in most of the party chapters. It is not fully explained. It is also advanced without much reference to the broader international party or theoretical literature that is made reference to in passing in the "Introduction" chapter. Is the nestedness in Adams an addition to the literature? A departure from it? A part of an already established school?

There are other things that could have been done in the book. One could compare Manitoba's to the party systems of other provinces, or to place it in the context of families of party systems in the country. A book on party systems needs more context.

One could also give some sort of homage to competing theories of provincial political culture or provincial politics. If one is going to mention the ethnicity-based explanation of Tom Peterston, then the fragment thesis of Rae or Hartz/Horowitz/Wiseman needs equal time.

In the final analysis, however, these are all cavils that do little to hint at the essential value of the book. This is a book of depth and breadth with regard to the party story in Manitoba. It provides in one source the perspective and sweep of its last 140 years and allows both neophytes and the well-informed to benefit from the work of one who is exceedingly well-steeped in its lore.

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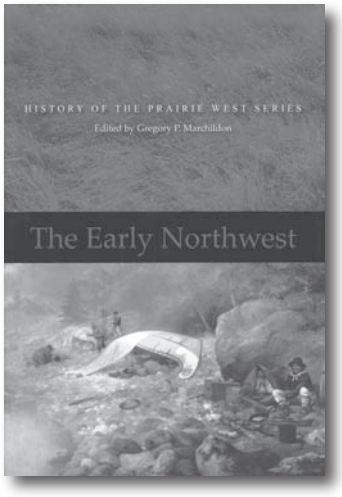
Gregory P. Marchildon (editor), *The Early Northwest*
Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 2008, 504 pages.
ISBN 978-0-88977-207-6, $29.95 (paper)



The first in the History of the Prairie West Series, this volume reprints seventeen articles from *Prairie Forum* with an introduction by the editor. Gregory P. Marchildon is the Canada Research Chair in Public Policy and Economic History at the Johnson-Shoyama Graduate School of Public Policy at the University of Regina. Being an expert on health care systems and public policy, he is not at first glance an obvious choice to edit this volume. However, he co-wrote (with Sid Robinson) *Canoeing the Churchill: A Practical Guide to the Historic Voyageur Highway* for the Canadian Plains Research Centre in 2002. His introduction tries to do no more than introduce the articles and tie them together: he does not attempt a broader historiographical discussion, for which he may be ill-equipped, but sets the stage clearly and concisely for the essays to follow.

The collected essays span almost the entire history of the *Prairie Forum,* from Doug Owram's 1978 article on the Red River Resistance (vol. 3, no. 2) to pieces by James Daschuk on the environmental history of the northern plains and by Jonathon Anuik on missionary education of Aboriginal children, both appearing in 2006 (vol. 31, no. 1). The volume is divided into four sections: "Aboriginal History," "The Fur Trade," "Rupert's Land and Red River," and "Resistance and 'Rebellion'." Some of the articles reprinted here are no longer on the cutting edge of scholarship, but neither have they been entirely passed by.

One of the noteworthy articles in the collection is James Daschuk's examination of Ted Binnema's *Common and*

Contested Ground, in which Daschuk both reviews a major contribution to the fields of Aboriginal and environmental history, but suggests a path forward for the latter. Also of interest to environmental historians is George Colpitts' 1997 article on fur trade provisioning activities at Cumberland House in the late 1700s. Canadian business historians will appreciate the revival of a largely forgotten article by C. S. Mackinnon, "Some Logistics of Portage la Loche (Methy)," which looks in some detail at one of the key points in a trans-continental system of transportation, communication, and distribution. Alan McCullough's study of how Parks Canada has approached and handled the momentous events of 1885 provides valuable insight into the history of heritage and of commemoration.

Perhaps the greatest question that arises from this volume is whether the genre itself is becoming a piece of history. As online scholarly databases expand access to such articles for both academics and the interested public, physical reprints like this seem increasingly unnecessary. The Preface declares that the intent of the History of the Prairie West Series is "to make available the very best of *Prairie Forum* to as broad an audience as possible" (p. vii), but I suspect that in the future this goal will be better accomplished digitally rather than physically. Nevertheless, this volume is a good addition to any library and should prove useful for classes in prairie history.

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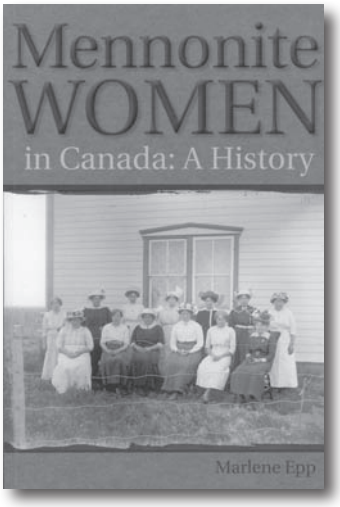
Marlene Epp, *Mennonite Women in Canada: A History*
Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2008, 408 pages.
ISBN 978-0-88755-706-4, $26.95 (paper)



Marlene Epp's *Mennonite Women in Canada: A History* is an excellent addition to Canadian historical, cultural and women's studies and will be widely appreciated by teachers, students, and general readers. Second in a new book series, "Studies in Immigration and Culture," it has more than one link to another series initiated in the 1960s by the Mennonite Historical Society of Canada where Mennonite history was presented in time periods from 1786 to 1920, from 1920 to 1940, and from 1939 to 1970. Marlene's father, Frank H. Epp, author of the first two tomes, in a sense handed over the assignment of writing a history of Mennonite women in Canada to her, because, as she explains, "he didn't know where to find any information on such an unlikely topic" (xiii).

Marlene Epp certainly knows where to find it! In this book she navigates surely through a wealth of information on the hugely diverse religio-cultural group that Mennonites in Canada are. Her published sources include a growing body of literature by scholars who have developed techniques and experience in "reading" the women's story in non-traditional historic evidence such as the women's taped voices; their notes, journals, photographs and letters; their poems, songs, recipes and memoirs; their genealogies and family tree books, their embroidery and quilts and the minutes of their sewing circle meetings. It is striking that such a history—its sources, perspectives, and techniques—seemed so far-fetched only 30 years ago!

Some might think it a gratuitous exercise. Do we really need a separate history of women in Canada? Epp rightly concluded, yes! Women were not adequately covered in the previous published works on Mennonites in Canada, preoccupied as they were with the story of the men who scouted for land and negotiated the groups' entry into Canada, who recreated the agrarian villages, and defined the structures, directions, and working rules of the "brotherhood" of the church. Women and children figured into the story, of course. But they remained quietly in the background, in their proper, supportive roles.

Epp's book is quite a different read. The ironies of previous exclusion hit hard next to the realities of women being not only the hands and feet of their Mennonite communities but also the heart. Epp expertly deals with the magnitude of the topic—women as immigrants to Canada, women within families, in the church and as citizens of this world. She covers all this by organizing the materials in terms of the "parallel" and "poetic triads of activity" that she considers central to the historic lives of Canadian Mennonite women. These are their roles as "pioneers, refugees and transnationals" as "wives, mothers and others," "preachers prophets and missionaries," "non-conformists, non-resisters and citizens," and as "quilters, canners and writers."

It becomes clear that Mennonite women didn't quietly follow men into the late 20th century. Instead, they actually led their community in all the most important trends of contemporary Mennonite life -- sociologically, politically, religiously and economically. For instance, for some of the larger groups, it was the young women who led their families to the cities in the 1920s and '30s, finding work in domestic service and factories, learning

English and becoming the core group of new urban churches. They contributed in enormous ways to the economic well being of their families, whether by running self-sufficient households, making ends meet through the most scrupulous household economy, selling surplus farm produce, or handing over their wages to pay off their families' travel debts. Sociologically their actions were pivotal. Starting in the 1960s and '70s women redesigned their households and their families by adopting the newly available technologies for birth control that had so much to do with freeing women up for broader activities and concerns. And slowly but surely they pushed for and insisted on "suffrage"—an equal say on the activities of the church and the acceptance of the use of their gifts in all areas within it.

Epp credits the changes in Mennonite women's lives to the impact of second-wave feminism: the movement, with its heyday in the late 1970s, that argued for the equality of women. Noting that women's lives have never been homogeneous, Epp states that, "the feminist movement of the 1960s and beyond was perhaps the strongest force in changing women's lives within their families, society, and the church." She maintains that it was external pressures that "unsettled the gender inequality" in Mennonite church life, and that change occurred more "by default and outside pressure than by intentional denominational decision." To me it seems that the gains made by Mennonite women were no different from feminist gains within the broader Canadian society. While they had much to do with such external defaults as the circumstances of war, economic depression and advances in technology, credit is still largely due to the relentless pushing of women themselves against the constraints of patriarchy that would otherwise keep them out of the voting booths, the halls of higher learning, the legislature, and the professions. Epp does credit Mennonite women for their persistence, but points out that their effective models, inspiration and "tools" came from the larger society, superseding the opposing forces in their own community. In all the many ways that patriarchy continues to abound throughout our world, this is an encouraging point.

While this book presents the experiences of Mennonite women in Canadian society and their meanings, the persistent differences between the various groups continue to confound generalization. Any writer trying to pick up where Epp left off (in 1980), will have to add the recent mass arrivals of Mennonite families to Canada from Russia via Germany, and the Mennonite families continuing to return to Canada from Mexico and South American over the past decades. As a group, Mennonites in Canada don't seem to become any more homogenous, no matter how much we try to apply the terms and identify the trends!

Mennonite Women in Canada is highly readable and engaging book. Each carefully crafted chapter can stand alone. The book has extensive footnotes, an impressive bibliography, fourteen pages of photographs, and an index. It also has a glossary for those bewildered by the strange terminology and the many subgroups of Mennonites. What is especially noteworthy, and what will ensure this book's value as a model in historical writing, is that, despite the magnitude of the topic, individual voices of people previously left out of such a genre are clearly heard.

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J. M. Bumsted, *Lord Selkirk: A Life*
Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2008, 517 pages.
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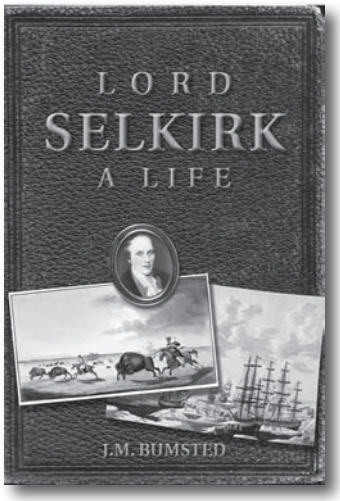

Professor Bumsted is a prolific and diverse writer having edited or written more than thirty books, including "The Collected Writings of Lord Selkirk 1799-1809" and "The Collected Writings of Lord Selkirk 1810-1820," Volumes VII and IX of The Manitoba Record Society Series. His biography of Lord Selkirk is unprecedented in its detail. He has a passion for setting the scene and including all the external detail, so that the reader feels part of what is being written. This book has a wide screen: while ostensibly a biography of Selkirk, it also includes fascinating details on people and events in Scotland, the fur trade, emigration, and travels in the New England States and British North America.

Thomas Douglas, born in 1771 in Kircudbright, Scotland, was not brought up as the legal heir of the earldom, but owing to the death of older brothers he became the Fifth Earl of Selkirk in 1799. Here was no effete nobleman, having spent time a few years after 1797 managing the family estates. His interest in emigration and the welfare of the poor would later lead him to his various emigration endeavours.

Lord Selkirk established three settlements in British North America: Prince Edward Island in 1803, Baldoon in Upper Canada the following year, and the Red River Settlement in 1812. The first two were failures owing mainly

to incompetent agents, and Selkirk not being on site to oversee their development. The Red River Settlement had a difficult birth and was to provide the greatest challenge for Selkirk. The North West Company, opposed to the settlement from the beginning, stated unequivocally that "Colonisation is at all times unfavourable to the Fur Trade".[1] The most memorable event of Selkirk's Colony at Red River was The Battle of Seven Oaks in 1816 between the Métis and the settlers. In this controversial affair the author adheres to the post-1960 historiography; i.e. that the event was not premeditated by either the Métis, under the direction of NWC employee Cuthbert Grant, or the settlers and that "The preponderance of testimony is that the first shot was fired by a settler".[2] At this distance, it is doubtful that what happened at Seven Oaks will ever be precisely known.

Following the Battle, the North West Company took control of the Settlement, and the settlers were dispersed. It is a strange oversight that the author makes no reference to the dispersed colonists, some of whom "huddled around Norway House…enduring a severe and hungry winter and recovering slowly from the shock of Seven Oaks".[3]

Professor Bumsted devotes three chapters to detailing the legal issues that occurred after the Battle of Seven Oaks. The charges and counter charges between Selkirk and the North West Company have always been difficult to follow, and Professor Bumsted's explanations are a welcome account. The author has a penchant for clearly relating both sides of a story. Yet, at times, he seems curiously reluctant to be overtly critical of the North West Company. He states that the NWC seemed to have much easier access to the ear of the Colonial Office than the officials of the Hudson's Bay Company. Lord Bathurst, Secretary of State for War and Colonies, Sir John Sherbrooke, Governor-General for Canada and others were involved. The author notes that this "ease of access may simply have reflected the willingness of the NWC people to meet personally and informally with the Colonial Office people. … In any event, some sort of special relationship obviously did exist among Goulburn [Henry Goulburn, the Under-Secretary], Bathurst and the Nor'westers."[4] Other historians have been more explicit about the reason for this ease of access stating that Goulburn kept the North West Company officials informed and accepted their views. The succinct comment of John Galbraith, the well-known Professor of Imperial History, was that Goulburn's "partiality toward the Nor'Westers was notorious."[5] The HBC Committee (directors) were well aware of the undue influence of Goulburn and Bathurst. After nearly 150 years of existence they were not neophytes in dealing with the politicians of Whitehall.

One of the most interesting chapters is "Touring North America" about Selkirk's 1803 visits to parts of the New England States, Upper and Lower Canada, Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia. Selkirk had an inquiring mind. His diary is a succession of minute details of his views on American democracy, the price of building a house, and problems with the French speaking population in Lower Canada, on which he states that "even in private society … the English & Canadians draw asunder."[6] What is remarkable is the stamina that Selkirk displayed. He was never in robust health with frequent bouts of illness, but it is difficult to determine if this was tuberculosis, the cause of his death in 1820.

The author states that Selkirk`s principal personality traits were impetuosity, obstinacy, and often brilliant improvisation. He was also not lacking in courage. As Commander-in-Chief he captured Fort William in 1816, the inland headquarters of the NWC. This was to be the turning event in the wars of the fur trade.

Selkirk's Red River Settlement—now Winnipeg—is his legacy. The city has played an important role in the commercial and cultural life of this country. The author is to be commended for this comprehensive biography.

Shirlee Anne Smith
Former Keeper, Hudson's Bay Company Archives

Notes

1. J. M. Bumsted, *Lord Selkirk: A Life,* University of Manitoba Press, 2008, p.201.
2. *Ibid.,* p.307.
3. Lord John Gray, *Selkirk of Red River,* The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, Toronto, 1963, p.191.
4. J. M. Bumsted, *op. cit.,* p.336.
5. John Galbraith, *The Hudson's Bay Company as an Imperial Factor 1821-1869,* University of Toronto Press, 1957, p.7.
6. J. M. Bumsted, *op. cit.,* p.123.

Future History

In upcoming issues of *Manitoba History* ...

- Early Chinese settlers in western Manitoba
- La Vérendrye through the lens of gender, race, and slavery
- Manitobans as we saw 'em: 1909
- Cool things in the collection
- Book reviews & more

Thanks ...

The Editors wish to thank the following people who assisted in the preparation of this issue of *Manitoba History*: Louise Ayotte (Manitoba Legislative Library), Brett Lougheed (University of Manitoba Archives), Debbie Cochrane (Parks Canada), and Larry Gregan (New Life Ministries).

Cool Things in the Collection

by Scott Goodine
Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg

Before coming to Winnipeg to work at the Archives of Manitoba, I was in charge of Private Records acquisition, appraisal and description at the Provincial Archives of Alberta (PAA). At the PAA, a small team had the onerous—and exhilarating—task of ensuring the documentary heritage of all Albertans was preserved through the acquisition and preservation of non-governmental archival records in all media. In the course of doing this work, many times archival treasures came in and turned an ordinary day into a memorable one.

It is this experience of the excitement of working with new donations that led me to agree to *Manitoba History* editor Gordon Goldsborough's request to have staff at the Archives of Manitoba write a column entitled "Cool Things in the Collection." This was an idea that greatly intrigued me as I have come to appreciate that every archivist has personal favorites that vary greatly according to the archivist. For example, while in Alberta, I had two favorite archival fonds that appealed to me for very different reasons. One was the Jennifer Leigh McCullough fonds. Jennifer was a young Albertan woman who was killed by a drunk driver in 2003. In 2004, her mother Linda McCullough contacted me and the PAA acquired 1.6 meters of records relating to the life and tragic death of an "ordinary Albertan". But the records were far from ordinary. They documented a young life, in text and photos, that ended abruptly with no closure—the records were fundamentally the same as they had been before her death. One could view the maturing process of a young woman and her often stormy relationship with her parents. Archives rarely get the records of children but this time, because of a senseless, criminal act, the PAA was able to acquire records that speak, in often harsh and negative terms, to life as a teenage girl in suburban Edmonton in the 1990s. To her credit and with my admiration, Linda McCullough adamantly insisted that no culling take place of sensitive materials and no access restrictions be placed on the records. The records are now fully available for research.

Another of my favorites was the fonds of John Patrick Gillese, a writer who became head of the Government of Alberta's literary arts branch in the 1970s. Prior to taking on this role, Gillese claimed to have authored over 5,000 freelance articles. Given the mass of articles and drafts in his records, I would say he was fairly close though this was difficult to verify as he wrote under several pseudonyms. As a bureaucrat, Gillese was very frank in articulating that writing was a business rather than an art. This led him to several run-ins with prominent Alberta authors such as Rudy Wiebe and Aretha Van Herk when he was in charge of doling out money to support Alberta's writing community during the free-spending Lougheed years. Interestingly Gillese generally wrote in outdoors or Catholic magazines. Some of his more interesting material was written under a female pseudonym counseling Catholic schoolgirls on how to avoid "temptation".

Archives of Manitoba

Thanks for the memories. The Archives of Manitoba, located in downtown Winnipeg in the old Civic Auditorium near the Legislature, contains extensive collections of invaluable historical records. Some will be profiled in future installments of "Cool Things in the Collection".

Those are just two examples of records that interested me—there are so many more that this column could go forever! Other archivists have different interests and that is what will make this column so exciting for the Archives of Manitoba, and I hope for you. For each issue of Manitoba History, starting with the next one, the Archives of Manitoba will select a different staff member to produce a column. The selected staff member will have full freedom to select anything in our holdings to write about—it could be a single photograph or map or it could be an enormous collection of government records. Each selection will be different and this will be the strength of this column. In fact, it will illustrate one of the great strengths of the Canadian tradition of Total Archives and its wonderful but chaotic mixture of official government records with the records of private citizens and groups—the material is so varied we will never know what to expect. I will add, however, that the Archives is imposing one restriction on each column: the records must be described and available in Keystone, our Collection Management Database, to allow those interested the opportunity to visit these records. Hopefully everyone will enjoy looking into the back corners of the Archives of Manitoba in future columns.

By the way, for those interested, descriptions for the Jennifer Leigh McCullough fonds and the John Patrick Gillese fonds can be found here: **www.archivesalberta.org**. Select the "Search Online" link then "Archives Network of Alberta Database", searching for the names of these two people. ∞

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