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Winnipeg Beach by Moonlight

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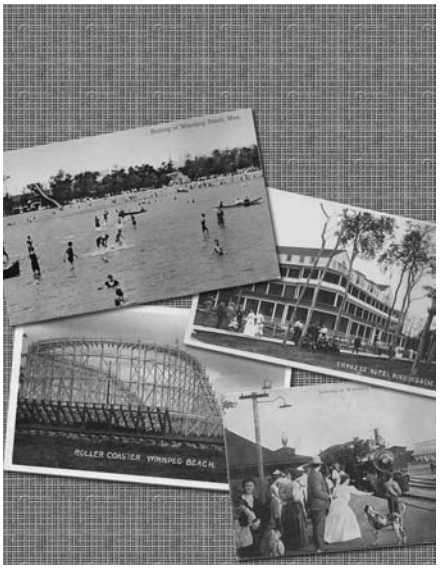

"Winnipeg Beach by Moonlight"
Historical postcards of Winnipeg Beach provided by Rob McInnes.

Gazette

Reviews

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Winnipeg Beach by Moonlight

by Dale Barbour
Winnipeg, Manitoba

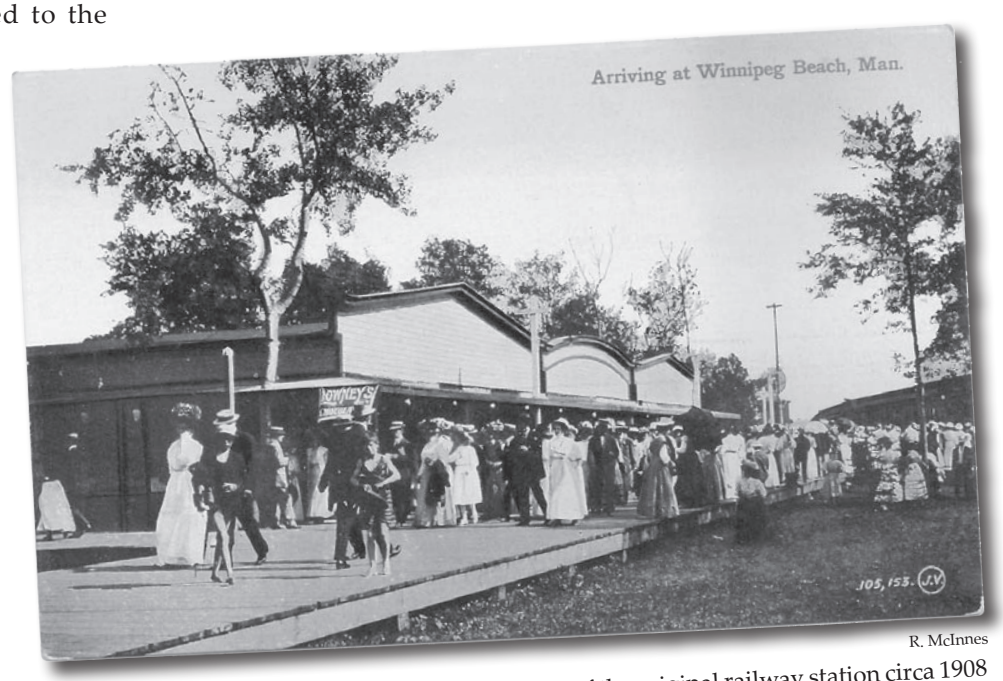
At the beginning of the 20th century, getting to Winnipeg Beach was half the fun. The Canadian Pacific Railway bridged the 75-kilometre gap between the city of Winnipeg and the southwestern shore of Lake Winnipeg and could sweep people from city to beach in about an hour. But the train was more than just a method of transportation; it took on the character of the beach with the Daddy's train providing a link for male workers and the Moonlight Special providing space for youthful hijinks. The beach moved to the rhythm of the train with crowds swelling upon its arrival and shrinking when it departed. And finally, as much as the train was the link between city and beach it was also a valuable space in between; helping to create the sense that people were entering a liminal space where the rules of the city could be bent ever so slightly. This article is part of a broader study of Winnipeg Beach, which examines how it thrived and changed during the first half of the century as a meeting place for men and women. The cabins and rental rooms of the community, an amusement area that included a dance hall, rollercoaster and gorgeous sandy beach were all part of Winnipeg Beach. Tensions in Manitoba's ethnic community are also part of the Winnipeg Beach story. But here, my focus is on the experience of riding the rails to Winnipeg Beach. A story that begins with a boat trip.[1]

That a community so closely tied to the railway owes its beginning to a boat trip should not be seen as ironic. As a method of transportation, a train has to have a destination and Winnipeg Beach had yet to become one. So it was that in 1901 William Whyte, an assistant to the Canadian Pacific Railway president, Captain William Robinson, president of the Northwest Navigation Company, and Charles Roland of the CPR, cruised along the western shore of Lake Winnipeg before landing at a "beautiful crescent" of sand and naming it Winnipeg Beach.[2] They might well have been wading ashore and planting their flag in a new world. And in some ways, they were.

Like most new worlds, this one was already inhabited. Lake Winnipeg was familiar terrain to Aboriginal people, and later played its role as a conduit in the fur trade during Canada's formation. Indeed, historian Gerald Friesen has said the lake "represented the heart of this chunk of the world … certainly to 1900" for both aboriginal people and later for fur traders as well. "Once the railway came, however, that was the end of water. The routes here were so uneconomic. The lake is dangerous and the rivers are just too long," Friesen noted.[3] The transcontinental railway ended Lake Winnipeg's role as a trade conduit. But the arrival of the CPR at Winnipeg Beach in 1901 gave the lake a new role. Now, its natural setting would be an object of consumption for people in Winnipeg.

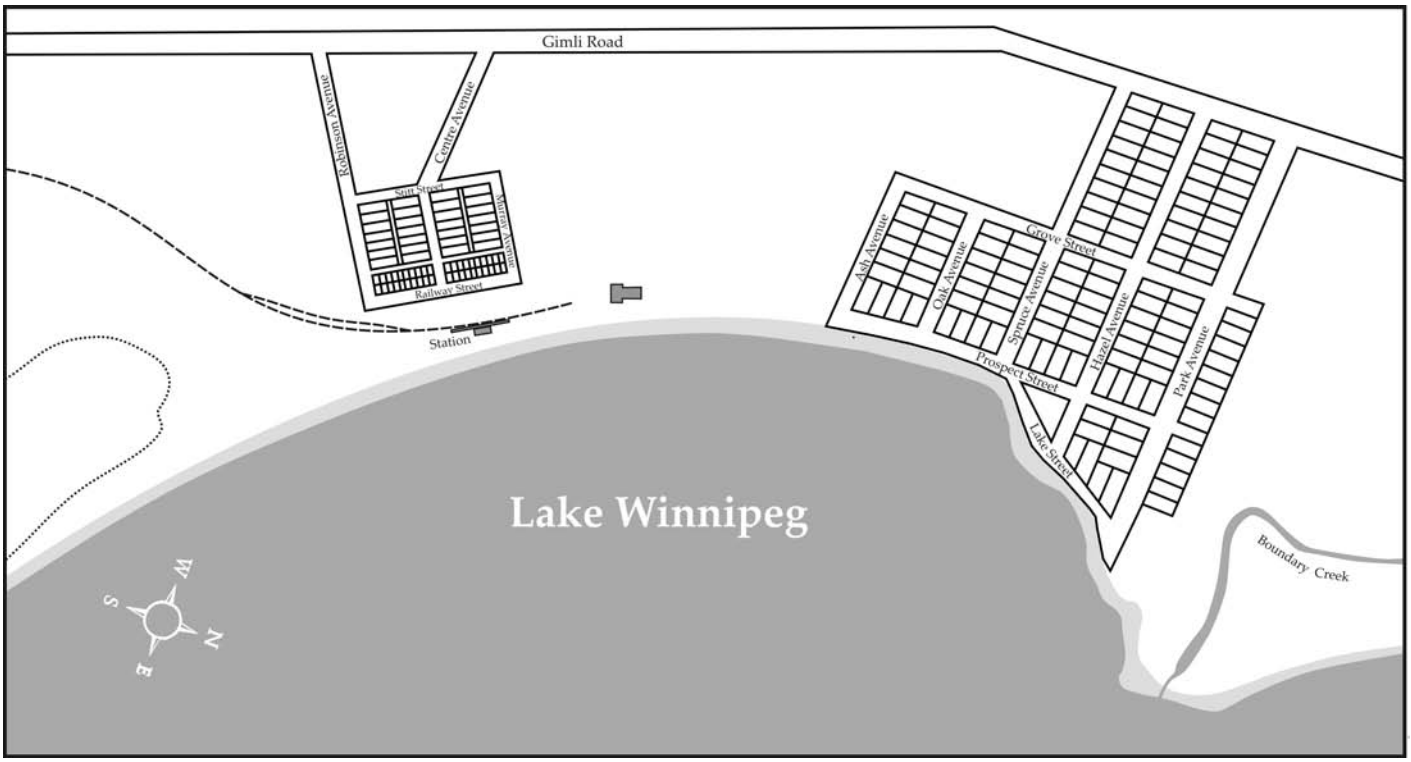
The beach moved to the rhythm of the train with crowds swelling upon its arrival and shrinking when it departed.

By 1900, the Winnipeg Beach area had been settled by Icelandic, Ukrainian and British immigrants. Donald Arquet, a Scotchman, had homesteaded at SW34-17-4E and by the time the CPR came calling he had built himself a house and developed a farm that comprised most of what would eventually be the resort's business district and golf course. Winnipeg Beach's first mayor,



R. McInnes

Arriving at Winnipeg Beach. This postcard image of the original railway station circa 1908 captures something of the excitement of arriving at Winnipeg Beach. People stepping out of the station would have faced out towards the lake.



Redrawn from "Winnipeg Soon to Have New Resort," *Morning Telegram*, 1 June 1901, pages 9, 13.

Bucolic plans. This illustration shows the CPR's initial plans for Winnipeg Beach. The business section was behind the train station and the cabins were located to the far right of the station. The dance pavilion was surrounded by a park-like area.

William J. Wood, noted that Arquet "sold it to the company for the fancy sum of $1,000 cash and thought he made a good deal."[4] In some ways, he had, because lake front property is only of value if people want to go to the beach and can reach it.[5] When it took possession of the land, the CPR's goal was to ensure that both essential ingredients would be met.

While the resort had to be carved out of the forest, the CPR was not breaking new ground when it established Winnipeg Beach. At the turn of the century, the concept of a seaside resort was at its peak.[6] Other examples abounded from Blackpool in Great Britain to Coney Island in New York.[7] Seaside resorts had a long history in Europe, whether for religious reasons or imagined health benefits.[8] With the industrial revolution underway, the natural world was extolled as a virtuous place in contrast to the growing urban centres.[9] Trains helped bridge the gap between city and shoreline. More modestly, trolley companies in urban centres used parks and amusement areas as terminal points on their trolley lines to add business as residential areas developed and to generate revenue on weekends.[10] In Toronto, the trolley provided a link to amusement parks such as Scarborough Beach Park and Sunnyside Amusement Park, which rose and fell along the shore of Lake Ontario in the early 20th century. And in Winnipeg, the Osborne Street trolley line was able to use River Park, on the southeastern end of Osborne Street, as its terminus.[11]

The CPR already had an interest in the tourist trade. Its transcontinental line had opened markets in Banff, Victoria and Quebec City to North American and European travellers. Closer to Winnipeg, the transcontinental line had made the Lake of the Woods accessible to the city's elite. Local railway development offered new opportunities to create regional excursion points that would be financially accessible for middle-class patrons.[12] The CPR also felt the clock was ticking. The rival Canadian Northern Railway had a partially completed line to Delta Beach on the southern shore of Lake Manitoba.[13] The CPR had been eyeing the southern shore of Lake Winnipeg in 1899 and in 1900 used its Selkirk branch line to send a trainload of excursionists to Selkirk where they boarded the City of Selkirk steamer and made their way to a beach at the mouth of the Red River.[14] But it would take rail transportation to move the masses of people needed to make a resort profitable.

Winnipeg was ready. The city was in the midst of its turn-of-the-century boom, with entrepreneurs and workers

Dale Barbour grew up on a farm at Balmoral, Manitoba and made a few trips of his own to Winnipeg Beach as a youth. He worked his way through community newspapers in Dauphin, Rosetown (Saskatchewan), and Portage la Prairie before ending up at the in-house newspaper at the University of Manitoba. This led to taking some classes in history which led to his current fate: pursuing a PhD in history at the University of Toronto. This article is an excerpt from his forthcoming book on Winnipeg Beach, to be published by the University of Manitoba Press in Fall 2011.

Manitoba Free Press, 21 May 1920, page 18.

Oh, Boy! Let's Go. This advertisement illustrates the blending of heterosexuality, nature, and the train.

captivated by a growing economy and rising wages. In the ten-year period between 1901, when Winnipeg Beach was announced, and 1911, Winnipeg's population soared from 42,340 to 136,035 people, and city boosters claimed the 1911 tally was closer to 166,000 when seasonal workers and those missed by census takers were included. In *Winnipeg 1912*, Jim Blanchard has described how Winnipeg's British born envisioned a metropolis on the prairies and created the theatres, clubs and churches necessary to live a life as good as any in the British Empire.[15] Winnipeg's elite felt they deserved a world-class resort to go with their world-class city and hoped Winnipeg Beach could be made to fit the bill.

The aspirations and social habits of this genteel middle-class coloured the CPR's early plans for Winnipeg Beach.[16] Interviewed in 1901, Whyte said it would provide a place for Winnipeg residents to "take a day's outing and enjoy the health-giving breeze from Lake Winnipeg."[17] In 1902, CPR officials said they expected to run one train a day to the beach the following spring and contemplated developing some cottages, a dance pavilion and a hotel. They also mused about adding special excursion trains; the picnic trains that would become a staple of Winnipeg Beach. Picnickers could fill the pavilion, use its dining room for a meal and return home to the city after their outing. Finally, the CPR thought that perhaps there would be dancing in the pavilion every Saturday.[18] There was a pattern of gender relations implicit in these expectations. Ethnic, church, and business groups—including middle-class to working-class people—held picnics to bring their communities together and provide a safe space for men and women to socialize. Winnipeg's upper and middle class—the tired business people who used Winnipeg Beach as a summer home—did their entertaining within the confines of their own cabins. Beth Bailey's *From Front Porch to Back Seat: Courtship in 20th Century America* refers to this courting approach as "calling," so named because the man would "call" at the woman's house, and other family members would be close at hand during the visit.[19]

The discussion over the Empress Hotel in 1908 suggests the role the CPR hoped that Winnipeg Beach might play. The CPR's earliest plans called for a hotel at Winnipeg Beach, but it was Edward Windebank, the developer of the Empress Hotel, who approached the CPR about the project. Windebank had fallen short of cash during construction and offered to mortgage the hotel to the company if it would advance the money necessary to complete the establishment.[20] Whyte, now CPR second vice-president, pushed the Empress project noting that people coming to Winnipeg Beach who "desire decent accommodation could not get it."[21] The term "decent accommodation" hints that servicing Winnipeg's upper- and middle-class clientele was at the base of Whyte's concern. Cabin owners, campers and day-trippers could still use Winnipeg Beach, but the Empress was intended to offer high-class accommodations. Similarly, a Winnipeg businessman wrote the *Free Press* to complain in 1907 that a lack of quality accommodation meant that the "better classes" were "entirely debarred from visiting the beach."[22]

Whyte's concerns were not groundless. In 1910 a group of five Winnipeg investors incorporated the Victoria Beach Investment Company and over the next few years would go on to make their vision of an exclusive resort a reality.[23] Victoria Beach—not Winnipeg Beach—would go on to become synonymous with Winnipeg's elite, at least when it came to Lake Winnipeg resorts. But the Empress Hotel did become the signature hotel at Winnipeg Beach and, along with the boardwalk and railway, one of the symbolic images of the resort's heyday.

The CPR's initial suggestion of a train a day and dancing on weekends was either modest or grossly underestimated the potential of Winnipeg Beach. Within a few years, the evening excursions would run nightly, and by 1906, the track would see up to 13 trains a day on busy holiday weekends.[24] By 1920, 15,000 people made the trek on 13 trains to Winnipeg Beach for the July 1 weekend and by then nightly dances were being held in the pavilion. And the 1920 figure underestimated the number of people on the train. As an official at the time suggested, "for every adult there was one child for whom no ticket was required, bringing the grand total to about 30,000 souls carried to and from the holiday points" or more than one out of every ten people in Winnipeg.[25] A crowd of 35,000 to 40,000 was possible on long weekends during Winnipeg Beach's peak in the 1920s.[26] By 1925, a *Free Press* article noted that 17 trains made the trip to the beach for the July 1 holiday.[27]

Little wonder that the Winnipeg Beach line was claimed to be the most profitable stretch of CPR track in Canada.[28]

Winnipeg Beach's popularity grew in tandem with Winnipeg's population. But these soaring crowds also reflected a transition in what people expected out of their resort experience. With its growing amusement area Winnipeg Beach became an "industrial saturnalia" providing "a release from the 'rules' of urban/industrial life."[29] This role worked in tandem with the natural attractions that had brought the CPR to Winnipeg Beach. But there were several changes at work in the resort's growth. The genteel middle class that had colonized the beach had done much of their entertaining—including socializing between men and women—within closed social groups. Working-class citizens at the turn of the century also did most of their socializing within controlled ethnic groups.[30] But the mass crowds that populated the beach did their dating in public in the expanding amusement areas both at Winnipeg Beach and in Winnipeg. The vast numbers that were coming to Winnipeg Beach by the 1920s suggested not only the loss of middle-class exclusivity but a broader change in gender relations with the emergence of a dating culture. Couples were moving from the confines of the parlour to the public dance hall.[31]

Within a few years, the evening excursions would run nightly, and by 1906, the track would see up to 13 trains a day on busy holiday weekends.

When the CPR laid its tracks to Winnipeg Beach, it rolled them out almost directly to the beach and alongside Main Street or Railway Street as it was initially known. People could see the lake as they stepped off the train making an excursion to Winnipeg Beach quite literally a trip to the beach.[32] John Fiske sees the beach as a bonding place between the natural and the cultural. It is a place filled with meaning.[33] At Winnipeg Beach, people were brought directly to that meeting place. As the *Free Press* explained in 1905:

> Many of the children, Winnipeg born and bred, have never seen a lake and the excitement grows intense as the train nears its destination. The "grown-ups" too, with memories perhaps of distant homes near Ontario or the old country lakes, watch eagerly for the first glimpse of water gleaming through the trees and smile in sympathy with the shrill "I see it," of the proud youngster who catches the gleam. Finally the train pulls into the station and the lake bursts into view, sparkling like a great pale sapphire in the sun.[34]

The references to Ontario and the "old country" suggest that there was an expectation these would have been British excursionists.

As the resort developed, drawing the train through the community's heart became a safety risk; so in 1911 the station was moved several blocks back from the lakefront.[35] The new location opened space for a line of amusements and businesses to grow between station and lake. So it was that people waded through additional cultural artefacts to get to the natural. It is this commercial development that greeted seven-year-old Christine in Gabrielle Roy's *The Road Past Altamont.* Set in the 1920s or 1930s, Roy describes Christine and her elderly travelling companion's excitement at catching a glimpse of the lake during the journey but then crying out, "The lake? Where's the lake?" as they wade through the amusement area.[36] They were seeking an encounter with the natural setting of the lake. But for other travellers it was exactly this carnival atmosphere at the meeting point of the cultural and the natural that drew them to Winnipeg Beach; a point helpfully framed by train tracks on one side and lakeshore on the other.

After the decision on station location and the construction of the Empress Hotel, the rest of Winnipeg

University of Manitoba Archives & Special Collections, Winnipeg Tribune Photo Collection, PC 18/7278/18-7278-010

CPR picnic train. Nestor Mudry would have travelled on this train, or one very similar, when he went to Winnipeg Beach for the CPR Employees Annual Picnic.

R. McInnes

Life's a beach. In this beach scene from around 1910, a number of people are going into the water, but many others are clearly sitting with no intention of entering the water. Pay particular attention to the extent of the beach in this picture. The clubhouse appears in the background.

Beach fell into place. The resort's role was evolving as it developed. There is no doubt that competition from the Canadian Northern at Grand Beach pushed the CPR into developing further attractions. The boardwalk continued to grow, culminating in the addition of the rollercoaster in 1919 and the construction of Western Canada's largest dance hall in 1924, which had a 14,000 square-foot dance floor. The additions reflected a change in social relations. People were not just coming to Winnipeg Beach to gaze at the lake or to socialize within their community. Men and women were coming for the opportunity to promenade and dance in public.[37]

Similarly, Winnipeg Beach newspaper advertisements moved from being placed among transportation advertisements to being slotted with entertainment advertisements and focussed more tightly on selling the heterosexual adult experience. Children were a market, but the CPR was really interested in young adults. As one large CPR advertisement featuring dancing and the Moonlight trains intoned in 1920: "Oh Boy, Let's Go! The board-walk a-quiver with life and gaiety.—Every attraction in full swing.—The trees, the grasses, the breezes and the Crowd—all invite you. Make it a real holiday."[38] The product was the heterosexual experience, encouraged by the presence of nature, sanctioned by the support of companies such as the CPR.[39]

Wolfgang Schivelbusch has argued that the train creates its destination. It focusses passengers around the departure point and the arrival point, while the space in between is unused or even "destroyed." When passengers look outside they find themselves encountering a panorama of passing landscape, rather than a place.[40] But while the train destroyed the space between Winnipeg and Winnipeg Beach, it created the time and social space of the train journey. Indeed, it is the use of this time to build excitement in children awaiting their arrival at the beach or to

Top: University of Manitoba Archives & Special Collections, Winnipeg Tribune Fonds, 18/7278/18-7278-006. Bottom: R. McInnes

Pier pressure. The CPR pier figured prominently in beach activities in the early 1900s, including as a base for diving competitions and casual strolls.

provide a moment together for couples returning on the Moonlight Special that provides many foundational memories of Winnipeg Beach.

On a given day, Winnipeg Beach could see over a dozen trains, but three types of trains had particular significance; the Moonlight, the Daddy's train; and the picnic trains. In 1913, the *Free Press* noted that between 40 and 50 picnics were expected—a list that included a wide range of churches and social groups such as the Canadian Order of Foresters, Rome-Italian society and the Orangemen.[41] The picnics would be a staple of Winnipeg Beach into the 1950s. The Caterers picnic, perhaps the most famous and one that had predated Winnipeg Beach, quickly made the beach its own.[42] It was also among the last major picnics at the beach and used the CPR train as late as 1961, after regular passenger service had ended.[43] A typical picnic might draw a few hundred people to 2,500 for the CPR's own picnic in 1911 and up to 6,000 for the caterers picnic.[44] Events such as the CPR's picnic included competitions with distinct categories for married and single men and women illustrating how these events were very much about maintaining social networks and perhaps even courting. [45]

Picnics were a way of maximizing the profitability of the beach line for the CPR. But they also added to the experience of Winnipeg Beach by ensuring that there was a steady draw for people. Nestor Mudry can remember travelling to the CPR picnic in 1934 when he would have been about 13 years old.[46] The family did not have a cottage and vacations were limited to the odd Sunday, all of which meant that going to the CPR picnic was an event. "It was exciting. I remember being in the station and 'Are we going, are we going yet?' Then of course they had young boys selling stuff on the train, cokes and crackerjack and all of that sort of thing," Mudry recalled. "That was the main outing, oh that was a good thrill for us. Especially when the train was coming along and oh, we could see the lake. 'Oh, there's the lake! Oh there it was.' So it was a pretty big deal for us kids."[47]

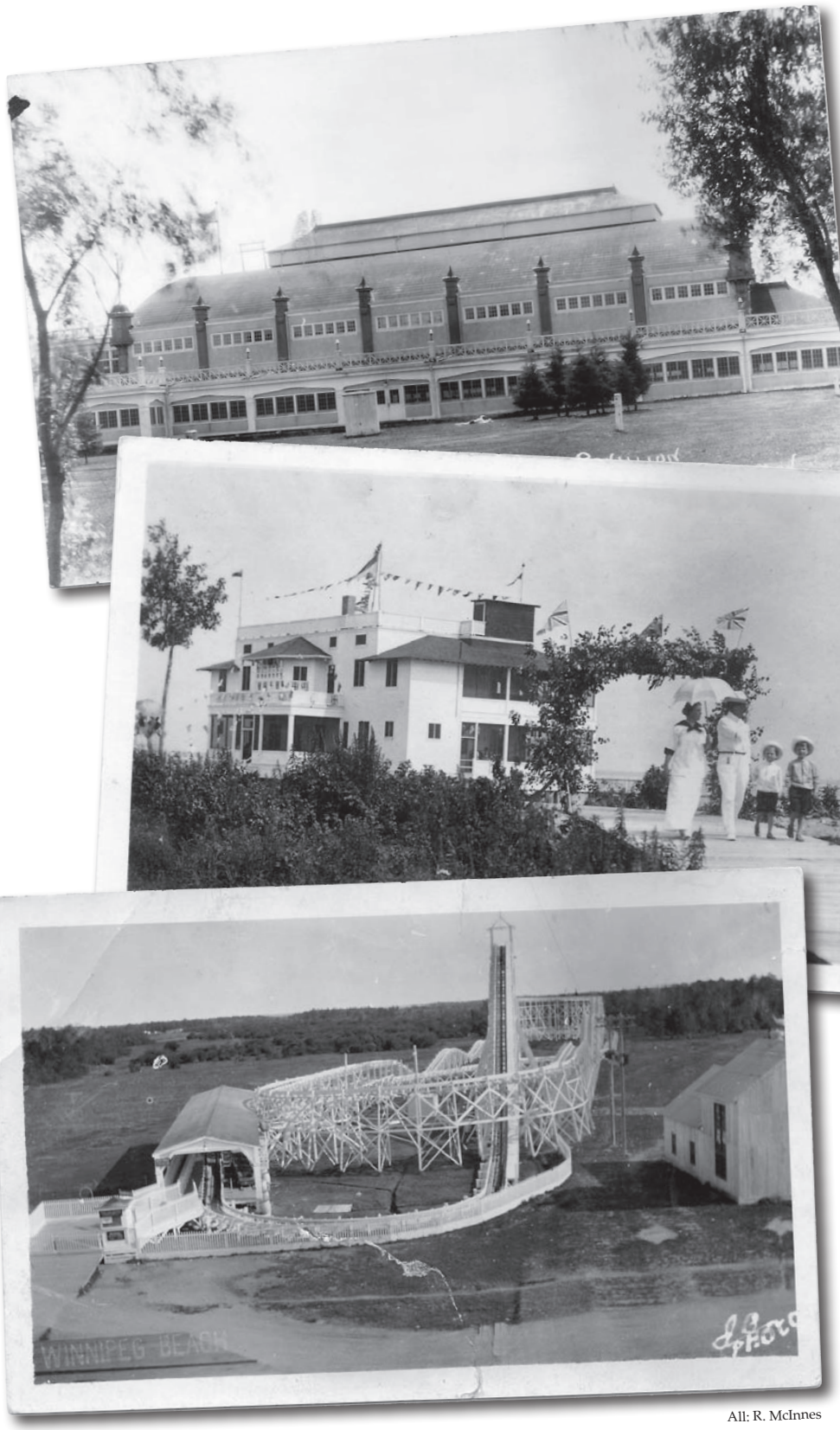
The CPR's quick service allowed Winnipeg Beach to become a commuter community, with businessmen setting up their families at the beach for the summer or perhaps just for a brief vacation while they travelled back and forth to the city on the train. This was the genteel middle-class public face the beach wanted to project.[48] At a cost of $1.20 for a round-trip fare, compared to an early 20th-century labourer's salary of 20 cents an hour, or a skilled tradesman's 65 cents an hour, this daily commute was beyond the budget of all but the very affluent.[49] This gendered commute was laid out officially as the Daddy's Train in CPR advertisements, a terminology that suggests workers were male, married and with children.

The popular image of the Daddy's train was of fathers commuting on a daily basis, but the reality was that most fathers spent the week working in the city and the weekends at the cottage. Winnipeg Beach was not alone in this pattern. "The husband train" as Orvar Lofgren has termed it, played the same role in vacation spots throughout the world until it was replaced by the car. Cabin life see-sawed between the long spells with mom as the single parent, to the frenzy of activity and excitement that would accompany the return of dad.[50] At Winnipeg Beach, the train station became the focal point for weekly family reunions and departures and provided a temporal and spatial fix for their excitement. Ina Drummond can recall staying at the beach in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Her mother and aunts rented a cottage while her father, a CPR employee, joined them on weekends. "While the mom and kids were down at the lake, dad would be at work and he'd come down Friday night and spend the weekend," Drummond recalled. "We couldn't wait for that Daddy train to come down on Friday." [51] On the flipside, Orest could remember growing up in the city's north end and seeing the rail commuters roll into the city in the morning, as much a part of summer as going to the beach itself.[52]

The CPR's quick service allowed Winnipeg Beach to become a commuter community, with businessmen setting up their families at the beach for the summer or perhaps just for a brief vacation while they travelled back and forth to the city on the train. This was the genteel middle-class public face the beach wanted to project.

Memories of the Moonlight Specials are a staple of Winnipeg Beach lore. The Moonlight encapsulates the Winnipeg Beach experience as a location for dating, providing in a few short hours the journey to somewhere else, the collective and performative experience on the boardwalk and dancehall and the return, accompanied by the creation of private and hidden space.[53] While the Daddy's train was a male space, the Moonlight was conceptualized as a heterosocial affair.[54] Howard Dundas provides us with perhaps the most graphic description of the Moonlight trains in his book, *Wrinkled Arrows: Good Old Days in Winnipeg*. He offers a striking illustration of the thesis that the trains and Winnipeg Beach represented an opportunity to escape the regulation of the city and to enter a locale beyond the boundary line that separated "proper" behaviour from the possibility of sexual expression. Born in 1905, Dundas is explicit in arguing that "sexual ignorance abounded" in the 1920s but that with the Moonlight train the "cool of the evening beckoned."[55]

Dundas describes Moonlight rides to Winnipeg Beach and Grand Beach and emphasizes how the resorts provided an escape from Winnipeg. On the Winnipeg Beach side, the train passes through Whytewold and Matlock – the home of the "commuting members of the Establishment" – while on the Grand Beach side of the lake the train patrons were "stared at rather enigmatically by a few score of Indians



All: R. McInnes

The amenities. A full range of recreational services awaited visitors to Winnipeg Beach, including a midway, a dance pavilion (top), a clubhouse (middle), and a roller coaster (bottom). Note the number of windows in the dance hall, which allowed it to take in the breeze from the lake.

sitting or loitering in the station's shade" as they passed by Balsam Bay.[56] Dundas is doing more than providing narrative here. He is using class and race to form a boundary around the beaches and also tells us something of how the riders constructed themselves against that boundary. In their journey, working-class riders on the Moonlight trains travelled through a moat of class and race to reach an area beyond the regulation they endured in the city.

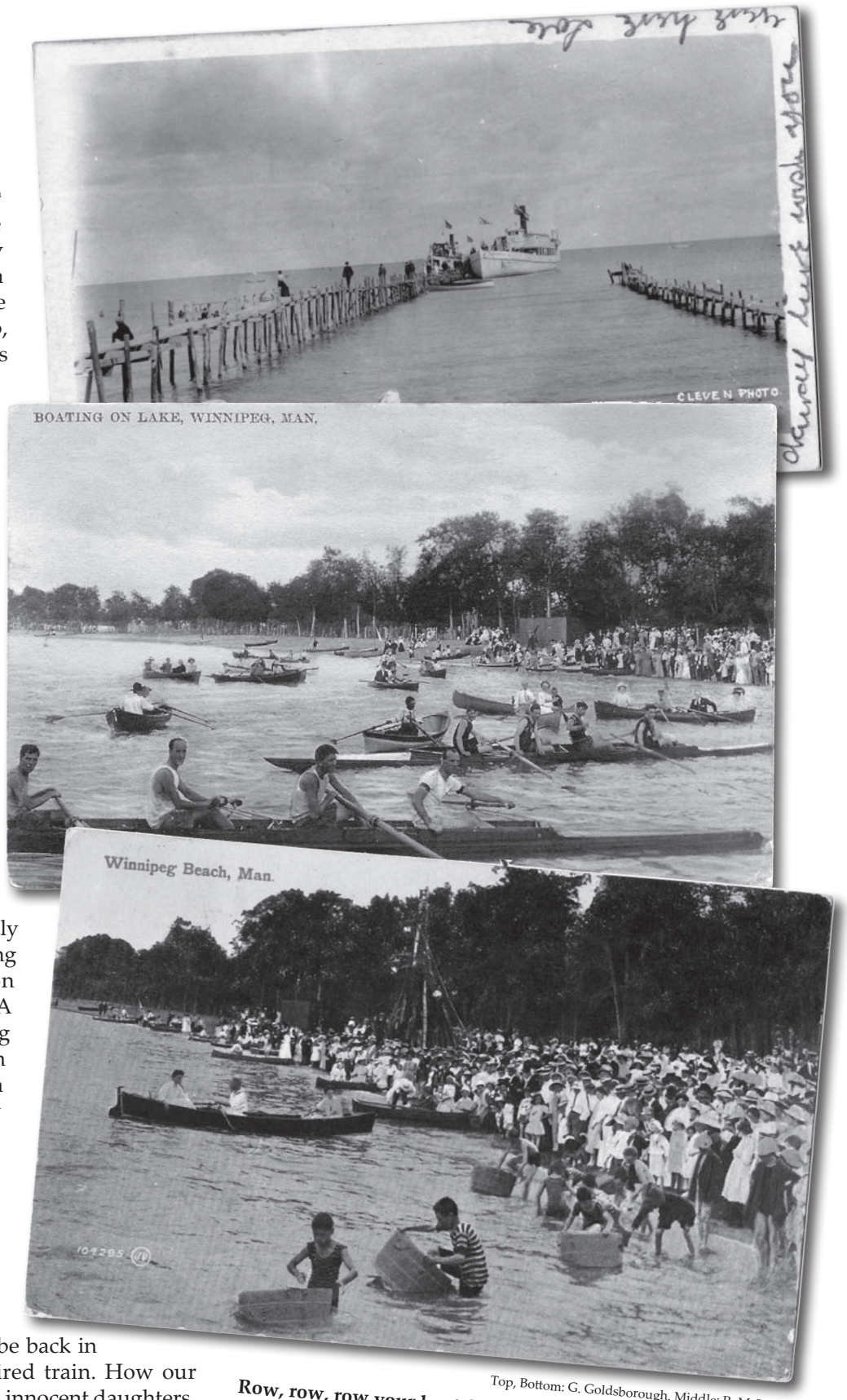
On the way home "youthful passengers vied with the trainmen, putting the lights in the cars on and off eight times. Youth always won, and the trainmen left the cars in darkness, said 'the hell with it' and went into the baggage car to play Euchre."[57] And what happened after "youth" had won and created this darkened space? "There were squeals of laughter, poignant silences and sudden shrieks of indignation."[58] Bryan Palmer has argued that darkness, with its implicit link to the night has traditionally been conceptualized as an area for transgression: "The night time has been the right time, a fleeting but regular period of modest but cherished freedoms from the constraints and cares of daily life."[59] It was this potential moment of freedom that made the late night Moonlight so enticing for the youthful passengers.

Dundas's portrayal of the Moonlight journey replicates standard portrayals of sexual roles, with the male as pursuer and the female as defender of virtue.[60] It also offers a spatial analysis of the return journey. "The Oak Bluff whistle warned the young men there was only another twenty miles left for sweet talk and gentle persuasion, and their young ladies to dig in anew at this threat of a new ambush … The Transcona warning wail gave them their last chance to try something they hadn't thought of since Ponema or Balsam Bay, and their girlfriends, by now feeling it was safe enough to let them cop a miniscule feel … to ensure a date for next Saturday."[61]

Dundas is tapping a familiar theme here, suggesting women used their sexuality to ensure that their date would foot the bill for the outing. That same belief kept moral reformers tightly focussed on the behaviour of women at the beginning of the 20th century.[62] Dundas goes on to describe "weary and dishevelled" youth finally leaving the trains and catching a ride home on the streetcars. Despite his colourful description of the trip, Dundas pulls back at the end of his tale to say, "I don't think anyone ever made the 'supreme sacrifice' on the Moonlights … Virginity was pretty highly thought of in those days, and premarital trial runs being more the exception rather than the rule."[63] In the end, even Dundas could not resist regulating sexual behaviour.

The clamour of the returning Moonlight train, like the arrival of the commuting daddies, was a benchmark of life in Winnipeg in the early part of the century. In 1967, Jocelyn Square wrote an article for the *Winnipeg Free Press* detailing her childhood in the Royal Alexandra during "the years of the Roaring Twenties. And the old Royal Alex did roar in those days … each Sunday from May 24 until after Labor Day, I was usually awakened around 1 a.m. by the opening of the great wrought iron gates on the Main Street side of the hotel. A great surge of people, all laughing and talking, pushing their way down the incline from the station platform heralded the return of the weekly Moonlight train to Winnipeg Beach."[64]

In a series of letters, Helen Sigurdur, Dorothy Lynch, Agnes Walker recalled journeying to the beach on the Moonlight train in the 1930s and 1940s, often to meet dates or a boyfriend.[65] Lynch's recollections make it clear that going on a date was the goal. "We would be back in Winnipeg by midnight, on a coal-fired train. How our mother[s] worried about their young, innocent daughters, arriving home early Sunday morning, having been out with boys unknown to them. They waited up for us, listening to the wireless radio, or pacing the floor," she recalled.[66] Orest travelled on the Moonlight Special to Winnipeg



Top, Bottom: G. Goldsborough. Middle: R. McInnes

Row, row, row your boat. *Watercraft of various kinds plied the waters of Lake Winnipeg, ranging from commercial steamboats, scull boats, and wooden wash tubs.*

Beach in 1956, the last year before the evening trains were discontinued. But the routine was much the same as it had been 20 or 30 years earlier. "Winnipeg Beach was summer time. A chance to get out of Winnipeg, it was something different," Orest said.[67] He travelled with a friend or two and the goal was simple—have a good time and, he hoped, meet a girl. We can look to these groups and note the flexibility and protection that train travel and the crowd of passengers on the train gave them. "If you were 19 years of age, you didn't go out with your date. So you'd go out with your girlfriends," Myrna Charach recalled. "The girls would go up, four or five girls out together to be at somebody's cottage and naturally the guys would come up separate. They'd get together there. But you never came out … You told your mother you were going with your girlfriends. *laughs*"[68] Groups of couples would have headed up together as well; travelling in a pack lent a sort of moral security to the trip. But flirting amongst the travellers started the moment they stepped on the train.[69]

In many ways the experience of travelling on the Moonlight Special has taken on the role of a regional myth: a complex of symbols and images embedded in a larger narrative with predictable rhythms.[70] That role does not make the experience any less real. But it does mean that individual recollections of the trip are likely to tap a familiar list of experiences. For example, many interview subjects remember the lights being turned off, but they never claim to have turned the lights out themselves. Orest remembered the lights being extinguished as a regular part of travelling on the Moonlight Special. "The CP cops and the conductors would just go crazy because they wanted the lights to be seen as the train was going by otherwise if it's dark they could get into trouble," Orest recalled.[71] The expectation, Orest said with a laugh, was that the guys were looking for a chance to kiss their dates or as Izzy Peltz recalled the "guys got into a corner and were smooching" and again the lights were turned off.[72] Within this powerful narrative, youthful love always won out.

Victor Martin worked as a fireman on the Moonlight Special on several trips. While he didn't have to deal with it directly, he certainly heard stories of what people were doing in the coaches: "I know a few times some of the conductors were frustrated because [the passengers] were always turning the lights out in the coaches and in the end they would give up (laughs). You know, I mean I'm talking people our age, that were supposed to be the wild ones in those days, water fights, cinders coming, people would get them in the eye, people always hanging out the windows, you couldn't stop them, but trains in those days were the mode of travel and nobody paid any attention to that stuff. It was the only way you travelled and you did what you wanted or tried to get away with as much as you wanted," Martin recalled.[73]

Nestor Mudry performed in a band at the Dance Palace in the summer of 1941, but he made a few Moonlight trips to the dancehall with friends on his own time: "I remember going [on] the Moonlight coming back, and here's all these guys necking with their girlfriends and turning off the lights and the poor train man, these guys are turning off the light and the poor trainmen were trying to put on the lights. A lot of them, they weren't electrical lights, they were gas lights. Anyway, that was kind of amusing," Mudry, recalled. Again, the goal was finding a little space to do a little kissing, and Mudry is equally careful to say that it never went further than that: "Just smooching was all. There was no love making, not in those days. That was a no no."[74] Dorothy Garbutt wrote a column in 1961 for the *Winnipeg Free Press* recalling her experiences at Winnipeg Beach in the summer of 1919 and she noted that at the end of the night: "for some mysterious reason, none of the group you came with was able to find seats together and so you paired off, apart from the others, and if a little ... well, it was the Moonlight, wasn't it?"[75]

Not all recollections of the Moonlight Special are quite as exciting. "I remember taking the ride back when my girlfriend and I took the Moonlight. It was very quiet. People were tired after the weekend or couple of days there," Jessica recalled. "Did couples have a chance to be together alone on the train? They might have had a chance

University of Manitoba Archives & Special Collections,
Winnipeg Tribune Photo Collection, "Winnipeg Beach 1912" PC 18/7278/18-7278-005

Edwardian "bikini babes". These three women were having a bit of fun at the beach in 1912.

to be alone on a seat but there were always people around them."[76] Val Kinack expressed similar scepticism pointing out how busy the train was, but also that "they didn't have the sexual freedom that they have today."

The *Free Press* and *Lethbridge Herald* tell us that, at the very least, the lights did go out on the Moonlight Special. In a 1946 article headlined "Putting Out Train Lights Brings Fine for 2 Youths," the *Winnipeg Free Press* quoted Magistrate D. G. Potter stating that "Young people making a nuisance of themselves on Moonlight Specials from Winnipeg Beach will be fined the maximum penalty in the future." In this case, Winnipeg youths George Burke and John Kupskay received a $10 fine for turning out the lights.[77] Potter was even crankier in August that same year laying down a fine of $20 for turning off the Moonlight lights and threatening to increase it to $40 the next time someone came into his court on the charge. The *Lethbridge Herald* carried the story through the news wire under the headline: "Warns Romeos"—an interesting turn of phrase given the difficulty Romeo and Juliette had in getting together. The article noted that "Romeos who turn off coach lights, thereby providing themselves with a better atmosphere for their pursuits, will be dealt with more severely in future, Magistrate D. G. Potter warned."[78] In 1950, the same sort of charges would show up in Juvenile court although the language surrounding them was less sympathetic and this time there was no discussion about the motivation the "young hooligans" might have had for turning off the lights.[79]

The news articles, and in particular the "Warns Romeos" article in *The Lethbridge Herald*, neatly follow the script laid down by male interview subjects and Dundas with men being charged for seeking darkness in which to create "a better atmosphere for their pursuits," the pursuits being women, of course. Men and women did seek out dark spaces on the Moonlight trains, whether by turning out the lights or snuggling up in a seat. The Moonlight trains provided a space in which the rules could be challenged and renegotiated, not only on the rare occasions when the lights went out but also when they stayed on and couples leaned back into their seats to steal a kiss, hold hands, or let their head rest on another's shoulder.

But when the lights flickered out on the Moonlight Special was it only men and women getting together? David B., interviewed for The Gay and Lesbian Oral History Project in 1990, could recall travelling to Winnipeg Beach with his father on the Moonlight Special to meet his mother, who was already staying down at the beach. "That was the thing to do in those days," David B. recalled. "I can remember getting up, going through the train to see if there was people I could talk to. I met one young man, and I didn't realize at that point that that was what I was doing, but I felt very attracted to him."[80] Nothing sexual came of David. B.'s moment, but the Moonlight no doubt held the possibility of homosexual relations amidst what seemed to be a thoroughly heterosexual space.

Whether it was a picnic train, Daddy's Train or a Moonlight Special, they all rolled into the Winnipeg Beach train station. Long-time Winnipeg journalist Val Werier has argued that the trains provided the rhythm for Winnipeg Beach: "When the big steam locomotive shsshed and panted into the station it was alive with people. Meeting the train was part of beach life, seeing who was arriving or going."[81] Jessica remembered the train whistle as a rallying cry: "Even if you weren't expecting anyone, you would go down to watch the people coming off the Moonlight in case there was someone there you knew that you could go down to the pier with". Val Kinack was down at the station as a child as well. As she got older, the train station was a place to meet dates. It was even where she met her husband for the first time, although in this case her future husband was with a group of friends who found her waiting at the train station and convinced her to go for a drive rather than wait for a date to arrive on the train. The flexibility of the car trumped the schedule of the train.[82]

Kinack's car ride to Winnipeg reminds us that while the CPR might have created Winnipeg Beach, it was not able to maintain its monopoly on the resort's travel links.

Discussions about completing a provincial road to Winnipeg Beach were taking place in 1909 and by 1910, the first cars had started to make the journey to the beach.[83] There is something of the explorer in these early trips, with drivers ferreting out the best routes and then sharing their experiences in the *Free Press*. Manitoba's drivers did not wait for roads to open, they actively promoted auto travel.[84] On the July 1 weekend in 1925, 14,747 people came to the beach by train, including 2,000 people on three Moonlight Excursions, but an additional 20,000 people were believed to have come in an estimated 3,700 automobiles.[85] For drivers in 1925, the long weekend probably warranted a special trip. But by 1938 when a full-page advertisement ran in the *Free Press* for Winnipeg Beach, it used roads and cars to illustrate how people should reach the beach.[86] The period after the Second World War was the tipping point for car use: in 1941 less than half of Canada's suburb dwelling residents owned cars, but by 1961 a large majority of them did.[87]

The car opened new landscapes for exploration and ones that did not require a dedicated rail line to reach. Giving people the option of a seamless journey from home to destination point, the car changed what people expected out of transportation. Schedules were no longer acceptable when drivers could set the schedule themselves.[88] This competition was felt acutely at Winnipeg Beach with other government-sponsored provincial parks rightly blamed for cutting into the crowds.[89] But social relations were changing as well. The men and women who used to worry about being caught travelling with men could now travel to and stay at the new provincial parks together with little fear of sanction: a sign that courting rituals were changing once again.[90] The car also changed the social aspect of travel and created "the family pack" with families or couples able to

travel independently.[91] The automobile, in other words, atomized the travel experience disrupting the collective social space that had existed on the trains, including the Moonlight experience and the myth-making that had gone along with it.

Yet, the train maintained a tenacious hold on the imagination of Winnipeg Beach. In 1942 there were still 11,000 people taking the train to Winnipeg Beach on a busy weekend, and in 1943 when a busy schedule forced the CPR to cut back to one Moonlight Special on the weekend it still expected to sell at least 1,600 tickets for the trip.[92] Even in the 1950s when the majority of people were coming to the beach by car, the trains still set the rhythm of the community. In 1965, Christopher Dafoe recalled spending his teen years at Winnipeg Beach in a fruitless quest for the heterosexual experience. Not surprisingly he bookends his failure to find female companionship with the departure of the train: "At midnight, as The Moonlight panted out of town, we always made our way back to Ponemah Beach wondering what it had all been for."[93] Orest was taking the Moonlight train to Winnipeg Beach in the 1950s. For him, the train was shorthand for the entire experience, which is why, when the train had stopped running and the amusement area had been removed, the community had no resonance for him. "During the '70s and '80s, I used to go to Winnipeg Beach, my sister's got a cottage there, but that was just for Saturday for supper and then head back. I never stayed. Just to do some visiting. I would never go into town at Winnipeg Beach," Orest said. "But the train ride, the Moonlight, yes."[94] ☙

Notes

1. This article includes a number of oral interviews. I interviewed 18 people throughout the winter in 2007/2008. I have also taped a selection of interviews from "The History of Winnipeg Beach" oral history project, which was sponsored by The Boundary Creek District Development, Inc. in 1991. I owe the interviewers, D. Harrison and D. Carpenter, my thanks for their work. I have also used interviews from the Gay and Lesbian Historical Project, which were conducted in Winnipeg and Selkirk 1991 by David Theodore.
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3. Gerald Friesen as quoted in Frances Russell, *Mistehay Sakahegan, The Great Lake: The Beauty and the Treachery of Lake Winnipeg*. Winnipeg: Heartland, 2004, p. 57.
4. Wood, p. 2.
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7. *Ibid*., p. 71. Robert E. Snow and David E. Wright, "Coney Island: A Case Study In Popular Culture And Technical Change," *Journal of Popular Culture*, p. 962.
8. Walvin, p. 69.
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12. Lehr et al., p. 48.
13. *Ibid*., p. 48.
14. *Winnipeg Free Press*, "Trip to Lake Winnipeg". 27 August 1900, p. 5.
15. Jim Blanchard, *Winnipeg 1912*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2005, pp. 7, 9. Daniel Hiebert, "Class, ethnicity and residential structure: the social geography of Winnipeg, 1901–1921," *Journal of Historical Geography*, January 1991, vol. 17, Issue 1, pp. 56–86, 64, 67.
16. Cross and Walton, pp.119–120.
17. *Morning Telegram*, "Speaks Well of Winnipeg". 22 April 1901, p 2.
18. *Manitoba Morning Free Press*, "NEWEST SUMMER RESORT". Monday, 3 November 1902, p. 5. *Morning Telegram, "*Winnipeg Soon to Have New Resort," 1 June 1901, pp. 9, 13. See pavilion plan. *Morning Telegram,* "Train service to Winnipeg Beach". 21 May 1903, p. 2.
19. Beth Bailey, *From Front Porch to Back Seat*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988, pp. 3, 7, 13.
20. Letter from W. Whyte, second vice-president to Sir Thomas G. Shaughnessy, President, 9 June 1908, p. 1, Canadian Pacific Railway Archives.
21. Whyte letter, p. 3. Canadian Pacific Railway Company Telegram, from W. Whyte, second vice-president to Sir Thomas G. Shaughnessy, President, 16 June 1908, Canadian Pacific Archives.
22. *Manitoba Free Press*, Wednesday, 22 May 1907, p. 12.
23. Lehr et al., pp. 50–51.
24. *Manitoba Free Press*, "WHAT TO DO ON CIVIC HOLIDAY: The Attractions are Many and Varied—Thirteen Trains to the Beach". Thursday, 16 August 1906, p. 16.
25. *Manitoba Free Press*, "About 15,000 People Taken On Winnipeg Beach Trains". 2 July1920, p. 3.
26. Russell, p. 122.
27. *Manitoba Free Press*, "Winnipeg Celebrates Holiday at Beaches". Thursday, 2 July 1925, p. 4.
28. Russell, p. 122.
29. Cross and Walton, p. 7.
30. Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working women and Leisure in Turn-Of-The-Century New York*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986, pp. 13, 27.
31. Bailey, pp. 3, 7, 13. Karen Dubinsky, *The Second Greatest Disappointment: Honeymooning and Tourism at Niagara Falls*. Toronto: Between The Lines, 1999, p. 155.
32. Wood, p. 4. *Morning Telegram,* "Winnipeg Soon to Have New Resort". 1 June 1901, pp. 9, 13. (see map)
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38. "May 24th Dancing at the Beach," *Manitoba Free Press*, Friday, 21 May 1920, p. 18.
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41. *Manitoba Free Press,* "Many Excursions to Winnipeg Beach". Thursday, 15 May 1913, p. 2.
42 *Manitoba Free Press*, Saturday, 24 August 1904, p. 3, as one example. (note gamblers and fakirs on previous train, regulation travels by train, work in with "spotters."
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44. *Manitoba Free Press*, "Canadian Pacific Employees Picnic". Monday, 17 July 1911, p. 9.
45. *Ibid*.
46. Nestor Mudry interview 12 December 2007 with Dale Barbour.
47. Nestor Mudry interview.
48. *Manitoba Free Press,* "Winnipeg Beach". Saturday, 17 May 1913, p. 13.
49. Lehr et al., p. 48.
50. Orvar Lofgren, *On Holiday: A History of Vacationing*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999, pp. 135–136.
51. Ina Drummond interview, 18 December 2007, with Dale Barbour.
52. Jessica interview, 29 November 2007 with Dale Barbour. Orest interview, 5 December 2007, with Dale Barbour.
53. David Bell and Gill Valentine, *Mapping Desire: Geographies of Sexualities*. Routledge: New York, 1995, p. 18.
54. Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working women and Leisure in Turn-Of-The-Century New York*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986, p. 4–5. Heterosocial refers to the mixing of both genders while homosocial refers to the social mixing of people of one gender and not, it should be noted, to sexual orientation.
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56. Dundas, pp. 93–96.
57. *Ibid*., p. 96.
58. *Ibid*.
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61. Dundas, pp. 96–97.
62. Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-Of-The-Century New York*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986, p. 61. Carolyn Strange. *Toronto's Girl Problem: The Perils and Pleasures of the City, 1880–1930.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995, p. 112.
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66. Dorothy Lynch letter, *Dance Hall Film Project.*
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74. Nestor Mudry interview.
75. *Winnipeg Free Press,* "Fancy Free." Special Features, Saturday, 3 June 1961, p. 22.
76. Jessica interview.
77. "Putting Out Train Lights Brings Fine For 2 Youths," *Winnipeg Free Press*, Friday, 28 June 1946, p. 1.
78. "Warns Romeos," *The Lethbridge Herald*, Saturday, 10 August 1946, p. 1.
79. "YOUNG HOOLIGANS ON BEACH TRAINS GET WARNING," *Winnipeg Free Press*, Saturday, 15 July 1950, p. 1.
80. Manitoba Gay/Lesbian Oral History Project, David B. C1864 interview, 7 June 1990, with David Theodore, Archives of Manitoba.
81. Val Werier, "In the evening there is no longer a Moonlight," *Winnipeg Tribune*, 7 August 1965.
82. Kinack interview.
83. *Manitoba Free Press,* "Winnipeg Beach,", Tuesday, 15 June 1909, p. 10; *Manitoba Free Press Automobile Section,* "Trip to the beach." Saturday, 6 August 1910.
84. *Manitoba Free Press,* "Lady Wins Gold Medal." 20 July 1914, p. 22.
85. *Manitoba Free Press* "Winnipeg Celebrates Holiday at Beaches". Thursday, 2 July 1925, p. 4.
86. *Winnipeg Free Press,* "Where Manitoba Plays". Friday 8 July 1938, p. 4.
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89. Russell, p. 137. Eddy Walker, "Winnipeg Beach." *Winnipeg Free Press*, Saturday, 11 June 1960, p. 10.
90. Orest interview. Bailey, p. 141.
91. Lofgren, p. 63.
92. *The Winnipeg Evening Tribune*, "Record Crowds Go To Beach". Monday, 12 August 1940, p. 2. *The Winnipeg Evening Tribune*,"One 'Moonlight' Only Saturday". Saturday, 10 July 1943, p. 12.
93. Christopher Dafoe, "On the 'Boardwalk': Ghosts in the Penny Arcade." *Winnipeg Free Press*, Saturday, 10 October 1964, p. 31.
94. Orest interview.

"Fighting for the Everyday Interests of Winnipeg Workers":

Jacob Penner, Martin Forkin and the Communist Party in Winnipeg Politics, 1930–1935

by Stefan Epp
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During the 1930s, Winnipeg municipal political campaigns were about more than streets and sewers. Political parties espousing radically different conceptions of society competed for the votes of Winnipeg residents. This article examines the early years of the aldermanic careers of two Communist Party of Canada (CPC) aldermen in Winnipeg. Jacob Penner and Martin Forkin were elected in the early 1930s and served on Winnipeg's City Council for several decades, leaving a significant political legacy in the city. Their election came at a significant moment for the CPC, a time when economic depression led many Canadians to consider radical political alternatives. Penner and Forkin's first years in office illuminate interesting elements of Manitoban and communist history. In Winnipeg, and particularly the North End, a working-class neighbourhood with a large immigrant population, a significant number of people were drawn to the radical politics of Penner, Forkin, and other communists. Second, Winnipeg, which was also a hotbed of labour politics, proves an intriguing setting to examine conflict and cooperation between different parties on the political left. Finally, the election of Penner and Forkin and the politics they espoused while on City Council is interesting because of what it says about the Communist Party during the Third Period, a controversial era in communist history.

The Russian Revolution of 1917 sparked considerable interest within the Canadian left, although it was not until 1921, when a secret meeting was held in Guelph, Ontario, that the Communist Party of Canada was born. The founding members of the CPC came from a range of traditions and parties including the Socialist Party of Canada (such as Jacob Penner) and the Socialist Labour Party and from radical unions such as the International Workers of the World or the One Big Union. A legal version of the party, the Workers' Party of Canada, was launched a year later and existed until 1924, when the CPC was legalized.

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Like communist parties around the world, the CPC belonged to, and took direction from, the Comintern, a body made up of the world's communist parties, but dominated by the Soviet Union.[1] In 1928, the Comintern adopted a new position, known commonly as the Third Period. The CPC followed the policy closely, adopting it officially in 1929. It would last until 1935. This was a time when communists believed that it was necessary to "bolshevize" themselves and prepare for an imminent proletarian revolution.[2] Many Party members who did not accept the new turn, or were supporters of Leon Trotsky, were purged from the CPC. One of the significant results was that, whereas the CPC had once forged alliances with likeminded political parties and labour unions, it was now called to sever ties with non-communists. Often, this resulted in attacks against other parties on the political Left, who were deemed by the communists to be "social fascists" who duped the working class.

Several historians have criticized the Communist party during this period, arguing that it lost its connection to the masses and became bound up with internal disputes. Ian Angus, for example, proposes that the Party's disdain for all possible allies and its "go-it-alone" policy led to massive defeats. He goes on to describe the Party as being "suicidally ultra-leftist" and disconnected from the working class.[3] Bryan Palmer also critiques Third Period communism in Canada, arguing that while there are positives to be found in the communist work among the unemployed, "these were years that set the stage for the acceptance of the irrational, for blind faith in the 'line', however far removed from Canadian reality it might have been."[4] Angus, Palmer, and others have interpreted the Third Period as a time when the Communist Party lost its connection to the Canadian working class.

In his article, "Canadian Communists, Revolutionary Unionism and the 'Third Period': The Workers' Unity League, 1929-1935," John Manley rejects the idea that the Communist Party became isolated from the working class during the Third Period or put dogmatic purity ahead of the needs of Canadian workers. Although he has since become more critical of Third Period communism, Manley

proposes that despite the "indigestibly provocative" style of the Third Period, the Workers' Unity League was "unexpectedly responsive to its context and the moods and needs of its constituency."[5] Communist unionists, Manley argues, placed flexibility above doctrinal purity and studied the local working class as much as any Comintern directive.[6]

I will provide a similar interpretation to that put forward by Manley. To paraphrase Manley, CPC aldermen in Winnipeg made "good aldermen" rather than "good Bolsheviks."[7] Their communism was neither obscure nor isolationist. While there were unsavoury aspects to CPC activities during this period, the primary concern of the Communist Party's elected representatives was meeting the immediate needs of the working class and the unemployed. As a result, despite the Communist Party's efforts to distinguish itself from the Independent Labour Party and its use of revolutionary rhetoric, the communists pursued similar policies at the municipal level to their supposed enemies on the political Left.

Several historians have criticized the Communist party during this period, arguing that it lost its connection to the masses and became bound up with internal disputes.

Municipal Politics in Winnipeg

The General Strike of 1919 was played out in municipal politics for many years after the strike was over, in an ongoing battle between "Citizens" and "Socialists."[8] The Civic Progress Association (CPA) and, later, the Civic Election Committee (CEC)[9] were composed of Liberals and Conservatives united to fight municipal elections.[10] They were often referred to as the Citizens, in reference to the Citizens Committee of One Thousand that had been formed by the local business community to fight the General Strike. Citizens believed that municipal governments should run an efficient administration that kept taxes and costs low.

The pre-eminent Citizen during the period discussed in this paper was perhaps the leading opponent to communists in Winnipeg. Mayor Ralph Webb, described by the communists as a "would-be Hitler," was popular among both the business elite and the working class.[11] He was also vehemently anti-communist. Webb once wrote to Prime Minister R. B. Bennett asking him to "deal with these agitators in the way they should be dealt with, and that is – to speak roughly – send them back to Russia, the country of their dreams."[12] Communists accused Mayor Webb of using his position to encourage police intimidation of strikers or to ban communists from holding meetings. As mayor, Webb limited debate on communist motions in City Council meetings or declared them to be out of order. For communists, Webb became the ultimate enemy in the city, a home-grown "fascist," who represented the suppression and intimidation that the Party faced.

To the left of the CPA/CEC stood the Independent Labour Party (ILP), the largest labour party in the city. John Queen, a leading figure in the party and future mayor of Winnipeg, revealed some of the ILP's political philosophy when he explained that he was "interested in the organization of all the forces of society for better living for the people: not by individual, but by organized effort."[13] ILP manifestoes regularly included statements proposing that "the social ownership of the means of production, distribution, and exchange is essential to the permanent solution of problems arising out of social and economic ills."[14] A co-operative commonwealth, ILP members proposed, would eliminate the profit motive, private ownership and individual struggle and replace them with a system of co-operation in which goods would be produced for the needs of the people rather than for profit.[15] This political philosophy was influenced by British socialist traditions, as the majority of the ILP leadership was British.[16]

Communists comprised the far left of Winnipeg's municipal politics. Roughly three-fifths of Winnipeg communists lived in an impoverished, working-class neighbourhood called the North End.[17] Although the Party regularly launched membership campaigns in the central and southern regions of the city these had little success.[18] In comparison to the predominantly British ILP, over half of CPC members were Ukrainian while less than ten percent were English, Canadian, French, or Irish. The unemployed made up a majority of communist members, and nearly all members were young and male.[19]

In 1926, William Kolisnyk became the first communist elected to Winnipeg's City Council. He continued to serve as an alderman for Ward Three until 1930. During his two terms on City Council, Kolisnyk demanded improved public transportation, an increase to relief rates, and supported the efforts of organized labour. Kolisnyk, however, was prone to controversy. In addition to several perceived missteps, there were also ethnic tensions within the Party between Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian members. As a result, there was internal Party turmoil over Kolisnyk's suitability as a public representative and he fell out of favour with many communists.[20]

Winnipeg was divided into three wards for the purposes of municipal elections. The predominantly working-class North End was in Ward Three, and became home to ongoing struggles between communists and the ILP. Stories abound of rowdy election meetings. Joseph Zuken recalled that

> in the old Talmud Torah you had maybe John Queen or John Blumberg speaking at an ILP meeting. The Communists would be holding their meeting at the Hebrew Sick Benefit Hall, which is perhaps two or three minutes away. You would have a courier who would run and tell you what the competitor was saying – and then there would be an instant reply.[21]

Gloria Queen-Hughes, an ILP school board trustee, recollected how the communists would, allegedly, send numerous cadres to ILP meetings. They would leave one at a time, making a large noise on the way out to disrupt the proceedings.[22] Hecklers also frequented their opponents' meetings. For example, when Jacob Penner condemned Section 98 during a 1932 municipal debate, a woman began heckling him from the floor, concluding with the question: "What did you do to Trotsky?"[23] Conversely, the RCMP reported that several communists planned to attend a meeting held by Alderman Thomas Flye of the ILP in 1931 to ask "questions which could not be answered" in an attempt to spoil the meeting.[24] The ILP and the communists were frequent opponents, not only in the Council chambers, but also in the streets of the North End, where election campaigns were won and lost.

Winnipeg Communists took municipal election campaigns seriously. The rigorous preparations made for municipal election campaigns in Winnipeg were held up by the CPC as an example for other cities to follow.[25] In 1932, *The Worker* reported that the Winnipeg branch had distributed 30,000 bulletins in English and an additional 7,000 in Ukrainian for the municipal election.[26] A central election committee was established and ward committees were formed to support the candidates in each ward. In Ward Three the halls of numerous sympathetic organizations were used as campaign offices, while in Wards One and Two, the houses and stores of supporters were "appropriately decorated" with communist paraphernalia.[27]

Communists comprised the far left of Winnipeg's municipal politics. Roughly three-fifths of Winnipeg communists lived in an impoverished, working-class neighbourhood called the North End.

Public meetings played a significant role in the communist election campaigns. In 1932 it was reported that the Party had held over forty meetings over the course of the two-week campaign.[28] Candidates used these events to expound communist doctrine and the Party platform. By 1933, the communists had learned that radio speeches were of "great value" and decided to utilize them in the future.[29] Like any other party, canvassing was also important for a communist election campaign. The Central Agit-prop Department of the Party declared that, "the importance of house to house canvassing, which must commence IMMEDIATELY AND NOT AFTER NOMINATION DAY, cannot be stressed too much." It was the goal of the Party to visit every house in Ward Three.[30]

The communist municipal platform combined the fight for the immediate needs of workers with the broader aims of the Party. In 1931, the CPC produced a national municipal election platform, but stated that each municipality should adopt the platform to suit local conditions as "the very essence of municipal elections ... [is the] direct relationship to [the] immediate living problems of the masses."[31] A few years later, the Winnipeg Communist Election Conference adopted a platform that they argued gave "expression to the urgent, pressing needs of the working people of Winnipeg."[32] Communists believed that they enjoyed the most electoral success when "the speeches made during the campaign... dealt with the [local problems] and raised questions of mutual interest to the workers."[33]

What were the local problems that the Communist Party claimed to be addressing? In 1931, for example, unemployment relief and the battle for a non-contributory unemployment insurance bill were the main points of the communist municipal platform. The programme went on to discuss other positions of significance to the Communist Party: a prohibition on the importation of strike breakers from outside the municipality, improved working conditions and hours for municipal workers, the unconditional right of free speech including an end to Section 98, increased taxes for the rich and lower taxes for workers, a program of house building to replace slum dwellings, a five-cent fare on street car and bus systems, free hospital treatment for the needy, and the granting of universal suffrage in municipal elections.[34] This platform remained relatively unchanged throughout the Third Period. Indeed, the 1934 election programme was almost identical to its 1931 counterpart.[35]

On the surface, this platform appears to support rather reformist measures, and was not significantly different from the programme of the ILP. Yet, despite the reformist elements of their municipal programme, Communists argued that they had not become a parliamentary party, or at least not one in the sense that the ILP was. In *Socialism and the CCF*, Stewart Smith wrote about a "revolutionary Communist parliamentarism" that differed from the "parliamentary deception" of the CCF.[36] How, then, did local communists conceptualize this difference? J. Naviziwsky, the manager of the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Publishing Association argued that the Communist Party was "not sending its representatives to City Council because it wanted a new sidewalk, but for a definite purpose of class fighting."[37] Municipal council was not seen as a place merely for debating local issues, but part of the broader class struggle conceptualized by communists. The communist election platform in 1931, for example, recognized that while the "Communist Party program in these elections is composed of the immediate and pressing demands of the masses...only the abolition of capitalism and the rule of the workers...can solve the problem of the masses."[38] Immediate reforms were important but such reforms could not achieve the Party's goal, the abolition of capitalism.

Communists on Council

Winnipeg communists began running candidates for municipal office in 1923 and were running a full slate of candidates for all municipal and school board positions by 1931. In the predominantly middle- and upper-class Ward One, communist candidates never won more than two percent of the vote. Ward Two candidates fared only slightly better, polling between three and five percent. The three times the CPC ran a candidate in the mayoral election, the candidate received between seven and eight percent. It was in Ward Three where the Communist Party was the most successful. In 1926 and 1928, William Kolisnyk had been elected as the CPC candidate in the ward. By 1935 it was winning a quarter of first choice votes in the ward, and its candidates frequently topped the polls. It was there that, in 1933, Jacob Penner was elected to City Council, beginning an aldermanic career that would last until 1960.[39]

Jacob Penner was born in Russia in 1880. After becoming involved in the Russian Social Democratic Party, his parents worried that he would be arrested and decided to immigrate to Canada.[40] The family first settled in Altona, Manitoba but Penner wanted to be closer to other political radicals and moved to Winnipeg where he found employment at "The Rosery" florist shop. Fired from his job as a florist in 1917 because of his opposition to conscription, Penner worked as a candy salesman before joining the Workers' Cooperative, where he became a bookkeeper.

Soon after moving to Winnipeg, Penner became involved in leftist circles, was one of the founding members of the Socialist Party of Canada local in Winnipeg in 1906, taught at socialist classes and served on the Sub-Committee on Political Action during the General Strike. Indeed, in 1918, Penner would teach a Socialist Sunday School with future ILP mayor John Queen.[41] When the CPC was formed, Penner became its western literary agent. The RCMP believed that he was also the chief organizer for the CPC in the Manitoba district.[42] Penner was a passionate adherent of communism. In opening his 1932 mayoralty campaign, Penner declared that "capitalism has reached a stage of development where, like a man afflicted with a deadly disease, it cannot recuperate or bring back prosperity."[43] It was the role of the CPC, Penner believed, to fight an "uncompromising struggle to unseat the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie."[44] He remained an unwavering Party supporter until his death in 1965.

Penner was known for his clean living and honest manner. He was frequently portrayed as a serious man who, according to the *Weekly News*'s tongue-in-cheek Council reporter, had "forgotten how to smile."[45] A frustrated RCMP investigator reported that "while intemperate in his political thought, (Penner) is temperate in his habits, and might be classed as a 'domestic fellow.' He is not an immoral man nor a drinking man and he smokes little. He is strongly opposed to gambling...He never has been mixed up with any scandal."[46] Another RCMP report suggested that Penner appeared to be "very smooth, intelligent in his manners, shrewd, careful, and well educated."[47] Even those on the opposite side of the political spectrum had some respect for Penner. Charles Simonite, a Citizen alderman, described him as a "gentleman" who "wasn't a bad fellow," albeit one with some "peculiar ideas."[48]

In 1934, Penner was joined on City Council by a second communist alderman, Martin Joseph Forkin. Forkin was born in the United Kingdom and immigrated to Brandon, Manitoba with his family in 1912. After serving for three years in the Canadian Expeditionary Force during the First World War, he worked for the RCMP from 1919 to 1920. He gained prominence in the One Big Union (OBU) before joining the Workers' Party of Canada. Forkin was employed for awhile at the General Hospital in Brandon but, after losing his job, became the secretary of the Brandon Unemployed Association. He was an active labour organizer and served as the secretary of the Workers' Unity League in the Winnipeg District. In this role, he is particularly known for his leadership role in a miners' strike at Bienfait, Saskatchewan where he was dubbed the "generalissimo of the strikers" by the local press.[49] Stephen Endicott suggests that while Forkin may not have been the greatest orator, he had a keen political sense and could be highly persuasive.[50] Forkin served on City Council until his death in 1962.

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The Worker proposed that there was an organic connection between city councillors inside the halls of power being supported by, and supporting, the whole militant movement on the outside. Elected communists were successful because they were "exposing the class nature of city government, and using their positions to further the militancy of the workers."[51] Martin Forkin declared that the communist role was both to "assist the organized fight for the immediate betterment of workers' conditions and also to show the working class that they cannot win their emancipation from capitalism through the city councils and parliaments."[52] These sentiments were echoed by a local document that stated, "Penner will have to become a public figure in the sense of leading and supporting the actual struggles of the Winnipeg workers and will have to be supported in same by the whole movement."[53] It may be a matter of semantics, but the document emphasizes "the actual struggles of the Winnipeg workers" rather than the interests of the Comintern or the larger party structure.

Archives of Manitoba, Norman Penner Collection 3, N8915

Jacob Penner (1880-1968) came to Manitoba in 1904, joined the Communist Party in 1921, and was elected to the Winnipeg city council in 1934, around the time of this photo.

Jacob Penner demonstrated that he would not be a "normal" alderman early in his career when, a month into his first term, he refused to stand to honour the death of Thomas Hooper, the chief of the city's water works department. As the other aldermen rose around him to offer his condolences to the family, Penner remained firmly planted in his chair. He explained to the shocked aldermen that "if a working man meets his death on the city's streets in an accident we do not pass a vote in his memory. Or if a miner is killed in a mine accident we do not rise. Does this council not think it worthwhile to respect the memory of working people?"[54] This episode would repeat itself two weeks later when he refused to stand to honour the death of a prominent fire fighter. Penner was clearly going to be a very different sort of alderman.

Activity on Council

The Communist Party of Canada was actively involved in the fight for free speech, largely because the Party was tightly circumscribed under the provisions of Section 98 of the Criminal Code, which outlawed numerous radical political groups. The struggle for legality was described as "the very essence of the Party campaign."[55] Local election campaign materials described how "workers in Winnipeg are jailed and clubbed if they dare to assemble in mass to protest present conditions. Workers who strike against wage cuts are met with police battons [sic]. Only recently Winnipeg workers were almost blinded by tear gas simply because they assembled en-masse to protest against the jobless being refused medical and hospital treatment."[56] The Party warned its supporters that, although repression was less severe in Winnipeg than in other centres, the "rule of terror" found in Toronto would soon move westward. Increased media coverage during election campaigns allowed communists to spread this anti-persecution message broadly.

Since Section 98 was a piece of federal legislation, however, there was little that communists could do about it in City Council. Instead, the Party's aldermen focussed their efforts on local affronts to free speech. For example, Jacob Penner vigorously attempted to have the Police Commission reverse a decision to ban the performance of *Eight Men Speak*. The Progressive Arts Club had intended to perform the play, which depicted the trial and imprisonment of Tim Buck and seven other prominent communists. Penner put forward three motions on the subject, the first two of which were ruled out of order by Mayor Webb. Penner argued that the Police Commission's decision was an "infringement on freedom of expression and the rights of the legitimate stage."[57] When his motion was finally put to a vote, it was defeated by nine votes to seven, with all ILP aldermen except John Blumberg siding with the communist.

This incident highlights two key aspects of Penner's term on council. Despite communist propaganda to the opposite effect, ILP aldermen were largely in agreement with the communists on the issue of free speech, as six of their seven aldermen supported the motion. Thomas Flye, an ILP alderman, said that he supported the Penner motion because it was an issue of free speech and that he would not condemn people before they were proven guilty. Blumberg, meanwhile, defended his vote with the argument that the free speech that communists believed in fostered hatred. Even though communists frequently attacked the ILP for defeating their motions in council, it was often only one or two ILP aldermen who sided with the Citizens. The *Eight Men Speak* incident was also an example of a role that communist aldermen were supposed to play: supporting the Party's wider activities with their work on Council. Just as Penner did in this instance, communist aldermen frequently demanded to know why their, or other organizations', meetings had been prevented by the police. Council was, therefore, seen as a valuable forum for demanding free speech within the city.

Communist aldermen also used their platform in City Council to denounce another threat to communism, fascism. Winnipeg was home to a local variant of fascism, the Canadian Nationalist Party. The Nationalists paraded through Winnipeg streets wearing Nazi brown shirts that bore the insignia of a swastika and a beaver, and spread anti-Semitic and anti-immigrant propaganda throughout the city.[58] Communists frequently battled the Nationalists in the North End, filling meeting halls to ensure that Nationalist meetings could not take place and spreading

anti-fascist propaganda. They were assisted on City Council by Jacob Penner, who pressured Mayor Ralph Webb, albeit to no avail, to prevent Nationalist meetings with as much zeal as he obstructed communist ones. Penner proclaimed before council that the greatest danger of the day was fascism, but Webb told him to sit down as, he claimed, the other aldermen did not want to hear such an ideological speech.[59] Nevertheless, by denouncing fascism in the City Council, Penner was taking the broader fight against fascism into the halls of municipal government.

On 5 June 1934, a riot broke out between communists and Nationalists in Market Square just outside the City Hall. The *Free Press* described the riot in fantastical terms:

> battling in self-defence, the Nationalists, about fifty of whom were clad in the brown shirt uniform of that organization, drew batons from their pockets and fought furiously for their lives. Knives flashed in the fast waning sunlight, heavy clubs crashed against cap-protected skulls, and huge slabs of wood were torn from the stalls of market gardeners and used as battering rams against the tightly pressing wall of snarling humanity.[60]

With the sounds of the fighting filtering into the council chambers, Citizen Alderman James Barry described Penner as a "snake in the grass" and accused him of fomenting "race hatred."[61] The ILP's newspaper, the *Weekly News*, while an avid opponent of fascism itself, denounced Penner for being supposedly willing to demand free speech for some while denying it to the fascists.[62] Despite the hostility, Penner continued to defend the actions taken by communists against the fascists and was consistent in his demand that City Council, the mayor, and the Police Commission take the fascist threat seriously.

During the Great Depression, Winnipeg communists faced the threat of deportation either for being on relief or for their political ideology. Under the terms of the 1907 Immigration Act, municipalities were allowed to request the deportation of any immigrant who became a public charge. Winnipeg used this provision with great regularity to deport immigrants who requested relief and occasionally used this power to rid itself of political radicals.[63] Deportations became so common in the city that the consuls of numerous European countries inquired into why so many of their citizens were being deported from Winnipeg.[64]

Prior to Penner's election in 1933, the ILP protested deportation on numerous occasions. ILP alderman Thomas Flye, for example, claimed that his office was "besieged" with people who had been threatened with deportation.[65] In 1932, ILP aldermen brought forward the case of three communists who had been smuggled out of the city for deportation, arguing that this was a violation of British democracy.[66] *The Worker* described ILP protestations against deportation as "fake protest" and the *Workers' Vanguard* accused the ILP of "acquiescing" to the practice, but the CPC and ILP seemed to have had similar deportation policies.

When Jacob Penner was elected to council, he worked with the ILP to have the practice ended.[67] Shortly after his election, Penner, along with Flye, Morris Gray, and John Blumberg, inquired in the City Council about the attitude of the Dominion government towards the deportation of people on relief. By 1934, they had revealed enough evidence to convince even the Citizen aldermen that this practice should be halted. With municipal opinion turned so decidedly against the deportation of immigrants on relief, the federal government agreed to end the practice.[68] Penner, and his ILP counterparts, had won a major victory for the working class in Winnipeg.

This was a significant accomplishment because many Party members, and other immigrants residing in Winnipeg, had previously faced deportation for requesting relief. The termination of this practice relieved the immigrant community of a significant source of fear. It serves as an example of practical co-operation between the ILP and the CPC on an issue that was important for both parties. At a time when Communist policy denounced the ILP and demanded that there be no cooperation with them, Penner worked with his ILP counterparts on the issue of deportation because it was an important issue for his constituents.

Communist aldermen and the ILP also found common ground on the issue of electoral reform. The municipal

Archives of Manitoba, Personalities, Queen John 1, N20731

John Queen (1882-1946) came to Manitoba in 1906, served as a city councillor, MLA, and mayor of Winnipeg. Arrested for his role in the 1919 Winnipeg General Strike, he served a year in prison.

franchise in Winnipeg was based on property ownership. Those who held property in more than one ward were given multiple votes in municipal elections, while those without property were not allowed to vote. Citizen argued that a person should have a financial stake in the affairs of the city before getting to vote.[69] Both the ILP and the CPC were strong proponents of the universal franchise. In 1934, Penner and James Simpkin (an ILP alderman) worked together in an attempt to prevent non-resident property owners from voting.[70] When the ILP put forward a motion that would have established a "one man-one vote" system, Penner voted in favour, but it was defeated when Mayor Webb cast the tie-breaking vote.[71] In 1935, the ILP once again pursued electoral reform and was successful in passing, with the cooperation of the communists, a motion to bring the universal franchise to municipal elections. This reform, however, was blocked by the provincial government, which had the right to veto changes to the city's charter.

A move to eliminate property restrictions on voting would have affected working-class parties the most as it was their potential supporters who were denied the right to vote. Roughly thirty thousand additional working class individuals would have been added to the voters' list had the reforms been implemented.[72] Yet, it is peculiar that the Communist Party put so much effort into reforming a system that they believed to be corrupt. Attempts to extend the franchise suggest a willingness to accept the "bourgeois democracy" that the Party was so critical of during the Third Period. Once again, this is an example of practical co-operation between two parties that were theoretically supposed to be bitter enemies during the Third Period. Despite rhetoric describing the ILP as social fascists, Penner and Forkin worked closely with them on electoral reform, pushing a policy that may not have made sense for a revolutionary party but that would have empowered their local constituency.

In a city where nearly one in five wage earners was out of work, and in which expenditures on relief doubled between 1931 and 1935, unemployment was a contentious issue.[73] The approach of the Citizen aldermen towards the unemployed remained largely unchanged during this period. It was firmly rooted in the fear that granting too much to those on relief would result in a "dependency complex" and that the financial well-being of the city was a higher priority than unemployment relief. Citizens, therefore, passed regulations that made it difficult for Winnipeggers to get on relief and maintained low relief rates.[74]

Given that Citizen aldermen usually made up the majority of City Council there was often little that either the communists or the ILP could do to change the treatment of the unemployed. That being said, in the early 1930s, the ILP did not put forward an unemployment strategy that differed significantly from the Citizens. The *Weekly News* explained that "there is a genuine effort being made to extend relief as far as possible. All this, we fully admit, is of a palliative character, but in an imperfect world, it is at least something. It is at least better than fine-spun theories of cure-alls and dictatorships."[75] The ILP's willingness to accept the status quo, was frequently critiqued by communists, who portrayed their opponents as traitors to the unemployed who followed a policy of "peaceful waiting and quiet starvation."[76]

As the Depression worsened, the ILP became more critical of the city's relief apparatus and its Citizen supporters. The ILP's 1934 election campaign focussed on attacking the treatment of the unemployed by the previous municipal government. It proposed to humanize conditions for those on relief. "Common humanity," declared John Queen, "demands that all their requirements be met."[77] Instead of conceptualizing the unemployed as a drain on resources, the ILP re-interpreted them as formerly contributing members of society who needed assistance due to a situation beyond their control. As such, the ILP put forward a platform that offered medical and dental services to the unemployed, established relief depots throughout the city, and increased relief rates.

Unemployment was a central issue for communist parties throughout the world. The CPC took its cue from the Comintern to fight for the unemployed and launched extensive organizing efforts among the unemployed population. Through organizations such as the National Unemployed Workers' Association and its Neighbourhood Associations, the CPC reached out to unemployed people nationwide. Since municipal governments were responsible for unemployment relief, it was at the local level that changes could be made for the unemployed. As the economic crisis worsened, the communist leaders in Winnipeg focussed increasingly on unemployment as the central feature of municipal campaigns. Although there was top-down direction on the issue of unemployment, local communists also recognized the necessity of working alongside and organizing their unemployed neighbours.

Communist unemployment policy in Winnipeg had two main points. The first was the nationwide campaign by the Party for non-contributory unemployment insurance. This was not strictly a municipal policy, as the CPC demanded that the Dominion government pay for the program, but it was through their representatives at the municipal level that it was fought for. After taking office in January 1935, one of Martin Forkin's first actions was to put forward a motion, seconded by Jacob Penner, calling for the city to endorse a non-contributory plan. He argued that the burden to pay for unemployment should be on those who were able to pay. The motion was first allowed to stand and was later accepted by Council.[78] The campaign for the national non-contributory insurance scheme demonstrates how Penner and Forkin worked as part of a broader agenda dictated by the CPC. Thus, although local people were important for the communist unemployment policy, significant aspects of the Party's unemployment programme were developed outside of the city.

Municipal support for legislation that required federal approval, however, was not a particularly practicable solution for the immediate problems faced by the unemployed. Communists were frequently advocates for increasing relief provisions. Jacob Penner, in his victorious election campaign, declared that the first goal of a communist alderman would be to increase food and rent allowances.[79] When elected, Penner, and later Forkin, put forward numerous motions calling for increases in food vouchers, rent provisions, and medical care for the unemployed.[80] Forkin, who had been an NUWA organizer, was very familiar with the plight of Winnipeg's unemployed as well as CPC national unemployment policy. These actions both fulfilled the requirements of national policy but also gained the communist aldermen a tremendous following in the North End. They were motivated both by national commitments as well as the needs of their working-class constituents.

When Jacob Penner was elected in 1933, he quit his job at the Workers' and Farmers' Cooperative to become a full-time alderman, much to the disappointment of his wife Rose, who now had to manage the home with considerably less income.[81] Since aldermen received very little remuneration for their work, it was assumed that they would continue working in their previous jobs. Penner, however, decided to dedicate his attention to the needs of his constituents, and particularly their needs when it came to unemployment relief. *The Worker* reported that although Penner was not on the Municipal Relief Committee, he attended every meeting and regularly brought a long list of individual relief cases for the committee to address.[82] The Penner home became "virtually a drop-in centre" as anyone with a problem would come by for assistance.[83] Michael Harris recalled that Penner "never refused a single [person]: a request to him to do something in the City Council when they had a problem whether it was their homes or their jobs or anything like that that needed City Hall assistance." Regardless of their political allegiance, Penner helped Winnipeg's unemployed navigate the hostile channels of the municipal relief department. Even the local Conservatives knew that, if they had a problem, Penner was the man who would solve it.[84]

Unemployment was a central issue for communist parties throughout the world. The CPC took its cue from the Comintern to fight for the unemployed and launched extensive organizing efforts among the unemployed population.

Communists were not only particularly attuned to the interests of the unemployed but also to workers and organized labour. When the Winnipeg *Free Press* reported on the daily activities of mayoral candidates in 1933, they discovered that Martin Forkin spent most of his time meeting with union officials.[85] Similarly, the communist election press bragged that "the only two aldermen on the City Council who have been on a picket line during the past two years, and more, are Penner and Forkin."[86] Communist aldermen regularly behaved as an extension of the labour movement through the motions they put forward on council. During a lengthy strike at the Western Packing Company, Jacob Penner raised the plight of the strikers at the council table and put forward a motion (seconded by the ILP's James Simpkin) to condemn sweatshop conditions at the company.[87] Penner twice put forward motions to protect strikers from police intimidation while picketing. In 1935, during a strike by the typographical unions at the *Free Press* and the *Tribune*, Penner and Forkin requested that the council cease from doing any business with the newspapers that was not required by law. This motion passed with the support of the ILP aldermen and elicited praise from the unionists who, while admitting that they did not always agree with the communists, still appreciated their consistent support on City Council.[88] As Jacob Penner wrote in 1935, "whenever such strike struggles took place we brought out the workers' side of the dispute on the floor of council."[89] Communist aldermen advanced the cause of organized labour, even if in doing so they were assisting mainstream unions opposed by the communist-organized Workers' Unity League. This demonstrates a degree of flexibility within the Party, and that the Party was not as sectarian and isolated as some historians will have us believe.

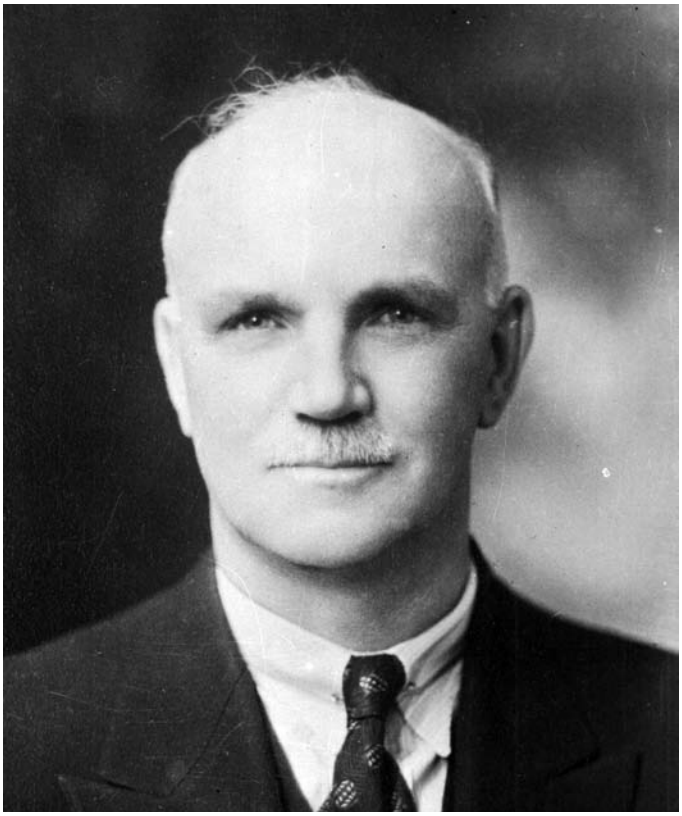
While Communists could make an indirect contribution to the cause of organized labour, they had more opportunities to challenge the treatment of the city's own workers. The CPC claimed that their aldermen were the only people fighting wage cuts for civic employees.[90] All municipal employees had been forced to take a ten percent wage cut in 1933, a decrease that the ILP had promised to reverse. In 1935, however, when working-class parties held a majority of the seats on council, the ILP decided that the city could not afford to provide the promised amount. Penner and Forkin, though, continued to fight for a full wage restoration and also demanded that the minimum wage for civic employees be increased from 38.5 cents per hour to fifty cents.[91] Repeatedly, the civic employees found their most consistent support on council coming from the Communist aldermen, who were not always particularly concerned if their proposals were financially practicable for the city.[92] Despite a Party declaration that it would "carry forward a determined drive to smash the influence of the hypocritical ILP and OBU leaders,"[93] the communist aldermen continued to fight on behalf of an OBU union, the Federation of Civic Employees.

Another point of contention between the ILP and the communist aldermen relating to the treatment of workers and the unemployed was the handling of the On-To-Ottawa Trek in 1935. Unlike Regina, Winnipeg avoided rioting when acting mayor John Blumberg convinced the RCMP

not to intervene and refused to read the Riot Act to strikers who had seized a dining hall on Princess Street.[94] This is not to suggest that the ILP was particularly amicable to the trekkers. Indeed, John Queen suggested that the trek was a communist scheme and that he would "not be a party to driving the boys into conflict with the government."[95] Steven Hewitt proposes that Queen's analysis was accurate and that the communists indeed were the driving force behind the trek movement in Winnipeg.[96] Communists used their council positions to publicize their concerns about the treatment of the trekkers. A month after the near riot on Princess Street, Penner and Forkin put forward a motion in council condemning the police commission for their handling of the trek participants.[97] There was no support for the motion, however, and it was defeated by thirteen votes to two. Despite the loss, communist aldermen had once again used their positions on council to further the broader agenda of the Party, thus linking Council activity and mass action.

Support for communist aldermen was rooted in their commitment to the issues that directly affected the lives of their working-class constituency. As Michael Harris remembered, "the Communist candidates had a big vote because the Communists helped them. They were devoted to the working peoples' welfare." He recalled how people would go and vote for Penner because "he was their friend; he helps them. Not anybody else."[98] The communist press had a similar interpretation of the Party's success. The *Voice of Labour*, a communist newspaper published for a few months in 1934, declared that,

> these workers and hard pressed members of the lower middle class who voted communist did so not only because they had before them the example of Alderman Penner's record in City Council, but also because the communists have shown, through their policy in the City Council and their day-to-day work outside the council, that they have fought for the everyday interests of Winnipeg workers.[99]



Archives of Manitoba, Personalities, Webb Ralph H

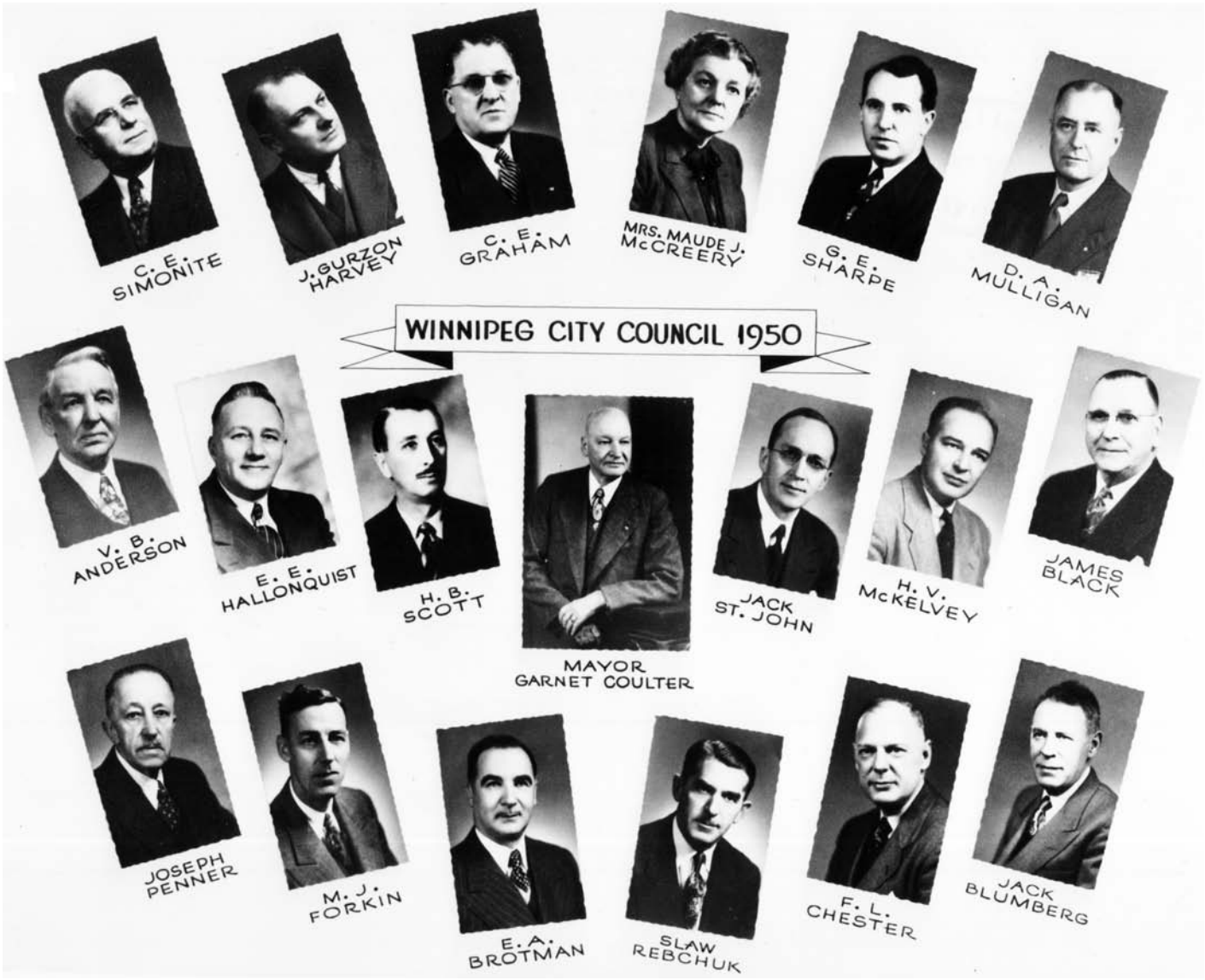
Ralph H. Webb (1886-1945) came to Manitoba in 1906, served seven terms as mayor of Winnipeg between 1925 and 1934, and also two terms as an MLA.

In addressing these immediate needs, Penner and Forkin often demonstrated flexibility in being able to work with and for numerous types of people, including those specifically condemned by Third Period ideology. Undoubtedly, they also remained tied to national and international policy decisions. Yet, despite Party instructions that the program of communists must be "contrasted sharply with those of Labour parties,"[100] Penner and Forkin demonstrated a willingness, at times, to adapt to local conditions in their engagement with non-communist unions or the ILP.

Communists and the Independent Labour Party

Despite agreement on policy and similar voting records on particular issues, the Communist Party was still very much in the Third Period, and denunciations of the ILP as "social fascists" remained the status quo. National CPC leaders such as Stewart Smith energetically followed the Comintern line and equated "social fascism" with fascism, arguing, as late as 1934, that the two represented the "ideological superstructures of decaying monopoly capitalism."[101] Winnipeg communists eagerly followed the Party line, and focussed much attention on a "concerted offensive against the social fascist leaders...to draw [the workers] into the revolutionary movement."[102] Both at the national and the local level, social democrats and labourite politicians, represented in Winnipeg by the ILP, were a target for communist attacks.

Communist municipal candidates often spent their entire campaign attacking the ILP, not even mentioning their Citizen opponent. Martin Forkin's mayoralty campaign in 1933 is an excellent example of this. He confined his remarks in election debates to challenging the ILP's positions on City Council, without criticizing his other opponent, the notorious Ralph Webb. Forkin explained to the audience that it would be merely a side issue to attack bourgeois politicians, as communists "make no pretence of appealing to the whole of society." Communists, unlike the ILP, never appealed for support outside of the working class. They were a class-based party seeking power for the workers. In a direct attack on the leadership of the ILP,



Archives of Manitoba, C. E. Simonite Fonds #5, N689

The 1950 Winnipeg city council retained long-serving Communists Joseph Penner and Martin Forkin.

Forkin explained that he was "for a labour movement led by workers and not by ex-clergymen."[103] After the election, the CPC celebrated their perceived victory over the ILP, and emphasized that the votes they had won had been taken away from ILP candidates. Gaining votes at the expense of their labour opponents seemed to be as significant an accomplishment to the communists as actually winning a seat on council.[104]

The ILP responded to these attacks in two ways. First, it argued that communists merely split the labour vote and allowed bourgeois candidates to win. The ILP also denounced the communists for purportedly advocating dictatorship. The *Weekly News*, for example, posited that "communism is simply a new form of a very ancient evil, namely the evil of dictatorship."[105] Attacking communists served two purposes. First, the ILP believed that it was the more effective representative of Winnipeg workers. Secondly, it hoped to win seats in Wards One and Two. The ILP was concerned that, if associated too closely with communists, they would forego any chance of electoral success in Wards One and Two.

The relationship between the two parties gradually thawed despite the ongoing exchange of insults. As Norman Penner remarked, the ILP and CPC emphasized similar issues and developed similar solutions to them.[106] Even though the 1933 campaign highlighted previously was focussed almost exclusively on the ILP, the *Weekly News* noted that Martin Forkin's mayoralty campaign "kept away from [the] abusive attacks on the ILP which have characterized communist campaigns in recent years." The paper also assumed that despite attacks by the communists on the ILP, Penner (who was elected that same year) would "as spokesman for a section of the working-class ... be bound to fall into line [with the ILP] on a great many issues of immediate concern, regardless of the fundamental differences in philosophy, political theory, and tactics."[107]

At the council table, the communists were also described in terms that minimized their anti-ILP rhetoric. The *Free Press*, in depicting Penner's first council meeting, said he "left his soap-box oratory outside the council chamber and his moderate utterances held the attention of the other aldermen. [He] voted as a member of the 'leftist' group."[108]

Co-operation with the ILP, as far as the communists were concerned, could have reached its apex in 1934, when they offered their support to the ILP's mayoral candidate, John Queen. The Third Period may have been thawing by 1934, but the offer of such an alliance remains remarkable considering that Stewart Smith's vehemently polemical *Socialism and the CCF* was published that very year. The communists provided the ILP with a list of six demands on which to build a common platform. They requested that Queen pledge to struggle against fascism in Winnipeg, fight cuts in relief and provide adequate relief for all the unemployed, repeal the decision to cut off family relief vouchers for single men over the age of 18, end the deportation of the unemployed, oppose the Bradshaw Report,[109] and provide the same medical care to war veterans as was given to the unemployed.[110] The communists agreed that, were Queen to accept this minimum platform, they would actively campaign on his behalf in the mayoralty race against Citizen candidate John McKerchar.

Cooperation with the ILP [International Labour Party], as far as the communists were concerned, could have reached its apex in 1934, when they offered their support to the ILP's mayoral candidate, John Queen.

The ILP viewed the coalition offer quite differently. Queen replied to the communists that he was "at a loss to understand your actions" and questioned why a unity offer would be made after a communist newspaper had allegedly provided encouragement to his bourgeois opponent and when the communists were running Saul Simkin against the ILP's James Simpkin to confuse voters.[111] To the ILP, the communist offer was incomprehensible after years of hostile attacks. For Queen, the victim of vicious verbal assaults for years at the hands of communists, there understandably was to be no unity.

Winnipeg communists reacted angrily to the rejection of their offer. They proposed that Queen feared losing middle-class votes by accepting a coalition and that his refusal meant that the ILP had "exposed themselves not as champions of unity, but as splitters in the ranks of Labour."[112] In sharp contrast to a 1927 proclamation that communists should vote for Queen in the mayoralty race of that year, the Party declared that both Queen and the CEC candidate, John McKerchar, represented bourgeois interests. Members were advised to spoil their mayoralty ballot by writing "COMMUNIST" across it. Martin Forkin went farther, saying that if communists really wanted to vote for one or the other, "they might as well vote for McKerchar rather than for that Labor demagogue."[113] Formal co-operation with the ILP, which briefly had appeared a possibility, albeit on the communists' terms, was now completely off the table. The two parties would remain bitter enemies on Council for years to come.

The coalition offer did, however, confirm in the minds of many Citizens that the ILP was linked to the Communist Party, likely another reason why the ILP might have been so reticent about accepting the offer. Looking back on municipal politics a year after losing the mayoralty election to Queen, McKerchar remarked that "Winnipeg is now at the mercy of communists. There is no particular difference between the ILP and the (Communist) party. They all get their inspiration from Moscow."[114] Despite the vast ideological gulf that separated the two parties on the Left at times, they were lumped together by their rightist opponents.

Conclusion

Communist aldermen on Winnipeg's City Council, and CPC efforts to elect and support these aldermen, demonstrated the powerful connection that the Party could have with a working-class neighbourhood. North End Winnipeg would continue to elect communists to council until 1983,[115] particularly remarkable given the anti-communist Cold War rhetoric that dominated political dialogue for most of those years. Although the Communist Party clung to much of the rhetoric and ideology of the Third Period, especially through its verbal attacks on the ILP, its members in places such as Winnipeg demonstrated a willingness to adapt the party line to local conditions and work with significant flexibility within a local setting.

The communists' relationship with the other party on the political left, the ILP, was complex. Despite frequent antagonism and distrust, aldermen from the two parties managed to work together on issues of common interest. The two parties frequently found themselves voting together on issues such as unemployment, deportation, and public transportation, issues which were vitally important to the everyday needs of working-class Winnipeggers. This is not to say that there were not disagreements. Communists frequently accused their ILP opponents of betraying the working class, while the ILP accused communists of dictatorial tendencies. Nevertheless, despite the public rhetoric, the two parties appear to have shared, in some ways, a similar vision for Winnipeg's municipal government, a vision that stood in profound opposition to the policies of their collective opponents on the political Right. ☙

Notes

1. Indeed, much of the best archival material on the Communist Party of Canada from this era is to be found in a collection from the Comintern, now available at Library and Archives Canada. The CPC reported many details of its local activities to the Comintern in Moscow.

2. Kevin McDermott and Jeremy Agnew, *The Comintern: A History of International Communism from Lenin to Stalin.* Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1996, p. 69.
3. Ian Angus, *Canadian Bolsheviks: The Early Years of the Communist Party of Canada.* Victoria: Trafford Publishing, 1981, pp. 264, 241, and 292.
4. Bryan Palmer, *Working-Class Experience: The Rise and Reconstitution of Canadian Labour, 1800-1980*. Toronto: Butterworth & Co, 1983, p. 206.
5. John Manley, "Canadian Communists, Revolutionary Unionism, and the 'Third Period': The Workers' Unity League, 1929-1935," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 16 (1994), p. 189.
6. Manley, p. 175.
7. Manley, p. 167. Manley argues that the local WUL organizers were "good trade unionists" rather than "good Bolsheviks."
8. J. E. Rea, *Parties and Power: An Analysis of Winnipeg City Council, 1919–1975*. Winnipeg: Department of Urban Affairs, Province of Manitoba, 1976, p. 1; Brian McKillop, "The Socialist as Citizen: John Queen and the Mayoralty of Winnipeg, 1935," *Manitoba Historical Society Transactions Series* 3 (1973–1974), p. 6.
9. Throughout the paper, the terms Citizens and CPA/CEC are used interchangeably and have the same meaning.
10. Stanley Knowles, interview with Brian McKillop, 14 June 1969, University of Manitoba Archives (UMA) Ed Rea Collection, MSS 73, Box 1 File 1; "Report Re Manitoba Provincial Elections – 1927; Communist Activities," 18 June 1927, Jacob Penner RCMP File 117-89-57 Supp. H, p. 192.
11. *The Worker,* 20 June 1931. Webb was mayor of Winnipeg from 1925 to 1927 and again from 1930 to 1934.
12. Ralph Webb to R. B. Bennett, 25 February 1931, LAC R. B. Bennett Papers, MG16 K Series F, No. 141.
13. *Winnipeg Free Press,* 23 November 1934.
14. *Winnipeg Free Press,* 8 November 1934.
15. "Independent Labour Party of Manitoba Provincial Elections, 1932," LAC, A.A. Heaps Fonds, MG27 III C22, Reel H2271.
16. McKillop, "Citizen as Socialist: The Ethos of Political Winnipeg, 1919–1935," M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1970, p. 220; Rea, p. 2-3.
17. In 1933, it was reported that 226 of 389 Party members in Winnipeg belonged to sections in the North End. "District 7 Report," 18 February 1933, LAC CI Fonds, Reel K286, File 152, p. 1.
18. "Resolution on the Situation and Tasks of the P. in District No. 7, 1933," LAC CI Fonds, Reel K286, File 152, 3; "Letter from Charlie to Sam," 22 October 1931, LAC CI Fonds, Reel K281, File 121.
19. "Membership Analysis, Winnipeg," 22 April 1934, LAC CI Fonds, Reel K284, File 140; Interview with Andrew Bilecki by Doug Smith, PAM, Doug Smith Collection, C407; Stefan Epp, "A Communist in the Council Chambers: Communist Municipal Politics, Ethnicity, and the Career of William Kolisnyk," *Labour/Le Travail* 63 (Spring 2009), p. 83.
20. Epp, p. 79-103.
21. Quoted in Smith, p. 27.
22. Gloria Queen-Hughes interviewed by Paul Barber, January 1970, UMA Ed Rea Collection, MSS 73 Box 1, File 6.
23. *Winnipeg Free Press,* 19 November 1932.
24. "Special Report Re Communistic Activities," 10 November 1931, PAM, Communist Activity, 1931-1936, Attorney-General Miscellaneous Files, G1542A, File 43.
25. Communist Party of Canada Central Agit-Prop Department, "Letter to All District and Local Party Organizations," 1931, LAC CI fonds, Reel K282, File 125.
26. *The Worker,* 26 November 1932.
27. "Letter from Charlie to Sam," 22 October 1931, LAC CI Fonds, Reel K281 File 121.
28. *The Worker,* 29 October 1932.
29. "Resolution on Winnipeg Municipal Elections, November 1933," LAC CI Fonds, Reel K286, File 152.
30. "Directives for the Municipal Election Campaign, 1931," LAC CI Fonds, Reel K282, File 125; "Letter from Charlie to Sam," 22 October 1931, LAC CI Fonds, Reel K281, File 121.
31. "Directives For the Municipal Election Campaign," LAC CI Fonds, Reel K282, File 125, p. 1.
32. *The Worker,* 10 November 1934.
33. "Resolution on the Winnipeg Municipal Elections, November 1933" LAC CI Fonds, Reel K286, File 152, p. 2.
34. "Program of the Communist Party For the Municipal Elections of 1931," LAC CI Fonds, Reel K282, File 125.
35. "Communist Planks in 'Peg Civic Election Voice Demands of Poor," *The Worker* 10 November 1934.
36. G. Pierce [Stewart Smith], *Socialism and the CCF*. Montreal: Contemporary Publishing Association, 1934, p. 207.
37. *Manitoba Free Press,* 16 November 1929.
38. "Program of the Communist Party for the Municipal Elections of 1931," LAC CI Fonds, Reel K282 File 125, p. 4.
39. Voting data have been compiled from the City of Winnipeg's *Municipal Manuals* available at the City of Winnipeg Archives. The voting percentages refer to first preference selections under Winnipeg's system of proportional representation.
40. Jacob Penner and Norman Penner, "Recollections of the Early Socialist Movement in Winnipeg," *Histoire sociale – Social History* 14 (November 1974): pp. 366-378.
41. See unnumbered picture in Roland Penner, *A Glowing Dream: A Memoir.* Winnipeg: J. Gordon Shillingford, 2007.
42. "Report Re Communist Party of Canada – Winnipeg, Man. Penner – Organizer for District," 22 July 1922, Jacob Penner RCMP File 117-89-57, Supp. H, p. 152.
43. *Winnipeg Free Press,* 15 November 1932.
44. Quoted in McKillop, "Citizen as Socialist: The Ethos of Political Winnipeg, 1919–1935," p. 97.
45. *Weekly News,* 5 January 1934.
46. "Report Re J. Penner," 19 July 1919, Jacob Penner RCMP File 117-89-57 Supp. H, p. 36.
47. "Crime Report Re Bolshevism in Winnipeg District," 11 June 1919, Jacob Penner RCMP File 117-89-57 Supp. H, p. 21.
48. Charles Simonite interviewed by Paul Barber, January 1970, UMA Ed Rea collection, MSS 73, Box 1, File 2.
49. Stephen L. Endicott, *Bienfait: The Saskatchewan Miners' Struggle of '31.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002, p. 47.
50. Endicott, p. 46; *The Worker,* 2 March 1935; *The Workers' Vanguard,* July 1930; *Winnipeg Free Press,* 12 June 1934; "Re: M.J. Forkin – Communist Party," Martin Forkin RCMP File, 119-91-22, p. 3; "Report on Conclusion of Case," Martin Forkin RCMP File 119-91-22, p. 3.
51. *The Worker,* 7 November 1934; *The Worker,* 21 April 1934.
52. *Voice of Labour,* 29 November 1934.
53. "Resolution on Winnipeg Municipal Elections, November 1933," LAC CI fonds, Reel K286, File 152, p. 2.
54. *Winnipeg Free Press,* 30 January 1934.
55. "Directives for the Municipal Election Campaign, 1931," LAC, CI Fonds, Reel K282, File 125.
56. "Unite At the Polls On Your Own Behalf," *Workers Election Bulletin* 11 November 1933, located in CPC-MA, Election Bulletins Scrapbook, 1930–1935.
57. Motion 605, 6 June 1934, *CCM,* 360; *Winnipeg Free Press* 6 June 1934; *Winnipeg Free Press* 9 May 1934.
58. The RCMP estimated that approximately five hundred Nationalist Party members lived in Winnipeg. It should be noted that, despite Winnipeg's reputation as a "left wing city," the Nationalist Party had more members than the Communist Party in the city if these figures are accurate. Gregory S. Kealey and Reg Whitaker, eds., *RCMP Security Bulletins, The Depression Years, Part I, 1933-1934.* St John's: Canadian Committee on Labour History, 1993, p. 27; McKillop, "A Communist in City Hall," *Canadian Dimension* (April 1974), p. 46.

59. *Winnipeg Free Press* 27 February 1934.
60. *Winnipeg Free Press* 6 June 1934.
61. *Winnipeg Free Press* 6 June 1934.
62. *Weekly News* 8 June 1934.
63. Barbara Roberts, "Shovelling Out the Unemployed," *Manitoba History* 5 (Spring 1983), p. 12.
64. Roberts, *Whence They Came: Deportation From Canada, 1900-1935.* Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1988, p. 172.
65. *Winnipeg Free Press* 9 December 1933.
66. *Manitoba Free Press* 11 May 1932. Roberts also wrote that some Winnipeg Poles were deported for reputedly being "members of organizations connected with the Communist movement." See Roberts, "Shovelling out the 'Mutinous'," p. 98.
67. *The Worker* 14 May 1932; *The Workers' Vanguard* July 1930, located in J.S. Woodsworth Fonds, LAC, MG27 III C7, volume 7, file 13; *The Workers' Vanguard* 17 November 1931.
68. Roberts, "Shovelling Out the Unemployed," p. 20.
69. *Winnipeg Free Press* 23 February 1935.
70. *Weekly News* 2 March 1934.
71. Motion 239, 27 February 1934, *CCM,* p.125.
72. City of Winnipeg, Committee on Legislation and Reception Files, City Archives of Winnipeg, CL+R File 152 (12). The voters' list would have grown from 99,595 voters to 132,400.
73. *Report of the Royal Commission on the Municipal Finances and Administration of the City of Winnipeg, 1937*, H. C. Goldenberg, Chairman (Winnipeg: King's Printer, 1939), 6; Michael R. Goeres, "Disorder, Dependency, and Fiscal Responsibility: Unemployment Relief in Winnipeg, 1907 – 1942." M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1981, pp. 284-285.
74. Goeres, "Disorder, Dependency, and Fiscal Responsibility," p. 272.
75. *Weekly News* 5 December 1930.
76. *Workers Election Bulletin* 22 November 1932 located in CPC-MA, Election Bulletins Scrapbook, 1930–1935.
77. *Winnipeg Tribune* 17 November 1934.
78. Motion 76, 14 January 1935, *CCM,* 27; *Winnipeg Free Press* 29 January 1935. The non-contributory unemployment insurance plan received support from the ILP.
79. *Winnipeg Tribune* 23 November 1933.
80. In 1935, Penner wrote an article in which he celebrated communist achievements on behalf of the unemployed on city council. He said that he and Martin Forkin had gained provisions for babies to receive full relief provisions to that they could be properly nourished, household utensils were now included in relief support, they had the lien notices that the unemployed were compelled to sign cancelled, and had abolished compulsory work for relief. Additionally, he credited communist efforts with defeating an attempt to reduce relief rates. See Jacob Penner, "Communist Councillors Show Good Record for Work in City Council," *The Civic Elector* 18 November 1935, located in CPC-MA, Election Bulletins Scrapbook, 1930–1935.
81. Roland Penner, pp. 38-39. Jacob Penner had been making $25 per week at the Cooperative and only received a $30 monthly honorarium in his position as alderman. His response to Rose was that "I was elected to serve the people and I cannot do that part-time!"
82. *The Worker,* 7 November 1934.
83. Roland Penner, interview with the author.
84. Michael Harris interview with Brian McKillop 24 June 1969, UMA Ed Rea Collection, MSS 73, Box 1, File 3.
85. See *Winnipeg Free Press* 16 November 1933; *Winnipeg Free Press* 15 November 1933.
86. *The Civic Elector* 18 November 1935.
87. Motion 348, 26 March 1934, *CCM,* p.186. The motion was amended to state that an investigation would be made into working conditions.
88. *Winnipeg Typo News* 31 July 1935; Motion 758, 29 July 1935, *CCM.*
89. *The Civic Elector* 18 November 1935.
90. *The Worker* 5 May 1934.
91. This motion was defeated by sixteen votes to two (the two communists). Instead, an amendment was made calling for the issue to be studied further. The amendment was defeated by the combined votes of the Citizens and communists. Motion 343, 8 April 1935, *CCM,* p. 167.
92. The Home and Property Owners' Association, a pro-business organization that fought to reduce municipal spending in order to reduce taxes, suggested that "Ald. Penner has a penchant for making motions without any thought of the financial consequences to the city and its taxpayers, and letting others do the worrying." ("The Unemployment Relief Committee," *The Home Owner* 15 December 1935, located in CPC-MA, Election Bulletins Scrapbook, 1930–1935.
93. "District Seven Report," 18 February 1933, LAC, CI Fonds, Reel K286 File 152, 4.
94. *Winnipeg Tribune* 15 November 1935.
95. Quoted in Steven Hewitt, "'We Are Sitting at the Edge of a Volcano': Winnipeg During the On-to-Ottawa Trek," *Prairie Forum* 19 (1994), p. 60.
96. Hewitt, p. 54.
97. Motion 759, 29 July 1935, *CCM*, 410; *Winnipeg Free Press* 30 July 1935.
98. Michael Harris interviewed by Brian McKillop 24 June 1969, UMA Ed Rea Collection, MSS 73, Box 1, File 3.
99. *Voice of Labour* 29 November 1934, 4.
100. "Directives for the Municipal Election Campaign, 1931," LAC, CI Fonds, Reel K282, File 125.
101. Smith, *Socialism and the CCF*, p. 157.
102. "Resolution on the Situation and Tasks of the P. In District No. 7," LAC CI Fonds, Reel K286, File 152, p. 4.
103. *Winnipeg Free Press,* 21 November 1933.
104. "Resolution on Winnipeg Municipal Elections, November 1933," LAC CI Fonds, Reel K286 File 152, p. 2.
105. *Weekly News,* 18 May 1934.
106. Norman Penner, *The Canadian Left: A Critical Analysis.* Scarborough: Prentice Hall Canada, 1977, p.156.
107. *Weekly News,* 1 December 1933.
108. *Winnipeg Free Press,* 3 January 1934.
109. The Bradshaw Report was completed at the behest of city council by Thomas Bradshaw in 1934. Bradshaw recommended that Winnipeg should decrease business taxes and offset this with a sales tax, a rent tax, and an increase in the price of water and electricity. Since the working-class was the most affected by an increase in rent, water, and hydro rates the plan was strongly opposed by both the Communists and the ILP. See City of Winnipeg, *Report of Commission on Assessment, Taxation, Etc.* (Winnipeg, 1934), pp.14-16.
110. *The Worker* 21 November 1934; "Information on the Election Campaigns and the United Front Tactic," 22 November 1934, LAC CI Fonds, Reel K287, File 161.
111. *The Worker* 21 November 1934; "Report Re Communist Party of Canada – Winnipeg Civic Election Campaign," 19 November 1934, Communist Party of Canada – Winnipeg RCMP file 117-91-67, p. 989.
112. *The Worker* 21 November 1934.
113. "Report Re: Communist Party of Canada – Winnipeg Civic Election Activities," 8 November 1934, Communist Party of Canada – Winnipeg RCMP File, 117-91-67, p. 988 and 994; *Winnipeg Free Press*, 19 November 1934.
114. *Winnipeg Free Press* 19 October 1935.
115. Joseph Zuken would win Jacob Penner's seat upon his retirement and sat on council from 1961 to 1983.

Commemorating Gabrielle Roy

by Parks Canada
Winnipeg, Manitoba

Gabrielle Roy (1909–1983)

Her mastery of the art of story-telling, her profound humanity, and her limpid prose have assured Gabrielle Roy an enduring place in the literary landscape. She pioneered social realism in Canada with her first novel, *Bonheur d'occasion* (*The Tin Flute* in English), which presented a picture of the lives of many urban Quebeckers and launched her remarkable literary career. She was a sensitive chronicler of both her Franco-Manitoban past and the immigrant experience in other works that transcend place to explore universal themes such as family, sorrow and loss, love, freedom and responsibility, the search for self and creative expression.

A daughter of Quebeckers who immigrated to Manitoba late in the 19th century, Gabrielle Roy was born on rue Deschambault in Saint-Boniface. The youngest in a large family, she trained as a teacher and was greatly interested in the theatre. At the age of 28, after teaching for several years, she left for Europe where she studied theatre and published a number of articles. Returning to Canada in 1939, she settled in Montréal and became a freelance journalist. Through this work, she became aware of working-class living conditions, especially in the Saint-Henri neighbourhood, and began her first efforts in the art of the novel.

Parks Canada

The Roy plaque unveiling ceremony was held at the Fort Garry Hotel on 12 November 2009, preceding La Maison Gabrielle-Roy's annual gala. Attending were (L-R): Mme. Jacqueline Blay (President, La Maison Gabrielle-Roy), Mme. Annette Saint-Pierre, M. L. Landry (cousin of Gabrielle Roy), Dr. Robert O'Kell (Manitoba member, Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada), Mr. Grant Nordman (Councillor for St. Charles, City of Winnipeg), Ms Shelly Glover (MP for Saint-Boniface), Dr. Carol Harvey (Professor Emerita of French, University of Winnipeg), and Ms Julie Dompierre (Executive Secretary, Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada).

Library and Archives Canada, Gabrielle Roy Fonds, NL022064, courtesy François Ricard.

Gabrielle Roy at age 45.

Inspired by what she observed of working-class life, Gabrielle Roy published her first novel, *Bonheur d'occasion*, in 1945, marking a new and original era in French-Canadian literature. The novel was a resounding success, winning instant fame for the author, who received the Governor General's Literary Award and the French Prix Femina—a first for a Canadian novel. In 1947, the novel appeared in English as *The Tin Flute* and was selected as a Book of the Month by the Literary Guild of America. It has since been translated into roughly 15 languages and included in the study programs of many schools and universities. Gabrielle Roy married in 1947 and then lived in Europe for three years. In 1952, she moved to Québec City, remaining there until her death. However, she produced the bulk of her literary output at the Petite-Rivière-Saint-François cottage she bought in 1957. She also travelled frequently, both in Canada and abroad.

Following the social realism of *Bonheur d'occasion*, Gabrielle Roy drew inspiration from many sources, including memories of her family on rue Deschambault and her life as a teacher in Manitoba. Although the tone of much of her work then became more personal and nostalgic, it still had deep universal appeal. The themes closest to her heart—childhood, the search for identity, the immigrant experience and the vast expanses of the land — are found in many of her most successful books, including *Rue Deschambault* and *Ces enfants de ma vie*, two novels that again earned her the Governor General's Literary Award. Gabrielle Roy's body of work, which won many prizes, including the Prix David in 1971, is unique and outstanding in that it is known, appreciated and studied in both French Canada and English Canada. Her place in Quebec and Canadian literature is incontestable and her innovative contribution to the novel as a genre remains remarkable. Unfortunately, this great novelist was not able to complete her autobiography before her death; two volumes, *La détresse et l'enchantement* and *Le temps qui m'a manqué*, were published posthumously.

La Maison Gabrielle-Roy

The family home where Gabrielle Roy was born in 1909 and where she lived until 1937 was the heart of a vibrant world of people and events that deeply inspired her writing. This otherwise typical middle-class urban house of the period was a special place to which the author remained attached all her life, and which she described and idealized in several of her works, in particular *Street of Riches (Rue Deschambault)*.

Maison Gabrielle-Roy is located at 375 Deschambault Street in a quiet residential neighbourhood in St. Boniface, Manitoba. The large, vernacular, two-and-a-half-storey wood frame house has an L-shaped plan. The exterior walls, all of which have large openings, have shiplap siding painted yellow to offset the white corner boards, the window trim and the posts on the gallery. The cedar shake roof has a dormer on the south side and a gable with a window on the west side. A large gallery wraps around the south and west sides of the house. There are 12 rooms, and the layout is as it was when the Roy family lived there. On the ground floor are the parlour, Mr. Roy's office, the dining room, the winter kitchen and summer kitchen; upstairs are the master bedroom, the nursery, three other bedrooms and the bathroom. A staircase at the very back

Library and Archives Canada, Gabrielle Roy Fonds, NL018615, courtesy François Ricard.

Gabrielle was the youngest member of the Roy family in this view from around 1913.

leads to a large room and small bedroom in the attic that were Gabrielle's favourite places to daydream when she lived in the house.

Gabrielle Roy's parents, Léon and Mélina Roy, had the house built in 1905, a few years after Mr. Roy became an immigration officer. Immigrants were flooding into Manitoba at the time, and towns were growing by leaps and bounds. Mélina's brother, Zénon Landry, oversaw the project. He patterned the house after the house next door, the layout of which was typical of middle-class homes of the day.

The youngest of 11 children, Gabrielle was born in the house in 1909 and lived there until 1937. Her father died in 1929, and her mother was forced to sell the house in 1936, but was able to continue living there for a while with two of her daughters. The house subsequently changed hands four times and underwent many renovations. In 1997, it was purchased by the Corporation de la Maison Gabrielle-Roy so that it could be restored and opened to the public. The house was restored to its 1918 appearance between 2001 and 2003 and opened to the public in 2003.

Gabrielle Roy lived in the house as a child, an adolescent and a young adult – 28 years in all. The house is where she dreamed of what her life would be and where she made the decision to become a writer. Following the resounding success of her first novel, *The Tin Flute*, which was inspired by Montréal's working class, Gabrielle Roy drew on her recollections of events and people associated with her house on Deschambault Street to inspire her and fuel her imagination. The house is where she experienced so much of life: family, nature, happiness, worry, bereavement, reflection, soul-searching, loneliness, the city and the many facets of immigration. Her memories gave her inspiration and were the foundation for the characters and themes she developed in her later works, a number of which were widely recognized and won many prestigious awards. ☙

Société historique de Saint-Boniface, General Collection, SHSB2679.

The Roy home at 375 Deschambault Street in St. Boniface.

Plaque text

Gabrielle Roy
(1909–1983)

Gabrielle Roy's first novel, *The Tin Flute* (1945), brought her immediate recognition as an important writer and a pioneer of social realism in Quebec. Subsequent works sensitively explored universal themes through descriptions of the immigrant experience and her years in the Franco-Manitoban community, establishing her reputation for masterful storytelling, clear prose, and a profound humanity. All her life, Roy remained attached to this simple, welcoming family home—a typical middle-class residence built in 1905—where she was born and lived until 1937. With its vibrant world of people and events, this house, now a national historic site, was often described and idealized in her writing, especially in *Street of Riches* (1955).

Dès son premier roman, *Bonheur d'occasion* (1945), Gabrielle Roy se distingue comme une auteure importante et une pionnière du réalisme social au Québec. Dans les œuvres suivantes, elle aborde avec sensibilité des thèmes universels tout en décrivant la réalité des immigrants et ses années passées au sein de la communauté franco-manitobaine, s'imposant par son art du récit, sa prose limpide et sa profonde humanité. Elle reste attachée toute sa vie à sa maison natale—une résidence de la classe moyenne, simple et accueillante, bâtie en 1905—où elle habite jusqu'en 1937. Riche d'un univers de personnes et d'événements marquants, cette maison, désormais un lieu historique, sera souvent décrite et idéalisée dans ses écrits, notamment dans *Rue Deschambault* (1955).

Gazette

Jean Arsin's Winnipeg General Strike Film

by Michael Dupuis
Victoria, British Columbia

Introduction

Without radio, television, and the Internet in 1919, Canadians and Americans relied almost exclusively upon commercial daily newspapers, wire services and wireless telegraphy for news and views of the Winnipeg general strike.[1] The one notable exception to this media coverage was 350 feet of black and white film shot during the walkout and shown in Winnipeg's Lyceum Theatre on 5 August 1919. The man responsible for shooting, processing, editing and presenting this film was Winnipeg filmmaker and freelance cameraman Jean Arsin. This article will provide information on Arsin, examine his Winnipeg strike footage, and discuss the fate of his film.

Who Was Jean Arsin?

Born in Quebec on 23 August 1887, Jean Arsin came to Winnipeg around 1909 and was the city's chief filmmaker until 1920.[2] Though nothing is known of his formal education and training, he became a pioneer animator in Manitoba and in 1910 from a makeshift cottage studio on Selkirk Street in Winnipeg's North End, he and fellow cinematographer Charles Lambly created Canada's first in a series of 35-mm paper-animated cartoons.[3] From 1915 to 1919 the bilingual Arsin was also Winnipeg stringer for Fox Movietone News. As well, during the First World War he established Winnipeg Publicity Studios in the Avenue Block on Portage Avenue. In 1920, Arsin left the Manitoba capital and moved to Montreal where in 1923 he established Cinecraft, a company specializing in producing publicity films. He continued as a documentary filmmaker in Quebec until the late 1940s making films including *La primeur Volée* (1923), *Diligamus vos* (1926), *La restauration de l'Isle Sainte-Hélène* (1937), and *Les Cantons-de-l'Est: jardin de la province de Québec* (1940). Arsin died at sixty-three in Montreal on 3 January 1950.[4]

Archives of Manitoba, Foote Collection #1690, N2756.

On 21 June 1919, mounted policemen approach the corner of Portage Avenue and Main Street. The first troop is in traditional stetsons and scarlet while the second still wears the khaki in which it had recently returned from overseas service with the Canadian Expeditionary Force.

A few more details about Arsin's professional life emerged soon after the Winnipeg general strike. On 31 July 1919 Arsin wrote to the "City Council of Winnipeg" on "Winnipeg Publicity Studios" stationary inviting "city officials and their friends" to view a "private showing of the Winnipeg Strike events and Peace Celebration film at the Lyceum Theatre, Tuesday the 5th of August at eleven o'clock p.m." [5] Arsin's business letterhead advertised that he was a "Free-Lance Cameraman for Canadian and American News Weekly", and in three self-promoting statements on the same letterhead offered an insight into the operation of his film studio: "Producer Of Industrial And Educational Films Motion Pictures Of Purely Canadian Interest", "The Winnipeg Publicity Studios Tell Your Business Truthfully In A Screen Story", and "Tell Us Your Business We Will Submit You Scenarios Absolutely Free Of Charge".[6] Finally, Arsin's stationery indicated the location of his studios: rooms "616 and 617 of the Avenue Block at 265 Portage Avenue".[7]

Arsin's Winnipeg Strike Film

Though Arsin's late night 5 August film presentation at the Lyceum Theatre did take place and "the views", according to North America's leading moving picture review magazine of the day, "were truly realistic", it is not known

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which city representatives, if any, attended the event, and, more important, what the complete strike footage showed.[8] What is certain though is that later in August, Arsin attempted to sell municipal officials "a moving picture record of the recent general strike disturbances in the city".[9] This "moving picture record", most likely the same film footage shown at the Lyceum on 5 August, was 350 feet long (between five and six minutes) and included "close-ups of the street-rioting."[10] Though we do not know how much Arsin intended to charge municipal officials for his strike film, city records indicate that the "finance committee" turned down his offer "on the ground that the authorities already had an interesting record for the archives in the police court reports and other documents."[11] Interestingly, only two of the seven aldermen on the finance committee had been supporters of the general strike.[12]

While the complete contents of Arsin's 350 feet of strike footage may never be known, parts of his original film have survived. The National Film Board of Canada has a total of two minutes and forty-four seconds of footage comprised of four "clips". One clip (ID 16534) is forty-one seconds and captioned "School children learn how to ride bicycles during Winnipeg strike. Huge crowd in schoolyard. Man showing kids how to turn on bikes, how to ride properly (Saint John School)."[13] The second clip (ID 19780) is forty-five seconds and captioned "Mayor of Winnipeg Charles Frederick Gray at Victoria Park (06/19/19) haranguing the crowd during the Winnipeg strike PAN [panorama] over crowd of strikers listening. Various shots of strikers marching on street demonstrating. Police in bobby-type helmets can be seen in foreground. Various shots of veterans demonstrating."[14] The third clip (ID 5652) is thirty-nine seconds and captioned "Static shot of streetcars in Winnipeg."[15] The final clip (ID 16535) is nineteen seconds and captioned "Shots of streetcars in garage during Winnipeg general strike."[16]

According to National Film Board records, the source for the first two clips is "an unspecified newsreel cameraman", and the source for clips three and four is "Associated Screen News".[17] Given that the footage in clips one and two was taken during the strike the "unspecified newsreel cameraman" was almost certainly Jean Arsin. Likewise, assuming that the footage in clips three and four of the streetcars was shot during the strike, the cameraman once again would have been Arsin. How National Film Board obtained these streetcar clips is unknown. However one possible explanation is that after he moved to Montreal in 1920 Arsin could have sold this footage to Associated Screen News, and subsequently Associated Screen News could have turned the footage over to the National Film Board when it was established in Montreal in 1939.[18]

The second source for a portion of Arsin's strike film is British Pathé News Footage.[19] British Pathé released newsreels in North America using Canadian material shot by Canadian freelance cameramen combined with images from British and American editions of Pathé newsreels. With a release date of 28 August 1919, the Pathé clip related to the Winnipeg general strike is forty-four seconds and titled "Strike Trouble In Winnipeg. Winnipeg where strikers attend meetings and marches. Police are filmed making arrests".[20] The description for the clip is "Strikers rally during a 6-week long strike in Winnipeg, Manitoba. LS [Long shot]. Mass meeting with banners, 'Britons never shall be slaves.' LS Strikers marching through streets. Good shot from center of street with strikers marching toward camera and waving their hats, in 2 groups on either side of camera. LS Strikers marching through streets. LS Arrested strikers being taken away by police".[21] Of note, with the exception of less than ten seconds of "Strike Trouble in Winnipeg" (the portion showing the mass meeting with banners "Britons never shall be slaves"), the Pathé clip is identical to the forty-five second NFB clip (ID 19780). Thus, between National Film Board and British Pathé holdings there exists a total of two minutes and fifty-four seconds of Arsin's original strike footage.

What Arsin's Street Rioting Footage Might Explain

The close-ups of the street rioting mentioned in the August 1919 *Moving Picture World* review of Arsin's strike footage were most likely filmed in Winnipeg on either 10 June or 21 June. During the afternoon of 10 June 1919, a clash occurred at the intersection of Main Street and Portage Avenue between a mounted troop of baton-wielding "special police" and a large crowd of strikers, pro-strike veterans, strike sympathizers and men, women and children onlookers. There were many injuries during the fracas including two broken ribs to Frederick Coppins, a mounted special who was also a decorated (Victoria Cross) veteran. Then on 21 June 1919, subsequently known as "Bloody Saturday" after a 23 June headline in the strikers' paper the *Western Labor News*, a much larger confrontation took place in the vicinity of City Hall starting at 2:30 p.m. This event involved a troop of armed and mounted RNWMP officers, 1,500 special police and hundreds of militia enforcing the Riot Act against a crowd of approximately 6,000 pro-strike veterans, strikers, and strike sympathizers as well as men, women and children onlookers. The ensuing violence resulted in the shooting death of registered alien Mike Sokolowski, injuries to many citizens and several Mounties, and arrests of nearly 100 Winnipeggers.

If the film Arsin attempted to sell to Winnipeg city officials in August 1919 included authentic close-ups of the street rioting of either 10 June or 21 June, the footage would have perhaps solved several controversies arising from events of those two days. First, was special policeman Frederick Coppins pulled from his horse and beaten by enemy aliens (foreigners) during the June 10 fracas as the *Manitoba Free Press*, *Winnipeg Telegram* and *Winnipeg Tribune* and many other North American daily papers sensationally reported?[22] Or instead, as the strikers' defence committee later stated, did pro-strike returned soldiers in fact assault Coppins?[23] Or, as Coppins himself testified on 8 August 1919 at the strike leaders' preliminary hearing, did his injuries result not by a beating but by being dismounted

Archives of Manitoba, Foote Collection #1702, N2768.

Special constables assemble at the corner of Market Avenue and Main Street, 21 June 1919.

when the horse he was riding ran away after being struck by a flying bottle?[24] Second, during Bloody Saturday was Mike Sokolowski, as reported by the *Manitoba Free Press*, throwing a "missile" at the RNWMP on horseback when he was killed instantly in front of the Manitoba Hotel, or was he, as some contend to this day, an innocent bystander and victim of either a stray or intentionally fired Mountie bullet?[25] Third, were RNWMP officers on horseback fired upon from the roofs and windows of buildings as also headlined in the *Free Press*?[26] Finally, did the RNWMP fire into the crowds in front of City Hall before, during or after Mayor Gray read the Riot Act?[27]

Where is the Remainder of Arsin's Footage?

Though parts of Arsin's original film footage of the strike have survived intact at National Film Board and with British Pathé, what has happened to the remaining minutes, including the close-ups of street rioting? There are several possibilities. First, the missing footage might still be in Winnipeg left by Arsin in rooms 616 and 617 of his Winnipeg Publicity Studios in Avenue Block at 265 Portage Avenue. Though the Avenue Block building has been unoccupied for the past fifteen years, it still exists and there is the possibility that before Arsin left Winnipeg for Montreal in 1920 he placed his strike film in a metal canister and left or hid it in his studios.[28] Second, the next occupants of Arsin's studios might have discovered his film.[29] Third, before he left Winnipeg, Arsin might have given the film to a Winnipeg colleague such as Charles Lambly.[30] Fourth, Arsin might have taken the film with him to Montreal when he moved there from Winnipeg in 1920. If this were the case he would have likely stored the film canister in his Montreal film studio Cinecraft.[31] Fifth, following the refusal by Winnipeg city officials in August 1919 to buy his strike film, Arsin might have sold it to British Pathé News, Fox Movietone News or Associated Screen News.[32] Finally, the possibility exists that the missing parts of Arsin's strike film have been either destroyed or lost.[33] ☙

Notes

1. For information on the press coverage of the Winnipeg general strike see the author's work "A Unique Career In Canadian Journalism: William R. Plewman of the Toronto Daily Star" *Canadian Journal of Media Studies*, 2007, vol. 1, p. 2. "Main Johnson: Reporting the Winnipeg General Strike for the Toronto Star" *Prairie Forum*, 2007, vol. 2 , p. 32. "Manitoba's Own Kentucky Colonel" *Manitoba History*, February 2009, p.60, "Remembering John J. Conklin" *Manitoba History* February 2007, p.54, "The Toronto Star and the Winnipeg General Strike" *Manitoba History*, June 2005, p.49, "William R. Plewman, The Toronto Daily Star, and the reporting of the Winnipeg General Strike" *Labour/Le Travail*, 2006, p.57, "Winnipeg's Red Scare" *The Beaver*, August 2007, and "Who Wrote the Stories? The Record Is Silent" *Winnipeg Free Press*, 21 June 2009. Also, on 4 January 2010 the author conducted an interview with Winnipeg CBC Radio One's Morning Show concerning Arsin's Winnipeg Strike film.
2. The source for most of the biographical information on Arsin's is his profile on the Manitoba Historical Society's web collection *Memorable Manitobans* (www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/people). My search for "Jean Arsin" in the extensive Manitobia web site (www.manitobia.ca) provided a total of nine entries in 1915 and 1916 among francophone papers *Le Manitoba*, *La Liberté* and *Libre Parole*. However, the entries almost exclusively referred to a "professeur" Jean Arsin with expertise in musical presentations. Thus, it is very unlikely this is the same Jean Arsin who produced the Winnipeg Strike film in 1919.
3. For information on Charles Lambly see his profile in *Memorable Manitobans* (www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/people/lambly_cm.shtml).
4. "Diligamus vos" was later renamed "Aimez-vous".
5. Winnipeg General Strike Records, City of Winnipeg, Council

Communications, Document 11950. The City of Winnipeg Archives provided a copy of Arsin's 31 July 1919 letter to City Council.

6. Winnipeg General Strike Records, City of Winnipeg, Council Communications, Document 11950.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Moving Picture World*, 1919, vol. 41, , p. 1350-1351. I thank Professor Gene Waltz of the University of Manitoba for providing a copy of this publication.
9. *Ibid*. According to film experts, depending upon whether Arsin's 350 feet of black and white footage was shot using 16 mm or 35 mm film, its length would have been between 5 and 6 minutes.
10. *Moving Picture World*, 1919, vol. 41, pp. 1350-1351.
11. *Ibid.* In the "Municipal Manual of the City of Winnipeg", 1919, p. 20 states: "Council for 1919 … Committee on Finance Ald. F. O. Fowler, Chairman, Ald. J. K. Sparling, Ald. Geo. Fisher, Ald. A. L. MacLean, Ald. A. A. Heaps, Ald. R. H. Hamlin, Ald. J. L. Wiginton, and Secretary—M. Peterson." I thank the Winnipeg Public Library for this information.
12. Aldermen Heaps and Wiginton were strong supporters of the strike.
13. National Film Board (NFB), http://images.nfb.ca/images/pages/en/index.html, Shot ID 16534.
14. NFB, http://images.nfb.ca/images/pages/en/index.html, Shot ID 19780.
15. NFB, http://images.nfb.ca/images/pages/en/index.html, Shot ID 5652.
16. NFB, http://images.nfb.ca/images/pages/en/index.html, Shot ID 16535.
17. I thank Ragnhild Milewski of the NFB for information on the sources for the four strike clips.
18. The Canadian Pacific Railway incorporated Associated Screen News of Canada in 1920 and established the company's headquarters in Montreal. While Associated Screen News produced the majority of newsreels, shorts and industrial films in Canada and remained active until 1958, for many years Fox Movietone News had its own cameramen, including Arsin, in Canada producing newsreels with Canadian content for North American audiences.
19. White Production Archives (WPA) Film Library, www.britishpathe.com/record.php?id=29391. WPA Film Library is an American commercial archive that represents British Pathé newsreels in North America. WPA confirmed that it holds no other Winnipeg General Strike film clips, but it was unable to provide details on who originally shot and produced the film footage. See also footnote 20.
20. WPA Film Library, www.britishpathe.com/record.php?id=29391. The British Pathé release date of 28 August 1919 provided by WPA almost certainly proves this clip was once part of Arsin's strike footage.
21. WPA Film Library, www.britishpathe.com/record.php?id=29391.
22. The Coppins incident provoked lively and usually inaccurate front-page headlines and accounts in many mainstream newspapers. For reaction by Winnipeg's three dailies see "Sergt. Coppins V.C. Narrowly Escaped Death at Hands of Aliens During Riot" *Manitoba Free Press (MFP)*, 11 June 1919; "Sergeant Coppins Rallies Quickly From His Hurts and Several Ribs Broken By Alien Boots" *Winnipeg Telegram*, 11 June 1919; and "Victoria Cross Hero Attacked In Street By Austrian Thugs" *Winnipeg Tribune*, 11 June 1919. For dailies outside of Winnipeg on 11 and 12 June see "Man Who Won Victoria Cross Is Injured By Winnipeg Mob And Not Likely To Recover" *Victoria Daily Colonist*, "Returned V.C. Man, Acting As Policeman, Kicked and Injured; Fatal Results Feared" *Vancouver Daily Sun*, "Victoria Cross Man Dangerously Injured In First Strike Clash" *Toronto Mail and Empire*, "Winner of Victoria Cross Pulled from His Horse and Badly Mauled by Rioters" *Charlottetown Island Patriot*, "Strikers Battle Police" *Chicago Daily Tribune*, and "Victoria Cross Hero Beaten In Street Fight" *San Francisco Chronicle*. Almost all of the newspaper stories about Coppins alleged he was pulled from his horse and so badly beaten that he was not expected to live. As well, the accounts uniformly reported his ribs were broken by kicks and he suffered serious head injuries. For example, the *Victoria Daily Colonist* reported that he was injured by "severe kicks." Finally, several Canadian papers also made foreigners responsible for Coppins' injuries. The *Vancouver Daily Province*, *Edmonton Journal* and *Calgary Daily Herald* accused "foreign rioters" of beating Coppins, the *Montreal Gazette*, *Quebec City Chronicle*, and *Toronto World* blamed "two Austrians", and the *Toronto Globe* stated Coppins' "man assailants were aliens."
23. Winnipeg Defense Committee, "*Saving The World From Democracy" The Winnipeg General Sympathetic Strike May-June 1919*, pp. 127-128.
24. Archives of Manitoba, M268 Preliminary Hearing Testimony, The King v William Ivens, R. J. Johns et al Testimony of Frederick Coppins 8 August 1919. During the preliminary hearing, the *Manitoba Free Press* also reported that "He [Coppins] said his injuries had been caused by a bottle, which struck his ribs. He did not say he had been pulled from his horse by the mob." *MFP*, 12 August 1919.
25. See "Mike Sokolowski, a Registered Alien Shot Through Heart and Instantly Killed, Presumably While Stooping to Pick Up Missile" *MFP*, 23 June 1919. The *Tribune* also provided extensive news coverage of the events of Bloody Saturday. On 23, June the paper's front-page main story included a head and shoulders photo of Sokolowski and was headlined "Killed In Act Of Hurling Rock At Mounted Policemen." The story reported that "spectators to the shooting allege he [Sokolowski] had been particularly active in throwing missiles at the police and was in the act of hurling a stone at one of the mounted men when he was shot down." Unfortunately, the anonymous *Tribune* reporter did not provide the names of the spectators who witnessed Sokolowski's actions.
26. See "Police Fired On From Roofs and Windows" *MFP*, 23 June 1919.
27. See "Police Did Not Open Fire Until Several Minutes After Riot Act Was Read, and in Majority of Cases Fired Into Pavement" *MFP*, 23 June 1919. In Canada, the Riot Act has been incorporated in a modified form into ss. 32-33 and 64-69 of the Criminal Code of Canada and requires the assembled people to disperse within thirty minutes. In the case of Mayor Gray's reading of the Riot Act on the steps of City Hall, there was certainly insufficient time given to those assembled to leave the vicinity before the RNWMP began firing the first of three volleys. While the Winnipeg press did not offer any criticism of the role played by Mayor Gray and the RNWMP in the shooting during Bloody Saturday, the editor of at least one major Western daily, the *Edmonton Bulletin*, wrote back-to-back articles challenging the accuracy of events reported in the *Free Press*. See the *Bulletin* "The Winnipeg Riots" (23 June) and "The Law Must Be Supreme" (24 June). The 24 June editorial went so far as to state: "Was the riot act read before the volley was fired, and if not who gave the order to fire?… It is to be hoped that the time has not yet come when constituted authority rules by force instead of law."
28. Winnipeg CBC producer Gary Hunter provided information on the Avenue Block, which is currently owned by a government redevelopment agency and slated for restoration.
29. According to *Henderson's City Directory* for 1920, there were no listings for rooms 616 and 617 Avenue Block. It appears Arsin's studios remained empty for months after he left Winnipeg. In 1921 and 1922, proprietors William and Robert R. Gunn of John Gunn & Sons Limited (general contractors, builders and suppliers) rented both 616 and 617.
30. During the 1920s and 1930s Lambly worked as a photographer in Winnipeg. He eventually moved to Vancouver where he died at forty-seven on 14 April 1940.
31. Arsin established Cinecraft in 1923.
32. This scenario seems quite possible and there is evidence that points to at least one of these three companies, Associated News Service, having obtained two parts of Arsin's strike footage.
33. The film could have been intentionally destroyed or destroyed by time. According to Shirley Hughes of the Toronto Film Society, if the film still does exist and it was shot on 16 mm, for cost and ease of use it would have been done on "safety" stock. If the film was shot on 35 mm, it probably was done on nitrate stock and this would make it very flammable and more prone to deterioration by dust and "goo."

Three Historical Churches

by Cheryl Girard
Winnipeg, Manitoba

St. Boniface Cathedral

It was almost two hundred years ago in November of 1818 when the very first church in Winnipeg went up on the east banks of the Red River, the historic site of St. Boniface Cathedral. In all, this site has been home to six churches.

The population of the Red River settlement was only a little over 200 people in the fall of 1817. In 1818 swarms of grasshoppers had descended on the strip farms of Red River resulting in the farmlands having produced virtually nothing for two years. Survival was difficult in this isolated community, a wilderness actually, save for about 150 Scottish settlers, 45 de Meurons and about 26 French Canadians and aboriginals.

This was the settlement that awaited Father Joseph-Norbert Provencher when he arrived from Quebec in the summer of 1818 to provide for the spiritual needs of the Catholics. A large man, standing six feet four inches tall, he arrived at the forks by canoe and soon recruited workers to build a small log chapel. This chapel was dedicated to St. Boniface, the English missionary monk who spread the Catholic faith throughout Germany and France in the 8th century. It was the first mission west of the Great Lakes.

This little log structure was replaced soon after by a larger building and when Provencher became a bishop in 1822 his church then became a cathedral.

In 1832 a third church with twin spires was built by Bishop Provencher to serve the growing community. According to a census taken in Red River at this time there were about 2,751 people—over 1,500 of whom were Roman Catholic.

The community grieved when this church burned to the ground in December of 1860. A pot of melting buffalo tallow meant for Christmas candles had boiled over and the flames from the grease had swept through the bishop's quarters, the cathedral and other adjoining buildings. Parts of the altar, the Stations of the Cross, and a statue of the Virgin Mary were rescued but many archives and important documents were destroyed. The well-known bells of the St. Boniface Cathedral, which had been ringing out over the prairies since 1840 were severely damaged from the flames and had to be shipped to England several times for repair.

Archives of Manitoba, St. Boniface Cathedral (1863), #13

The fourth St. Boniface church, seen in this 1882 photo, preceded the grand Basilica built in the early 20th century.

Replacing the former church, a more modest stone cathedral was built in 1862 under the direction of Bishop Taché, who became the second Bishop of St. Boniface in 1854, a year after Bishop Provencher had died. After years of difficulties in getting the 1,600 pound bells repaired they were finally installed again in this church. By now these bells, which were the pride of the settlement, had been made famous by the American poet John G. Whittier.

A fifth structure, an even larger stone cathedral, was built on the site in order to meet the needs of the growing French community in 1905 and was completed in 1908. Archbishop Langevin blessed the cornerstone of what

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soon became a magnificent landmark in the western prairies. Designed by the Montreal architectural firm of Marchand and Haskell, it was an impressive example of French Romanesque architecture, known as the St. Boniface Basilica. The bells of St. Boniface were finally re-installed in this church and rang once again but, sadly, not for long.

This striking cathedral also was shockingly destroyed by flames on 22 July 1968. Shortly after a crew of workers had stopped for a break while working on repairs to the cathedral's twin towers and roof, flames were observed shooting from the roof of the cathedral. Reportedly, the church was gone in less than an hour leaving only the front and an outside shell. It was a terrible loss for the St. Boniface community as very few items survived the flames. And, sorrowfully, the once historic bells of the cathedral were also damaged beyond any repair.

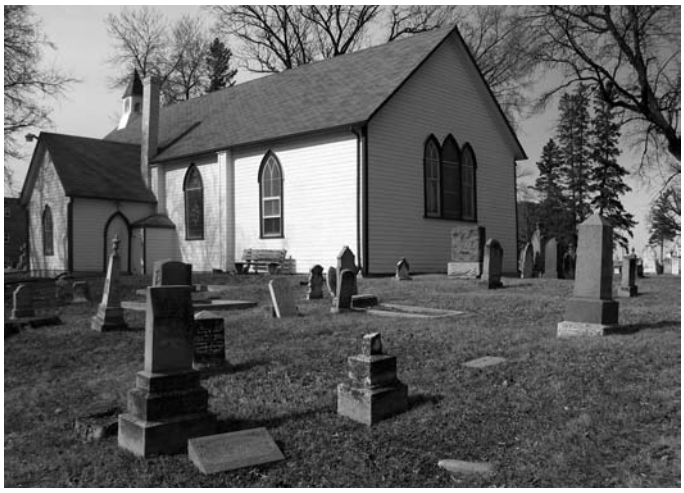
Reconstruction work on the sixth and present St. Boniface Cathedral began in the early 1970s with local Franco-Manitoban Etienne Gaboury as the architect. Built within the ruins, its design includes the sacristy, façade and walls of the former basilica.

It is much smaller than the 1908 church but is still able to seat 1000 parishioners. Within the façade lie the tombs of the bishops and priests of St. Boniface, J. N. Provencher, A. A. Taché and L. P. A. Langevin.

Buried here in western Canada's oldest Catholic cemetery are many of Manitoba's key historic figures such as Louis Riel, Jean-Baptiste Lagimodière, Marie-Anne Lagimodière as well as the graves of family members of the popular St. Boniface writer Gabrielle Roy.

The Grey Nuns who arrived to aid bishops Provencher and Taché and to do great work in the 1840s occupied a house alongside the site and their long white log house is now a museum and the oldest occupied house in Winnipeg.

Present-day St. Boniface Cathedral, surrounded by the imposing ruins of its most recent forerunner, marks one of the most historic sites in Winnipeg and attracts thousands of visitors each year.



G. Goldsborough

Old St. James Anglican Church and cemetery, south of the Polo Park shopping mall.

St. James Anglican Church:
The Little Log Church With a History

Today, the little log church built in 1853 on land along the Assiniboine River is the oldest surviving wooden church still in use in Western Canada. But it was not always so.

Condemned in 1936, Winnipeg's St. James Anglican Church stood for many years as but an unused relic of the past. It was not until 31 years later that the church was finally refurbished.

Much use has been made of this historic, humble structure, as it faithfully served the developing area of St. James for almost 70 years—its beginnings going back to 1851 when the parish of St. James was first founded.

Its story began when Bishop David Anderson of St. John's Anglican Church, farther north along the Red River, instructed Rev. W. H. Taylor, newly arrived from England, to establish a new church on a seven-mile-long stretch of land along the Assiniboine, granted to the church by the Hudson's Bay Company. Taylor's work had been funded by the S.P.C. or the Society for the Propagation of Christianity.

The church was to serve the small community of former Kildonan settlers, retired Hudson's Bay employees and military pensioners who had moved west from the Red River settlement to take up river lots along the north bank of the Assiniboine. In those days, it was considered a good distance from the original and first Anglican Church on the Red.

Long narrow strips of farms on an immense flat plain ran back from the rivers in the early 1850s. The little "town" at the junction of the rivers, which would become Winnipeg, consisted only of scattered wind-worn buildings surrounded by lakes of Red River mud, which were extremely difficult to navigate. Battles with wandering bands of Sioux still took place and the settlement on the plains was known for its floods, mosquitoes and grasshopper plagues as well as for its adventurous "wild west" spirit.

Wisely, a site was chosen on high ground near to an old aboriginal burial ground. The land was believed to have never experienced the much-dreaded floods that had frequently submerged homes and buildings in previous years. Second, there was a nearby ford that people, living on the south side of the Assiniboine, could use to cross over.

The land set aside for the church was thought to be a safe haven and, in fact, nearby settlers camped out on the land to escape the 1852 flood that had deluged the rest of the area.

Author Christopher Dafoe wrote in his *Winnipeg: The Heart of the Continent* that the flood of 1852 descended so suddenly that people had gone to bed and then woke up in the middle of the night to find their beds floating. Although the site chosen was secure, the timbers for the church did not escape the rising waters of the flood of 1852, and floated away requiring new oak timbers to be brought in on rafts from Baie St. Paul, before construction could continue.

On 8 June 1853, the cornerstone of the new church was laid and the church with its rough, hand-hewn logs was

completed by the men of the parish by the end of the year. It was consecrated as St. James Church on 29 May 1855, named after St. James the apostle, by Rev. William Taylor who became its first rector. The structure, which had cost 323 pounds to build, became the centre of parish life and the surrounding area soon became known as "St. James".

Designed somewhat in the Gothic Revival style, the church originally included a tower on its west end, which may have been used as a look-out in 1869, during the time of the Riel Rebellion.

Rev. Taylor served for fifteen years in this church, during the time of feared battles with the Sioux and the dying out of the buffalo. He opened a Sunday school in 1851 which he and his wife helped to run and established a lending library in the parish. Rev. Cyprian Pinkham arrived to take his place in 1867 as Rev. Taylor retired in ill health to England later that year. Taylor died just six years later at the age of 53.

A parish school had been built in 1860 near the church and then replaced by a larger school in 1869 during the time that Rev. Pinkham served there.

Immediately upon his arrival in 1868, Pinkham observed, in his unpublished autobiography, that nearly three miles from the little, scattered town of 150 people at the junction of the rivers, there was a "fairly good church", built of oak logs and a five-roomed parsonage also built of logs. The parishioners, he noted, resided mostly along the north bank of the Assiniboine River between the little town and Sturgeon Creek and were mostly members of the Church of England.

Marrying Jean Anne Drever, the daughter of Scottish settlers who had grown up in the area, soon after his arrival, they settled into the parsonage and began their family, serving the parish for close to thirteen years. Rev. Pinkham later became the first superintendent of education for Protestant schools in Manitoba.

The little church required improvements in 1871 such as the removal of its original tower which proved to be too cumbersome and heavy for its foundation.

More repairs were required in 1879, including new windows, new siding, plastering and painting, as well as new furnishings, and they cost the parishioners $1,500. The congregation had apparently ceased attending during the winter months due to the increasingly cold temperatures in the church.

Often in need of repair, the church served the parish for close to seventy years. Finally, in 1922 a new and larger church was required and was completed in November of that same year resulting in the building which exists to this day at 195 Collegiate Street.

This "new" church includes many beautiful stained glass windows which tell the story of Christ's life as well as some designed and created by Winnipeg's renowned artist Leo Mol. It is currently used for regular worship throughout the year.

Though the original church was condemned in 1936, annual services were still held on the cemetery grounds of the church in keeping with the spirit of the original land grant which required that at least one service a year be held.

Fortunately, the old log church did not meet the fate of other, similar historic structures in Winnipeg, for it was restored in 1967 by the then city of St. James, as a Canadian Centennial project and rededicated later that year.

It was designated as a provincial heritage site in 1978 and again in 1998 due to changes to the system.

The old church retains its simple, rough, dark, log interior and still has an original bison hide kneeler which sits under a window dedicated to Neil Henderson, the son of an original Scottish settler, who had helped in the building of the church.

No longer a quaint and unused reminder of the past, the historic St. James Church is now used in the summer for a regular Sunday worship service as well as for some baptisms, weddings and funerals, and special events.

St. John's Cathedral: The first Anglican church in Western Canada

It was in the very heart of the Red River settlement, as Winnipeg was called then, that the first Anglican priest in Western Canada, Rev. John West, arrived from England in 1820. Two years later, this official chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company, on land selected by Lord Selkirk, built the first Anglican mission in Western Canada, later to be known as St. John's Cathedral.

The land upon which this first church was built had been granted to the settlers in 1817 by Lord Selkirk, the area's founder, for religious and educational purposes. It was also the site where Selkirk had first met with the pioneers he had helped bring out from Scotland to the area in various parties from 1812–1815.

A burying ground had already been established on nearby land by the Scottish settlers shortly after their arrival but it would be eight years until the settlers had a priest and two more years until they had a church where they could worship. The settlers, who were largely Presbyterian, also had to wait another thirty-two years until they had a Presbyterian minister of their own and so worshipped together in the Church of England until then.

Arriving at York Factory on a Hudson's Bay Company ship and proceeding by company boat brigade to Red River, West arrived in October of 1820 in a settlement that was only in its very early years. With the freezing temperatures in the winter, the mosquitoes and the grasshopper plagues in the summer, as well as the devastating floods, many of the early settlers left during those years, leaving only the hardiest behind. However, during what was to be his short tenure in the settlement, Rev. West found the climate and air of the vast, open prairies to be a healthy one, perhaps compared to the ancient and crowded streets of England.

Born in 1778 in England, West had been ordained a priest in 1806. He spent 15 years in various curacies in England before being appointed chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company. Arriving in 1820, at the age of 42, he began to minister to the ethnically diverse population of the

G. Goldsborough

The cemetery of St. John's Cathedral in north Winnipeg contains a veritable Who's Who of Manitoba society.

settlement which included some Ojibwa and northern Cree families and the wives of early fur traders as well as the Scottish settlers and HBC employees.

A grant that West had received from the Church Missionary Society in England was not only for the purpose of building a church but also a school and dormitory for the children of the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company. While the church missionary organization was interested mainly in spreading Christianity throughout the British Empire and to the aboriginal people, the HBC simply wanted to provide the supports of church and parish life to its officers, men and their families.

So with the support of both, an unpretentious wooden structure was built by West in 1822. The roughly hewn log building was only twenty feet wide and approximately 60 feet long and possessed a single spire. It was situated then at the southeast corner of the present St. John's Cemetery and served as a church as well as a small school building.

West returned to England in 1823 and was succeeded by Rev. David Thomas Jones, who was considered by George Simpson, then Governor of the HBC's Northern Department, to be a great acquisition. Rev. Jones, born in 1796, became a priest in 1823, the same year he sailed across the ocean on the Prince of Wales to Canada to temporarily relieve John West.

Although the old log church had managed to survive the huge flood of 1826 it began to gradually deteriorate and so was soon replaced under the guidance of David Jones by a second church, this one built of stone. Built on the site of the present Cathedral, at 135 Anderson Avenue, the opening of the "Red River Church" was officially celebrated on 26 November 1833.

Joined by Rev. William Cockran in 1825, Jones worked to modify the Anglican liturgy to better accommodate the Presbyterian settlers who still awaited clergy of their own but continued to worship in the Anglican church. The tiny church thus became the centre of community life, outside of Upper Fort Garry, in the settlement during those early years.

An early settler named Alexander Ross described Jones at that time as both intelligent and kind, and as someone who was idolized by the community. In 1828, Jones took a leave of absence and journeyed to England where he married Mary Lloyd.

Returning in the fall of 1829, along with his wife, he resumed his duties and soon proposed the idea of

a boarding school near the church for the sons of the Hudson's Bay officers. Construction of this school, the first English-speaking school in the settlement and later known as Red River Academy, was begun in 1832.

As the officers also wished their daughters to be educated, a female seminary was also set up in the Academy. Mrs. Mary Lowman and John Macallum arrived in 1833 to teach at the new school. Mary Jones, the minister's wife, also taught in the Academy. The Red River Academy was looked upon as a credit to the country by Governor Simpson and flourished over the years.

Rev. Jones and his wife had six children during this time, but tragically, in 1836, Mary Jones died following childbirth. Grief-stricken and no longer able to carry out his duties, the Reverend left for England with his young family in 1838 and later died in Wales in 1844 where he had been serving as rector.

The Academy was soon purchased by the HBC and then later sold to Jones' successor, John Macallum.

Born in Scotland, Macallum had arrived as a schoolteacher in 1833. Three years later he married Elizabeth Charles, one of his students, with whom he had two daughters. He became Schoolmaster upon Jones' departure, purchasing the school in 1841, for 350 pounds.

Ordained a priest in 1844, he became assistant chaplain to HBC and was assigned to St. John's. He firmly believed in strengthening and advancing the education of his students but apparently was also well known for employing the rod during his time at the Academy.

Suffering from an attack of jaundice in the summer of 1849, John Macallum never recovered and died in the settlement in 1849. Shortly after, his grieving wife and their two daughters left for Scotland to live with her father there.

Although the parish had been served briefly by West, Jones, William Cockran and John Macallum, the Red River Academy began to languish after Macallum's death and it was Bishop David Anderson who was to revive it and leave a mark on the growing community.

Born in London, England in 1814, he was appointed the first bishop of the Diocese of Rupert's Land in 1849, which included at that time all lands draining into Hudson's Bay. He would serve as Bishop of Rupert's Land and HBC chaplain for about 15 years.

As he was a bishop, the "Red River Church" or "Upper Church" as it was known then, soon became a Cathedral and was consecrated as the first Anglican Cathedral in 1853. It was then that it was given the name of St. John's Cathedral and subsequently the area surrounding the cathedral later became known as St. John's.

Arriving at Lower Fort Garry in the fall of 1849, Bishop Anderson, a widower, and his three young sons, as well as his sister, Margaret, had journeyed seventeen long weeks by sea and by canoe to get there. The bishop would have been 35 years of age when he arrived to find that the territory to which he was assigned was vast, and a formidable land to travel. The settlement, at this time, was still a remote, isolated, agricultural community, with no village of "Winnipeg" as yet, just muddy stretches of prairie that were difficult to negotiate. The area did not even have a newspaper of its own at this point.

The stone church that Anderson found upon his arrival was apparently propped up by timbers and falling into disrepair. His congregation was divided because many of the Scottish Presbyterian settlers longed for a church of their own and were soon to have their wish, soon after Presbyterian minister, John Black, arrived in 1851.

Purchasing the Red River Academy from his predecessor, John Macallum, Anderson moved with his young family into one wing of the Academy, introducing a much more advanced program of classical studies, modern languages and mathematics and began to build a library.

The school, which he renamed St. John's Collegiate School, also prepared students for the ministry. During Anderson's time at the college, twenty clergymen were ordained, eight of whom were natives of the northwest. Two students also went on to further studies, at Cambridge and the University of Toronto, and he was remembered fondly by his former students.

Some nine years after the flood of 1852 had done further damage to the cathedral and to other buildings on the site, a new Cathedral was needed, and the cornerstone for a third structure was laid in June 1862. Stone from the second structure was used in the third building which was also simple in its design, looking much like a quaint, English countryside church.

Anderson sought to establish additional Church of England missions outside the Red River settlement and soon new churches were built throughout the diocese. Where there had been five clergy in the diocese upon Anderson's arrival, there were twenty-two when he left. Parish schools were also established in the overall plans for each new church.

Many years later, St. John's Collegiate joined with another school to become St. John's Ravenscourt. The cathedral was not to be replaced for another 64 years.

Bishop David Anderson returned to England in 1864 where his three sons attended boarding school, but he never ceased being concerned and involved with the Red River settlement, raising funds whenever he could for the diocese. After a lengthy illness, Anderson died in Bristol, England in 1885 at the age of 71.

Robert Machray succeeded David Anderson as bishop after he left the Red River settlement in 1864. Born in Scotland in 1831, Machray was sent at the age of six to live with his father's half-brother, a schoolteacher, following his father's death. Raised by a Presbyterian family, Machray chose to become Anglican in his twenties. Ordained in 1856, he accepted the bishopric of Rupert's Land in 1865 becoming, at age 34, the youngest bishop in the church during that time.

Arriving in the settlement, in the fall of 1865, he immediately began to reorganize the educational institutions of the church and re-opened the school as St. John's College in 1866, offering higher education in arts,

theology and corporate education. Acting variously as warden, schoolmaster, and headmaster as well as bishop, Machray was also remembered for his use of corporal punishment in addition to his steadfast dedication to public education.

Machray also served during the chaotic time of the Riel Rebellion and subsequent confederation of the Province of Manitoba. Winnipeg became the capital of Manitoba with a population of about 12,000 settlers.

Machray became the first metropolitan of Rupert's Land in 1875 about two years after the city of Winnipeg was incorporated. He became first Primate of All Canada in 1893. Archbishop Machray's dream was to build a new St. John's cathedral but it was not to be realized during his ministry.

Never married, his last years were marked by ill health but he struggled to keep up with his many duties. He gave of his time to the parish and to the diocese for almost 40 years, dying in office in 1904 at the age of 73.

It was during the ministry of Archbishop Samuel P. Matheson that the fourth and present cathedral was built in 1926.

Matheson, born in what is now East Kildonan in 1852, came from a family that was well known as leaders in the community at that time. His grandfather, John Pritchard, one of the early settlers, had worked for the HBC and in 1817 had been farming in the vicinity of present day Henderson Highway and Whellams Lane. Educated at St. John's College in the settlement, Matheson's family was Presbyterian, but Matheson was ordained as an Anglican priest in 1876. He served as headmaster of St. John's College School and as professor at St. John's College, and also founded Havergal College for girls. He succeeded Robert Machray as archbishop in 1905. In 1909, he was elected to the position of Primate of All Canada—the senior bishop of the Anglican Church in Canada.

Married to Seraphine "Marie" Fortin in 1879, he was widowed and married Alice Talbot in 1906. He had two sons and five daughters.

Plans for the fourth structure were begun in 1911. The project was designed by Matheson to be a fitting tribute to his predecessor, Archbishop Machray, who had devoted so much of his time and efforts to St. Johns' for so many years. Having grown in leaps and bounds, the population of Winnipeg by 1911, stood at about 142,000 people.

It was hoped that it could be completed in time to coincide with the centenary celebration of Rev. West's arrival in the west as the first Anglican minister. The lack of operating capital was one of the greatest problems facing the Anglican parishes during the time of both Machray and Matheson, however, and the new cathedral was not completed until 1926. This cathedral used most of the stone from the previous building much of which had been salvaged from the second church. Two stone masons who had worked on the 1862 building also did work on the 1926 structure. A two-storey addition was attached to the northeast corner of the cathedral in 1959, which came to house the Dean's vestry and office, the Sacristy, the Church office, the choir room and Ministries office.

The present cathedral was designed by Parfitt and Prain of Winnipeg and includes elements of medieval English design with a Norman tower and a barrel-vaulted ceiling, along with gothic arched doors and windows.

The tower houses the bells which came from London, England and which were originally housed in the 1862 cathedral. Stained glass windows throughout the present cathedral portray the likenesses of many notable, historic figures, Saints, and past archbishops, as well as the older cathedrals which previously existed on the site.

A brass eagle lectern given to Archbishop Machray in 1890 is still in place within the cathedral some 120 years later. A historic tablet is also in place near the Great West Window which had originally been put up by students of the Red River Academy in the old "upper church" to honour the memory of Mary Jones, the wife of Rev. David Jones, who helped with the education of the girls in the settlement.

Outside the cathedral, St. John's Cemetery contains the graves and monuments of many of the earliest Selkirk settlers. The graves of Archbishops Machray and Matheson can be found here. Also, many early pioneers, such as Andrew McDermott, one of Winnipeg's first businessmen, Lieutenant-Governor John Schultz, part-owner of Winnipeg's first newspaper, W. F. Luxton, co-founder of the *Free Press* and many other historic figures are buried in these grounds. The streets surrounding the cathedral pay homage to many of the people involved with the parish as witnessed by such names as Cathedral Avenue, St. John's Avenue, Anderson Avenue, Church, Machray, Matheson, O'Meara and more.

Originally built to serve the early pioneers and inhabitants of the Red River settlement, the historic St. John's Cathedral, continues to serve residents of the City of Winnipeg today, through regular services and special events. The cathedral has been a designated heritage building since 2004 and includes the cemetery as part of the site, which actually predates the first church.

The Diocese of Rupert's Land today is home to some 11,000 Anglicans worshipping in sixty-four parishes as well as three missions. Thirty-one parishes and three missions are found within the City of Winnipeg.

Thanks ...

The Editors thank the following people who assisted in the preparation of *Manitoba History #63*: Rob McInnes and Blair Philpott (Parks Canada).

Edward Darbey, Taxidermy, and the Last Buffaloes

by James A. Burns
Winnipeg, Manitoba

Photographed by Lewis Benjamin Foote and dated "ca. 1915" by the Archives of Manitoba, this is a truly historic image. However, reconciling it with listings in *Henderson's Winnipeg Directories*, I deduced that the signage on the window next to Darbey's read Jam(es Ballantyne) C(ompany Ltd.,) P(lumbing …). Ballantyne occupied that shop at 229 Main Street in 1910-1911. It was *after* 1911 that Brydges Engineering and Supply Company occupied it and changed the name. Though the photo pre-dates 1912, I'll tighten the estimate below.

The most intriguing feature is the bizarre, mildly humorous array of gristly, numbered "buffalo" skulls. The back-story pivots on the fact that bison were extinct in Canada by 1900. Possibly motivated by a conservation ethic, the Canadian government bought 716 bison between 1907 and 1912 from Michel Pablo, a Montana entrepreneur

Archives of Manitoba, L. B. Foote Collection, #60, N1660.

The last buffaloes. The skulls of eleven bison, marked for identification during auction, were displayed in front of Edward Darbey's taxidermy shop on Main Street in mid-summer 1911.

who, with partner Charles Allard, had bred the animals to generate lucrative sales to museums and parks.[1] Most of the 716 reached Alberta game reserves but a small number were too wild and were simply shot. At a 1911 Winnipeg auction, thirteen of Pablo's untameable bison—billed as the last "wild" relicts of the 50-60 million monarchs of the prairies—were sold for robes and head mounts (*Manitoba Free Press*, 27 November 1911). They likely arrived in Winnipeg in summer 1911 (note the snowless sidewalk and open window). Their carcasses would have been skinned and the hides salted and/or frozen; the skulls were numbered to facilitate reuniting respective skulls and capes before mounting by taxidermist Edward Darbey. Prepared for auction on 25 November, the heads sold for $500-$800 each, making fine wall trophies for eleven Winnipeg bidders. Foote's 1911 photograph confirms Darbey's eminence among taxidermists.

The Victorian British notion of "decorating" homes with "stuffed animals" had its heyday among sportsmen and the well-to-do of Canadian society, too. However, by around 1890, the notion was butting heads with the nascent conservation movement. Yet, the federal and provincial governments needed immigrants to settle and tame Canada's vast, rich, untrammelled West. Stuffed mounted wildlife was considered symbolic of the North West Territory's "superabundance", and thus integral to strategies for attracting immigrants to Canada.[2] Taxidermy displays were featured at provincial, national and international exhibitions, and taxidermists were kept busy supplying mounts. By about 1902, George Atkinson, Alex Calder, Edward Darbey, George Grieve, Abel Hine and his three sons, and William White were noted Winnipeg taxidermists, all with shops on Main Street. Winnipeggers eagerly attended these shops and exhibitions because, until 1932, the city had no permanent public Museum to exhibit natural history specimens.

As a fifteen-year-old, Edward Wade Darbey came to Winnipeg in 1887 from Ontario with his parents and four siblings, and soon found work with William Fenwick White, noted dealer in Indian curios. In 1898 Darbey purchased George Grieve's taxidermy at 247 Main Street, which around 1903 shifted to 233 Main where he further honed his talents in taxidermy and curio collecting. He also sold raw hides, buckskins, moccasins, and snowshoes, many made by Cree artisans.

Darbey's shop is characterized by clapboard construction, poor-quality window glass imperfectly reflecting buildings on the west side of Main Street just north of St. Mary Avenue, awnings to protect the window displays from the sun's bleaching rays, and a remarkable menagerie within. Several animals are exotic for Winnipeg, like the two white-coat seal pups (right-hand window), surrounded by Snowshoe Hare, Red Fox, Badger, Swift Fox, Ermine, and a squirrel, all overseen by an exotic Walrus skull. The left-hand window is cluttered, but when magnified the image reveals two grouse (Spruce and Ruffed) above a diorama with three (four?) White-tailed Ptarmigan in winter plumage. A magpie swoops down in front. Others are indistinct: possibly a Blue Jay, owls, and a wasp nest. At the open window, upper right, blurry, a man leans on his elbow; is this a "Hitchcockian" cameo of Darbey himself?

Darbey already had the distinction of appointment by Premier Rodmond Roblin as "Official Taxidermist to the Manitoba Government" about 1902. It required him to provide taxidermic mounts to beautify public buildings. Two of his bison mounts long stood guard inside the front entrance of the Legislature. The honour bestowed by Roblin, plus Darbey's fine reputation, convinced collectors far and near to submit specimens, even rare Whooping Cranes, for taxidermy. The Pablo bison were a bonus!

Clientele included sportsmen, naturalists and scientists, like Cyril Harrold (a remarkable collector and taxidermist who worked briefly for Darbey), Ernest Thompson Seton, and William Rowan (later a professor and pioneer in bird migration studies). Darbey's obituarist (*Manitoba Free Press*, 26 August 1922) emphasized the esteem afforded this fur man in whose shop "… could be seen Indians and trappers from the great hinterland of the Canadian west [come] to barter their season's harvest". It was a hub of activity and good fellowship. But then …

> **Main Street Relics to Disappear** - *Manitoba Free Press*, 28 Feb., 1921. Erection of a modern two storey garage and motor repair shop … will be carried out by the Consolidated Motors Ltd., on Main street, just south of the Board of Trade building. The … property consists of the oldest buildings in Winnipeg, two of them occupied by Edward W. Darby, taxidermist … The building at 233 Main street, occupied by Edward Darby, was the first Wesleyan mission in Winnipeg …

These claims about 233 Main Street remain unsubstantiated in both the United Church of Canada and City of Winnipeg archives. Note that Darbey's name was often misspelled.

For pun and prophet, the headline's *triple-entendre* about disappearing relics must be appreciated: Edward Darbey, 49, passed away on 25 August 1922 from a heart-related illness, 18 months after that *Free Press* announcement. His son Verne and daughter Iris survived him, as did his wife Edith who operated the taxidermy elsewhere on Main Street and at two Edmonton Street locations until 1931. ∞

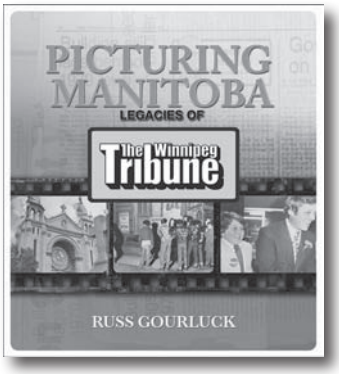
Dr. Burns is Curator Emeritus of Quaternary Paleontology at the Royal Alberta Museum in Edmonton. He is currently researching the remarkable history of The Manitoba Museum in Winnipeg.

1. G. MacEwan, 1995. *Buffalo: Sacred and Sacrificed*. Alberta Sport, Recreation, Parks and Wildlife Foundation, Edmonton.
2. G. Colpitts, 2002. *Game in the Garden: A Human History of Wildlife in Western Canada to 1940*. UBC Press.

Thanks to Martin Comeau, Randy Rostecki, and Gordon Goldsborough for valuable assistance.

Reviews

Russ Gourluck, *Picturing Manitoba: Legacies of The Winnipeg Tribune*
Winnipeg: Great Plains Publications, 2008, 270 pages
ISBN 978-1-894283-76-2, $29.95 (paper)



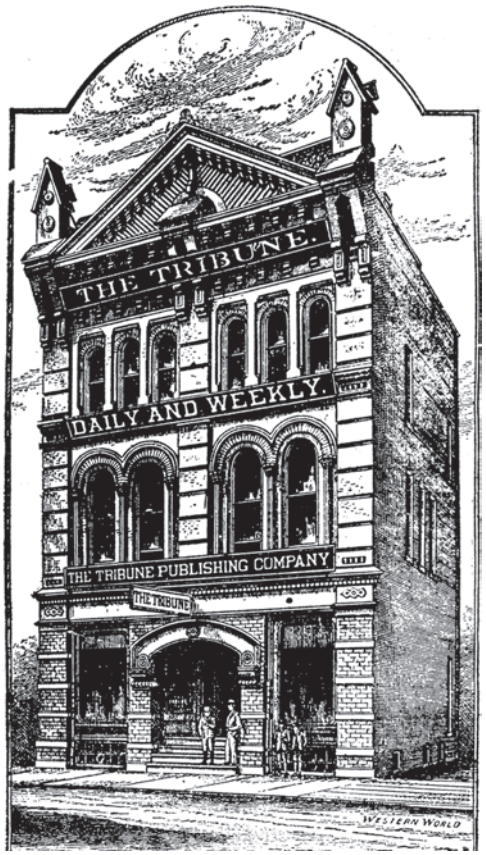
Since retiring from a 33-year career as a teacher and principal in the Manitoba public school system, Russ Gourluck has devoted his time to a life-long interest in writing. In the past few years he has published the popular illustrated histories, *A Store Like No Other: Eaton's of Winnipeg* (2004) and *Going Downtown: A History of Winnipeg's Portage Avenue* (2006). His latest book, *Picturing Manitoba: Legacies of The Winnipeg Tribune*, is similar in conception and design to its predecessors. It is mostly a collection of photographs taken across Manitoba by *Tribune* staff photographers who worked at the newspaper from the 1950s to 1980. That was the year the *Trib*, as the paper was colloquially called, stopped publishing after years of losing money with various bold, but ultimately fruitless, marketing strategies such as free want ads to draw readers away from the rival *Winnipeg Free Press*.

While primarily a pictorial product, Gourluck's book also includes an informative written history of the *Tribune* from the paper's founding in 1890 to its ignoble demise on "Black Wednesday", 27 August 1980, when the publisher, Bill Wheatley, stood on a desktop in the newsroom and told the assembled that all 650 employees of the *Tribune* no longer had jobs. Just two weeks prior to his pulling the plug on the *Trib* Wheatley had told a reporter for *Manitoba Business* that his newspaper was in good shape financially.

Not long after the closure of the *Tribune*, the *Winnipeg Free Press* made sure that its perennial rival would not rise from the dead. The *Free Press* acquired *The Winnipeg Tribune* name and equipment, as well as the building, which was then ignominiously turned into that most common of Winnipeg landmarks: a parking lot.

In addition to the finely written history of the *Trib*, the book provides a series of folksy, once-over-lightly bios of the various photographers, writers and editors who worked at the paper. Many of these profiles could have used a re-write. One bio in particular is surprisingly sophomoric. What purpose and audience does it serve to recall that the University of Winnipeg's student newspaper once parodied the late Harry Mardon as Harry Hard-on?

The images in *Picturing Manitoba* were gleaned from the *Tribune's* immense collection of approximately 500,000 photographs, which are housed at the University of Manitoba Archives. The *Tribune's* strong emphasis on local and provincial news, coupled with its liberal use of photographs, has left us a remarkable record of life across Manitoba.



University of Manitoba Archives & Special Collections, Winnipeg Tribune Fonds (PC 18), Box 66, Folder 6551, Item 5

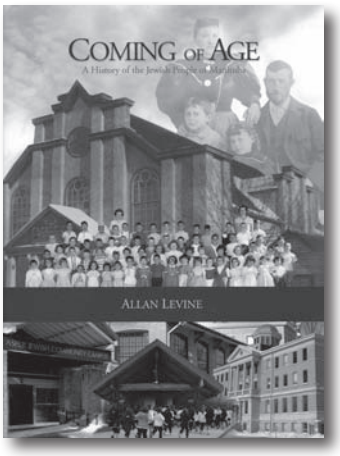
The first home of the *Winnipeg Tribune*, from 1890 until 1901, was formerly occupied by the *Winnipeg Sun*.

It has been said that after twenty years every photograph becomes a good photograph. This thought in no way implies that photographers have neither talent nor imagination. Rather, it is a way of saying that photography, more than any other medium, is reality based. Through photographs we are able to visit, emotionally and intellectually, a time and place that we once knew or did not know at all. The photographs in *Picturing Manitoba* are replete with memory, nostalgia, recognition and discovery. Here, among a myriad of other subjects, are floods, fires, blizzards, festivals, town and street scenes, concerts, political rallies, visiting Royals, local heroes, local yokels, and dogs riding bicycles.

As mentioned, the pictures in this book date mostly from the 1950s. It would be wonderful to see the work that was done by the *Tribune* photographers who worked before that time. Perhaps some of these photographs will appear in Gourluck's next book, which has as its focus Winnipeg's many-storied North End.

John Paskievich
Winnipeg

Allan Levine, *Coming of Age: A History of the Jewish People of Manitoba*
Winnipeg: Jewish Heritage Centre of Western Canada, and Heartland Associates, 2009, 511 pages, ISBN 978-1-896150-52-9, $42.95 (hard)



Although they have never constituted more than 2.8 per cent of the population, Jews in Manitoba have had an impact on the province's social and economic development that is by far out of proportion to their relatively small numbers. Winnipeg, always the centre of Jewish life on the prairies, developed as one of the most culturally rich and diverse Jewish communities in North America, producing a host of artists, radicals, entrepreneurs, professionals, politicians and philanthropists who not only built Jewish life in Canada but played vital roles in shaping both the city and the province.

Although Jews were present in the early days of the fur trade, a Jewish community did not develop in western Canada until the arrival of Jewish agricultural settlers in the early 1880s. The rules of Jewish religious observance complicate Jewish life in rural areas and small towns where Jewish institutions cannot be sustained. Thus, although the story of the Jews in Manitoba began as a story of pioneer agricultural settlement, its subsequent history is overshadowed by the story of Judaism in the city of Winnipeg, which became its supply base for material goods, kosher food, Jewish culture, and education. Indeed, as *Coming of Age* makes clear, political activism, radicalism, a Yiddish culture mixed with the Jewish devotion to education, a prairie mystique and geographic isolation have made Winnipeg the centre of its own Diaspora. It is a unique story but one that resonates with the experiences of many other disadvantaged groups that were a part of the polyglot immigration into the Canadian west.

Never judge a book by its cover. At first sight, *Coming of Age: A History of the Jewish People in Manitoba* appears to be a book destined for the coffee table rather than the bookshelf or library. Oversized, printed on high quality glossy paper, and clearly a commissioned work, it is profusely illustrated and the index reads like a "who's who" of Winnipeg's Jewish community. It attempts to explain how the descendants of a small group of impoverished immigrants created a vibrant and significant community in western Canada. But this is no hagiography. The text, by Winnipeg historian Allan Levine, is well written and carefully researched. Levine provides an even-handed account of the growth of the community set within the framework of Winnipeg and Manitoba's development. Himself a member of the community he portrays, he does not shy away from detailing its less savoury side, although he dwells on the successes and achievements of those who "made it", or played prominent roles within the community.

The book's twelve chapters are organized thematically and presented more or less in chronological order. The first chapters quickly establish the European antecedents of Jewish immigrants that would determine the structure of the community in Manitoba. Jews from Germany, who were the earliest to arrive, were considered a cut above those from Russia or Romania, who fled from the pogroms of the late 19th century and came later. A chapter on "Farming the Promised Land" wisely disregards Manitoba's political boundaries in its analysis of Jewish pioneering endeavours on the prairies, their early success and eventual failure, and for most, a drift into Winnipeg.

In its early days Winnipeg was truly the heart of a New Jerusalem that produced a plethora of remarkable people of the likes of John Hirsch, Monty Hall, Israel Asper, Abraham Heaps, Joe Zuken and Samuel Freedman. This amazing diversity of talent reflected the diversity of the Jewish community that was mostly found in the North End. It is easy for an outsider to see such an ethno-religious community as a monolithic entity wherein they all shared common goals and held common values. Levine convincingly demonstrates that this community was anything but unified. Chapters discuss the Yiddish renaissance, Jewish political radicalism, and the development of Jewish charitable and cultural organizations where differences abounded. Life for those Jews who worked and lived in Manitoba's small towns operating retail stores was also very different from that experienced in the city, except for the endurance of various forms of anti-Semitism, ranging from petty discrimination to insults and physical violence.

Even in matters of religion the Jewish community was early divided between the conservative and orthodox. Politically too, it was fragmented: some were at the heart of radical left wing politics striving for social justice for all, regardless of ethnic or religious affiliation; others supported the mainstream Liberal, Conservative and New Democratic parties, holding office as cabinet ministers or, in the case of Sidney Spivack and Israel Asper, serving as party leaders.

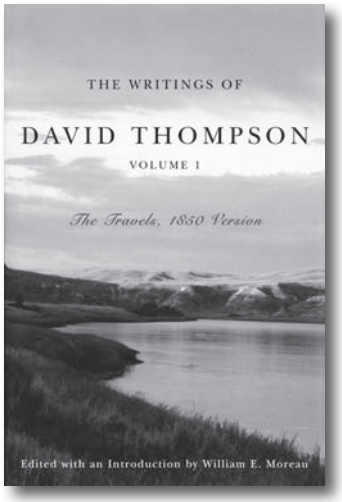
Levine draws on a wide array of primary and secondary sources, but the oral histories underpinning the volume give freshness and vibrancy to the narrative and make this an interesting and absorbing book. With a work such as this it would be easy to slip into a recitation of achievement in the concluding chapters. Instead, Levine chooses to end the work with a reflective chapter discussing the paradox that acceptance and tolerance lead to assimilation, whereas

in the past, prejudice and discrimination built community solidarity. Dealing with this difficult conundrum will be a true measure of the community's coming of age.

Although the book is directed at members of Manitoba's Jewish community, anyone interested in the history of Manitoba or the Jewish community in general, will want this book in his or her collection.

John C. Lehr
University of Winnipeg

David Thompson (edited with an introduction by William E. Moreau) *The Writings of David Thompson, Volume 1: The Travels, 1850 Version* Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press in association with the Centre for Rupert's Land Studies, University of Winnipeg, 2009, 352 pages, ISBN 978-0-7735-3558-9, $44.95 (cloth)



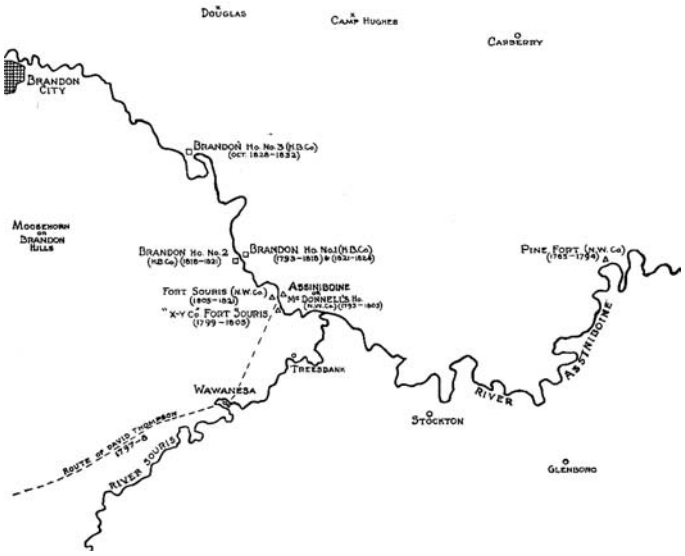
Attempts to recapture from obscurity the life and work of fur trader and explorer David Thompson (1770–1857) commenced before his death, if one begins with the unsuccessful effort by Washington Irving to purchase the original manuscript of the work here under review.[1] Bancroft had some fleeting knowledge of Thompson, probably gleaned from Irving. Much has subsequently happened since the early 1880s when geologist J. B. Tyrrell, working in southern Alberta with G. M. Dawson, found himself puzzled about the good quality of the maps they had in hand. Who was the source? We now know that as early as 1795 the Arrowsmith Map Firm in London had been incorporating Thompson's materials into its productions, but this fact remained long hidden.[2] Back in Ottawa, Tyrrell learned something of Thompson and of his notebook journals, lodged at that time in the old Crown Lands Department collection in Toronto. He began a quest, eventually obtaining Thompson's biographical "Travels" manuscript from that good "Canada Firster", Charles Lindsey. This culminated in his 1916 Champlain Society edition of a version of *Thompson's Narrative*.[3]

Tyrrell was not alone in his pursuit, but had important collaborators such as the American scholars Elliott Coues and T. C. Elliott. In the 1890s, Coues, fresh from his work on Lewis and Clark, made good use of the Crown Lands Department collection, seeking a parallel documentary check on the writings of Alexander Henry the younger.[4] Elliott, on the other hand, was interested in the journals to piece together Thompson's work west of the Rockies.[5]

These preliminary excavations of Thompson's works led into a second phase of historical enquiry in which the journals and other archival sources played an increasing part. Arthur S. Morton produced a number of works bearing on Thompson as an historical figure in the grand struggles for empire and "the Columbian Enterprise", thereby stimulating a number of scholarly debates.[6] Much of Morton's direction was followed in the commentaries of Richard Glover, who, in 1962, brought out the second Champlain Society edition of *Thompson's Narrative*. A central reason for this new edition, aside from catering to increased demand for the scarce first, was to incorporate a chapter which Tyrrell had known to be missing, but which was not located until 1957 by Victor Hopwood.[7] This, along with Professor Glover's lively and scholarly "Introduction", made the new edition a great success. A few years later came Hopwood's abridged version, based on his own close scrutiny of the notebook journals.[8] Overlapping with these initiatives was further work on selected publication of the journals, commencing in 1949 with Catherine White's valuable edition dealing with Montana and "adjacent

US Library of Congress

A map used by Lewis and Clark shows the Missouri River and Mandan Villages. Its annotation identifies the source: "Bend of the Missouri Long. 101° 25′ – Lat. 47° 32′ by Mr Thomson astronomer to the N.W. Company in 1798".



D. A. Stewart, *MHS Transactions*, Series 3, No. 5, 1930.

Map showing the Souris River forts and the route taken by David Thompson to the Mandan Country in 1797-8.

regions".[9] Research into the journals may be considered as on-going.[10]

With so much achieved in the rescue effort by the 1990s, one may properly ask: why yet another Champlain Society series of editions? The answer is two-fold. In keeping with recent scholarly preoccupations with textual accuracy, interest in assessing the editorial choices made in the earlier productions was coupled with a wish to bring out a version according with Thompson's latest draft. This is the main object of Volume I, called here the "1850 Version". For reasons made clear by Dr. Moreau, this treatment takes events down to 1807, rather than to 1812 as in earlier editions. Volume II will bring together other critically edited chapters and drafts not included in the 1850 version, bringing the account, once again, to 1812 (xii–xiii). Volume III will provide a "selection of other writings by Thompson, including letters, reports, contributions to newspapers and essays and prose sketches from his notebooks" (lix). The third volume, then, promises to be of great interest to students of Thompson's biography.

The push for critical editions of exploration texts generally might be considered the context of this third phase of Thompson scholarship, for the object of Volume I is to provide *Thompson's Travels* "as it stood when he stopped writing on 16 September, 1850" (lix). Earlier editors were all relatively silent about their selection criteria.[11] In contrast, Moreau's Historical and Textual Introductions and well-footnoted text will satisfy the most curious reader about the ins and outs of this manuscript.[12] The editor's Historical Introduction also summarizes the various new directions of recent Thompson scholarship, emphasizing areas of his diverse substantive achievements and preoccupations. The viewpoint displays a welcome lack of interest in some of the more distracting issues which so exercised Morton and Glover, these matters having been largely put to rest by Belyea, Jenish and others.[13] An excellent bibliography is included along with a useful appendix of biographical sketches. The original folding maps are up to the usual high standards of the Champlain Society. Volume II is scheduled for release in 2011 and Volume III in 2013.

Graham A. MacDonald
Victoria, BC

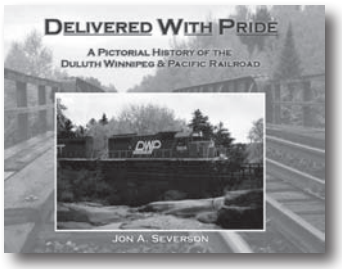
1. See David Thompson, *Narrative*, J. B. Tyrrell ed., Toronto: Champlain Society, 1916, p. lxii.
2. See Vernor Coolie, "The Arrowsmith Firm and the Cartography of Canada", *The Canadian Cartographer*, 8:1, 1971, pp. 1–7; Warren Heckrotte, "Aaron Arrowsmith's Map of North America and the Lewis and Clark Expedition", *The Map Collector*, 39, 1987, pp. 16–20; and Victor G. Hopwood, "David Thompson and his Maps", *Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Conference of Canadian Map Librarians, 1973,* Ottawa: Association of Canadian Map Librarians, 1974.
3. See J. B. Tyrrell, "The Re-discovery of David Thompson", *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Third Series, 22:2, 1928, pp. 233–247.
4. See Elliott Coues ed., *New Light on the Earlier History of the Greater Northwest: The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and David Thompson: 1799–1814*, 1897, Reprint, 2 volumes, Minneapolis: Ross and Haines, 1965.
5. Elliott's work was published during and after World War I. See footnote 10.
6. The literature and issues are well summarized in Barbara Belyea, "The Columbian Enterprise and A. S. Morton: An Historical Exemplum", *B.C. Studies*, 86:3, 1990, pp. 3–27.
7. See V. G. Hopwood, "New Light on David Thompson", *The Beaver*, 288, 1957, pp. 26–31.
8. See. V. G. Hopwood ed., *David Thompson's Travels in North America, 1784–1812,* Toronto: Macmillan, 1971.
9. Catherine M. White ed., *David Thompson's Journals Relating to Montana and Adjacent Regions, 1808–1812,* Missoula: Montana State University Press, 1949.
10. See the bibliographies in Barbara Belyea ed., *David Thompson: Columbia Journals,* Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 1994, and in Jack Nisbet, *Sources of the River: Tracking David Thompson Across Western North America,* Seattle: Sasquatch Books, 1994.
11. Tyrrell's intended version was, however, given a good working over by W. Stewart Wallace, who restored a good deal of the original purity of the text. See D'Arcy Jenish, *Epic Wanderer: David Thompson and the Mapping of Canada,* Toronto: Doubleday, 2003, pp. 288-289.
12. See also William E. Moreau, "'To be fit for Publication': The Editorial History of David Thompson's Travels, 1840–1916", *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada,* 39:2, 2002, pp. 15-44.
13. Belyea, 1990; James P. Ronda, *Astoria and Empire,* Lincoln: Nebraska University Press, 1990; and Jenish, 2003, pp. 153-186.

Future History

In upcoming issues of *Manitoba History* ...

- Shultz, Begg, and Red River anglophones
- The Simpson's – HBC merger
- The Legislative Building's classical vocabulary
- Manitobans as we saw 'em: 1909
- Cool things in the collection
- Book reviews & more

Jon A. Severson, *Delivered With Pride: A Pictorial History of the Duluth Winnipeg & Pacific Railroad* Superior, Wisconsin: Savage Press, 2008, 240 pages, ISBN 978-1-886028-89-0, US$24.95 (paper)



The Duluth Winnipeg and Pacific Railroad (DWP), despite its name, is almost entirely unknown in Winnipeg and Manitoba. Most Canadian railroad histories, even G. R. Stevens' standard *History of the Canadian National Railways* (1973), make little or no mention of it. Perhaps that should not be too surprising—it is quite a small railroad, its mainline being only 167 miles long. The line's locomotives and rolling stock are seldom seen in Winnipeg, and its offices and facilities are elsewhere. In 1995 Don L. Hofsommer published a useful book on all of the Canadian National subsidiaries in the United States, *Grand Trunk Corporation: Canadian National Railways in the United States, 1971–1992*, which sheds some light on the DWP. Jon A. Severson has now provided a very basic illustrated history of the railroad from its beginnings right up to the present.

Severson explains that the DWP had its origins in 1901 as a logging railroad in northern Minnesota, the Duluth, Virginia and Rainy River Railway. However, as it built track north to Fort Frances, Ranier, and International Falls on the border, it came to the attention of the Canadian Northern, which acquired ownership in 1909 under the new name of Duluth Winnipeg and Pacific. Backed by the resources of the Canadian Northern (from 1918 the Canadian National) the DWP began construction south to Duluth. This was quite a formidable undertaking, especially as the line neared Duluth where the tracks had to follow the contours of the massive escarpment above the city requiring many trestles and even a tunnel. By 1912 the task was completed. Apart from passenger service from Winnipeg to Duluth, with ongoing connections to Chicago, the traffic on the DWP in the early years was largely lumber from the sawmills at Virginia (one of the largest in the United States at the time) and the border area.

As the timber resources in the region were steadily reduced, and the economic impact of the Great Depression of the 1930s was fully felt, the future of the DWP looked bleak. However, the Second World War and the economic prosperity of the post-war era turned things around dramatically for the railroad. The enormous demand in the United States for Canadian raw materials—grain, potash, sulphur, petroleum products, timber, pulp, and paper—enabled the DWP to serve as an increasingly vital transportation link for the CN. During the Second World War, the DWP even shipped iron ore from Ontario into the port of Duluth until ore docks were built at Port Arthur. The DWP became the CN's gateway into the American mid-west. The shipment of freight into Duluth allowed for reshipment by vessels down the Great Lakes or continuation by rail by means of any one of the seven American railroads that operated out of Duluth or Superior, Wisconsin. The DWP became the most profitable of all the CN subsidiaries. Indeed, it was a proud workman who suggested the motto for the DWP, "Delivered With Pride," putting new meaning to the initials.

In the sixty-five years since the end of the Second World War the role of the DWP has continued to grow in importance for the CN, right up to the present. Its profitability led to its linkage with the Grand Trunk Western and the Central Vermont under the holding company of the Grand Trunk Corporation in 1971, but in 1992 all of the American subsidiaries were brought under the management of the CN. The combination of NAFTA and the growth of the container trade from Asia have given the CN, with its container facilities in British Columbia, something of a transportation advantage. Prince Rupert is the North American port closest to Asia by ship, and thus it is efficient and economical for containers bound for the central United States to be diverted south from the Winnipeg yards through the DWP link. This connection was made even more efficient in 2001 when the CN bought the Wisconsin Central Railroad and thereby obtained a now fully Canadian-owned route from Winnipeg, through the Twin Ports of Duluth and Superior to Chicago and the mid-west. This access to Chicago and beyond put the CN on more-or-less equal footing with the major American railroads, like the Burlington Northern Santa Fe, and the Canadian Pacific, which owns the Soo Line and several regional railroads in the United States. (Through its ownership of the Grand Trunk Western, the CN also has access to Detroit and Chicago from the east, as well as from the northwest through the DWP and the Wisconsin Central, and as far south as New Orleans through its ownership of the Illinois Central.)

Severson tells this fascinating story using extended extracts from contemporary newspapers going back to 1901 and filling in the gaps with his own explanations of what was happening. He also provides an outstanding selection of black and white photographs, of excellent resolution, that trace the building and development of the DWP, and the logging railroad that preceded it, right up to the present. The details about the locomotives and the operation of the line make the book particularly attractive to railroad fans. To all readers, Severson provides an interesting glimpse of a vital and on-going Canadian enterprise in the United States, and the only railroad to include Winnipeg in its name.

Francis M. Carroll
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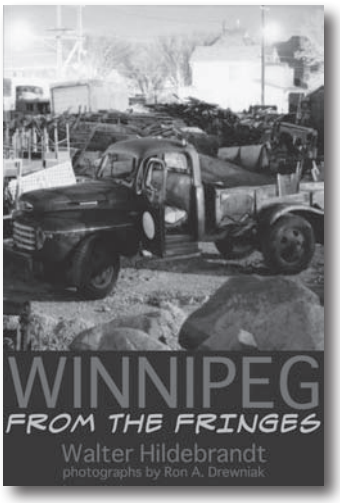
Walter Hildebrandt (photos by Ron A. Drewniak), *Winnipeg From the Fringes*
Victoria: Ekstasis Editions, 2009, 157 pages, ISBN: 978-1-897430-44-6, $26.95 (paper)



Walter Hildebrandt's *Winnipeg From the Fringes* is not the first collection of poetry inspired by this prairie city. Clive Holden's *Trains of Winnipeg*, Patrick Friesen's *St Mary & Main* are two previous celebrations of Winnipeg that come to mind. Like Holden's book, this one is generously illustrated; like Friesen's, it revisits an ex-Winnipegger's favourite haunts.

In "Winnipeg I," the first poem in the collection:

"You enter this city
on tracks
cold and hard
[that]...
penetrate
the heart of the city." (11,13)

These lines are typical of Hildebrandt's spare style and his frequent tendency to scatter words across the page. The poem is direct, taut, sensual and ends with the train's wail.

Photographs of railway tracks by Ron A Drewniak accompany this poem, the colours sombre, the light subdued and the rails mesmerizing. It is tempting to page through the book, skipping the poems, to see further pictures of Winnipeg that range from office towers at the city centre to junk piles to the work of local artists, to water and trees on the outskirts

The poems are equally varied. Lyrical pieces like "Trees Move" (130) and "Spring"(132) touch on change and loss seen in terms of the natural cycles of growth and decay. "The Spirit of Winnipeg" is a portrait of one of the city's denizens who "wanders the downtown streets" and returns to "where the train stopped/ to let them out/ stepping out onto Main." Drinking at the old Aberdeen Hotel, this wanderer remembers "cleaning building city streets" but also recalls "his mother's old country/ hot cabbage soup's/ inside/ the soul of his dream." (52, 54) Like so many Winnipeggers, he has come from elsewhere and carries with him memories of another place, another life.

From the pub to the birth room of the Women's Pavilion to the Exchange District, this city tour in text and image does not by-pass the grungier areas, the traces of neglect, the detritus of industry, the "junk heaps/lit up/ from the motel's neon pink". ("Outskirts" 137) Hildebrandt has a keen eye for easily-overlooked details; he gathers them like stones or flowers, names them, and builds poems with them, preferring simple description to complicated or self-conscious metaphor.

The figure of a small girl, Mary (the narrator's daughter), flits through the poems, lending a spot of innocence, the way light falling on buildings and landscape, injects brightness into the photos.

"A Butterfly," one of the long poems in the collection, recounts the life of a Mennonite woman, a relative of the narrator. She has lost her faith "After lumber camps, lost brothers and sisters/ A son's death" in the Soviet Union. Now, living in Germany, she enjoys TV, makes "Mennonite soups/ handmade dumplings" and ...

At 76
She found joy in vineyards
In seeing light fall on the paper-thin miracle
of butterfly wings. (31)

The link between this woman and Winnipeg are photos of the Heritage Centre at Canadian Mennonite University where stories like hers are housed in the archives. Unfortunately not all readers will be able to identify these (and other) images, and may wish for an appendix of captions for the photos.

Photos of St John's College—seen through bars of a window—are interspersed with the text of another long poem, "Toll," which critiques a system of education that is punctuated by regularly tolling bells, "where the British accent is still in" and where students are told: "that the poor/ are poor partly/ by accident and/ partly/ through their own fault." (142)

"The Same Old News" (86) displays equal frustration with social injustice. Hildebrandt prefaces this poem by quoting Soren Kierkegaard and conveys his ire by deconstructing words and letting them fly across the page. Photos of abandoned bashed-up vehicles aptly accompany the text.

Several poems, less agenda-driven than "Toll" and "The Same Old News"—and arguably more satisfying—veer away from cityscape, nature and portraiture to celebrate the work of local artists: Bill Lobchuk's painting of sunflowers and Michael Olito's installation, a windcatcher kept inside though it,

Needs
wind
[to]
Make
it part of
things bigger
than itself. (112)

Hidebrandt's book is born out of a poet's memories, memories fanned by the wind of nostalgia and transformed by imagination. An attentive reading will reveal a city "Bigger than itself."

Sarah Klassen
Winnipeg

Cool Things in the Collection:

New Retail and Wholesale Records at the HBCA

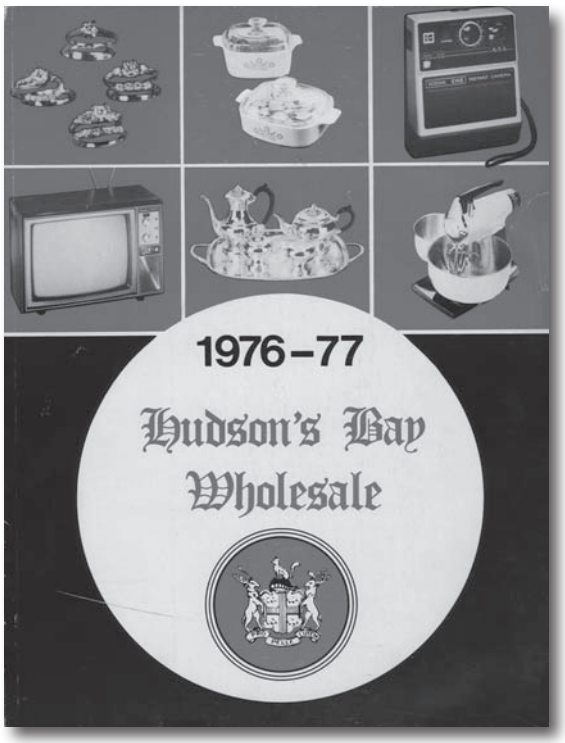
by Marcia Stentz
Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg

Since we now live in the 21st century, the records of the 20th are increasingly of historical interest to people, whether to learn about their ancestors or explore subjects that continue or arise during the 1900s. The Hudson's Bay Company Archives (HBCA) has extended its holdings of 20th-century records through a donation made by the Hudson's Bay Company to the Archives of Manitoba in 2007. These records are steadily becoming available to the public as they are arranged and described by staff. I highlight here a few groups of records that open new topics of research within the archives.

The 2007 donation consists of about 1400 linear feet of records including textual, photographic, architectural and moving image and sound recordings. Governing bodies of the Company, including the post-1970 Winnipeg-based head office, constitute about two-thirds of the donation. These are high-level records that cut across the increasingly diverse 20th-century business of the Company. Among other topics, the records document HBC's transition from a British company to a Canadian one and the formal move of its head office from London to Winnipeg, its involvement in commercial properties and real estate development (e.g., Rupert's Land Trading Company, Markborough Properties) and in natural resources such as oil and gas (Hudson's Bay Oil and Gas) and, of course, furs. They also track HBC activities which focused on merchandising—both wholesale and retail.

Manitoba Government News Media Services

A selection of the Hudson's Bay Company records received in 2007 was on display during a reception held at the Archives of Manitoba on 22 November 2007.



Archives of Manitoba, Hudson's Bay Company Archives, HBCA H2-240-7-1

A 1976-77 catalogue for Hudson's Bay Wholesale was among the items transferred to the Archives of Manitoba.

HBC Wholesale

A logical extension of HBC's historic role as merchant-trader, Hudson's Bay Wholesale broadened HBC's role from supplier of its own business (fur posts and saleshops) to supplier of goods to non-HBC retailers including hotels, restaurants, gas stations and grocers. Merchandise carried by the department included goods that had long been important to the fur trade: dry goods, hardware, liquor, tea and coffee, tobacco and point blankets.

Initially an outgrowth of the saleshop business, Wholesale was established as a department by 1928 and it went through periods of growth and decline in the context of immigration, crop yields, liquor laws and wars. The department included at times the Wine and Spirits, Blanket and (short-lived) Frozen Food Divisions. It acquired tobacco wholesale businesses from Saskatchewan

Marcia Stentz has been an archivist with the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Archives of Manitoba, since 2001. Among other duties, she contributed to the acquisition, appraisal and description of the 2007 donation.

Archives of Manitoba, Hudson's Bay Company Archives, HBCA 1984/40/18

Women's fashions of the John Murphy Company store at St. Catherine and Metcalfe Street in Montreal are shown in this photo from around 1910.

to Quebec. By 1977 it had built the largest national vending machine operation in Canada with 20,000 coin-operated machines that sold food and beverages, cigarettes, candy and entertainment. By the time Hudson's Bay Wholesale was sold in 1987, it consisted of 34 wholesale and 28 vending branches across Canada.

The Wholesale department is documented through correspondence and subject files of its general manager dealing with all aspects of the operation, acquisition files showing companies acquired by the department, annual reports, annual accounts, staff records, catalogues, advertising, operational and financial records. Tobacco subsidiaries include charters, stock ledgers and minute books. Overall, wholesale records constitute approximately one-tenth of the entire accrual, most of them dating from the mid-20th century.[1]

HBC Retail

Today, HBC means retail to Canadians. Arguably, the main event of HBC's 20th-century history was the transformation of its seminal saleshops into a modern department store and a retail empire. Among the stores subsumed by that empire were Simpsons and Zellers, both acquired by HBC in 1978, the records of which are now described and available for research at HBCA. A less well-known retail store, The John Murphy Co. Ltd., is documented as well.

John Murphy and Co., a dry goods store established at Montreal in 1867, was acquired by The Robert Simpson Co. Ltd. of Toronto in 1905. The store, located at St. Catherine and Metcalfe Streets, was refashioned The John Murphy Co. Ltd. until 1929 when it became The Robert Simpson Co. Montreal Ltd.

Documentation for The John Murphy Co. Ltd. (1904–1929) at HBCA is a relatively small group of records that has the potential for social-economic studies of an early department store within English-speaking Montreal. Records include a directors' and shareholders' minute book and a shareholders' ledger, both of which cover the period up to 1929, a list of properties and a detailed property appraisal (both 1925).

But the keys to understanding a store's social and economic place within the larger context are located in ledgers which offer financial details of credits and expenses. In the course of doing this, they name store customers and vendors and delineate departments and their relative values through weekly figures for stock, sales, wages, purchases, refunds, credit notes and mark up.[2] Research into the social and business networks of Murphy's clientele and suppliers, using records of Montreal communities coupled with the financial picture of the store documented at HBCA, would result in a profile that captures the store's interrelationship with its community.

HBC's wholesale and retail histories wait to be written. The Hudson's Bay Company Archives continues to be yours to explore. ☙

For more information, search Archival Descriptions in the Archives' Keystone database:

www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/keystone

You can also contact the Archives about these and many other "Cool Things in the Collection":

Archives of Manitoba
130–200 Vaughan Street, Winnipeg, MB, R3C 1T5
(204) 945-3971 archives@gov.mb.ca

1. See the Archives of Manitoba Keystone database, available online at www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/keystone, for a fuller description of Hudson's Bay Wholesale and its records.
2. Search in Keystone under "John Murphy" and "Simpsons subsidiaries". Customer names and addresses are found in charge cash books (1913–1922), vendor names in city and Canadian ledgers (1905–1920), departmental names and statistics in stock report books and merchandise weekly reports (1905–1925). Simpsons Publicity Department archives files include some records of the store, including photographs.