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Manitoba History

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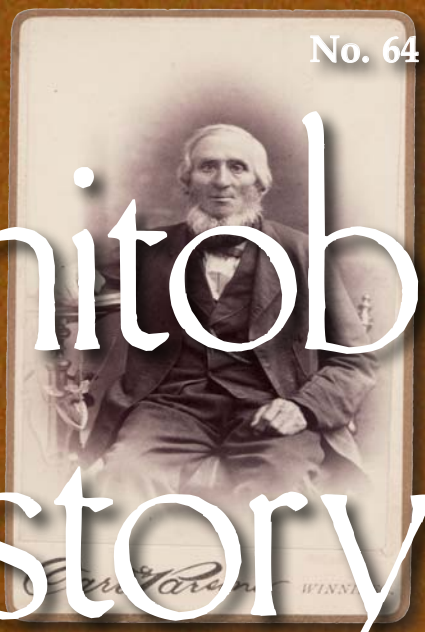

Manitoba History

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

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Manitoba History

No. 64 | Fall 2010

"Faces of Old Red River"
(see page 2)

Gazette

Reviews

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Faces of Old Red River

People in the Red River Settlement around the time that Manitoba became a province are, for many of us, merely names in history books. Seeing their faces personalizes them, makes them somehow more real and the events they witnessed more immediate. Their photographs were taken during visits to the East or the "Old Country". Starting in the 1860s, however, it became possible to have one's picture taken at home, as several photographers began operating in Rupert's Land. A sampling of the small Carte-de-Visite photographs popular in the period are reproduced on the covers of this issue. How many do you recognize?

1. **Alexandre-Antonin Taché** (1823-1894), Catholic Archbishop of St. Boniface from 1871 to 1894. *(A)*
2. **Sarah Anne Ross** (1846-1865), daughter of William and Jemima Ross, whose home served as the first post office in Western Canada. *(B)*
3. **George F. Munroe** (1849-1912) was a boatman for the 1870 Wolseley Expedition, later a brother-in-law to photographer Penrose. *(C)*
4. **Robert Machray** (1831-1904) arrived at Upper Fort Garry in 1865, as Anglican Bishop of Rupert's Land. (D)
5. **Joseph-Alfred-Norbert Provencher** (1843-1887), a lawyer and nephew of the former Catholic Bishop of St. Boniface. *(A)*
6. **Hugh Polson** (1806-1887) came from Scotland to farm at Red River, and left a street named for him and many descendants. *(E)*
7. "Opposition" MLAs in Manitoba's first government included (L-R): **John Sutherland** (1837-1922), **Frederick Adolphus Bird** (1823-1884), **Edward Henry George Gunter Hay** (1840-1918), **David Spence** (?-?), and **Edwin Bourke** (1836-1915). *(A)*
8. **William Coldwell** (1834-1907) came to Red River in 1859 to found its first newspaper, *The Nor'Wester*, with William Buckingham. *(B)*
9. **James Henry Ashdown** (1844-1924) came to Red River from London, England and founded a hardware company empire. *(E)*
10. **Miss B. Bunn** (?-?) was a Red River school teacher. *(F)*
11. **Alexander Hunter Murray** (1818-1874), with wife **Anne Campbell**, was a retired fur trader when this photograph was taken. *(B)*
12. **James & Glenlyon Campbell** were among three children born to Robert Campbell (#18). Glenlyon would later serve as an MLA. *(B)*
13. **John Christian Schultz** (1840-1896) was a Red River businessman, protagonist to Louis Riel, and later Lieutenant-Governor. *(B)*
14. The **"Matheson sisters"** looked and dressed alike, but little else is known about them. *(E)*
15. **Louis Riel** (1844-1885) had put his life at Red River behind him by the time of this 1878 photo taken in the United States. *(G)*
16. **Jemima Coldwell** (?-?), daughter of historian Alexander Ross and wife of journalist William Coldwell (#8), had four children. *(B)*
17. **George M. McDougall** (c1820-1876) was a Methodist cleric who died in a snowstorm. *(B)*
18. **Robert Campbell** (1808-1894) retired from fur trading in 1870 and and turned to farming. *(B)*
19. **Norbert Gay** (?-?) was a mysterious arrival at Red River in early 1870, who claimed to be French newspaper correspondent. *(B)*
20. **Marion Penrose** (1861-1934) was a daughter of farmer Robert Munroe, sister of G. F. Munroe (#3), and wife of photographer Penrose. *(C)*
21. **James McKay** (1828-1879), with his wife and two children, was a trader, MLA, and prominent resident of Red River. *(F)*

Sources

A. Private collection, L. G. Goldsborough.
B. Mrs. John Black Fond C44/2, Archives of Manitoba.
C. Elizabeth Green Fond C44/5, Archives of Manitoba.
D. Harriet Inkster McMurray Fond C44/1, Archives of Manitoba.
E. Polson Family Fond, Archives of Manitoba.
F. Private collection, D. Dudgeon.
G. Louis Riel photograph collection PC107, University of Manitoba Archives & Special Collections.

Divided Minority: Franco-Manitobans and the Forest Case

by Emmet Collins
Department of Political Studies, University of Manitoba

The year 1976 was a pivotal one for the French language in Canada. The Parti Québecois was elected in Québec, leading many to wonder whether the federation would survive. In Manitoba, an insurance broker received a parking ticket. This event, unremarkable in most circumstances, was significant because the recipient of the ticket, Georges Forest, successfully based a constitutional challenge on it. The Forest case, which began in 1975 and ended at the end of 1979, led to the re-establishment of French as an official language of Manitoba, 89 years after that status was revoked. Forest was fighting the provincial government for the rights of Manitoba's Francophone minority. In spite of this, he faced considerable opposition from both the leadership of the Franco-Manitoban community and average Francophones.

The Forest case, which began in 1975 and ended at the end of 1979, led to the re-establishment of French as an official language of Manitoba, 89 years after that status was revoked.

Why were Franco-Manitobans so reluctant to support Forest? A brief history of the French language in Manitoba, including its legislative status and the attitudes of Francophones historically will set the scene. This section will also explain the lead-up to the Forest case and the case itself. The second section will explore the reasons for the division in the French community regarding the Forest case.

There are four main reasons for the division surrounding the Forest case. First, there were doubts about the legitimacy of the case. Second, when it became apparent that Forest intended to take the case to the Supreme Court, there was a fear that he might lose. Third, many Francophones feared that if they were too forceful in pressing for their rights, they would suffer a backlash from the Anglophone community. Finally, the personality of Georges Forest led some to oppose his case.

Methodology

There is a relative lack of primary information sources regarding division in the community. To gather background details of the event, two main methods were employed. First, the archives of the French language weekly paper *La Liberté*, published in Winnipeg, were consulted for the period 1976 to 1979. Particular attention was paid to editorials and letters to the editor in order to evaluate attitudes regarding Forest and his case.

Second, interviews were conducted with four people from the Franco-Manitoban community. Raymond Hébert is a professor of Political Science at the Collège universitaire de Saint-Boniface and author of *Manitoba's French Language Crisis: A Cautionary Tale*. The book chronicles both the Forest case and the crisis that followed it. Vincent Dureault is a broadcaster at CKSB in St. Boniface and actively supported Georges Forest from the start of the case. Claude Forest is the eldest son of Georges Forest and owner of a media insurance company. Rénald Rémillard is a lawyer and current director of the Institut Joseph Dubuc, which does research and training in French for law professionals in western Canada. All were interviewed in March 2009. All interviews were conducted in French and transcribed by the author into English.

A Brief History of (French) Manitoba

The first European settlers in Manitoba were the French voyageurs and coureurs de bois, fur traders from Montreal who worked for the North-West Company. They first began trading in what is now St. Boniface in the 1730s, nearly 75 years before the first Scottish and English settlers arrived in 1812.[1] For much of the 19th century, French, Anglo-Scottish and the majority Métis population lived in relative harmony, based on mutual tolerance and understanding.[2] This relative peace, however, was soon disturbed by the desire of the Canadian Parliament to annex Rupert's Land.[3] The arrival of increasingly "… boisterous … Canadians who saw themselves as the creators of a new and superior order in the Northwest …" caused understandable anxiety among the French and Métis populations of the Red River Settlement (RRS).[4] As a result, the Métis, led by a young Louis Riel, established a strictly Métis "National Committee" that seized Fort Garry. They later formed a provisional government to oppose the incursions of the newly established Canadian government and, more specifically, to negotiate the entry of the RRS into Confederation.[5] The provisional government drew up four consecutive lists of rights, the last of which was used to negotiate the entry of the RRS into Confederation. Included among the rights were pro-

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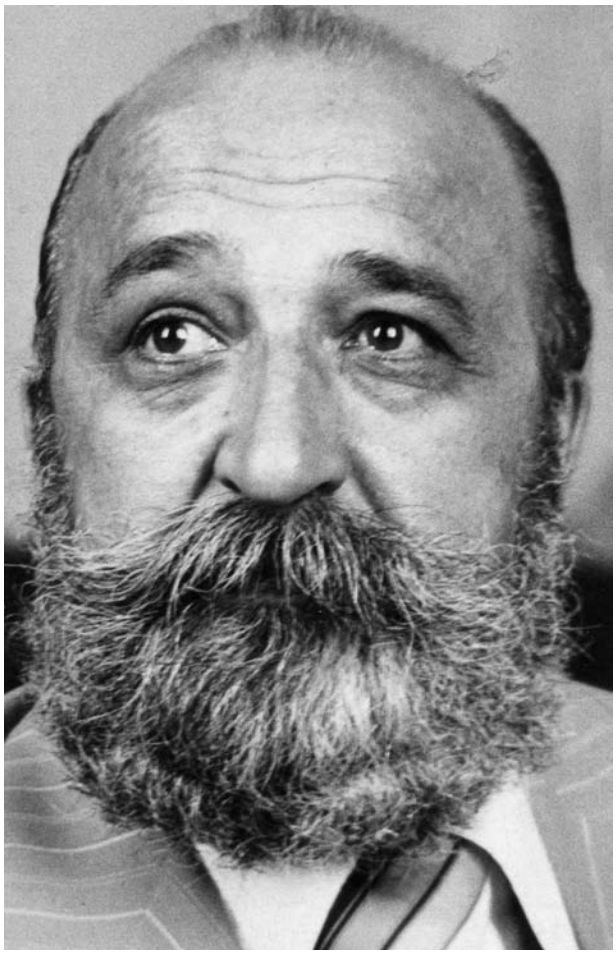
visions for appointing bilingual Appeal Court judges and a bilingual lieutenant-governor, as well as a stipulation that "all Public Documents and Acts of the Legislature be published in both languages".[6] Riel felt that he deserved to be called the father of Manitoba. However, his ordering of the execution of Ontarian Thomas Scott, a Protestant Orangeman, during the Riel Rebellion would later lead to his condemnation as a traitor and his own execution.[7] In the meantime, the Riel government did negotiate the entry of Manitoba into Confederation as a bilingual province in 1870. The Manitoba Act, the piece of federal legislation that brought Manitoba into confederation, contained Article 23, which mandated the use of French and English in the legislature, in the courts and in the documents emanating from either body (see Appendix 1). Article 23 is virtually identical to article 133 of the British North America Act, simply replacing the word "Québec" with "Manitoba".[8]

Soon, however, legal requirements were superseded by demographic realities. In just five years the population of Winnipeg grew by 5000%.[9] This reflected a population boom in Manitoba and in Western Canada, the vast majority of which was coming from Ontario.[10] The result was that by 1890, Franco-Manitobans were a small fraction of the province's population. The stage was set for two crucial acts of government: the abolition of dual, equally funded denominational schools and the *Manitoba Official Language Act*, which made English the only official language (see Appendix 2). The French community made a decision then that, of the two lost rights, education was the more important to pursue.[11] In fact, when in 1916 St. Boniface resident Joseph Dumas wanted to advance a challenge to the *Official Language Act*, he was persuaded by the leadership of the community to drop the case, since the important battleground was education.[12] Gerald. Friesen explains that: "Because their children's religious instruction was so important to them, because French might remain a language of instruction in the schools, and because they could establish a powerful political alliance with the English-speaking Catholics of Winnipeg, they chose to fight the school law rather than the language law."[13]

The *Official Language Act* was found unconstitutional by a Manitoba judge in 1892, and again in 1909, 1976 and finally by the Supreme Court of Canada in 1979.[14] Nelson Wiseman claims that the *Official Language Act* "…was no administrative *coup d'état*: it simply mirrored the new demography."[15] If the provincial legislature's unilateral move to revoke the status of the French language does not constitute a *coup d'état*, then it is at least unconstitutional. Nonetheless, in what became the norm, the government of Manitoba simply ignored the verdicts and continued to do its business in English only. The compromise reached between Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier and Manitoba Premier Thomas Greenway in 1897 allowed for classes to be taught in any minority language where numbers warranted. However, a series of articles in 1913 by the *Manitoba Free Press* exposing the lacklustre quality of minority language education brought the entire system back into question.[16] The Minister of Education at the time, R. S. Thornton, decided that the only solution was for bilingual education of any kind to be abolished. Thus, Franco-Manitobans lost that for which they had been prepared to sacrifice other language rights, the right to teach their children in their language. Though it was not illegal to teach in French, it was certainly not legal.[17]



Winnipeg Tribune Collection,
University of Manitoba Archives & Special Collections.

Georges Forest (1924-1990), a co-founder of the Festival du Voyageur in 1970, helped to restore French as an official language in Manitoba after his battle over a unilingual parking ticket went all the way to the Canadian Supreme Court, in December 1979.

La Survivance Franco-Manitobaine

In response to this denial of their constitutional rights, Franco-Manitobans created the Association d'éducation des Canadiens-Français du Manitoba, which assured a basic level of French education for the 50 years during which instruction in the language was banned. It is important to note that successive sympathetic administrations often turned a blind eye to the use of French textbooks and language in classrooms, and that senior bureaucrats "…waged a continuous battle against the more zealous school inspectors…"[18] The Franco-Manitoban community settled into a pattern of low-profile

maintenance of their culture, what Frances Russell calls "la survivance franco-manitobaine" (Franco-Manitoban survival). During most of the following decades, until the Georges Forest case and even after, Franco-Manitobans were reluctant to speak out, and reacted harshly towards members of the community who did so.

From the mid-1950s, small steps were made towards reinstating French language education rights, first in specific subjects, then in entire grades, and finally, in 1970, to all grades. In 1968, the Société Franco-Manitobaine (SFM) was formed, and took on the mantle of the voice of Manitoba's Francophone minority, a role it still plays today.

Edward Schreyer's government, elected in 1969, was the first NDP government elected in Manitoba and it achieved a majority only with the support of St. Boniface MLA Laurent Desjardins. Francophones had great hopes for Schreyer's progressive NDP government. In some ways, Schreyer delivered: it was under his government that French language education was legalized in all grades in Manitoba, and French and English were recognized as the official languages of instruction.[19] Progress was slow, however, and the trickle emanating from the government was nowhere near enough in the eyes of some, most notably Georges Forest.

The stage was set for two crucial acts of government: the abolition of dual, equally funded denominational schools and the *Manitoba Official Language Act*, which made English the only official language.

Forest

Georges Forest was a Saint Boniface insurance broker with a reputation as an agitator. In March 1975, he received a parking ticket written only in English. He decided to fight it based on the fact that a unilingual ticket was in contravention of the City of Winnipeg Act, which stipulates that "All notices, bills or statements sent or demands made to any of the residents of St. Boniface community in connection with the delivery of any service, or the payment of a tax, shall be written in English and in French."[20] For Forest, it was never a matter of the ticket itself; what he wanted was respect for the rights that he and others had fought to preserve in the amalgamation of Winnipeg.[21] Forest, who had gone on a hunger strike in 1971 to preserve the rights that Francophones had in St. Boniface, knew that without any pressure, the city would not (and did not) comply with language rights.[22] The first case ended inconclusively when the city attorney, who disagreed with Forest, requested clarification from then Attorney General Howard Pawley, who did not respond.[23] Forest received a second ticket in February 1976. Summoned to court in June 1976, Forest was told by a county judge that since the parking ticket was a judicial document, the provisions of the City of Winnipeg Act were superseded by those of the 1890 *Official Language Act*. This moment was a crucial one for Forest, because, in his own words, "I was now up against a statute which crushed the basic language rights granted Franco-Manitobans by the British North America Act of confederation itself."[24] Forest appealed the decision and, in September 1976, the *Official Language Act* was ruled unconstitutional by Judge Armand Dureault in St. Boniface county court.[25]) The Schreyer government, in response, simply ignored the verdict, neither appealing it nor moving to repeal the *Official Language Act*, for obvious political reasons: the government could not be accused of capitulating to a minority.[26] The fact that Manitoba had successfully ignored Article 23 for 85 years meant that any move by Schreyer to rectify an injustice that only a few Francophones were complaining about would have been attacked by the Conservative opposition. In fact, in May 1977 Premier Schreyer announced he had "no intention of abrogating the 1890 law."[27] This was consistent with the reaction of previous governments when the same verdict was issued in 1892 and 1909. The attitude of *La Liberté* on the matter was reflective of the attitude of many people regarding the Forest case:

> "On ne peut en vouloir au Premier Ministre là-dessus. Il y aura des élections provinciales prochainement, et le français n'a pas gagné en popularité au Canada anglais ces temps derniers. On peut d'ailleurs, avant de s'insurger contre la déclaration du Premier Ministre, se demander quelle serait l'attitude d'un gouvernement conservateur en cette province sur cette question."[28] ["We can't expect much from the premier on the matter. Provincial elections are coming up, and French hasn't grown in popularity over the past few years. Before we line up against this declaration by the Premier, we might ask ourselves what the attitude of a conservative government in this province might be on the matter."]

Forest's next step was to request the translation of four laws, which he was told could be done if he paid $50,000.[29] He sought an order forcing the government to comply with the Dureault verdict, and after considerable delays made his way to the Manitoba Court of Appeal in February 1979 (by this time the federal government had guaranteed funding for his case).[30] The Court of Appeal found the *Official Language Act* "ultra vires" — beyond its power to address. This was immediately appealed by the Sterling Lyon government. The Supreme Court agreed to hear the case at the same time as the Blaikie case in Québec, which dealt with the respect of the rights of that province's Anglophone minority. On December 13, 1979, the Supreme Court ruled that the *Official Language Act* was indeed ultra vires, but remained silent on the consequences of that judgement.[31] Article 23 was restored, 89 years after it had been illegally abrogated.[32]

Throughout the case, Forest received only tepid support from the community. Even while Forest was in the Supreme Court, an ad hoc committee of the SFM warned of the possibility that victory might be hollow if the Lyon Conservatives were not compelled by the court to take specific action to respect Article 23 (this warning proved prescient in the short term).[33] The SFM supported Forest in theory, but was in reality quite sceptical of the case and the man, for a number of reasons.

Legitimacy

Reaction to the legitimacy of the case itself can be categorized in two ways. First, there was the reaction on the part of the community, which was largely sceptical or downright hostile. Second, there was the reaction of the leadership of the community, that is to say the SFM.

Claude Forest argues that most Franco-Manitobans knew very little about the case, and that most of what they heard came from the side opposed to Georges Forest. With the SFM not embracing his case, Franco-Manitobans mostly did not have the opportunity to hear Forest's opinion on the matter. *La Liberté*, at least in the initial period of 1976-1977, was far from supportive of Forest. Claude Forest calls *La Liberté* the "mouthpiece of the SFM". It should be noted, though, that in 1978-1979, the paper was considerably more open to the case and made efforts to explain it in detail. In any case, even those who read *La Liberté* would not have had much opportunity to learn about Forest's reasons for going forward with the case. The majority of Franco-Manitobans, however, read the English-language dailies, and through them learned the government's position on the case. Without support, Forest became isolated. Perhaps the most prevalent opinion on the case was that it was a ridiculous affair, that Forest was tilting at proverbial windmills. The idea that a $5 parking ticket would lead to the re-establishment of the official status of French in Manitoba seemed farcical to many Franco-Manitobans, who knew little about the case. One can detect that sentiment in a letter to the editor in *La Liberté* from April 1978, in which the writer accuses Forest of being "un homme qui aime se voir et s'entendre parler à la télévision" ["someone who likes to see and hear himself talk on TV"], adding "Come on, Georges, déchausse tes raquettes, sort de la forest et paye ton tiquette."[34] ["Come on Georges, take off your snowshoes, come out of the forest and pay your ticket".] Further, Forest was breaking new ground: in 1976, the idea of advancing a court challenge to advance language rights was unusual.[35]

The SFM, for its part, was also sceptical, though for different reasons. In the beginning, Forest offered the case to the SFM. In his mind, this was a community case that the SFM, as the organization which represents Franco-Manitobans, should have accepted.[36] The SFM, according to Vincent Dureault, was listening to its lawyers, who cautioned that though Forest did have a case, it was far from a certain victory. Rénald Rémillard concurs, saying that the SFM did have some justification in doubting the case, since "there were very few decisions that might have indicated how the Supreme Court would rule on the case." The SFM's position on the legality of the matter stood in stark contrast to that of Forest, who was certain that he would be proven right[37] .

Moreover, Forest's action was breaking a 90-year-old tradition of pushing for education rights. The education question had been the battleground Franco-Manitobans had been fighting for since 1890, and the SFM believed that education was the most important element. In an interview, *La Liberté* accused Forest of "[être] en train de soigner ce malade d'un mal de tête alors qu'il souffre d'un cancer" ["…trying to cure the Franco-Manitoban community of a headache when it's suffering from cancer"], or, more pointedly, "…les besoins prioritaires actuels, pour lutter contre l'assimilation, sont peut-être autres que des droits juridiques"[38] ["The things we currently need to combat assimilation are possibly not judicial rights".]. Irrespective of the legality of the affair, in the initial period of 1976 to early 1977, the SFM publicly doubted the validity of the case. The SFM's president, Gérard Archambault, believed that Forest was pursuing theoretical rights with little practical application.[39] Even after Forest gained a significant victory in Saint-Boniface county court, Archambault characterized it as a "moral victory" that gave Franco-Manitobans "almost nothing."[40] He later changed his wording, making the case that the SFM didn't have the funds to support a case of that magnitude, and that it preferred to work at a local level.[41] Blay argues that because the SFM received its funding from the Secretary of State and had to justify its expenses to the federal government, it was unable to provide financial support from its own budget.[42]

It should be noted that in December 1976, the SFM created a special fund to support Forest's initiative and claimed to be in moral support of the case. The organisation was never an enthusiastic supporter of Forest, however. It took until April 1978, two years after the start of the affair, for the SFM to publicly state that "the Forest affair is our affair."[43] Even after Forest's victory in the Manitoba Court of Appeal, in a case which was re-establishing the judicial and legislative rights of French in Manitoba, the SFM's president declared that he saw no link between the case and the SFM.[44]

Loss

When it became apparent that Forest intended to pursue his case all the way to the Supreme Court, the SFM's elite became concerned that he might not win. Raymond Hébert advances the idea that the SFM's fear of Forest's losing the case played a part in the organisation's lukewarm support, saying "If he lost, he lost big and the whole community lost." This idea is supported by the executive director of the SFM from 1976-1979, Raymond Poirier, who in a 1999 documentary wondered what might have happened had Forest lost.[45]

The fear was that if he lost, not only would Article 23 be largely invalidated, but all the small gains that had

been made by the SFM and by bureaucrats would be lost. The concessions, most of which regarded education, had been hard fought, and the SFM felt that Forest was putting those advances at risk in the name of insubstantial rights. In the words of Vincent Dureault: "The SFM was being cautious. It was a lobby group that didn't want to lose the little things the community had acquired; I think it's that simple." That same sentiment is expanded upon by Claude Forest, who argues that because the SFM's leadership has traditionally been composed of educators and bureaucrats, the organisation has historically been risk-averse and lacked the entrepreneurial spirit needed to support the Forest case. Fear of losing what little had been acquired certainly led some to oppose Forest's case.

Fear and Loathing

Both Raymond Hébert and Frances Russell argue that the fear of a backlash played a large part in the division surrounding the Forest case. They attribute this to a desire to be "good neighbours": "In pressing for respect of its rights, [the French community worried it] would raise the ire of the majority, which has either been ignorant of or antagonistic to these rights."[46] Indeed, one can detect those sentiments in the words of one Grade Twelve Francophone student, who, when asked about language rights at the height of the 1983-1984 Manitoban French language crisis, responded, "I don't know. I don't want the English to get mad at the French."[47] Hébert maintains that fear of a backlash is the single biggest reason for division over the case. Average Francophones had no desire to be targeted for the actions of one "radical", and it was easier to be against Forest than to be on his side, particularly when Forest's own message was so poorly transmitted. The minority situation of French-speaking Manitobans is never far from the collective mind of the community. The vast majority of Franco-Manitobans work with and are friends with Anglophones, and many of them are in mixed-marriages. Forest claimed to be advocating for the rights of the community and although today there is no hesitation to admit he was, at the time many people were wary of his claim. To many, Forest was someone who had proclaimed himself the saviour, and had done so without solicitation. In an editorial from February 1977, *La Liberté* editor-in-chief Jean-Jacques Le François accused Forest of "prétendre que lui seul, Georges Forest, détient la vérité, possède le secret, l'art de guider la francophonie de cette province vers une nébuleuse émancipation" ["... believing that he alone, Georges Forest, knows the truth, holds the secret, the art of guiding the French language in this province towards a nebulous emancipation"], adding "Personne, que nous sachions, n'a demandé à Monsieur Forest de se placer dans la situation oû il se trouve présentement."[48] ["No one, that we know of, has asked Mr. Forest to put himself in his present situation."]

Before the Forest case justified the legal status of French as an official language of the province, the position of French in public life in Manitoba was understood to be tenuous at best. The desire to not rock the boat was strong enough that some wished that Forest would leave well enough alone: the SFM's president and executive director pleaded with Forest to drop the case.[49] Rénald Rémillard calls this extreme desire to maintain the status quo, however unsatisfactory, the psychological problem of being in a minority and believes that, to a lesser extent, this attitude is still present today. In the short term, fear of a backlash proved to be justified. The French language crisis of the 1980s proved the worst fears, bringing out a great deal of bigotry and intolerance. Forest himself suffered personally and professionally for his cause, receiving death threats and seeing an exodus of clients from his insurance brokerage, many of them Francophones. A rough estimate puts Forest's lost revenue as a result of his case from 1975-1990 at a million dollars.[50]

Rémillard says that the fear was more than just one of backlash, however. The traditional battleground of education was a private one. While education is clearly publicly funded, it is intimately linked to family and culture. As such, asking for education rights is not particularly a matter of public interest. Forest was not content to just receive such "crumbs" in the private sphere. He wanted to make French a matter of public discourse, for French to take its place as an official language of the province.[51]

Even after Forest gained a significant victory in Saint-Boniface county court, [SFM president] Archambault characterized it as a "moral victory" that gave Franco-Manitobans "almost nothing."

Forest

Georges Forest was a controversial man. As early as 1959, he brought attention to and vociferously opposed the unicity project which made St. Boniface part of Winnipeg. He was involved in many different aspects of public life, as president of a local *Caisse Populaire* credit union, as a political candidate in local and federal politics, and as co-founder of the *Festival du Voyageur*. During those years, however, Forest developed a reputation. Within one year of the founding of the *Festival*, for example, Forest was forced out of the organisation. Hébert describes Forest as a "loose cannon."[52] Asked to elaborate, he claims that Forest "was completely unpredictable...he did things his own way". Forest's personality certainly played a part in the division surrounding the case. His reputation as an agitator made many people in the community sceptical of the case; the parking ticket was seen as just another crusade. He was not afraid to speak his mind and made enemies in doing so. Le François of *La Liberté* called Forest pretentious, arrogant and presumptuous, while Forest accused the SFM of a flagrant lack of leadership and *La Liberté* of being irresponsible.[53]

Language laws unconstitutional

Manitoba faces $15 million translation cost, validity of 200 Quebec bills cast into doubt

By Peter Hadekel
FP News Service

OTTAWA — The Supreme Court of Canada ruled today that both the Manitoba Official Language Act and Quebec's French Language Charter are unconstitutional.

The high court upheld a Manitoba court ruling that the province went beyond its constitutional authority in 1890 when it abolished the official status of French in the Manitoba courts and legislature.

The court upheld the ruling of two lower Quebec courts that a major section of Quebec's Charter of the French Language (Bill 101) is unconstitutional.

The challenge to the Manitoba law was originally brought by George Forest, an insurance salesman, who protested a unilingual English parking ticket. The appeal to the Supreme Court was made by the Manitoba attorney-general's department.

It has been estimated Manitoba would have to pay up to $15 million to amend previous legislation and provide bilingual services.

The court agreed that the Parti Quebecois government went beyond its constitutional authority in establishing French as the only official language of the Quebec National Assembly and courts.

Legal experts say the validity of more than 200 Quebec laws passed in French only since Bill 101 went effect in August, 1977, are now in doubt.

Manitoba Attorney-General Gerry Mercier said at a press conference in Winnipeg this morning the decision was "not unexpected."

Mercier said that for Manitoba, it probably means all existing statutes must be translated into French.

He said the English only laws "appear to be valid." However, a final determination will have to await analysis of the Supreme Court judgment, he said.

Mercier said he had no estimate of the time it will take to translate the laws now in effect in the province, nor could he estimate the cost.

Mercier emphasized he could only speak generally until he has had an opportunity to study the details of the judgment.

Generally, however, he said he expects it means that all persons will have the right to speak in French or in English in debates in the legislature. It would also likely mean the records of the legislature, including the bills,

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The bottom line. The front-page headline in the *Winnipeg Free Press* of 13 December 1979 emphasized the financial cost of the Supreme Court decision earlier that day.

There was not only a clash of personalities between Forest and certain individual members of the Franco-Manitoban community, but between Forest and the larger attitude of the community, which Rémillard calls one of timidity.

Georges Forest was a man of deep conviction and passion for the French language. If his personality led to conflict with various people and organisations, it also gave him the strength to continue pursuing what he believed was right in the face of much opposition and intimidation. Where others might have dropped the case, Forest was committed to pursuing it to the end. According to Claude Forest, when the SFM's leadership tried to convince him to drop the case, it galvanized him and was proof in his mind that he needed to keep going. The personality aspect of the Forest case is a double-edged sword. While he may have brought on more opposition than another person in the same position, his "uncompromising" nature allowed him to go forward. There can be no doubt, however, that the fact that it was Georges Forest pursuing the case led some Franco-Manitobans to oppose it.

Significance

The Forest case was a significant milestone not only for the Franco-Manitobans but for Manitoban politics and arguably Canadian politics. For example, the Court Challenges program which provides funds for Charter-based challenges to legislation was created as a result of actions like the Forest case and the Blaikie case in Québec.[54]

More generally, the desire of Franco-Manitobans to maintain the status quo fits what Jared Wesley has called Manitoba's "middling" political culture.[55] This serves as a reminder that the *Manitoban* element of the term *Franco-Manitoban* is key to understanding the group's culture and politics.

The Forest case can also serve as a warning against complacency. If Forest, under pressure from the community's leadership, had dropped the case as Dumas did in 1916, the face of Manitoban politics might be different today. Even those who were against him in 1976 now admit that Forest was right, and that his victory was a significant one for the Franco-Manitoban community. Nelson Wiseman, who doubts the significance of political rights granted to Franco-Manitobans, admits that the symbolism of the victory is important.[56] The "middling" political culture that characterizes Manitoban politics, irrespective of language, can also lead communities to deliberately handicap themselves and prevent progress. This is especially important for minority groups, but can also be said of Manitoban society more generally.

Georges Forest also managed to at least partly drag Franco-Manitoban society out of its parochial and timid attitude. This attitude is still present to an extent today, but considerably less than it was 30 years ago. This is evidenced by the court challenges that followed Forest's case and the disproportionately high political activity of a group that represents roughly 5% of the population of Manitoba. This research is a case study and is not meant to be generalized, but it seems likely that the repressed attitude evidenced by Manitoba's French minority would be present in other minority groups such as Métis, First Nations or new immigrants, potentially limiting their political activism.

Conclusion

The Forest case faced opposition from most Anglophones (though of course not all), but more surprisingly from many Francophones. Forest's case seemed absurd to many Francophones, who simply did not believe that a $5 parking ticket would wind up in the Supreme Court. The SFM, for its part, felt that Forest's case dealt with a matter that did little to affect the material well-being of Francophones. The organisation also had doubts about whether Forest would win the case. Its leadership feared that if Forest lost, the community at large would lose the small gains that had been negotiated with the government. This fear was joined by one of a wider backlash from the Anglophone majority. Franco-Manitobans have historically been wary of rocking the boat and attracting too much attention to themselves. Finally, the strong personality of Georges Forest and his existing reputation in the community led some to disavow his case.

In the short term, the fears of a backlash were prescient. The Manitoba French language crisis of 1983-1984 was a traumatic event for many Franco-Manitobans and confirmed the worst fears. That event proved to be short-lived, however, and is unrepresentative of the present situation.

Thirty years after Georges Forest won his case in the Supreme Court, successfully re-establishing French as an official language in Manitoba, the importance of the case is recognized. Forest's vision and determination are now valorized and respected in the French community, even by those who initially opposed him. Some put Forest on par with Louis Riel. Perhaps Forest's most important legacy is the fact that he showed Francophones that they need not continue to fear taking their place in Manitoban society. Levels of assimilation rise and fall, but what remains of Manitoba's Francophone population is proud to take its place alongside its Anglophone neighbours. ∞

Appendix 1
Article 23 of the Manitoba Act (1870)

"Either the English or the French language may be used by any person in the debates of the Houses of the Legislature, and both those languages shall be used in the respective Records and Journals of those Houses: and either of those languages may be used by any person, or in any Pleading or Process, in or issuing from any Court of Canada established in the British North America Act, 1867, or in or from all or any of the Courts of the Province. The Acts of the Legislature shall be printed and published in both those languages." (Cited from Hébert, 2004, page 8)

Appendix 2
The Manitoba Official Language Act (1890)

"AN ACT TO PROVIDE THAT THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE SHALL BE THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE OF THE PROVINCE OF MANITOBA. HER MAJESTY, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba, enacts as follows: English language in assembly and courts. (1) Any statute or law to the contrary [such as article 23] not withstanding, the English language only shall be used in the records and journals of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba, and in any pleadings or process in or issuing from any courts in the Province of Manitoba. Statutes. (2) The Acts of the Legislature of Manitoba need be printed and published only in the English language. R.S.M. c.187 s.1. Act to apply only within the jurisdiction of this Legislature. This Act applies only so far as the Legislature has jurisdiction to enact." (Cited from Blay, 1987, page 25)

Notes

1. Frances Russell, *The Canadian Crucible: Manitoba's Role in Canada's Great Divide*. Winnipeg: Heartland Associates Inc., 2003, p. 31.
2. Gerald Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies: a history*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984, p. 109.
3. Raymond Hébert, *Manitoba's French Language Crisis: A Cautionary Tale*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004, p. 5.
4. W. L. Morton, *Manitoba—A History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 4th ed., 1979, p. 118.
5. Morton, p. 124.
6. Hébert, pp. 6-7.
7. Russell, p. 126.
8. Jacqueline Blay, *L'Article 23*. Winnipeg: Les Éditions du Blé, 1987, p. 16.
9. Morton, p. 169.
10. Russell, p. 133.
11. *Ibid*., p. 178.
12. Blay, p. 49.
13. Gerald Friesen, *River Road: Essays on Manitoba and Prairie History*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1996, p. 26.
14. Russell, 237, p. 259
15. Nelson Wiseman, "Provincial Political Cultures" in *Provinces: Canadian Provincial Politics*. ed. Christopher Dunn, 21-56 (Peterborough: Broadview, 2nd ed., 2006), p. 27
16. Blay, p. 40.
17. Russell, p. 194.
18. *Ibid*., p. 201.
19. Nelson Wiseman, "The Questionable Relevance of the Constitution in Advancing Minority Cultural Rights in Manitoba". *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 25, no. 4 (1992): 697-721.
20. Russell, p. 235.
21. Claude Forest, interview with the author, March 2009.
22. Russell, p. 234.
23. Blay, p. 91.
24. Quoted in Russell, p. 236.
25. The irony of the situation is that the City of Winnipeg *did* have bilingual parking tickets available [Blay (1987), p. 92].
26. Hébert, p. 24.
27. *Ibid*., p. 25.
28. "Schreyer à l'AGA de la SFM", *La Liberté*, 19 May 1977.
29. Hébert, p. 24.
30. *Ibid*., pp. 27-28.
31. *Ibid*., p. 33.
32. The Lyon government's half-hearted and "legally miserly" attempt to rectify the 90-year-old injustice led to a further challenge, the *Bilodeau* case (Hébert, 2004, p. 33). The events surrounding that case, the attempt at creating a constitutional amendment by the Pawley government in the 1980s and the crisis that ensued are well covered by Blay, Russell and Hébert, and represent a disturbingly open discrimination, but are beyond the scope of this work.
33. Blay, p. 129.
34. Marcel Duchênes, letter to the editor. *La Liberté*, 20 April 1978.
35. Rénald Rémillard, interview with the author, March 2009.
36. Claude Forest, interview with the author, March 2009.
37. Blay, p. 114.
38. "Entrevue Avec Georges Forest", *La Liberté*, 17 February 1977.
39. Blay, p. 96.
40. *Ibid*., p. 101.
41. *Ibid*., p. 97.
42. *Ibid*.
43. "L'affaire Forest c'est notre affaire", *La Liberté*, 27 January 1977.
44. Bernard Bocquel, "Forest gagne en cour d'appel", *La Liberté* 3 May 1979.
45. "L'affaire Forest—20 ans plus tard", *Le téléjournal Manitoba*, Radio Canada, 13 December 1999.
46. Hébert, p. 24.
47. Russell, p. 365.
48. Jean-Jacques Le François, "Le Cas de Monsieur Forest", Editorial, *La Liberté* 17 February 1977.
49. "L'affaire Forest—20 ans plus tard".
50. Claude Forest, interview the author, March 2009.
51. Vincent Dureault, interview with the author, March 2009.
52. Hébert, p. 21.
53. *La Liberté*, 17 February 1977.
54. François Boileau, "The Court Challenges Program, Annual Report 1994-1995". Winnipeg, Court Challenges Program Canada: 1995.
55. Jared Wesley, "Political Culture in Manitoba". Draft Paper presented to the Duff Roblin Professorship Conference on Manitoba Politics, Government and Policy in the 21st Century, p. 1.
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Red River's Anglophone Community: The Conflicting Views of John Christian Schultz and Alexander Begg

by Grant W. Grams
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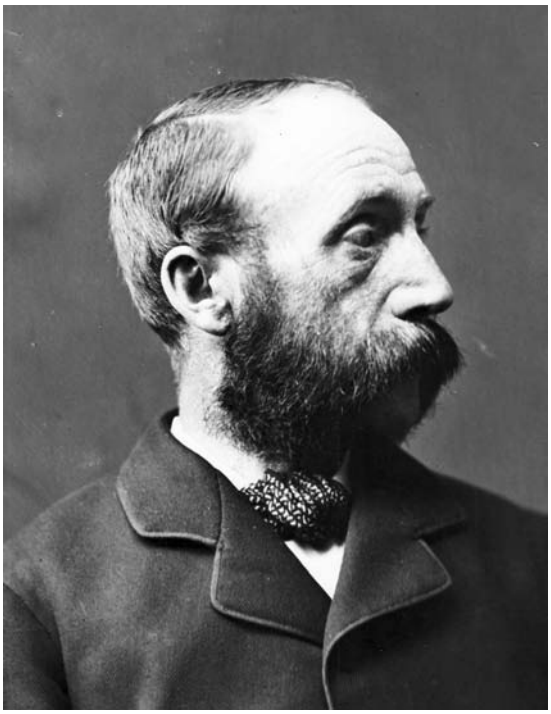
When the Dominion of Canada was formed on 1 July 1867, the Fathers of Confederation were already casting an expansionist eye westward to Rupert's Land and the North-western territory. The Red River Colony at the junction of the Red and Assiniboine rivers served as a convenient gateway to future development, wealth and adventure, as well as a potential source of raw materials. It was also militarily and strategically important to the fledgling country's security as the idea of expansion formed parts of sections 90, 91 and 146 of the British North America (BNA) Act. The annexation of the settlement may have seemed inevitable to Canadians in the East, but many people in the Red River settlement were sharply divided over the issue. It was not only the Métis who were worried; so also were the Anglophones in the community.

This article examines events in the Red River settlement prior to the formation of Manitoba in 1870 as seen through the eyes of two members of the Red River Anglophone community, John Christian Schultz (1840–1896) and Alexander Begg (1825–1905). Both men resided in the Red River community and their contemporary publications will be used to present contrasting views of the future of the Red River settlement before its appropriation. Schultz's view represented the central-Canadian annexationist viewpoint as expressed in his newspaper *The Nor'Wester*. In contrast, Begg represented a moderate local viewpoint within the Red River Colony. The article will focus on the conflicting



Archives of Manitoba, Personalities - Begg, Alexander #1, N21681.

Archives of Manitoba, Personalities - Schultz, J. C. #6, N10485.

Alexander Begg (1839-1897), left, and **John Christian Schultz** (1840-1896), right, were influential members of the Anglophone community of the Red River Settlement.

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ideals of these two men; it will not examine the views of other ethnic, linguistic, religious or cultural groups.

Red River was under the administration of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC), a British trading company chartered in 1670 to trade furs with the native peoples of North America. The HBC had nominal control over this area. Only in the Red River was there an established community. As the diverse community grew in size, governing the settlement became increasingly difficult.

Through time the Red River settlement had evolved and was made up of five main communities–French- and English-speaking Métis, Scottish, French, and First Nations. The Métis communities were partly composed of aboriginal peoples who had settled on river lots within the settlement. Each of these ethnic settlements was a distinct community of separate origin and individual character. This population was diverse–divided by race, religion and rank. Despite these differences the settlements had a definite character united by common factors: the isolation of the area, the fur trade, plains hunt, riverfront agriculture and the frequency of Aboriginal family interactions. The entire Red River settlement represented a delicate community that was periodically divided by internal factionalism and the interference of outsiders.[1]

Annexation of the settlement may have seemed inevitable to Canadians in the East, but many people in the Red River settlement were sharply divided over the issue.

Since the 1840s individuals from central Canada had argued for Red River's annexation, and the possibility of Canada stretching from sea to sea was discussed amongst members of the British-Canadian administration. An essential first step was the annexation of the Red River settlement. These sentiments gained momentum and support through time only as Canadian imperialists inside the Red River argued in favour of this action. For others in the Red River settlement, being part of Canada could be detrimental to their future as terms and conditions would be dictated by eastern Canadians.[2] Although both Schultz and Begg came from central Canada, they agreed on few matters concerning the future of Red River.

Alexander Begg arrived in Red River from Ontario in 1867. He traded in manufactured goods in the settlement from 1867 until 1877, becoming a local businessman, teacher, civil servant, writer, historian and journalist. Begg's moderate view of events unfolding in Red River caused him to question the actions of the Canadian government; he was sympathetic to the local Hudson's Bay Company administration.[3]

John Schultz moved to the Red River Settlement from Ontario in 1859. He was a businessman and speculator in the area, eventually owning a number of stores in the colony's business sector. Schultz became part-owner of *The Nor'Wester* newspaper in 1864, and its full owner the following year. The newspaper was a pro-British-Canadian publication advocating Canada's control of the Red River and was traditionally hostile to the HBC's administration.[4] Schultz was a bitter opponent of the HBC and, as the only newspaper editor in the colony, he described it consistently in negative terms. He sold *The Nor'Wester* in 1868, but remained involved in the region's blossoming newspaper culture.

Schultz was initially on good terms with Red River's Francophone community, but his questionable business practices made him unpopular with most established settlers, Anglophone and Francophone alike. He and his followers were viewed with suspicion by most of Red River's Métis community. By 1869, Schultz had emerged as the leader of a small, ultra-Protestant organization, which promoted the annexation of Red River by the Canadian government, while encouraging Anglophone, Protestant immigration from Ontario.[5] Schultz was a member of the Canada First Party, an annexationist group, and while not representing all central Canadians, it represented the interests of many Ontarians. These men dreamed of expansion and speculation.[6]

Historian Doug Owram describes a subscription to *The Nor'Wester* as a "badge of membership in the campaign for annexation."[7] George Denison, a founder of the Canada First Party, stated that its followers would "do all we could to advance the interests of our native land." He described Schultz as "a loyal and patriotic Canadian. He had been persecuted by the Hudson's Bay officials. Once he was put in prison by them, but was soon taken out by a mob of the [Red River] inhabitants." Schultz was later described as "an able man of great courage and strength of character, as well as sound judgement." Denison encouraged Canadian Prime Minister John A. Macdonald to annex the Red River in order to make Canada a large and prosperous country. The men involved in the Canada First group vowed "we would put our country first, before all personal, political or party considerations … the true interest of Canada was to be first in our minds on every occasion."[8]

Macdonald, although favourable to the notion of expansion, was not fond of Schultz. He described him as "a clever sort of man but exceedingly cantankerous and ill conditioned."[9] Modern historians agree with Macdonald's assessment. Pannekoek describes Schultz as being "extremely abrasive".[10] Morton depicts Schultz as "determined to open the north-west to Canadian settlement."[11]

Begg described *The Nor'Wester* and those in favour of its Canadian expansionist ideology as alienating, rather than promoting annexation.[12] According to Begg, *The Nor'Wester* was "the organ of a few ambitious intriguing men in the settlement ... who, while working for a change in government, calculated upon a large benefit to themselves personally, without taking into account the welfare and

condition of the settlers at all."[13] Schultz tried to influence others to support Canadian expansion. He wrote:

> I am penetrated, deeply penetrated with the importance which attaches to the integrity, high character, and literary reputation of our newspaper. But we are not only influenced here but judged abroad. For across our broad expanse of plains, dense woods—our hermit lakes—ah, who would not be a hermit amid such lakes to dwell—far across the mighty sea … there can be seen the lighthouse on the coast—the beacon that lets men know that we are here, a healthy seedling from a brave old tree.[14]

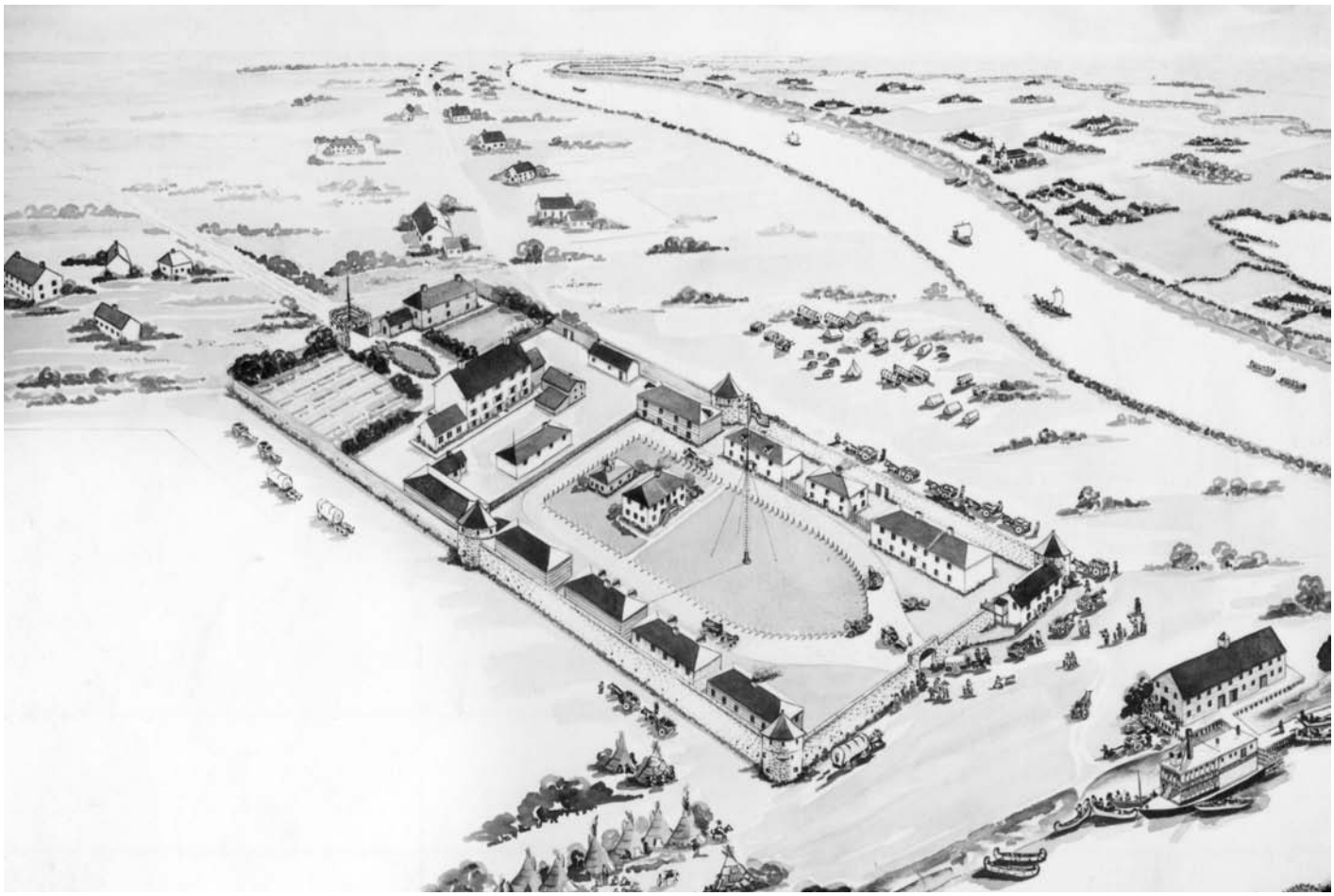
According to Begg, Schultz served as "a thorn in the side of the government officials at Red River.[15] Begg believed "*The Nor'Wester* had now become the mouthpiece of the malcontents in the settlement," with its remarks being "so offensive that the majority of the people became disgusted with it."[16]

The Nor'Wester published what it saw as desirable, often giving a one-sided account of events. Schultz confessed to using "every means in our power to further the advance of settlement and civilization throughout this vast domain, that we shall use every endeavor to reclaim this fair land from the hands of the [HBC] monopoly and the savage."[17] Canadian control of Red River contrasted with the rule of First Nations and the HBC which, Schultz believed, were misgoverning the land.

Alexander Begg arrived in Red River from Ontario in 1867. He traded in manufactured goods in the settlement from 1867 until 1877, becoming a local businessman, teacher, civil servant, writer, historian and journalist.

In contrast, Begg wanted the Red River to remain under HBC control; change was undesirable. If annexation to Canada was to occur, Begg believed, it had to take into account the wishes of the local inhabitants.[18]

Begg had experienced the pre-1870 Red River settlement as approaching utopia.[19] He described the Red River settlement as having all the "advantages of civilization"; the inhabitants were "tolerably virtuous and



Archives of Manitoba, Fort Garry 19, N12506.

Upper Fort Garry, at the confluence of the Assiniboine and Red Rivers, at it looked in the 1870s, seen in this reconstruction by Jules Perret, 1942.

unmistakably happy." But central Canadians incorrectly viewed the settlement as the "wild children of the prairie" needing the guidance of Canada.[20] There were individual examples of laws being broken which only supported Canadian propaganda. Such occurrences were "dished up in the endeavor to show the outside world that the settlers of Red River were groaning under an oppressive, tyrannical government."

Begg was content that HBC rule gave the Red River a unique combination of isolation, independence and civilization, but Canada's potential acquisition of the Red River caused deep concern for its inhabitants.[21] He contended that they had "an indisputable voice in the selection of the men appointed to watch over their interests".

Traditionally the HBC would consult the settlers on local affairs that concerned them. It was a lie, fomented by central-Canadian expansionists, that the settlers had no control over their own affairs in order to justify possible annexation. Begg made the point that the local councillors from the Red River, and the HBC were equal in power. One member of the local board could overturn any motion. The settlers of the Red River were content but interests of "parties from abroad came to Red River and sowed the seeds of discontent amongst the inhabitants." Traditionally relying on the peaceful and contented character of the people, the HBC feared stirring up "internal commotion" to settle local quarrels.

John Schultz moved to the Red River settlement from Ontario in 1859. He was a businessman and speculator in the area, eventually owning a number of stores in the colony's business sector.

The administration of the Red River was intentionally misrepresented to portray the settlers as having no voice in local affairs, under the rule of a weak although sometimes overbearing HBC administration. Schultz frequently described the negotiations between Canadian and HBC officials and wanted all talks "pressed forward as rapidly as possible to a conclusion."[22] *The Nor'Wester* published what it wanted; two constant themes were the inefficiency of the HBC administration, and the advantages the Red River would have when united with Canada.[23] Schultz stated that the local inhabitants didn't like HBC rule because they were in a stagnant, subservient position—"the company have held a charter and exercised privileges by it for 200 years, including rights of government and legislation together with the prosperity of all the lands and precious metals".[24] Schultz called this the "last great monopoly" while reassuring his readers that their misrule would soon end.[25]

Schultz wrote that vast quantities of gold were in the North-west with the "richest mines near the sources of the Saskatchewan [river]". Schultz also believed that there was "no natural barrier to the physical union of the British North American colonies from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean," the only obstacle being the claims of the HBC. Once these claims were extinguished the Red River would enjoy "a properly organized government, who can undertake the construction of roads, survey and lay out the land for settlement, and establish communication with Canada on one side and British Columbia on the other." A union with Canada would improve the settlement by ending the HBC trading monopoly and provide a better administration. The "social and political character demand early attention," wrote Schultz in *The Nor' Wester*, in order to help free the locals from the HBC's monopoly and oppression.[26]

In contrast Begg stated that "the Company were liberal supporters of the several religious denominations". The HBC also helped out consistently in times of need; it was not oppressive or a poor administrator. The laws were mild, taxation light, land easily obtainable, and the HBC served as bankers and a market for locally produced goods.[27] Begg had no qualms with HBC control and maintained that some in central Canada incorrectly assumed the annexation of the Red River would save the local inhabitants from an oppressive HBC administration.[28]

On 4 December 1867, William McDougall, Minister of Public Works, introduced into the Canadian Parliament resolutions that reflected the central-Canadian attitude regarding the North-West. McDougall believed annexation would promote the prosperity of the Canadian people, and the entire British Empire. It aided Canada to extend west to the Pacific Ocean, encouraging the colonization of western lands and access to vital raw materials. Annexation would also promote the welfare of the local population through the implementation of Canadian institutions.[29] Central-Canadian expansionists and federal government imperialists had taken measures to "weaken the only existing Government at the time" while portraying the locals as "in want of proper protection."[30]

With Canadian imperialists fomenting trouble in the area, the HBC found it did not have the necessary "money or force to carry out the laws", resulting in serious negotiations between the Dominion of Canada and the HBC. Canada First Party founder George Denison praised Macdonald as demonstrating "farseeing leadership" during negotiations with the HBC. George-Étienne Cartier, a French Canadian political leader and one of the Fathers of Confederation, and William McDougall were sent to England to carry out negotiations. Denison also praised McDougall as a man who followed the "Canada First" ideology: "We knew he would do all that man could do to secure territory for Canada."[31]

Begg found that the Red River settlement was confused during negotiations, not knowing what their future might be.[32] It was a time of many rumours and much apprehension.[33]

The Métis were already suspicious, having lost their lands in the United States, where Métis claims were never recognized. They feared the whole situation could occur north in Red River as well. Alexander Ross referred to these individuals as "chiefly half-breeds from Red River; many without house, home, or allegiance to any government—wanderers at large, citizens of the wilderness." The terms of the Pembina Treaty of 1851—an attempt to negotiate Métis interests in Minnesota Territory in the face of US expansion—were a great disappointment to the Métis. They had struggled to establish a settlement in the belief they would be "recognized by the American government as the rightful owners of the disputed lands of Pembina."[34]

The Métis in the Red River talked about looking after their own interests. The gossip and fears of the community only increased as two groups of men, the HBC and Canadian officials, were deciding their fate. Little thought was given to the local inhabitants.[35]

In contrast to Begg, Schultz portrayed the people of the Red River as anxious for change. Schultz believed the Red River colony was excited, and happy of the prospect of becoming part of Canada.[36] Schultz stressed that the Canadian government would not take anything away from the community, merely improve its prosperity while ending its isolation.[37] The Canadians, according to Schultz, did not want to uproot the way of life and sense of community in Red River, but to open "communication with the Red River through Canadian territory." The Red River settlement was to advance and enjoy future prosperity through Canadian contact.[38] Schultz urged settlers to "facilitate the action of the Canadians."[39]

For some Red River inhabitants, annexation by the United States was also a possibility. Both Schultz and Begg viewed this as unwanted, but for different reasons.

For some Red River inhabitants, annexation by the United States was also a possibility. Both Schultz and Begg viewed this as unwanted, but for different reasons. Schultz presented Canada as the better country in an attempt to convince any skeptical readers, depicting the Americans as having a corrupt administration.[40] The Americans' treatment of native peoples was also intentionally exaggerated by Schultz in order to justify his description of the United States as the "barbarians of the plains."[41] According to Schultz the Canadian government was preferable for a number of reasons. One, there was a great risk that the colonists would lose their farms and homes due to the large American debt in the wake of the Civil War. Two, prices of common necessities would double or triple compared to prices in the Dominion. Three, taxation would greatly increase and "ruin the mass of our rural population," with Schultz arguing that if the Red River became part of the United States taxes would be five times higher than with Canada, and high rates would increase yearly. Four, the Red River would "be forced to sacrifice free trade and adopt the most stringent system of protection or rather monopoly, known to any age." Five, the possibility of European immigration would end due to the high taxation and cost of living. Last, in the event of war between the United States and Great Britain "we [Red River residents] would have to fight, kill, and plunder our English, Irish and Scottish brethren."[42] Begg agreed on this one point with Schultz. He, too, saw the incorporation of the area into the United States as unwanted. The local life and autonomy between the ethnic groups on the Red River were fragile; annexation to the United States would infringe on this way of life. Begg stated that the Red River could join Canada but it would have to be "a just union." The local residents preferred to remain as they were, under HBC administration, but if change had to occur, Canada was the lesser of two evils. Begg maintained that annexation to the United States "will not be for the good of the present settlers" because the "class of settlers that will flow in here from the States will not be of the kind we require—and the Americans as a rule are not the people to care much for the condition and interests of the people now here." He believed that annexation by Canada would be the better solution, but "if not Canada let us stick to the old 'Union Jack'".[43]

The major Anglophone groups in the Red River had separate fears and motives for their affiliations. Americans tended to back annexation by the United States, those from the United Kingdom and those individuals who benefitted from the current HBC administration, such as Begg, wanted no change. Those from central Canada or those who believed in the "Canada First" ideology, such as Schultz, saw Canadian annexation as the most advantageous option for the Red River.[44] The balance in the community was very delicate; the common denominators were based on their isolation and native ties. But the social tensions throughout the multiracial society on the Red River escalated due to changing economic trends in the community and central-Canadian imperialist interests. The Canadian government exploited these divisions for their own purposes.[45]

The Canadian government was anxious to control the Red River from the time negotiations began until Manitoba became a Canadian province. The only competitor to annexation was the United States. John A. Macdonald wrote, "it is quite evident to me … that the United States Government are resolved to do all they can, short of war, to get possession of the western territory and we must take immediate and vigorous steps to counteract them."[46]

Schultz believed that the United States was jealous of the increased power and prosperity of Canada. Soon the American imperialist "in Washington [will] take measures to acquire this country by fair means or foul; and instead of stating the truth in this matter, they must resort to misrepresentation and falsehood."[47] According to Oscar Malmros, the American Consul in Red River, "the entire French, and over one-half of the other inhabitants

City of Winnipeg Archives

A view of the Point Douglas neighborhood of Winnipeg, looking north from the top of the Court House, August 1875. Foundations for the new city market are visible in the foreground.

are strongly opposed to annexation to Canada, the rest, with the exception of perhaps a couple dozen of Canadian partisans, are possibly indifferent." The American government also noted that "the Nor'Wester, as yet the only paper published in the Red River settlements, is in the interest of the Canadian government, and for some months past has been misrepresenting the actual conditions of the Territory-representing this rising of people as the act of a few ignorant half-breeds, when, in fact, it is well known here that the Red River people, of all nationalities, are united almost to a man." If the settlement was to have its wishes, the American government "anticipate[d] a strong and determined movement in favor of annexation to the United States." If Red River was to become part of Canada, it was the Americans desire that this be "the result of a peaceful adjustment among the people interested."[48]

While both Schultz and Macdonald displayed a fear of the United States, this interpretation was in sharp contrast to Begg. Riel, who Canadian expansionists accused of favouring America's expansion, was against any quick annexation, especially by the Americans. Riel was in control of the Red River community by 1869; Begg believed his actions showed "honest purpose for the good of his country—the American influence is no influence with him." For Begg, the influence of the Americans in the community was minimal; the fear of annexation almost nonexistent. Begg knew that there was little to fear from the Americans as they had no authority in the area. Americans occupied only a few positions within the Red River administration.[49]

Modern historians, such as James Snell, agree with Begg; there was no fear of American annexation. Snell examined American sources and believed that Macdonald's accusation that the American government was ready to do anything short of war to annex Red River was incorrect. He believed that US President Grant showed restraint and maturity. He concluded that the Canadian government under Macdonald found it "advantageous to their national purpose to portray a somewhat one-sided view of American reactions[50]

The outcome of negotiations between the HBC and Canada saw the North West ceded to Canada on 1 December 1869.[51] In return, three hundred thousand pounds were paid to the HBC, and the Company would retain its forts surrounded by small tracts of land.

According to Begg, during the negotiations the Canadian government represented the Red River inhabitants "as only a few employees of the Hudson Bay Company and a number of Indian tribes."[52] When the settlers in the area voiced their concern about the future administration, their questions were ignored. Begg stated that "the necessity for a change of Government was forced upon the people by the acts of a few men who afterwards made it a boast that the natives of the country would have to give way before the incoming stranger."[53]

Red River settlers became increasingly worried about their fate. They issued public proclamations stating that inhabitants of Red River were law-abiding. Local residents wanted a just union that would "secure the welfare of the natives and inhabitants of this settlement."[54] They wanted

to ensure their rights would be respected, and that they not be treated as a subject people. The interests of Ontario seemed to be the priority as the local interests were largely ignored.[55]

The Canadians incorrectly believed that anarchy reigned in the Red River and the inhabitants needed stability and protection.[56] The Canadian government lacked knowledge of the area and an understanding of the current administration.[57] These sources reveal an arrogant and uniformed administration that alienated the Red River settlers. Yet the Canadians claimed they only wanted to help the locals and calm the uninformed while taking measures to put the area under federal control. This meant abolishing all local forms of administration, and allowing the Canadian government and institutions to be established.

The Red River area was to be a colony of Canada subject to the whims of a people who knew little about their administration or lifestyle.[58] Councillors representing the settlers would be appointed in the new administration to demonstrate the settlers had a voice, but in a ratio favouring Canada.[59] Canadians would be in charge to do as they saw fit. For the locals, this meant their voices would go unheard, their complaints ignored.[60] In his letter of 3 November 1869, J. Provencher, an aide to Macdonald, stated that Canadians would rule the area, but would try to appear lenient with the Red River settlers. Attempts would be made to appear conciliatory regarding locals wishes.[61]

When Lieutenant-Governor McDougall, who had been appointed Governor of Red River, attempted to enter the Red River on 16 November 1869, two weeks before the area was to be ceded to Canada, Louis Riel's Métis followers refused to allow him to enter.

Schultz believed any attempt to not allow Canadian officials into the Red River area showed hatred for Canada and "disloyalty to the Queen."[62] He thought that only irrational, uninformed people did not see the obvious advantages of annexation to Canada. Those who were not in favour were misrepresenting the nature of the transfer, and the intentions of the Canadian government regarding the rights of locals.[63] Yet Schultz argued the current government was "ruled by Indian laws and savages" and that interest by the Canadians was appreciated and desired.[64] For Schultz the Canadian government could do little wrong.

Begg, on the other hand, saw the denial of access to McDougall as a means to ensure a just union. Their actions were not meant as a sign of disloyalty or aggression but it strengthened the locals' position in future interactions with the Canadians.[65] Begg saw the Dominion of Canada as "having an eye to the North-West for some years past", willing to use "any statement that tends to show us in the light of a down trodden people, because it will assist them in their demands" in acquiring the area.[66] Begg stated that McDougall behaved inappropriately when he came into contact with the Métis. They wanted to be treated as equals, not as subordinates. By denying McDougall access to the area, proper terms could be awarded to all locals. They believed once McDougall was inside the community the Métis' position of strength regarding negotiations would be lost.[67]

J. J. Hargrave, an HBC employee, was anti-Métis, but acknowledged that the Canadians had their own agenda. They did not respect the present administration or traditions and acted in an arrogant manner. The appointment of McDougall was premature as some of the problems in the Red River were due to the meddling influence of outsiders.[68]

Another problematic action by the Canadians, before negotiations with the HBC had been concluded, was the sending of surveyors to the Red River.[69] According to historian John O'Donnel, the "survey bisected the lots in many places, and in some instances passed through their buildings, or left their buildings on their neighbour's farm."[70] This alarmed all locals but the Canadians did not recall the surveyors or try to quell the residents' fears. The Canadian policy was one of ignorance; the surveyors were a premature act of adventure and speculation.[71]

For Schultz, the actions of the surveyors were merely to ensure the transaction between the HBC and Canada went smoothly with the Red River benefitting by the building of a road, resulting in increased communication and commerce.[72]

Overall, the central-Canadian government acted in a high-handed and arrogant manner. Canadians made false assumptions that the protests coming out of the Red River were only those of a handful of Métis. They argued that the white settlers and English-speaking Métis were against Riel and his followers, and were in favour of Canadian involvement. The Canadian government, according to Begg, made only one serious attempt to communicate with the Red River inhabitants and address grievances. But this was after many Canadian blunders had occurred; no further attempts at communication were made.[73] Many Canadians believed the colony spoke through Schultz; therefore, consultation with the inhabitants of the Red River was not needed. This assumption alienated the bulk of the settlers and infuriated the Métis population.[74]

Since they had purchased the area from the HBC, central Canadians believed they could use the area as they saw fit. Red River was to be a colony of central Canada; the old elite and administration would be removed only to be replaced with people from Ontario.

The Canadian government viewed Red River in terms of its potential. Prior to the passing of the Manitoba Act, the Canadian government had already made plans to send "in a military force to restore peace and order," showing the Canadians had little intention of serious discussions with the locals within the Red River.[75]

On 2 May 1870, the Province of Manitoba was formed. Schultz clearly won the war of words with Begg, but the way the annexation was handled resulted in grievances among the Red River settlers that continue to echo to this day. ∞

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Suppressing the Winnipeg General Strike: Paranoia or Preserving the Peace?

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The following essay was the winner of the 2009 Dr. Edward C. Shaw Award in the Young Historians Competition sponsored by the Manitoba Historical Society. At that time, Murphy Berzish was a student at St. John's Ravenscourt School.

The Winnipeg General Strike of 1919 can be considered among Canada's first steps towards entrenching a democratic government and capitalist economic base. The strike, which began as a dispute between the metal workers and their employers, soon grew to be a "sympathetic" general strike which resulted in 30,000 workers walking off the job on 15 May 1919, leaving the city of Winnipeg essentially paralyzed. The "establishment" opposing the strike, consisting of the federal government, the municipal government of Winnipeg, the business elite, and the media, implemented harsh measures that caused the hardening of public opinion against the strikers and, ultimately, the suppression of the strike itself. The cumulative effect of the various actions taken by these different groups was deadly for the strike. One may wonder what the motivation of each of these groups was in acting as they did. Were they simply concerned with the restoration of essential services to a city that was being held hostage by illegal labour actions? Was their primary goal to maintain law and order and preserve peace on the streets, or were there more deeply rooted motives—motives that were based on the fear that a "democratic" society would soon be overturned and reformed as a Communist state?

In order to fully understand the motivations and beliefs of the establishment, however, it is first necessary to look at the period leading up to the Strike. This overview will

Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg Strike 26, N12314.

Crowds gather. The scene on Main Street on 21 June 1919, around 2:30 pm.

give an insight into how the fears that fuelled the response to the strike were founded.

Until 1914, the labour movement had remained relatively quiet and withdrawn; its demands were moderate and were not accompanied by any widespread violence, demonstration, or protest. However, when the First World War began in 1914, the labour movement became more aggressive in its actions and more visible to the general public. In an attempt to gain more power, labour connected itself to Socialist beliefs that were derived from what the establishment would call "alien nations" and in doing so began to sow the seeds of fear and mistrust in the establishment. The first significant evidence of this increasing aggressiveness on the part of the unions occurred in May 1918, when a series of strikes took place in Western Canada, the largest and most widespread of which occurred in Winnipeg. Although not a general strike, the strike of 1918 affected many civil services, including power, waterworks, fire-fighting, telephone, railway and streetcar services. In order to promote their cause further, the strikers began publishing their own paper, the *Western Labour News*. Their efforts to sway public opinion, however, were in vain; the city council passed an amendment that took away civic employees' right to strike.

> [The amendment] proposed that all persons employed by the city…sign an agreement undertaking that they will not either collectively or individually at any time go on strike, but will resort to arbitration as a means of settlement of all grievances and differences.[1]

The strikers became frustrated and labour leaders were in agreement that a general strike could be a valuable operation to make the city council repeal the amendment. Only through negotiation by a group known as the Citizens' Committee of One Hundred was the strike of 1918 broken and the labour leaders satisfied.

Subsequently, on 22 December 1918, the Socialist Party of Canada gathered at the Walker Theatre to hold "a meeting dedicated to the purpose of finding no good at all in the government."[2] The meeting was attended by large numbers of workers from various organizations such as the Metal Trades Council, the Carpenters' Union, and the *Western Labour News*. Scattered amongst the "agitators" were small groups of secret policemen who were spying on the meeting and taking notes in order to report back to the military.[3] The deployment of these "secret agents" demonstrates that the government was already concerned about the threat posed by the Socialists. At the meeting, speakers expounded Socialist ideals, stating outright that "Capitalism has come to a point where she is defunct and must disappear," and demanding that the Canadian military withdraw its troops from the war against Russia and ultimately strive towards the establishment of the Soviet system of government in Canada.[4] Additionally, the labour leaders proposed an idea known as the "One Big Union" (OBU). The purpose of this union was to eliminate all existing unions and engulf every single worker in Canada into one union in order to leverage massive bargaining power nation-wide. As stated by one leader, the eventual goal of the OBU was...

> to use our organization to secure the conquest of political power in order that the control of industry shall be brought into our own hands.[5]

To add to the mounting unrest and tension, the *Western Labour News* began publishing articles that advocated the Soviet political position, complained about unemployment and threatened that "Unless these things change...we shall find that Bolshevism will not confine itself to Russia... will Ottawa ever wake up?"[6]

In March 1919, many labour leaders and activists from Winnipeg and other parts of Western Canada gathered in Calgary for a conference, the purpose of which was to discuss

> the aims of Labour...the abolition of the present system of production for profit and the substitute therefore of production for use, and...a system of propaganda to this end.[7]

During the conference, the discussion moved towards a debate over the One Big Union and how it should be implemented; however, the exact details were never completely spelled out. The issue of the OBU was put to a vote, along with a general strike vote, on a ballot that was sent out to every citizen of Winnipeg on 6 May. The results were announced on 13 May 1919, at the meeting of the Winnipeg Trades and Labour Council. Although the results were incomplete, they were proclaimed with great fervour and energy: over eleven thousand were in favour of the strike and only five hundred were against. The committee decided to cast the die and put the strike into motion at 11:00 a.m. on Thursday, 15 May. The plan was that "all public utilities will be tied up in order to enforce the principle of collective bargaining."[8] What the workers were trying to accomplish, according to the Metal Trades Council and the Winnipeg Building Trades Council, was "to move to a new form of collective bargaining, one which had been recognized in Vancouver in 1918 ... and was being advocated in many places in the United States."[9] These actions taken by the labour movement, especially those which struck at the heart of a democratic government, could not be ignored. The threat of the collapse of democracy and capitalism and the substitution of Socialism was perceived as real. Although the Strike Committee's position was strictly that of establishing the right to collective bargaining, the establishment would take a different view of the strike's ultimate goal when the sheer scope of the walkout became apparent four days later.

At the time of the strike, daily newspapers—the *Winnipeg Telegram*, the *Winnipeg Tribune*, and the *Manitoba*

Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg Strike 7, N12298.

Main Street outside the Winnipeg Board of Trade Building, home of the Citizens' Committee of 1000, was crowded on 4 June 1919.

Free Press—were the primary sources of information for the citizens of Winnipeg. Up to the time of the walkout on 15 May 1919, the role of the papers had been that of observer and reporter. The unions, however, began to take exception to the way news was being reported to the public. They felt that the press was biased and was thwarting their attempts to obtain collective bargaining. Newspaper reporters were excluded from meetings of the strikers because it was the strikers' position that the newspapers were misrepresenting them. This feeling was so strong in the labour movement that the *Winnipeg Tribune* was boycotted by unions because of the unfavourable reports it had printed regarding the convention held in Calgary in March 1919, and the position it took against the formation of the One Big Union.[10] The Strike Committee, realizing how influential the press was, believed that it was imperative to silence the papers. The Strike Committee believed that forcing the papers to shut down would be "a case of simple justice to muzzle for a few days the enemies of freedom and truth."[11] In order to achieve this goal the Strike Committee placed tremendous pressure on the typographers at all three papers and on 17 May 1919, they walked off the job, silencing the strikers' most vocal critics.

The *Manitoba Free Press* initially was viewed as restrained and objective in the days leading up to its being shut down. When it was able to publish again under management, its tone had changed dramatically. The *Free Press* began blasting the strike organizers, labelling Russell, Veitch, Ivens, Robinson, and Winning as the "red five".[12] The paper also took advantage of the strong feelings evoked by the First World War, trying to establish a link between the organizers and their quest for power and the influence of "Huns" in order to create a scapegoat.[13] The *Manitoba Free Press* feverishly continued to put forth propaganda in an attempt to convince both the strikers and the general population that the strike was having no effect. To this end, on 19 June, the *Free Press* printed an article released by the Citizens' Committee. The goal of the article was to show the citizens of Winnipeg, as well as others around the country, that the strike was having no effect on daily life and that businesses were operating normally in the city of Winnipeg.

By reason of the actions of the Committee of One Thousand, representing all of the middle class citizens, the non-participant victims of the dispute between workers and employers, the city was speedily restored to a normal basis of business.

Meanwhile, the *Manitoba Free Press* also promoted the notion that the strikers were actually going to overthrow the government. The paper's attacks against the strikers became more vicious over the following weeks and

were aimed at convincing the public and the world that Winnipeg was about to be taken over by the Communists. The propaganda campaign put forth by the *Manitoba Free Press* was so effective at convincing everyone that a Communist coup was imminent that when the strike was finally broken, the headline in the *New York Times*, dated 22 June 1919, read: "BOLSHEVISM IN WINNIPEG "One Big Union" Assumed Entire Control of City, But Was Ousted by a Bourgeois Committee." The newspapers, specifically the *Manitoba Free Press*, had succeeded, but what was it that drove them to speak as the voice of the establishment and to declare all-out war on the unions? It may have been a reaction to the denial of freedom of the press to the citizens, or it could have been simply a reaction to the fact that the strikers had basically tried to put the newspapers out of business by shutting them down. The search for the reason begins and ends with two key figures: John Wesley Dafoe, the editor of the paper at the time of the strike and Sir Clifford Sifton, the owner of the *Manitoba Free Press*. Dafoe was a staunch liberal and supporter of Canada who did everything possible to promote Canada as a Dominion. He stood up to both Prime Ministers Laurier and Macdonald when he felt that their policies threatened Canada, and more specifically, the West. Some felt that Mr. Dafoe was so pro-Canadian that he was anti-British.[14] His position on organized labour was simple: it should not exist. Dafoe's position was made clear, as he did not differentiate "... between British socialism and Marxist communism, and he condemned them both with brutal vigour."[15] He took the initiative in attacking the strikers' position and wrote blistering editorials labelling them as "Communist revolutionaries under the influence of enemy aliens and the Bolshevik government in the newly formed Soviet Union."[16] By trying to connect the Winnipeg situation with that of the Russian Revolution, Dafoe was able to stir up public opposition to the strike itself. Dafoe's beliefs were so strong and so deeply entrenched that he was not going to stand idly by and watch his beloved country crumble under the weight of what he felt was an invasion by the "red machine." He took the offensive at every opportunity and was determined to crush the threat, motivated by his powerful sense of nationalism and an innate desire to protect the country he loved.

Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg Strike 16, N12307.

Special police constables were sworn in, allegedly to maintain the peace, on 5 June 1919.

Dafoe could not have mounted such a staunch opposition to the strike without the support of his superior, the owner of the *Manitoba Free Press*, Sir Clifford Sifton. In 1896, Sifton had been the Minister of the Interior in the Laurier government and he was no stranger to the political game and the workings of immigrants and aliens.[17] He decided to encourage a new breed of farmer to settle in Western Canada and actively sought out "Eastern Europeans, including Ukrainians, Doukhobors and other groups from the Austrian and Russian Empires."[18] He felt that these people were better equipped to endure hardship than British immigrants, or groups from urban areas. It would appear that the apparent "threat" from this group which he felt was better suited to till the soil would not have sat well with Sifton. His background as both a federal minister and wealthy businessman made Sifton a prominent member of the business community and one of Winnipeg society's elite. His status in society made him no friend of the average working man. In the opinion of some, "A man more unsympathetic to the cause of the working man never lived."[19] Sifton, therefore, had no reason to be sympathetic towards the strikers. He had a vested interest in the outcome of the strike and he strongly supported his fellow members of the bourgeois community. He used his position in such a way as to maintain the capitalist status quo and ensure the continuation of democracy. Dafoe and Sifton had similar, and yet different motives, behind their actions against the strike, but they both used the fear and talk of political and economic overthrow as the fuel to ignite the other members of Canada's establishment to band together and ultimately crush the strike once and for all.

The most powerful and effective opponent of the Winnipeg General Strike was the Citizens' Committee of One Thousand, which, like its predecessor of 1918, the Citizens' Group of One Hundred, was formed in response to the strike. The Committee of One Thousand was made up of members of the Winnipeg Board of Trade, the Canadian Manufacturers' Association and the Manitoba Bar Association.[20] In short, the group was comprised primarily of the business community, the wealthy, and the elite. A lawyer who dealt with the group noted that "... newspaper editors, bankers, manufacturers and capitalists abounded."[21] Although everyone knew of the existence of the committee, it operated as a clandestine organization with the membership list remaining unpublished. To this day many members have never been identified. There were, however, several prominent Winnipeggers who were named, including William Sweatman, Max Steinkopf, and A. J. Andrews. The question is, why did this group feel that it was necessary to form and become such a vigorous opponent of the strike? Should not these matters have been

left in the hands of the three levels of the government? The members of this group obviously felt that they had the most to lose if the strike were successful. They were the "Captains of Industry" and they did not want anyone "rocking their boat." The actions taken by the Citizens' Committee of One Thousand were directed towards the maintenance of the status quo. They all had established businesses, they were reaping huge profits as a result of the war and they felt that the strike threatened economic activity in Winnipeg. At the outbreak of the strike, newspapers both in Canada and the United States were describing the strike as a "demonstration of essential Bolshevism," which negatively affected the stock markets and discouraged foreign investors.[22] Fearful of an economic catastrophe, the Committee responded swiftly by publishing an article that tried to allay fears and let the world know that Winnipeg was still open for business.

> That statement is quite contrary to fact, for no bank has closed its doors during the regular business hours at any time during the general strike. The impression seems to have been gathered that business is at a standstill, whereas the fact is that business is being carried on practically as in normal times.[23]

When the strike broke out, the Committee's initial goal was to keep everything running as smoothly as possible. If they could maintain essential services, it would weaken the strikers' power over the city, as their goal was to shut the city down. The Committee members manned the fire department, steam plants, gas stations, and other services.[24] In order to keep things going the Committee raised between $800,000 and $1,000,000 from businesses in Winnipeg and outside the city in order to provide funds to pay volunteer workers.[25] On 19 May, the Citizens' Committee published its own daily newspaper, the *Winnipeg Citizen*, which spoke out in opposition to the strikers' paper, the *Western Labour News*.[26] The strategy adopted by the Citizens' Committee was to convince the average citizen that the strike was linked to a world-wide Bolshevik revolt. It espoused the idea that "the real Trades Unionist had a deep commitment to his city and society ... but the Bolshevik was opposed to honest labour and its every interest."[27] The Committee took the unprecedented initiative of bypassing both the provincial government—which was doing nothing—and the city of Winnipeg—which was doing little—in hopes that the federal government would intervene with force and break the strike.[28] Because the Citizens' Committee was made up of members of the business elite, their motivations for breaking the strike are easy to explain: the strikers posed a threat to their business and the economy, and by breaking the strike they would be able to continue making money and doing business as usual. Although the strikers had been effective at shutting down the city, the Committee's report tried to convince people otherwise and encouraged them to continue with life as normal. Since any perceived

Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg Strike 5, N12296.

Veterans unite. On 4 June 1919, members of the Great War Veterans Association demonstrated outside Winnipeg City Hall.

threat to the economy would hurt the Committee, it made sure to counter those threats through its actions as well as to explicitly deny that there was any sort of problem in the city.

On 21 May, A. J. Andrews met with Minister of Justice Arthur Meighen and Labour Minister Gideon Robertson. He described the situation as a revolution and not a strike.[29] Andrews himself took the lead and became a key figure in promoting the interests of the business community to the federal government:

> ... his fear of labour radicalism, and his personal identification with labour's opponents in this particular fight made him one of the strikers' most formidable opponents.[30]

He remained in constant contact with Meighen and fed him information, sometimes exaggerated, that led Meighen to believe conditions were worsening when in fact they were not. For example, he described the circumstance where one "special" constable was injured in a skirmish as a "riot" and claimed that the whole force of special constables had been "chased off the streets." He hoped that this would convince Meighen to intervene.[31] These "specials" had been brought in to replace the Winnipeg Police who were fired en masse by the City under pressure from the Citizens' Committee. Andrews had built such a reputation through his actions that twelve days after the strike began, Arthur Meighen appointed him to represent the Justice Department in an investigation to determine if there were grounds to arrest the leaders based on seditious or treasonable actions.[32]

The die was cast and the work of the Citizens' Committee of One Thousand was done. They proved to be an extremely powerful and influential group; not only had they convinced the general public that Winnipeg was in a state of revolt, but they worked to have the city police

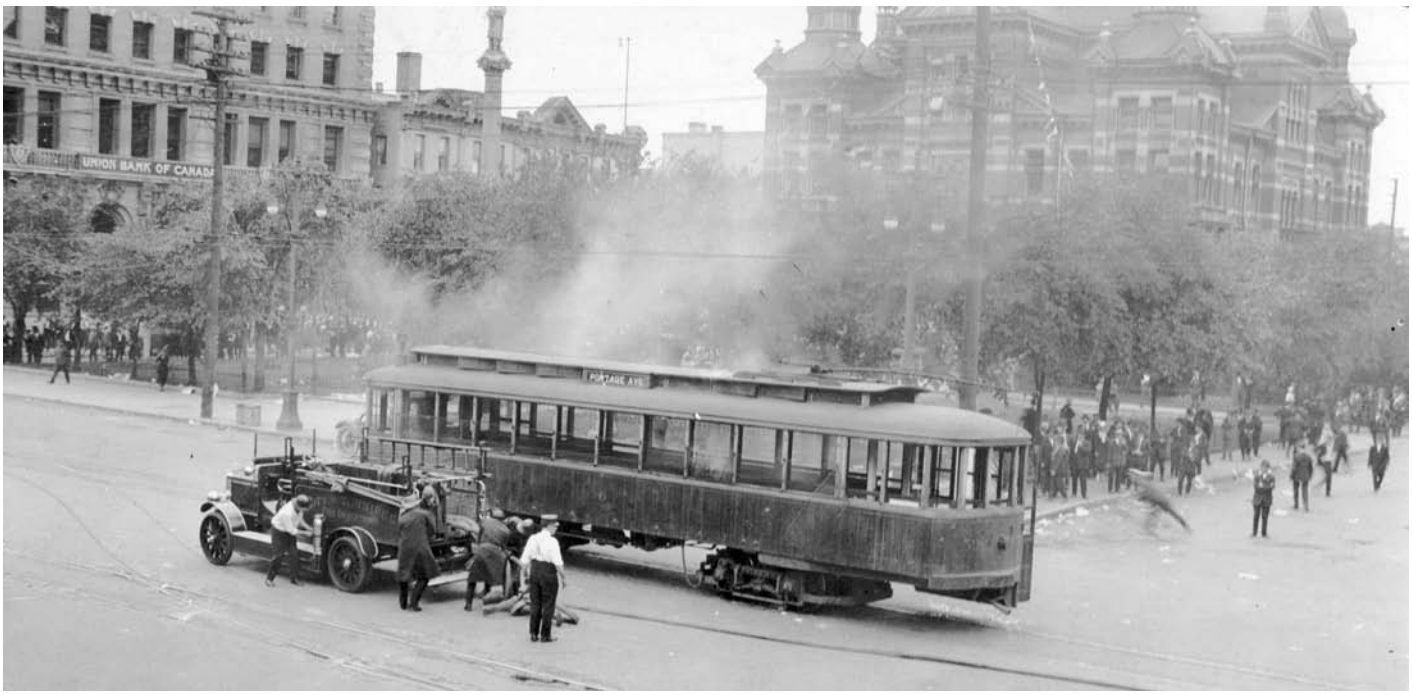
fired and replaced with "hired guns" who were essentially a group of anti-strike thugs. The stage was set for the confrontation and violence which would prompt the federal government to intervene and break the strike. The Citizens' Committee proved without a doubt that "money is power."

The effects of the strike and the fear of a shift in the balance of power were not confined to Winnipeg. The federal government perceived the strike as a threat to democracy, and the result, they feared, would be nothing less than Communist revolution at the federal level. The fear of a "Red uprising" was perpetuated mostly by the government's point man, Justice Minister Arthur Meighen. He was genuinely afraid that the Bolsheviks would soon be at his threshold, threatening to overthrow the government. In April 1919, the cabinet sent a telegram to Versailles, explaining to Prime Minister Borden that the situations in Vancouver, Calgary, and Winnipeg had degraded to the point where "Bolshevism" and "socialism" were "rampant" and that the intervention of the British navy might be necessary to calm things down.[33] Meighen was also on good terms with several members of the Winnipeg business community. Thus, he felt compelled to fight back against the strikers as long as the businessmen were under duress. He believed that if the strike succeeded, this would result in

> ... a combination of all organizations of labour in the Dominion taking part in and determining the event of every dispute as to labour conditions and wages ... why then you have the perfection of Bolshevism.[34]

Another important figure representing the federal government's position was Senator Gideon Robertson, Minister of Labour, and a trade unionist who wanted the strike to fail at all costs. According to Robertson, a successful strike would equate to success for the OBU, which had as its goal the destruction of the international unions. As Minister of Labour, he was mandated to stand up for the unions and thus perceived the strike as a threat to his duty. On 21 May 1919, Robertson and Meighen arrived in Winnipeg in order to meet with leaders and officials in an attempt to rectify the situation. Meighen met with the MP for Winnipeg South, G. W. Allan, and declared that any postal worker who was not at work by 26 May would be fired. The next morning 150 volunteers were hired in order to replace the strikers, with the Citizens' Committee offering over one hundred more.[35] The postal workers were not amused; many did not take the government's ultimatum seriously and felt that they did not have to bow to its will. In addition, the situation with the postal workers spilled over to the railway mail clerks, who threatened to walk out of work on 28 May "because of the manner in which the government had issued its ultimatum to the other postal workers."[36]

Because the federal government believed the stand taken by the newspapers, which insisted that immigrants were the problem, "The Act to Amend the Immigration Act" was quickly passed in Ottawa on 5 June 1919. This was devastating to the strikers as, under the new terms, anyone who plotted to overthrow the government would be deported. This new Act was amended within twenty-four hours in order that it might be "sufficiently wide to cover all except those born or naturalized in Canada," after the



Archives of Manitoba, Foote Collection 1697, N2763.

"A streetcar named anger." On 21 June 1919, in the aftermath of an iconic photo of the Winnipeg General Strike, firemen mop up after a crowd tried to tip over a city streetcar.

Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg Strike 48, N7543.

Volunteers gathered on Main Street to restore order on 21 June 1919.

Winnipeg lawyer A. J. Andrews expressed his displeasure that the most dangerous group of all, the British, were not affected by the Act.[37] The federal government also passed further legislation to increase the militia and passed an amendment to the Criminal Code that increased the sentence for seditious intent and broadened the scope of its definition. Both of these moves were made known to the strikers, which created further tension between the two sides. The Citizens' Committee of One Thousand convinced the federal government that conditions were deteriorating rapidly. In response, the government bolstered General Ketchen's militia with motorized machine gun units, an armoured car with three machine guns, 800 militia ready to move on a moment's notice, in addition to the Royal North West Mounted Police the government had already sent.[38]

When the "forbidden" rally began on 21 June 1919, Mayor Gray had at his disposal the "special" force of nearly 2,000 men, the reinforced RNWMP contingent, and the militia, which was 800 strong and "armed to the teeth". When the situation deteriorated after Mayor Gray read the Riot Act, a full-blown confrontation between the striking protesters and the establishment's "army" occurred. This fateful day is referred to now as Bloody Saturday. When the smoke cleared, one striker lay dead, another was dying, and scores were wounded. Meighen and Robertson had succeeded in stopping the strike and ending the threat of the "Red Uprising".

Winnipeg's municipal government, specifically Mayor Charles Gray, played a key role in crushing the strike of 1919. He had been elected Mayor in 1918 and in the past had been a supporter of fair labour practice. When the strike broke out he initially tried to have the Province mediate the situation, but Premier Norris made it clear that the provincial government did not want to intervene. When the Strike Committee took the initiative to issue licences in order to authorize milk and bread delivery, Gray changed his position as he felt that the unions had crossed the line in undermining the City's authority. Gray believed that in order to maintain control of the city he could not give in to acts which he viewed as "terrorist" in nature. He warned that they would not be tolerated, and failure to cease and desist would result in severe punishment. He felt that law and order should be maintained because the strike was likely to become more violent if it progressed much further. In order to maintain a firm grip on power, Gray felt that he had to preserve the peace, and he declared that "Law and order will be maintained at all costs. If any radical element tries to interfere with enforcement of law and order, we are prepared to smash it immediately."[39]

Maintaining law and order under normal circumstances should have been easy, but these were anything but ordinary times. The municipal government had to resort to desperate measures. The entire City of Winnipeg Police Force was unionized and had not agreed to sign an agreement banning them from participating in a sympathetic strike. Fearing the worst, and wanting to maintain control, Gray, with the help of the Citizens' Committee of One Thousand, ordered the hiring of 2,000 "special constables." On 9 June 1919, the entire police force of two hundred and forty men was fired when they refused

the City's ultimatum. To help maintain peace and order, Mayor Gray issued proclamations against assemblies in public places in order to prevent confrontations between strikers and anti-strike sympathizers. With the police force out of the picture, clashes between strikers and "specials" were occurring with alarming regularity. On 20 June, Gray re-issued his proclamation against rallies for the third time after pro-strike veterans assembled in Market Square.[40] The next day Gray met again with the strikers and Senator Robertson, but the strikers wanted the streetcars to halt service and a settlement to be reached by 2:00 pm. Failing that, the strikers threatened to go on with their planned rally. Mayor Gray was furious. He reminded them that they had ignored his proclamations not once, not twice, but three times. He warned them that the marches would be stopped "peacefully if possible, but if not, other measures would have to be taken."[41]

The wheels were now in motion and there was no turning back. The strikers insisted on their march and the mayor was determined to stop them. Gray believed that this final act of defiance would not be tolerated; so he personally requested that the RNWMP intervene and support the "specials."[42] When the crowd became unruly and began to derail a streetcar, the Mounties stormed the assembled mob. As the two sides clashed, Gray read the Riot Act and at 2:35 pm the crowd was warned to be off the streets in thirty minutes.[43] Immediately following this final warning, gunshots were heard, and Mayor Gray, fearing that the situation had spiralled out of control, decided to take drastic action to regain control of the streets. He immediately drove to Fort Osborne Barracks and asked General Ketchen to bring in the militia to stop the riot. The General arrived with cavalry and machine gun units and began moving into the downtown area. With this final display of force, the crowd scrambled to clear the area. The strike had finally been broken and Mayor Gray had achieved what he had set out to do from the beginning: retain control of his city.

The motivations of each group in acting to suppress the Winnipeg General Strike were clear—each group was essentially acting in its own best interest. The mayor was fighting to maintain control of the city. The federal government perceived the strike as a prelude to a violent revolution and Communist takeover of the country; it took the situation in Winnipeg very seriously and used its considerable political power and military force to send a message to other labour supporters in the rest of Canada. The business elite and Citizens' Committee, the groups with the most to lose, had no choice but to take matters into their own hands and thwart the strikers at every turn, even if it meant seizing control of essential services and assuming the power of the municipal government. The newspapers reacted vehemently to the silencing of the citizens' freedom of the press and the attempted shutdown of the presses by fighting back against the strikers and portraying them as "Bolsheviks" and "revolutionaries," and the images planted in the minds of the general public helped to turn the tide of the strike against the labourers. Although the motivations of each of the members of the establishment were different, they were bound by a common thread: fear. Their individual actions coalesced, not only to defeat the strike and restore order, but they also firmly cemented democracy and capitalism as the de facto standards of the new nation. ☙

Notes

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3. *Ibid*.
4. *Ibid*., p. 4.
5. *Ibid*., p. 22.
6. *Ibid*., p. 29.
7. J. M. Bumsted, *The Winnipeg General Strike of 1919: An Illustrated History*. (Winnipeg: Watson Dwyer Publishing, 1994), p. 23.
8. *Ibid*., p. 28.
9. *Ibid*., p. 26.
10. David J.Bercuson, *Confrontation at Winnipeg: Labour, Industrial Relations, and the General Strike*. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), p. 100.
11. Bumsted, p. 31.
12. *Ibid*., p. 119.
13. *Ibid*.
14. Bercuson, p. 118.
15. Norman Penner, ed., *Winnipeg 1919: The Strikers' Own History of the Winnipeg General Strike*. 2nd ed. (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1975), xviii.
16. Bercuson, p. 118.
17. *Ibid*., p. 100.
18. *Ibid*., p. 101.
19. Penner, xviii.
20. Bumsted, p. 85.
21. *Ibid*.
22. Bercuson, p. 132.
23. *Manitoba Free Press*, 9 June 1919.
24. Bumsted, p. 35.
25. *Ibid*., p. 49.
26. Bercuson, p. 122.
27. *Ibid*., p. 123.
28. *Ibid*., p. 125.
29. Bumsted, p. 35.
30. Bercuson, p. 124.
31. Bumsted, p. 52.
32. Bercuson, p. 124.
33. Penner, xvii.
34. Bumsted, p. 45.
35. Bercuson, pp. 133-134.
36. *Ibid*., p. 134.
37. Bumsted, p. 47.
38. Kenneth McNaught and David J. Bercuson, *The Winnipeg Strike: 1919*. (Don Mills: Longman Canada Limited, 1974), p. 87.
39. Bumsted, p. 94.
40. Bercuson, p. 171.
41. *Ibid*., p. 172.
42. Bumsted, p. 95.
43. Bercuson, p. 173.

Carrying the Torch: Optimistic Themes in the Classical Vocabulary of the Manitoba Legislative Building

by Gavin Wiens
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The culture of the West in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was one which had become enamoured of the classical past. The great museum building projects of the age had created an enormous demand for antiquities. During this period civic structures began taking on a classical language; in particular legislative assemblies were constructed with nostalgia for antique monumentality, rationality, and stability. Architects who had trained at L'Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris were reviving the use of classical forms in buildings constructed all around the world. Students from this school would build on a grand scale using antique elements in their designs.[1] The long reach of this architectural trend extended all the way to Manitoba, Canada with the construction of the Manitoba legislative building in Winnipeg between 1913 and 1920. The Manitoba legislative building is rendered classical in style through its combination of Greek and Roman architectural elements, a central dome, and the use of decorative sculpture throughout the structure. The building is an example of government using a classical visual vocabulary put in a modern syntax in order to portray civic law and order.

James A. Burns

The north façade of the Manitoba Legislative Building features a Greek temple-inspired portico and Roman-inspired central dome.

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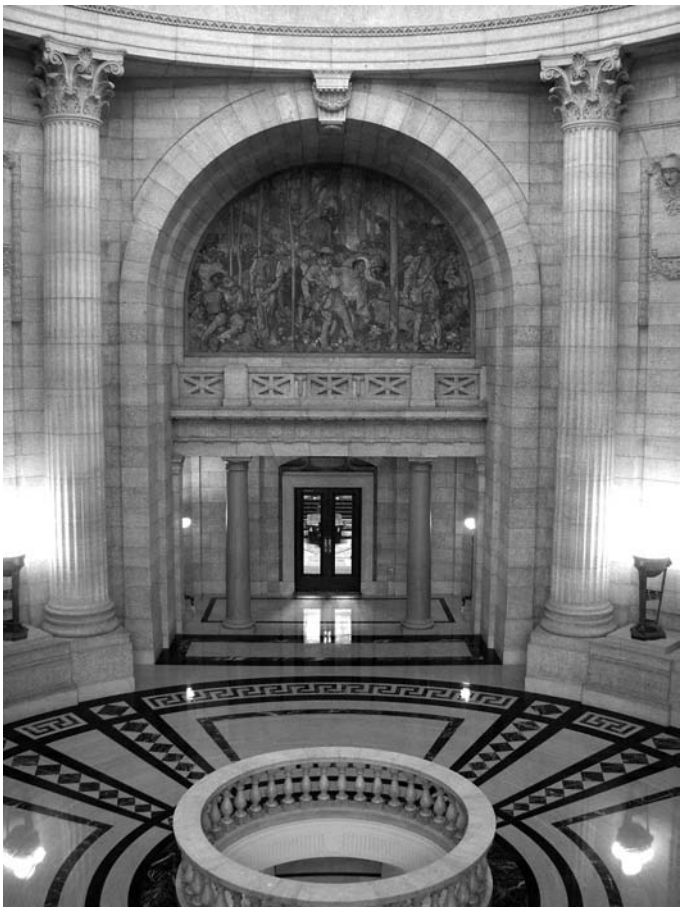
The design for the Manitoba legislative building was the work of British-born architect Frank Worthington Simon (1863–1933). Beginning in 1883, Simon studied at L'Ecole des Beaux-Arts under the famous architect Jean Louis Pascal.[2] Simon's own writing from this period of his life reflects a romantic fascination with the past. In a collection of etchings he made in 1885 of historical buildings in Edinburgh, the brief descriptions of each etching contain nostalgic anecdotes. Writing about the Grassmarket of Edinburgh, he noted that it was once the site of an ancient gate to the city, where "here, also, was the scene of some of the quaint ceremonials wherewith our ancestors were wont to testify their loyal congratulations at the sovereign's approach."[3]

Simon's interest in the antique world would inform his aesthetic throughout his entire career. At L'Ecole des Beaux-Arts, the programme of study that he took part in drew inspiration from all types of ancient monumental structures. One of the inaugural lectures given by a faculty member at the school claimed that the canon of art which would inspire the students would be influenced by works such as "the Parthenon and the Roman baths and amphitheatres, but it is also Sancta Sophia and Notre-Dame, it is St. Ouen at Rouen as well as St. Peter's or the Palazzo Farnese in Rome and the Louvre in Paris."[4] It is clear that students of this school would draw heavily from classical and neoclassical influences in executing their works. With grandiose prototypes such as these, the conception for a new building to house Manitoba's legislature followed in the footsteps of some of the world's most recognizable architectural works.



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Corinthian and Doric columns in the rotunda are reminiscent of ancient structures such as the Pantheon in Rome. The marble flooring has a Grecian key-pattern inlay which is a traditional border element in classical architecture.

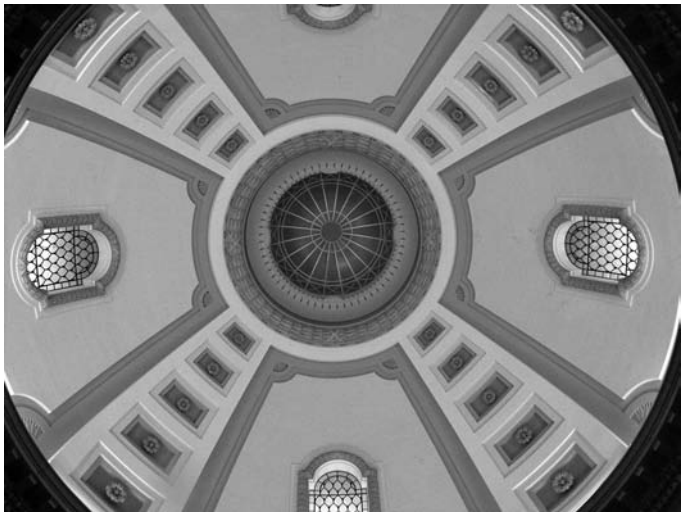
The province of Manitoba commissioned Simon and his assistants to design a building that would fulfill the desire for an imposing structure to represent the seat of the provincial government's power.[5] This desire grew out of the dramatic population increase and economic growth that had occurred in Winnipeg during the early 20th century. In 1881 the population of Manitoba had stood at 62,260 and by 1901 that figure had grown to 255,211.[6] At the time there were many who believed that Winnipeg was destined to become the financial centre of Canada.[7] With this belief in a strong future on the minds of those who governed the province, it was deemed necessary to have a building which reflected Manitoba's growing power in Canada. The grand scale of the building and the desire for architectural elements that reflected state power made for a perfect fit for Simon and the classical elements his work exhibited.

Simon's plan for the building called for an entrance portico based on that of a Greek temple, a ground plan based on the shape of an H, and a central dome for the structure. One enters the building through the columned portico on the north façade. The columns are of the Ionic order and are repeated in the tower at the base of the dome above, the repetition of their vertical elements adding to an illusion of greater height for the building. A dentil course runs below the cornice of the building, unifying the portico with the wider portion of the façade. In the rotunda stand four pairs of Corinthian columns. Smaller-order Doric columns may be seen in the entranceway leading to the assembly. By choosing to use these visual references to Greek architectural elements the provincial government was making a political statement. Through classical visual references the government of Manitoba was attempting to align itself with powerful civilizations of the past.

This theme of civic power is continued in the interior rotunda of the dome. The marble flooring, square coffers in the dome, and the use of Corinthian columns to visually frame a mural remind one immediately of classical influences seen in buildings such as the Pantheon in Rome. The cupola and decoration of the dome also recall Italian Renaissance influences, although it has been given an agricultural theme with the use of a wheat grain motif appropriate to the young prairie province whose economy would always rely on the fertile lands of the Red River flood plain. The marble of the flooring in the rotunda also has a Grecian key-pattern inlay surrounding a balustrade and light well, a traditional border element in classical design. The emphasis on clarity, order, and rationality throughout the building is indicative of what some have referred to as "Beaux-Arts influenced classical purity."[8]

The sculptural elements of the building combine Greek, Roman and Egyptian motifs. Above the main portico in the pediment are various carved limestone sculptures. In reference to the meanings of the pedimental sculptures, Simon left quite a detailed account of his conception:

> In the centre is a seated symbolical female figure representing Manitoba. In the left-hand corner the figure of Enterprise beckons the workers to the



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The square coffers, or sunken panels cut into the dome, seen here from below, are also borrowed from antique precedents. The original function of coffers was to lighten the load of a dome but here it is a decorative element.

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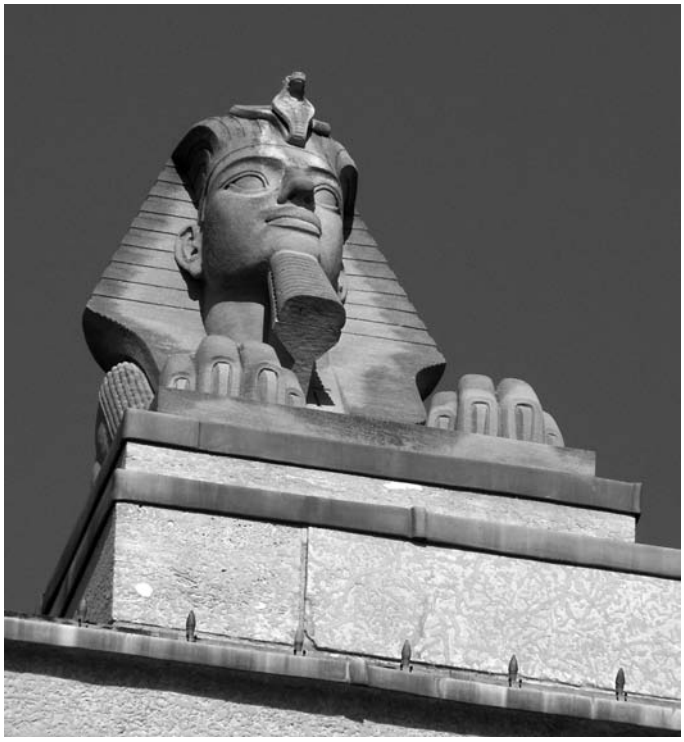
The central figure on the main pediment is an allegorical female representation of Manitoba. Pedimental sculptures such as these are reminiscent of the sculptures which decorated the pediments of ancient Greek temples like the Parthenon in Athens.



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A sphinx on the north façade flanks the main pediment, representing wisdom, a virtue sought after by good government.

> Land of Promise. Next is a finely modeled bull led by Europa, signifying the immigration from Europe and adjoining the central figure is a group of father, mother, and child, the new family in the land. In the right-hand corner are two figures embracing and clasping a jar, whence issues a stream of water. These represent the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers fertilizing the earth. Next is a plough man with his horse, tilling the soil, whilst the male and female figures bring the fruits of the Soil of Manitoba.[9]

The central allegorical female figure representing Manitoba is a continuation of a tradition going back to ancient Greek times when sculptors would often use female figures to personify city states. The idea of having sculptural figures representing important rivers and agricultural practices is also inspired by classical influences, as is the more obvious reference to Europa, one of the many love interests of the Greek god Zeus. The drapery of Europa in particular, which reveals the structure of the body beneath, seems heavily influenced by classical Greek sculpture such as the pedimental sculptures from the Parthenon in Athens, as does the exaggerated musculature of the plough man which recalls some of the battling Lapiths and Centaurs from the Parthenon metopes. The two sphinxes which flank the pediment and represent the wisdom expected of the provincial legislators are based on Egyptian models.[10]

Passing through the portico one enters the staircase hall where two life-size solid bronze sculptures of North American bison stand at the base of a massive marble staircase. These recall the sculptures of animals used to frame the base of staircases from ancient Greek and Roman times as well as the Italian Renaissance period, and are an emblem of the province of Manitoba. The artist who cast these bronzes was Georges Gardet, a French sculptor recommended to Simon by his former professor, Jean Louis Pascal from L'Ecole des Beaux Arts.[11] Gardet was "considered to be the most talented animal sculptor of his time," and was "appreciated particularly for his groups of big game in powerful forms."[12]

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Bison guards. The tradition of using sculptures of big game animals to flank staircases goes back to ancient times and was popular during the Italian Renaissance. The bison is emblematic of Manitoba and was selected by Gardet for this reason.

Facing the grand staircase on the third floor are pairs of karyatids. These columnar sculptures in the form of human female figures are reminiscent of the karyatids from the south porch of the Erechtheion in Athens. These sculptures were designed by British sculptor Albert Hodge, the same artist responsible for the design of the limestone sculpture for the main pediment, as well as the two sphinxes flanking the pediment.[13]

Located in niches in the legislative chamber are two more bronze sculptures by Gardet, representing important legal figures from antiquity. Situated in the east end of the chamber is the Biblical Moses, holding the Ten Commandments. In the west end of the chamber is a sculpture representing the famous Greek legislator Solon. By choosing to place these sculptures of highly-regarded ancient lawmakers in the legislative chamber the government was once again attempting to elevate both the legitimacy and the supremacy of their own legislative activities through reference to the classical past.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the Manitoba legislative building is the gilded bronze sculpture which caps the building's dome. The official name of the sculpture is Eternal Youth but it is better known as the Golden Boy. Also a work by Gardet, this bronze was based on Simon's desire for a figure similar to the sculpture of Mercury by the Italian sculptor Giovanni da Bologna circa 1580.[14] The Golden Boy underwent a restoration and regilding process completed in 2002 as part of ongoing restorations to the Legislature grounds.[15]

By making references to Mercury the Roman god of commerce, the Golden Boy is intended to represent enterprise and progress in the province.[16] One can see the quotations of Giovanni da Bologna's Mercury in the open gait of Gardet's runner with the outstretched right leg balanced by the up-thrust right arm. In one hand the youthful nude male carries a sheaf of wheat, traditionally symbolic of wealth and affluence. In the other hand the running figure holds aloft a torch symbolic of the optimism of the growing province, with one writer claiming that the sculpture is "intended to carry to all the newcomers to the province the same message that the Statue of Liberty in New York harbour sends out to strangers on incoming ships – welcome and promise."[17] The sculpture faces to the northwest where the vast majority of Manitoba's wealth in natural resources originates. In 1919 the north was seen as the land of boundless promise and the Golden Boy is shown making bold strides forward towards that Promised Land.[18]

In the Golden Boy, Gardet had taken a classical subject and adapted it to fit Simon's particular contemporary needs. In this case Simon required a figure representing enterprise

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Karyatids are sculpted female figures which serve as architectural supports. This element was used in ancient Greek sculptures, the most famous being the karyatids of the Erechtheion in Athens.

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The Biblical Moses was an important Hebrew law-giver. In the legislative chamber, the sculpture of Moses is situated in the east end, facing the sculpture of Solon, an important Greek law-maker. By referencing these ancient legislative figures, the government was attempting to legitimize its own authority.

in what was a booming young province. Choosing to have a sculpture representing enterprise as an idealized nude male at the cap of the dome of the Manitoba legislative building is also indicative of the classical influences in Simon's architectural style. At a time when Manitoba is once again experiencing economic ascendency, it is perhaps all too fitting that the Golden Boy has undergone the regilding process so recently. Just as the Golden Boy originally signalled the optimism and faith in Manitoba as the land of plenty in the early 20th century, the newly gilded sculpture once again shines like a beacon of hope for the prosperous province.

As has been stated, governments have long been fond of aligning themselves with powerful civilizations of the past by using classical elements in state-commissioned art and architecture. Simon, with his neoclassical training at L'Ecole des Beaux-Arts, was the perfect choice to construct a building which would make reference to the grandiose structures of the past. That Simon's intentions were at least understood by his contemporaries is evidenced by an anecdote told by the provincial librarian of the times, W. J. Healy. Healy told of an event which supposedly took place within days after the official opening of the legislative building:

> Late one afternoon fifteen years ago, Mr. Simon was standing in front of the Legislative building by the side of the massive statue of Queen Victoria on the sunken lawn. It was a July day of strong sunshine, and he stood there as if he were a Greek just arrived across the centuries from ancient Athens, absorbed in admiring the imposing mass of his architecture and the play of light and shadow on column and cornice and on the figures that filled with sculptured life the pediment that faces Broadway.[19]

By choosing to build Frank Worthington Simon's conception of the Manitoba legislative building which included Greek, Roman and Egyptian motifs in its design and decoration, the government of Manitoba was attempting to portray a strong sense of civic law and order by making reference to some of the powerful Western civilizations of the past. This was achieved through the use of a Greek temple-inspired main portico, columns of Doric, Ionic and Corinthian orders throughout the building, a Roman-inspired central dome over the structure, and the use of classically inspired sculptural decorations throughout the building. During a period when Europe seemed to be intent on self-destruction due to the chaos of the First World War, the construction of the Manitoba legislative building represented faith in the stability and progress of a vibrant, young prairie province. ☙

Notes

1. Robin Middleton. *The Beaux-Arts and Nineteenth-Century French Architecture*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1982. p. 10.
2. Marilyn Baker. *Symbol in Stone: The Art and Politics of a Public Building, Manitoba's Third Legislative Building*. Winnipeg: Hyperion Press, 1986. p. 43.
3. Frank W. Simon, *Bits of Old Edinburgh, Drawn & Etched [with Brief Descriptions]* (Edinburgh: 1885).
4. Middleton, p. 10.
5. Baker, p. 20.
6. Baker, p. 20.
7. Baker, p. 21.
8. Baker, p. 44.
9. Baker, p. 82.
10. Baker, p. 82.
11. Baker, p. 80.
12. Pierre Kjellberg, *Bronzes of the 19th Century: Dictionary of Sculptors* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer Publishing, 1994).
13. Baker, p. 82
14. Hubert G. Mayes. "The story of a symbol: Golden Boy." *The Beaver* Vol. 73, No. 4, 1993. p. 28
15. Government of Manitoba. "Manitoba Golden Boy Restoration Project Update." *Manitoba Government News Release,* 13 May 2010. www.gov.mb.ca/chc/press/top/2001/07/2001-07-25-03.html
16. Baker, p. 126.
17. Baker, p. 127.
18. Mayes, "The story of a symbol: Golden Boy," p. 28.
19. Hubert G. Mayes. "Through the Architect's Eyes: F. W. Simon Surveys his Masterwork—The Manitoba Legislative Building" *Manitoba History* No. 38, Autumn / Winter 1999-2000. www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/mb_history/38/througharchitectseyes.shtml

Commemorating the Founding of the Royal Canadian Legion

by Parks Canada
Winnipeg, Manitoba

On 12 June 2010 the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada hosted a ceremony to commemorate the founding of The Royal Canadian Legion in November 1925. The event was held in conjunction with The Royal Canadian Legion's 43rd Dominion Convention on Smith Street, Winnipeg, directly in front of the Marlborough Hotel, the site of the organization's founding as well as its first Dominion Convention. Since its establishment seven years after the end of the First World War, The Royal Canadian Legion has remained Canada's largest veteran-based social and advocacy organization.

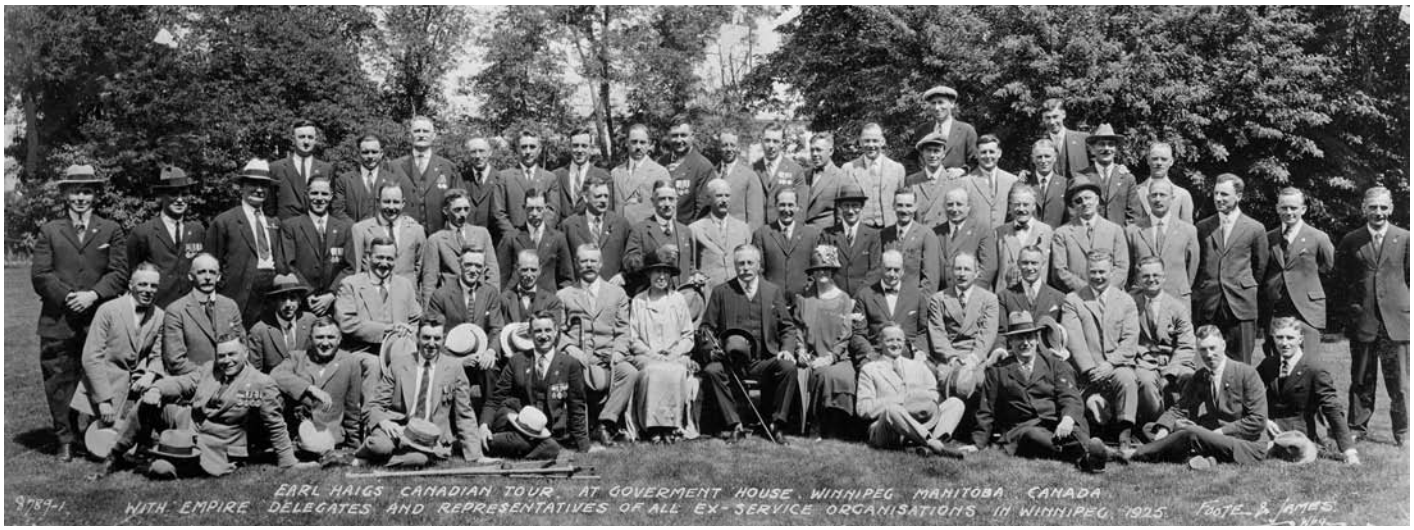
The ceremony was attended by, among others, the Minister of Veterans Affairs, the Hon. Jean-Pierre Blackburn, Mr. Wilf Edmond, Dominion President of The Royal Canadian Legion, and Dr. Robert O'Kell, Manitoba Member of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada.

The Royal Canadian Legion

The First World War is widely held to be a landmark in Canadian national development. Although she entered the war in 1914 as a colony, by 1918 Canada was emerging as

Parks Canada

Participating in the unveiling of a plaque for the founding of the Royal Canadian Legion in front of Winnipeg's historic Marlborough Hotel on 12 June 2010 were (L-R): Dr. Robert O'Kell, Manitoba Member of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada; Mr. Grant Nordman, Winnipeg city councillor for the St. Charles Ward; Hon. Jean-Pierre Blackburn, Minister of Veterans Affairs; Mr. Glenn Wright, Historian; Mr. Wilf Edmond, Dominion President, The Royal Canadian Legion; and Mr. Manfred Boehm, Proprietor and Director of The Marlborough Hotel.



A. H. Yetman Collection, Archives of Manitoba

Sir Douglas Haig (1861-1928), Earl of Bemersyde and Commander of the British Expeditionary Force during most of the First World War, met with representatives of local military organizations on the grounds of Manitoba's Government House on 7 July 1925.

a nation in her own right. The young nation underwent many trials, one of which was the repatriation of hundreds of thousands of returning servicemen.

Of the Allied forces, Canada was a leader in devising plans for the retraining of disabled soldiers. In addition, this country's pension rates were among the most generous in the world. In short, Ottawa had prepared for returning Canadian armies with a care and foresight that was virtually unique among the combatting nations.

Despite its best intentions, however, Ottawa was unable to address all the needs of the returning servicemen. As a result, several small associations of ex-soldiers banded together throughout the country in an effort to provide comradeship and help with medical and financial needs not provided by the Crown.

The founding meeting of the Canadian Legion of the British Empire Service League (later renamed The Royal Canadian Legion) took place at the Marlborough Hotel, 331 Smith Street, Winnipeg, from 25 to 27 November 1925. That meeting led to the establishment of Canada's largest veteran-based social, service and advocacy organization. Founded on the twin pillars of loyalty and comradeship, the Legion's primary purpose since inception has been service to the veteran (and his or her dependents) and perpetuating the memory of those who served.

The Legion's advocacy efforts have facilitated such benefits for veterans as the *War Veterans Allowance Act*, the Veterans Charter, the formation of the Department of Veterans Affairs, the Veterans Independence Program, and the new Veterans Affairs Charter of 2006.

The legacy of the Legion does not end with its unrelenting service to those who fought in the name of Canada. In fact, its program of remembrance, funded through the annual Poppy Campaign, has kept the memory of veterans and their sacrifices alive for Canadians and helped incorporate major military conflicts, particularly the First and Second World Wars, with their losses and triumphs, into the fabric of our national identity. ☙

Plaque text

The Founding of the Royal Canadian Legion

Founded here in November 1925, The Royal Canadian Legion is Canada's largest veteran-based social and advocacy organization. Dedicated to serving veterans and perpetuating their memory, it pushed for the passage of the War Veterans Allowance Act and veterans charters, as well as for the creation of the Department of Veterans Affairs and the Veterans Independence Program. The Legion's Remembrance Program and annual Poppy Campaign remind Canadians of the men and women who served and of their sacrifices, and have helped weave military history into the fabric of our national identity.

La Fondation de la Légion Royale Canadienne

La Légion, le plus important organisme d'anciens combattants au pays, a été fondée ici en novembre 1925. Ce groupe perpétue le souvenir des vétérans, leur offre maints services et milite ardemment en leur nom, ayant lutté pour l'établissement de la Loi sur les allocations aux anciens combattants, de chartes, du ministère des Anciens combattants et du Programme pour l'autonomie des anciens combattants. Avec son Programme du souvenir et sa campagne annuelle du Coquelicot, la Légion rappelle le service et le sacrifice des hommes et des femmes ayant servi la patrie, intégrant l'histoire militaire à notre identité nationale.

Manitobans As They Saw 'Em – 1909

by Gordon Goldsborough
Winnipeg, Manitoba

Around 1905, boosters of Winnipeg's aspirations to become Canada's next great city must have been incensed when the little book *Canadians As We See 'Em: Caricatures, Pen Portraits, Cartoons* was published. Despite the title, the vast majority of its subjects lived in Ontario. Not a single Manitoban was in it! So it was perhaps not coincidental when another little book appeared, a rebuttal entitled *Manitobans As We See 'Em: 1908 and 1909*, that featured cartoon-like illustrations of over 200 local citizens.

Manitobans As We See 'Em speaks volumes about who was perceived as noteworthy in 1909—it was hardly a representative cross-section of Manitoba. Every one of those featured was male, the vast majority were of Anglo-Saxon origin (judging from their surnames), and most were businessmen of some description. I have found nothing to indicate how they were selected. Was it a vanity publication or were they selected as a sample of current newsmakers? It seems clear the publishers assumed readers (viewers?) would recognize the subjects readily, as each caricature was accompanied only by a name. Virtually all of them are anonymous to the average Manitoban today.

Through the years, illustrations from the book have been widely re-published (most recently, in Randy Rostecki's book on the Armstrong's Point neighborhood), partly because they are amusingly drawn but also because no other images exist for some subjects. Therefore, to commemorate the book's centenary, and to learn more about the lives and times portrayed in it, I resolved to rescue *Manitobans As We See 'Em* from obscurity by researching and writing biographical sketches for as many of its subjects as possible. A small collection of those biographies follows, with the rest on the MHS web site.

Like it or not, these men were the "movers and shakers" of their time, which provides a basis for comparison with our own society. If a *Manitobans As We See 'Em: 2010* was to be compiled, it would undoubtedly be more broadly representative, including much more than a band of "rich white guys". That, it seems to me, is one of the true values of history: to remind us where we have made mistakes so we can avoid them in the future.

This will be an ongoing project because, despite my best efforts, some of the subjects remain obscure. I encourage visitors to the MHS web site with details about any of the subjects in *Manitobans As We See 'Em* to contact me (webmaster@mhs.mb.ca), especially about those for whom I can report only a big question mark.

Donald McRitchie (1881-1948)

"The Freelance Cartoonist"

Born at Englishtown, Cape Breton, Nova Scotia on 2 June 1881, he moved with his mother and sister to Glace Bay after the death of his father. After graduating from high school, he worked in the offices of the Dominion Coal Company, later being transferred to its office in Boston, Massachusetts. There he appears to have developed a talent for drawing. Returning to Cape Breton by 1904, he began producing cartoons for the *Sydney Daily Post*. By the spring of 1905, he was living in Ottawa and drawing for the *Ottawa Journal*. Moving west, he stopped briefly at Port Arthur, Ontario before arriving in Winnipeg in the fall of 1906. He was probably working as a freelance artist through 1911, having art work published in the *Winnipeg Telegram* and *Calgary Eye Opener*, and may have also tried ranching in Alberta. In 1911, he moved to Montreal as Advertising Manager for a real estate company while continuing to do artwork on the side. After returning from military service overseas, he found work at the *Halifax Herald*, where he was political cartoonist and manager of the engraving department, and after 1931, library supervisor. After retirement from the *Herald* in 1937, he returned briefly to real estate work at Toronto before coming back to Halifax to administer the federal government's telephone censorship policy during the Second World War. He died at Halifax, after a lengthy illness, on 29 November 1948 and was buried in Camp Hill Cemetery.

William Thomas Alexander (1875-1943)

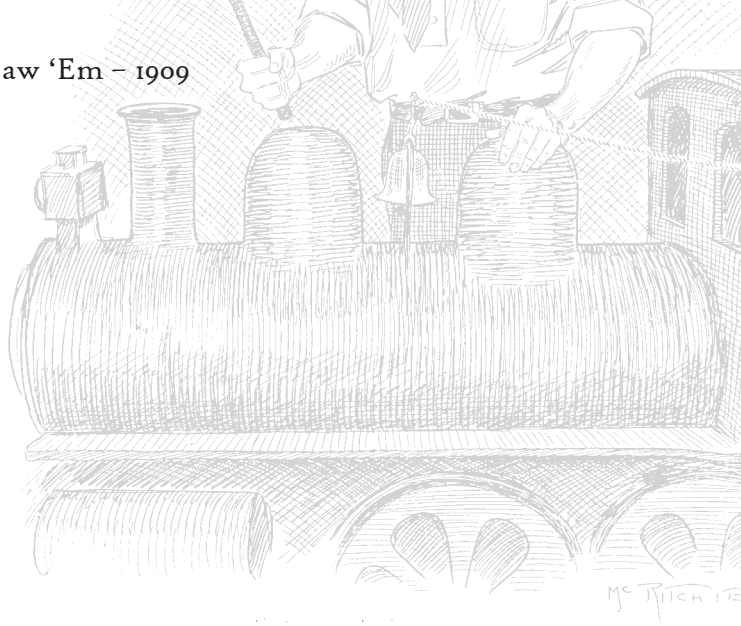
"The Bad Boy"

Born at Hamilton, Ontario on 13 November 1875, he was educated at Albert College (Belleville). He was first employed with the Hamilton Loan Company. He came to Winnipeg in 1896 and, in 1903, the Great West Permanent Loan Company was organized with him as President and General Manager. He was also Manager of the Imperial Canadian Trust Company, Managing Director of the Canadian National Fire Insurance Company, and General Manager of the Marlborough Hotel. In the Fall of 1927, the Great West Permanent Loan Company and the Imperial Canadian Trust Company went into liquidation and charges were laid against Alexander and his brother, F. H. Alexander, that they conspired to defraud the companies. After one of the longest court cases in Manitoba history to that time, both men were found guilty and W. T. Alexander was sentenced to three years in Stony Mountain Penitentiary. For the last ten years of his life, he lived at the Marlborough Hotel. He died at the Winnipeg General Hospital on 5 January 1943 and was buried at Stonewall.

George Montegu Black (1875-1959)

"The Tycoon's Grandpa"

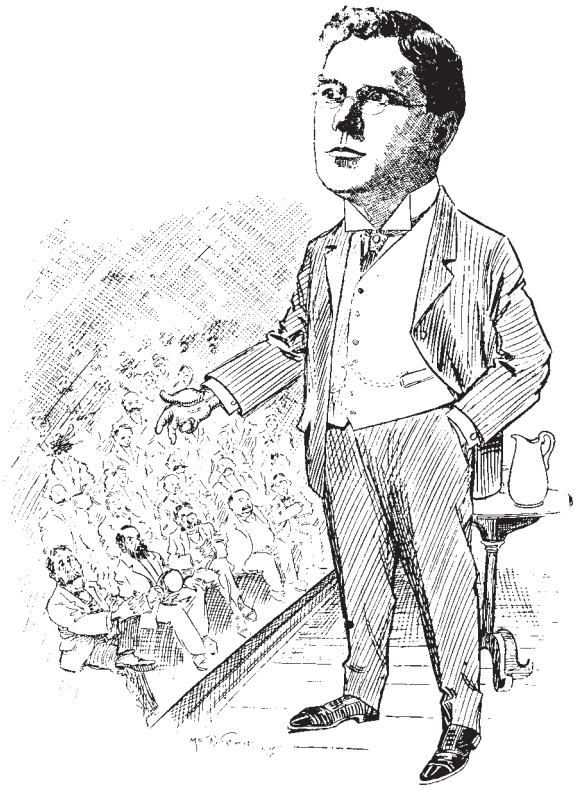
Born at Halifax, Nova Scotia on 14 December 1875, he arrived in Winnipeg in 1882 where he was educated at public and private schools. In 1890, he entered the office of the Western Canada Loan Company. A decade later, he was admitted to partnership in the real estate firm of Nares & Robinson. By 1911, Black was a partner in the real estate and insurance firm of Robinson & Black, later known as Black & Armstrong, of which he was President at the time of his death. He was one of the founders of the Winnipeg Real Estate Board in 1903, being made a life member in 1953. He was also President of Western Dominion Investment Company, Vice-President of the Manitoba Cold Storage Company, Canadian director of Phoenix Assurance Company of London, and a Director of the Canadian Pratt and Whitney Aircraft Company and Combustion Engineering Corporation. In 1924 he acquired the Winnipeg brewery founded in 1887 by E. L. Drewry and formed a new company known as Drewrys Limited. For 28 years he was President of Western Breweries Limited and its subsidiary companies. In 1901, he married Gertrude Maxwell Moffat. They had two children: Montegu Margaret Black (born 1905) and George Montegu Black (1910-1976; father of entrepreneur Conrad Black). He was a member of the Manitoba Club, Carleton Club, Pine Ridge Golf Club, Motor Country Club, Manitoba Jockey Club, St. Charles Country Club, Mount Royal Club (Montreal), and Assiniboia Club (Regina). He was a life member of the Winnipeg General Hospital Board and a Director of the Manitoba Division of the Navy League of Canada. He died at his Winnipeg home, 59 Wilmot Place, on 5 July 1959 and was buried in St. John's Cemetery.



Robert Maxwell Dennistoun (1864-1952)

"An Honest Lawyer"

Born at Peterborough, Ontario on 24 December 1864, one of twelve children born to James Frederick Dennistoun and Katherine Adele Kirkpatrick, he graduated from Queen's University (Kingston) in 1885. He articled at Toronto then was called to Ontario Bar in 1888, commencing a legal practice at Peterborough that year. He came to Winnipeg in 1907 as western counsel for the Canadian Bank of Commerce. Eventually, he specialized in corporate law as a partner in the firm of Machray, Sharpe & Dennistoun. (His prominent law partner, John Machray, would later be discovered to have stolen millions from investments in his care, and died disgraced in Stony Mountain Penitentiary, while Dennistoun was found blameless in the affair.) Dennistoun drew up the first Workmen's Compensation Act for Manitoba and was a Bencher for the Law Society of Manitoba. He was made a King's Counsel in 1910. Appointed a judge on the Manitoba Court of Appeal in 1918, he took his seat a year later on return from active military service during the First World War, stepping down from the Bench in 1946. He was a member of the Masons, Manitoba Club, St. Charles Country Club, and All Saints Anglican Church. He served as President of the Canadian Club of Winnipeg (1924-1925) and Commodore of the Royal Lake of the Woods Yacht Club. In 1921, he joined the first Advisory Board of the Winnipeg Foundation formed that year. He died at Winnipeg on 10 October 1952. His former home on Roslyn Road, a designated historic building, was delisted in 2009 so it could be demolished to make way for a condominium.



John Woodman (1861-1944)

"The Downtown Builder"

Born at Oshawa, Ontario on 5 October 1861, he came to Winnipeg in 1880 with a survey crew of the Canadian Pacific Railway. He remained with the company, in its engineering department, rising to the rank of Chief Engineer for the Western Division, from which post he retired in 1901. At that time he entered private practice as an architect, retiring in 1927. He designed and built many of downtown Winnipeg's largest buildings, including the Eaton's, department store (now demolished) at 320 Portage Avenue (1904-1906), the Somerset Building at 294 Portage Avenue (1906), Breadalbane Apartments at 379 Hargrave Street (1909), and the old Free Press Building at 300 Carlton Street (1912). He was a member of the Manitoba Club, the St. Charles Country Club, and the Anglican Church. He died at his home on River Avenue on 17 May 1944 and was buried in St. John's Cemetery.

Joseph Maw (1854-1916)

"The Car Nut"

Born at Peel County, Ontario on 4 February 1854, he received a common education while helping his father farm and then took a course at the Toronto Commercial College. At the age of seventeen he found work as a travelling salesman for a manufacturer at Brampton. In 1882, he joined the exodus of ambitious young men who saw opportunity on the Canadian frontier, arriving in Winnipeg as general agent for the Massey Manufacturing Company, which made farm equipment. He represented the firm for four years in Manitoba and the North-West Territories, later moving to Calgary as company manager. While there, he organized the Calgary Exposition and Turf Association and served a term on the Calgary city council. Returning to Winnipeg in 1892, he started the firm Ross & Maw to selling carriages, buying out his partner four years later and renaming the firm Joseph Maw and Company. When automobiles began to replace carriages for personal transportation, he became one of the city's first car dealers. (Maw's garage still exists in the Exchange District.) A founding member of the Winnipeg Automobile Club—parent to today's CAA Manitoba—he won the Winnipeg Industrial Exposition's five mile open road race in 1905. Ill health forced his retirement in 1913 and he died three years later in Los Angeles, California.

Hormisdas Beliveau (1860-1938)

"Merchant for the Good Life"

Born at St. Wenceslas, Quebec on 4 November 1860, he attended the public school at Beauharnois then studied at St. Mary's College in Montreal. He came to Winnipeg in 1882 and began working for a merchant, becoming a partner in 1892. The firm, which sold wholesale wine, liquors and cigars, was incorporated in 1903 under the name of Richard-Beliveau Company, and Beliveau eventually became its President, Manager, and controlling interest. He owned the Fashion Craft mens clothier and was Vice-President of Fashion Craft Manufacturing Company of Montreal. He also owned a considerable amount of farm land and city holdings around Winnipeg. He was a founding member of the Carleton Club, which catered primarily to Conservatives. A devout Roman Catholic, he was a member of the Catholic Order of Foresters, the St. Jean Baptiste Society, and L'Alliance Nationale. Like a lot of other men at his social station, he was an enthusiastic duck hunter, as shown by his caricature in *Manitobans As We See 'Em*. In 1918, he served a term as Mayor of St. Boniface. He died on 14 April 1938.

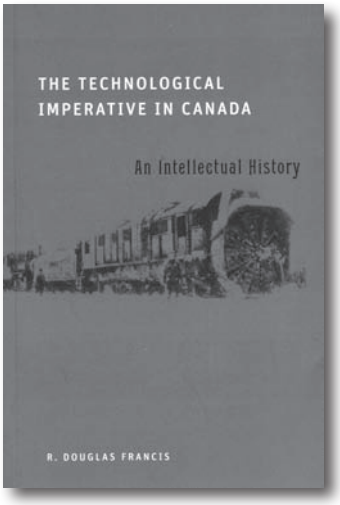
To see all the caricatures in the "Manitobans As We See 'Em" collection, visit the MHS web site:

www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/people/manitobansasweseeem.shtml

Reviews

R. Douglas Francis, *The Technological Imperative: An Intellectual History*

Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009, 340 pages, ISBN: 978-0774816519, $32.95 (paper)



R. Douglas Francis, a University of Calgary Canadian historian, has done us all a great service in his most recent book, *The Technological Imperative in Canada: An Intellectual History*. In this aptly described "wide-ranging, engaging book" (back cover), Francis grapples with the necessary and perplexing question of technology's role in shaping society. What makes this book 'wide-ranging' is the sweeping scope (from the late nineteenth century to the present) of Anglo Canadian thinkers that Francis investigates. What makes the book 'engaging' is the colorful detail, intellectual rigor and fresh insight that Francis brings to his work.

As Francis explains in his introduction, the evolution of Anglo Canadian thought on technology is an intellectual journey that is profoundly marked and shaped by the tension between what he calls "the technological imperative" and the "moral imperative." The technological imperative is the realization that technology is "the most pervasive and dominant force in the modern world" (p. 1). The moral imperative is an attempt to retain a moral order "that instills values essential for the advancement of society and Western civilization" (p. 1-2). Some thinkers saw these two imperatives as complementary, while others were skeptical of their co-existence and warned of the inherent peril of the technological imperative. What emerges as a central argument in the book is that Canadian Anglo thinkers were, ironically, the *makers* of the technological imperative exactly because of their preoccupation with understanding the nature and role of technology.

To guide his extensive analysis, Francis draws on the work of Carl Mitcham who argues that technology can be classified into "four broad categories: technology as object, technology as knowledge, technology as process, and technology as volition" (p. 4). As Francis takes us through this historical and intellectual progression, we meet a great diversity of Canadian thinkers including inventors, engineers, novelists, poets, academics, politicians and social reformers. Throughout the journey Francis brings to light the underlying interplay between the technological and moral imperatives. The book is presented in three large parts containing a total of ten chapters followed by notes, a select bibliography and an index.

In Part 1, Approaching the Imperative, Francis explores technology as object and technology as knowledge. Mid-to-late nineteenth century thinkers such as T. C. Keefer, T. C. Haliburton and Sandford Fleming reflected on the impact of railways in shaping values and culture. Alexander Graham Bell joined them later with his reflections on communication technology, agreeing with them that the technological imperative would support and, in fact, fulfill the moral imperative. "Keefer saw a spiritual dynamic to railways, with a miraculous power and energy that seemed unparalleled. It was the faith in railways—a new spiritual perspective of this new technology—more than money that Canadians required to ensure their success and their survival independent of the United States"(p. 39). Technological objects would lead the way into a good and better society.

The understanding of technology as knowledge emerged in the late 1800s and early 1900s, in the pre-war era, building on the optimism of the earlier thinkers. Technical education would advance technology and instill "values of efficiency, orderliness, productivity, autonomy, industriousness, and perfectability" (p. 64). Every technical

breakthrough was seen as a triumph of humanity, a step closer to achieving the moral imperative. This view was epitomized by proponents such as Nathaniel Fellows Dupuis, professor of mathematics at Queen's College.

In Part 2, Grappling with the Imperative, Francis presents technology as process. This understanding of technology spanned the First World War and the inter-war period. As Francis says of several prominent thinkers including William Lyon McKenzie King, Frederick Philip Grove and Stephen Leacock, this was the "first generation to have to come to terms with the contradictory nature of technology: its constructive but equally destructive nature" (p. 141). As advancements in technology were being used as instruments of war, the previous optimism around technology's alignment with the moral imperative was put into question and these thinkers wondered about technology's capacity to lead society to a more civil and civilized existence.

In Part 3, Philosophizing the Imperative, Francis explores technology as volition. Here we meet some of Canada's most well-known thinkers and contributors to the discourse around technology, including Harold Innis, Marshall McLuhan, Northrop Frye and George Grant. These thinkers, along with poets E. J. Pratt and Dennis Lee, shifted the understanding of technology as an external entity into the realm of ideas, patterns of thought and, indeed, into the self. These thinkers re-assessed modernity and the role of technology in it, making the case that technology was a psychic phenomena and as Innis put it, "Technology was not 'out there' but within our mind, shaping our very being" (p. 160). Francis leans on George Grant's assertion that "technology is the metaphysics of our age" (p. 266), to describe what it means for technology to be volition. Each of these thinkers struggled with a certain sense of pessimism around the strength of the moral imperative.

In Francis' concluding chapter he introduces a number of present day thinkers, notably several feminist scholars. As to his own personal view of the tension between the technological and moral imperative, he suggests that it is not a matter of either/or as to which will prevail, but points to the intellectual history of the discussion to demonstrate that these two imperatives will continue to exist in a healthy tension with each other for the good of society.

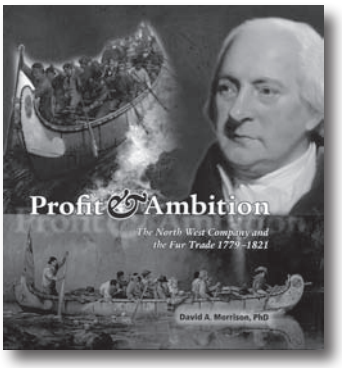
One particular weakness in this ambitious project is the lack of clarity in defining the "moral imperative." The term is referenced throughout, particularly in contrast to the technological imperative, but is not given careful definition at the beginning. This creates a certain ambiguity at the outset of the argument which is only clarified as Francis uses more specific descriptive terms later in his analysis which help to amplify the meaning. Once terms such as "spiritual, values, the need for moral standards to live by and to guide society" (p. 49) are used, we gain a greater sense of what is at stake.

Several strengths are noteworthy and should carry the overall assessment of this review. Francis provides with great detail and thoroughness the intellectual development and seminal works of each thinker. Francis' capacity to simultaneously place thinkers within a philosophical and historical framework is exceptional. These frameworks provide the opportunity for us to consider in meaningful ways the nature of technologies that have yet to enter the world stage.

The extensive use of primary sources, along with a well-developed select bibliography and thorough indexing, make this text an excellent resource for the serious student of communications and media. I believe that Francis has given us what Harold Innis hoped for during an address given to the University of Michigan on 18 April 1949, "We can do little more than urge that we must be continually alert to the implications of this bias [mechanization of knowledge] and perhaps hope that consideration of the implications of other media to various civilizations may enable us to see more clearly the bias of our own. In any case, we may become a little more humble as to the characteristics of our civilization" (p. 176-7). Francis has given us a resource to see more clearly our own technological biases and, in the process, invites us to live more humbly in the present age.

David Balzer
Communications & Media
Canadian Mennonite University, Winnipeg

David A. Morrison, *Profit & Ambition: The North West Company and the Fur Trade 1779-1821,* Gatineau: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2009, 64 pages, ISBN 978-0660199146, $19.95 (paper)



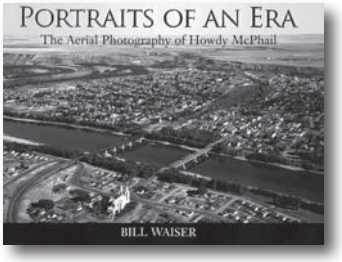
This handsome publication is the catalogue for an exhibit of the same name that opened at the Canadian Museum of Civilization in September 2009 and which remained open to the public until September 2010. The catalogue is well illustrated with contemporary and archival maps, other archival documents, a good cross section of documentary art work, and a carefully selected sample of artifacts from a number of museum collections. The text is slim, but effective, and adheres closely to current exhibit design ideas that suggest most museum visitors begin losing interest after about 150 to 200 words of explanation on any topic.

As a result, Morrison is forced to reduce subjects as large, complex and well documented as the role of country wives in the fur trade to less than 250 words and five illustrations. What Morrison says on this and most other topics is sensible and fair given his constraints, but unlikely to surprise or spark debate among any readers who have been following fur trade historiography over the last two or three decades. However, for museum visitors with a more general and less scholarly interest in the role of the North West Company in fur trade, this is just the sort of publication to introduce them to this fascinating aspect of our history. The exhibit and this catalogue are clearly aimed at a broad audience with an interest in fur trade history, but no particular desire to sit through a graduate seminar on the subject.

What interested me more than the content of the catalogue is its subject and the timing of this exhibit. The history of the North West Company is probably long past due for scholarly and popular historical reappraisal, as much of the basic research on the company and its operations is now more than half a century old. Older Canadian historians, schooled in the staples and Laurentian schools of Canadian historiography, placed considerable emphasis on the North West Company as a major factor in the creation of a transcontinental economic system that foreshadowed the later Canadian political federation. Morrison's text does not emphasize this correspondence between commercial empire and political federation much, although the map of North West Company operations on page 62 does a good job of implying it in graphic form. By contrast, Morrison is clearly much more interested in social and material history and thus the fur trade as a way of life. This is clearly the emphasis of the exhibit and the catalogue, and reflects historiographical trends over the last few decades. However, most of the historians who have tackled questions of family and marriage patterns, social stratification, cultural exchange and hybridity in the fur trade have tended to use the vastly larger and more complete archives of the Hudson's Bay Company. Indeed even in this catalogue it is striking how many artifacts and pieces of documentary art are associated with the Hudson's Bay Company rather than the Nor'Westers. The moral of the story may well be that if businesses really want to live on historically they should invest less in naming rights on sports facilities and hospital wings and more in their archives and records management programs.

Michael Payne
Edmonton, Alberta

Bill Waiser, *Portraits of an Era: The Aerial Photography of Howdy McPhail* Calgary: Fifth House, 2009, 192 pages, ISBN 978-1897252581, $40.00 (cloth)



The idea of photographing and marketing portraits of rural farmyards flourished at the end of the Second World War. Gasoline was cheap, numerous light aircraft were available and thousands of highly skilled pilots had just returned home from the war. Howdy McPhail was one of these pilots. He used his flight skills and his remarkable drive to become a successful and innovative entrepreneur.

These attractive portraits of almost sixty years ago freeze a fascinating view of farm life for posterity. For many prairie people, they capture a day in the lives of our grandparents and great grandparents. Descendent families and others will find that this collection of aerial images creates a profound sense of nostalgia for the family farm.

Speaking as someone who pioneered an aerial crop photo business in Carman, Manitoba in 1976 (Prairie Agri Photo Ltd.), I can appreciate how challenging it must have been to produce these aerial photographs. The images featured in *Portraits of an Era* are of balanced composition, sharp definition and skillful processing, which is especially

remarkable given the vastly less sophisticated planes and cameras available at the time. It also speaks to McPhail's skill: he succeeded in positioning the aircraft just right to create images that are both pleasing and powerful.

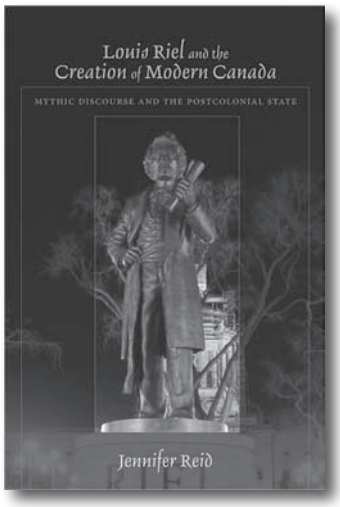
Despite the limits of the technology, in one regard McPhail had an advantage over today's aerial photographer. The photographs show a notable absence of trees around several of the farmyards. The "Farmyard Shelterbelt Program" that now permits farmers to order tree seedlings at no cost from Indian Head, Saskatchewan was developed following the dry years of the 1930s. Because of it, farm locations today typically have rows of mature trees surrounding the yards, making it far more difficult to capture the images, especially if the houses are low, one-story buildings.

The black and white photographs created by McPhail and presented with commentary by Bill Waiser in this collection are remarkably stable and resistant to fading or deterioration. Unfortunately this is not so with the color film and prints taken during the four decades after 1960, which are far less stable, often fading within twenty years. One can only hope that current farmyard portraits, now taken in digital format, will have virtually unlimited longevity.

The recent loss of the small family farm has made these photos all the more valuable and worthy of appreciation. I have personally witnessed a profound change from the family farm to the corporate farm. Today's corporate farms often manage a land base equivalent to that of ten to twenty family farms of an earlier time. For instance, in the vicinity of the farm on which I personally grew up in southern Manitoba, eight neighboring farmsteads have disappeared. In some cases, these family farm locations are marked by a collection of derelict buildings, while in other cases they have disappeared without a trace. Howard McPhail's aerial images of towns and farmyard homesteads have indeed left us with a valuable historical legacy.

Jack McKinnon
Carman, Manitoba

Jennifer Reid, ***Louis Riel and the Creation of Modern Canada: Mythic Discourse and the Postcolonial State*** Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008, 314 pages, ISBN 978-082634151, $34.95 (cloth)



This is a powerful narrative that acknowledges that Aboriginal peoples were the real founders of Canada, or Kanata (the more accurate Iroquoian term reported by Jacques Cartier in 1545). Its central thesis is that the Canadian Confederation of 1867 was a political and economic union of disparate regions that failed to foster a strong sense of nationalism. Rather, it was Riel and the Métis who contributed the most to the emergence of a multi-ethnic Canadian identity and a modern Canadian state. More specifically, *métissage* was foundational in the emergence of the Canadian social and political entity and a pluralistic society (p. 164). Reid is first and foremost a specialist in Religious Studies but she has had a long interest in the history of Aboriginal peoples, more specifically the Mi'kmaq of Acadia ("No Man's Land": British and Mi'kmaq in 18th and 19th Century Acadia," PhD Thesis, University of Ottawa, 1997). Many of her publications focus on the struggles of colonized peoples against Western imperialism and repression.

Using primarily published historical sources (with some factual errors such as identifying Riel's paternal grand-mother's origins as Chippewa rather than Dene Chipewyan) the author describes how the Métis "uprisings" of 1869-70 and 1885 fostered the emergence of a Canadian hero, Louis Riel, and a distinct Canadian identity in the twentieth century. It should be noted, however, that the Red River Resistance of 1869-70 was acknowledged as neither an uprising nor a rebellion by Canadian Prime Minister J. A. Macdonald, while for the Métis the 1885 conflict was a war of resistance or "guerre nationale." Reid effectively describes and debunks some of our most prominent historical myths such as understanding and general support for the Métis and Riel's cause in Québec (and one could add francophones in Western Canada) and the benevolence of Anglo-Canadian imperialism which dominated Canadian politics and institutions until the mid-twentieth century. Although the author does not specifically discuss the impact of the "uprisings" on the Métis themselves, she describes how "they served to transform imbedded [French-English] dichotomies of ethnicity in the country into explicit and permanent structures of opposition and creative energy within the social and political fabric of Confederation" (p. 124). A colonial state needs a resistance, rebellion or revolution to awaken its population and foster a sense of identity or union. Was the Canadian conquest of Western Canada and

its Aboriginal peoples the catalyst that led to the emergence of a modern state?

Conflicting images, values and myths have been ascribed to Riel. Over the years, he has been the subject of biographies and polemic tracts and his writings appropriated to serve numerous causes. Louis Riel, the nineteenth century "rebel chief" and "martyr of the Northwest," was recognized as a founder of Manitoba by the Canadian government in 1992. Riel the un-Canadian of the nineteenth century has become "prototypically Canadian." During an address to the jury at his trial in July, 1885 he declared prophetically: "I know that through the grace of God I am the founder of Manitoba." Riel was the acknowledged leader of the New Nation of the North-West and fought for its rights through political means in the Red River Settlement which became the new province of Manitoba in 1870. In the aftermath, Métis rights were not respected by Canada and the isolated and dispossessed Métis were in Riel's own words forced to take up arms at Batoche, Saskatchewan in 1885. The battle was lost and Riel was tried for treason and executed by the Canadian government. Canada had found a revolutionary "modern" hero although it would take a hundred years for him to be identified as intrinsically Canadian.

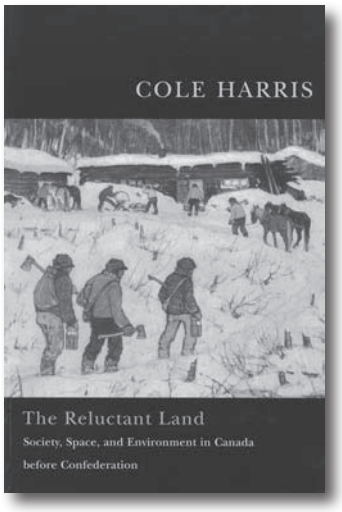
Bi-nationalism and biculturalism, which privileged a northern European culture and ethnicity in Canada in the latter twentieth century, failed to unite Canadians. The concept was also offensive to Aboriginal peoples (both First Nations and Métis) who are now caught up in the current "white" politics of multiculturalism. The Métis Nation was recognized by the government of Canada in 2004, but its inherent rights are still being negotiated through the judicial process. Some Métis would argue that although interpretations such as Reid's are innovative and complimentary, Riel and his people are being used by modern day politicians and academics to serve current or dominant discourses and agendas. Various "myths" or portrayals of Riel serve interests of Canadian identity and nationalism. His writings suggest a pluralistic and heterogeneous vision of Canada, but he expressed these views in the context of colonialism and marginalization of the Métis. Riel would have rejoiced in the vindication of his mission and the coming of age of his people. But it could also be argued that Riel belongs to the Métis. In the words of Riel descendant and lawyer Jean Teillet, "he is not broken and don't try to fix him or appropriate him" (Riel Day Speech, 16 November 2002 quoted in *Globe and Mail*, 26 November 2002).

John Ralston Saul's *A Fair Country: Telling Truths About Canada* (Penguin, 2008), translated more evocatively as *Mon Pays Métis* (Boréal, 2008), and Reid's book both acknowledge the importance of *métissage* in the emergence of a distinct Canadian identity and culture. Canada is not a typical nation according to the Western model. French and English Canada were never united, so must we now look to our Aboriginal or mixed heritage for core values and culture that makes us Canadian. Unlike the United States for example, Canada is a heterogeneous and pluralistic society. Traditionally homogeneous Western nations, however, are becoming more heterogeneous or multi-ethnic due to immigration and modern technology. If population projections are accurate, "visible minorities" will become the majority in the next decades. Canadians of European origin will be in a minority and in provinces such as Manitoba and Saskatchewan Aboriginal peoples could form the majority.

Canada is a confederation of diverse regions or nations within a Nation. Elements of unity are subtle but strong, as demonstrated at 2010 Winter Olympics in Vancouver. We are still struggling with issues such as respect for two official European languages, Aboriginal rights and Québec sovereignty-association, even while emerging as a new nation of the twenty-first century. "The world is white no longer, and it will never be white again."

Diane Payment
Winnipeg

Cole Harris, *The Reluctant Land: Society, Space, and Environment in Canada before Confederation* Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2008, 512 pages, ISBN: 9780774814508, $39.95 (paperback)



In 1936 Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King remarked that, "If some countries have too much history, we have too much geography." King's clever but somewhat glib assessment of our national legacy reflects a widely held view that history and geography are distinct. This book suggests the contrary and makes the case that history cannot be separated from geography, or geography from history. The physical geography of a place sets limits on how people can live in a particular space, but culture and experience play a role too in determining how people interpret and respond to climate, resources, and other environmental factors.

Although Harris suggests in his introduction that this book is aimed at a general readership of people interested in "a broad account of land and life in early Canada," the book parallels general survey textbooks for pre-Confederation Canadian history courses in form and structure and seems aimed at a similar market in historical geography. It offers, however, an interesting counterpoint to most other survey textbooks by downplaying biography and any overarching narrative of events in favour of an emphasis on the changing "arrangement and interactions of people and land in early Canada and of the humanized spaces of early Canadian life."

This is a huge task. As Harris notes, throughout much of this period and in most areas there was no real equivalent to the current nation state and, while patterns of land and life were often old and well-established, they tended to be organized within "a complex matrix of more local identities organized at various scales." Indeed, Harris's key message is that Canada emerged in 1867 out of a "fractured discontinuous past" that is best understood regionally. Harris describes Canada as a confederation of multiple identities that succeeded, to the extent it has, on a series of pragmatic accommodations made among what were already highly regionalized and diverse populations. This in turn suggests that any sense of Canadian-ness is something of a conscious social and political construct "allergic to precise definition."

This analysis relies heavily on research undertaken for volumes 1 and 2 of the *Historical Atlas of Canada,* and the book can be seen as a less visual and more text-heavy expansion of the *Historical Atlas* project. Indeed, many of the maps and illustrations in *The Reluctant Land* are taken directly from the *Historical Atlas* volumes. But Harris has also done an excellent job of extracting key insights from new research by historians, anthropologists and geographers working since the first *Historical Atlas* volume appeared in 1987.

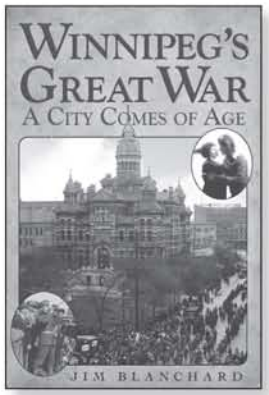
Readers of *Manitoba History* will probably be most interested in Harris's relatively brief chapter on the "Northwestern Interior" region from 1760 to 1870. His survey of this area and period makes good use of the work of Arthur Ray, Barry Kaye, Wayne Moodie, Gerald Friesen, Frank Tough and a number of younger scholars with strong interests in environmental, local and social history. The chapter discusses important issues such resource depletion, disease diffusion, trade networks, the intersection of imperial and local economies, and early settlement patterns. It also makes the case very strongly that relations between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples in the region are crucial to understanding the formation and subsequent evolution of communities across this vast territory. Harris pays particular attention to the Red River Settlement and the way this small community reflects much larger issues of how an indigenous land was remade to suit new interests.

Harris concludes with several broad observations on how shared and separate identities can be culturally fashioned and then refashioned; how the physical environment intersects with the social, political and economic aspirations and values of people; and how what he calls a "reluctant land" made Canada distinctively Canadian. The latter point is a key one. Harris asserts that a fundamental distinction between Canadian and American history is that American society seems based on deeply engrained notions of extension and abundance, while Canada grew out of boundaries of discontinuity, paradox, and limitation at almost every turn.

Readers may well disagree with some of his conclusions, but the book is thought-provoking and offers a very different approach to a general history of pre-Confederation Canada from most other commonly used texts in university survey courses. We may live in a reluctant land, but that should not make us reluctant to explore the significance of a country that may actually have both too much history and geography for easy categorization.

Michael Payne
Edmonton, Alberta

Serious Books
FOR SERIOUS READERS



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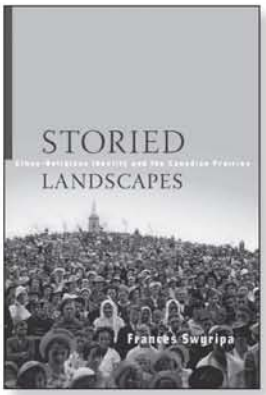

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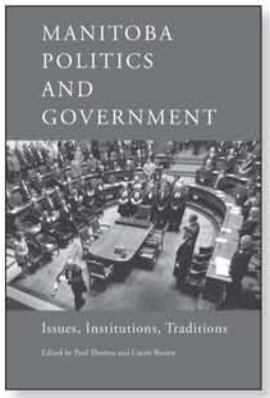

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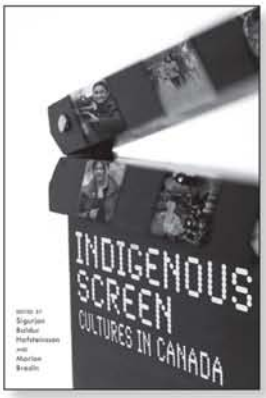

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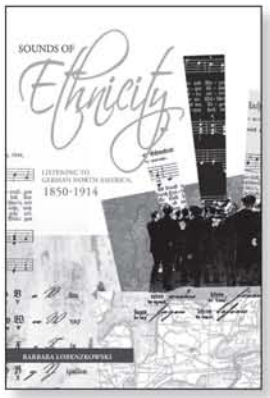

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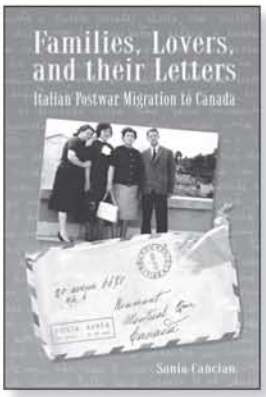

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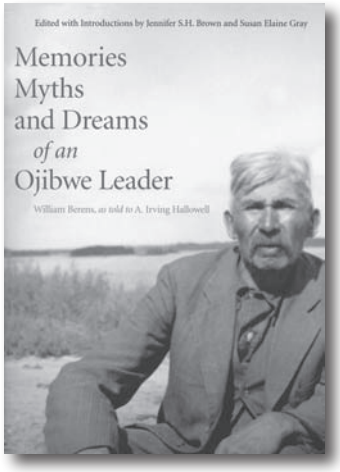
"This is historical interdisciplinary analysis at its best, and certainly bound to make us discover or rethink the complex emotional universe that lies underneath a migration movement."—Bruno Ramirez, University of Montreal

UNIVERSITY *of* MANITOBA PRESS

William Berens, as told to A. Irving Hallowell, *Memories Myths and Dreams of an Ojibwe Leader*, edited with an introduction by Jennifer S. H. Brown and Susan Elaine Gray, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009, 261 pages, ISBN 978-0773536050, $29.95 (paper)



The Berens River cuts through the heart of Manitoba, flowing into Lake Winnipeg through Ojibwe territory. When anthropologist A. Irving Hallowell visited the Berens River Ojibwe in the 1930s, he initially thought that they were relatively untouched by non-Aboriginal influences. Unaware that the Berens River Ojibwe had been involved in the fur trade for over 200 years, the young American anthropologist soon discovered the rich history of these people through his association with Chief William Berens. Although they were not as isolated as Hallowell had hoped, Chief Berens introduced him to the people and the landscape of the Berens River that forever left an impression on Hallowell. Through his writings, Hallowell has allowed many others to share in the rich mosaic of culture and traditions of the Berens River Ojibwe.

Hallowell's scholarly articles have long been used by anthropologists and other scholars interested in Ojibwe culture. His notes and manuscripts, however, went relatively unnoticed until the 1980s, when Professor Jennifer Brown began researching them in the American Philosophical Society Library in Philadelphia. Brown's research has resulted in several articles and books dealing with Hallowell and the Berens River Ojibwe. As a student of Professor Brown, Susan Gray also became immersed in the history and traditions of the Berens River Ojibwe. Her doctoral research took her to the Berens River communities, and led to a prize-winning book entitled, *"I Will Fear No Evil": Ojibwa-Missionary Encounters along the Berens River, 1875-1940.* Together, Brown and Gray worked on bringing the Hallowell manuscripts to light. Their masterful work has resulted in a finely crafted book that provides a unique insight into Hallowell and the Berens River Ojibwe. Their introduction and endnotes provide valuable context and add insights from years of scholarly investigation. The photographs and maps are well-positioned and add a rich texture to the book. One drawback in the composition of the book is the use of endnotes rather than footnotes. It is a trend in publishing that simply does not work well with a book such as this. I believe that many readers will agree with me that it is a continual source of frustration to be flipping back and forth between text and endnotes.

The book is divided into the reminiscences of Chief Berens, followed by stories about Ojibwe life and dreams (Dibaajimowinan), and stories about myths (Aadizookannag). The reminiscences provide an insight into the rich and varied life of Chief Berens. The details that Chief Berens remembered about the people and places in the Lake Winnipeg region are remarkable. Anyone interested in Manitoba history will find the descriptions of life in the Lake Winnipeg commercial fishery extremely fascinating. Chief Berens was truly a remarkable man – full of resilience and strength of character. The Dibaajimowinan are also remarkable. Many Ojibwe would have been reluctant to talk about such things. As Brown and Gray explain, Chief Berens was able to speak more freely about these subjects because of his age and experience. They also note the ease with which Chief Berens and Hallowell communicated. Their relationship developed into a genuine friendship, and the Berens River communities still remember Hallowell fondly. The Aadizookannag take up most of the book, and come from a number of informants. They offer a unique insight into the worldview and values of the Berens River Ojibwe. Readers from all walks of life will find these stories interesting, humorous and delightful. Scholars will undoubtedly scour them for clues to the origins of Ojibwe culture.

This book is a must read for anyone interested in Manitoba history and Ojibwe culture. It adds to our understanding of the contributions of Professor Hallowell to scholarship, and the contributions of Chief Berens to his family, community and the Ojibwe Nation. Jennifer Brown and Susan Gray have polished a brilliant gem from the Hallowell manuscript collection.

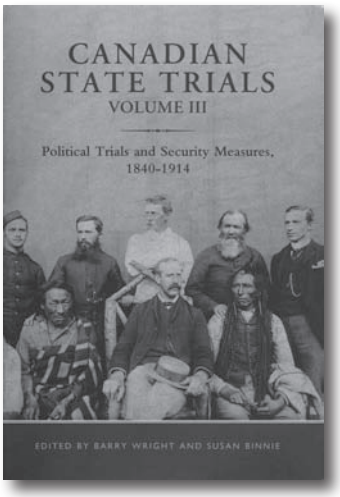
Victor P. Lytwyn
Orangeville, Ontario

Future History

In upcoming issues of *Manitoba History* ...

- 90 years of the Winnipeg Foundation
- The Simpson's – HBC merger
- The photography of H. L. Hime
- Cool things in the collection
- Book reviews & more

Barry Wright and Susan Binnie (eds.), ***Canadian State Trials Volume III: Political Trials and Security Measures, 1840-1914*** Toronto: University of Toronto Press, for The Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History, 2009, 648 pages, ISBN 978-1442640153, $90.00 (cloth)



Murray Greenwood's passion for the study of political crimes has been substantially extended by Barry Wright and Susan Binnie with this third volume in the *Canadian State Trials* series. Greenwood was something of a left-wing libertarian, eager to invoke the duties and expose the abuses of governmental powers, while maintaining a mischievous respect for the rebel, the outsider. The lawyer in him made rule-of-law the ideal and due-process the measure and method for each case; the University of British Columbia historian in him insisted on careful reconstructions of laws and facts as they actually were, in each case's time and place. Murray was born and educated an Anglophile Quebecois, sensitive to political and social contexts. He shared this legal historian's vision with Barry Wright in designing the series as a collection of secondary articles, rejecting the early nineteenth century English model (i.e., Howells series) of edited, annotated original case trial proceedings. *Canadian State Trials* gives us modern experts while the English *State Trials 1163-1858* gives us raw primary evidence; the former gives us selected citation and interpretation, the latter gives us do-it-yourself sources.

The first volume contained selected political trials before 1837 in New France and British North America, and the second focused exclusively on the 1837-1839 rebellions in Upper Canada and Lower Canada. This third collection divides into four topical areas: 1) two articles on the Fenian "invasions" and agitations 1866-8; 2) four articles on riots and the law's instrumental responses 1864-1914; 3) four articles on the North-West rebellions of 1874 and 1885, focusing largely on Manitoba; and 4) two articles introducing two spymasters and the Criminal Code 1892. Each article is thoroughly and authoritatively footnoted, providing a ton of references to manuscript and printed sources, as well as mini-historiographical guides to published scholarship. The book ends with an excellent nominal-topical index and three appendices by commissioned archivists detailing "Archival Sources" for Sir John A. Macdonald, the Riel Rebellion and the four topical areas noted above. There are an annoying number of typing errors and of ubiquitous "See" commands in the footnotes; but, in sum, this is a well-planned, expertly executed scholarly enterprise, creating keen hopes for The Osgoode Society's continued support of the series across twentieth century political trials.

The Fenian impact was always exaggerated, fleeting and legally insignificant. These Americanized Irish Catholics mounted three "invasions" between April and June 1866: a handful of one-night raiders from Vermont into New Brunswick, a force of 800 for less than a week at Niagara, and similar numbers near Pigeon Hill, Quebec, for two days. Mostly rag-tag anti-British survivors of the U. S. Civil War, they fantasized a liberation of Ireland by way of North America, even blustering about Hudson's Bay Company territories. R. Blake Brown's article narrates the three trials, on charges of levying war: seven of twelve convicted in November 1866 (Toronto), three of sixteen in Sweetsburg, Quebec, and fifteen of twenty-seven convicted in January 1867 (Toronto). Dozens were shipped back to the U. S. without trial, the convicted had death sentences commuted to twenty years, and all were freed before 1872. The one Fenian success, D'Arcy McGee's assassination (1868), is definitively reconstructed by David A. Wilson in the second article. He shows that Sir John A. Macdonald's suspension of *habeas corpus* was not needed, but that the government acted with the restraint and legality that the Fenian fools neither recognized nor deserved.

The next four articles pertain to "Managing Collective Disorder," beginning with Ian Ross Robertson's condensed version of his 1996 book on "The Tenant League." This was a renters' revolt in 1864 by leaseholders, tenants-at-will and squatters against largely absentee landlords on Prince Edward Island. Donald Fyson extends his superb 2006 book's study of "Criminal Justice in Quebec" (1764-1837) to the second half of the nineteenth century, focusing on judicial prosecutions for riot. This is the most original, systematic, sophisticated quantitative case analysis in the volume. Next, Susan Binnie describes at length the failed federal attempts, through its Peace Act (1869) and Police Act (1868), to enforce alcohol prohibition west of Ontario (including Manitoba) to support road and railway projects. Eric Tucker then carefully analyses governmental responses to seventeen street railway strikes or lockouts in nine cities from 1886-1914, including Winnipeg in 1906 and 1910. All four articles show how ineffectual *post facto* resort to the courts was, how juried trials with high acquittal rates were replaced by summary police magistrate procedure and militarized force, both self-interestedly controlled by civilian elites and owners.

For Manitobans the next four articles, grouped as "The North-West Rebellions," hold special attention. Louis A. Knafla narrates "Treasonous Murder: The Trial of Ambroise Lepine, 1874," an oft-told foundational chapter in

Manitoba's history. This was a trial of Louis Riel *in absentia*, which ended with only the accused looking honourable: certainly not the alleged victim (Scott), the prosecuting (Cornish) and defending (Royal, Dubuc, Girard) lawyers, the sixteen doubtful witnesses, the twelve select jurors, and the judge (Chief Justice Edmund Burke Wood). Knafla basically explicates the trial's Court of Queen's Bench transcript, published in 1874. Bob Beal and Barry Wright follow this with the "Summary and Incompetent Justice" notorious in the eighty-four treason-felony cases against Riel's associates in 1885, which put sixty Aboriginals and Metis in Stony Mountain Penitentiary. Then we get "Another Look at the Riel Trial" by Jack Bumsted, which is really another look at Tom Flanagan's exculpatory arguments for the prosecution. Finally, the editors take us back to "The 1885 Indian Trials" by Bill Waiser, who exposes the Macdonald government's shameful courtroom revenge on twenty-eight "disloyal" Aboriginal bands. This 183 page section of the book addresses the heart of Manitoba's early cultural identity, providing up-to-date syntheses, full of anecdotes and footnoted evidence.

Finally, the volume jumps to a brief glimpse of "Political Policing" 1860-1914, written by committee: Andrew Parnaby, Gregory S. Kealey, and Kirk Niergarth. We get "Gilbert McMicken and the Fenians" and then "William Charles Hopkinson and the 'Hindoo Crisis'," presented grandly as spy-masters, without any contexts for the history of Canadian security policing and powers. We end with Desmond H. Brown, aided by Barry Wright, extending his 1989 monograph on the "Canadian Criminal Code, 1892." They usefully focus on its public order offences: treason, lawless aggression, official secrets, breaches of the peace, and sedition.

Robust as most articles are, they are also a bit tired, mainly extending each scholar's previous, more substantial publications. Each fulfills Murray Greenwood's vision but each consolidates rather than creates fresh perspectives. Only the Manitoba section forms a coherent, thematic whole; the rest are stand-alone articles for scattered events that are asserted to be "state trials" without any clear set of defining criteria. Do all governmental prosecutions, local-colonial-provincial-federal, qualify? If not, why not? Silly as that sounds, it begs a basic premise for the uniqueness of this volume and series that future editors must face and resolve.

Dr. DeLloyd J. Guth
Faculty of Law
The University of Manitoba

Thanks ...

The Editors wish to thank the following people who assisted in the preparation of this issue of *Manitoba History*: Martin Comeau (City of Winnipeg Archives), Don Dudgeon, Scott Goodine (Archives of Manitoba), James Kostuchuk, Brett Lougheed and Lewis St. George Stubbs (University of Manitoba Archives), and Blair Philpott (Parks Canada).

Cool Things in the Collection:
Mapping Manitoba

by Lisa Friesen, James Gorton & Chris Kotecki
Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg

Throughout the province's history, maps have played a central role in creating a visual representation of Manitoba. From the 1709 Samuel Thornton map of Hudson Bay and Straits to the 1873 map of the Postage Stamp Province, cartographers, explorers, surveyors and many others have created maps that described transportation routes, planned settlements, and defined the boundaries of this province.

Mapping Manitoba, an exhibit now on display at the Archives of Manitoba, provides a glimpse of the remarkable map collections of the Archives of Manitoba. Featuring maps from both the Hudson's Bay Company Archives and the Archives of Manitoba, it leads the viewer on a journey through two centuries of records. A small sample of maps from the exhibit is reproduced here.

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

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

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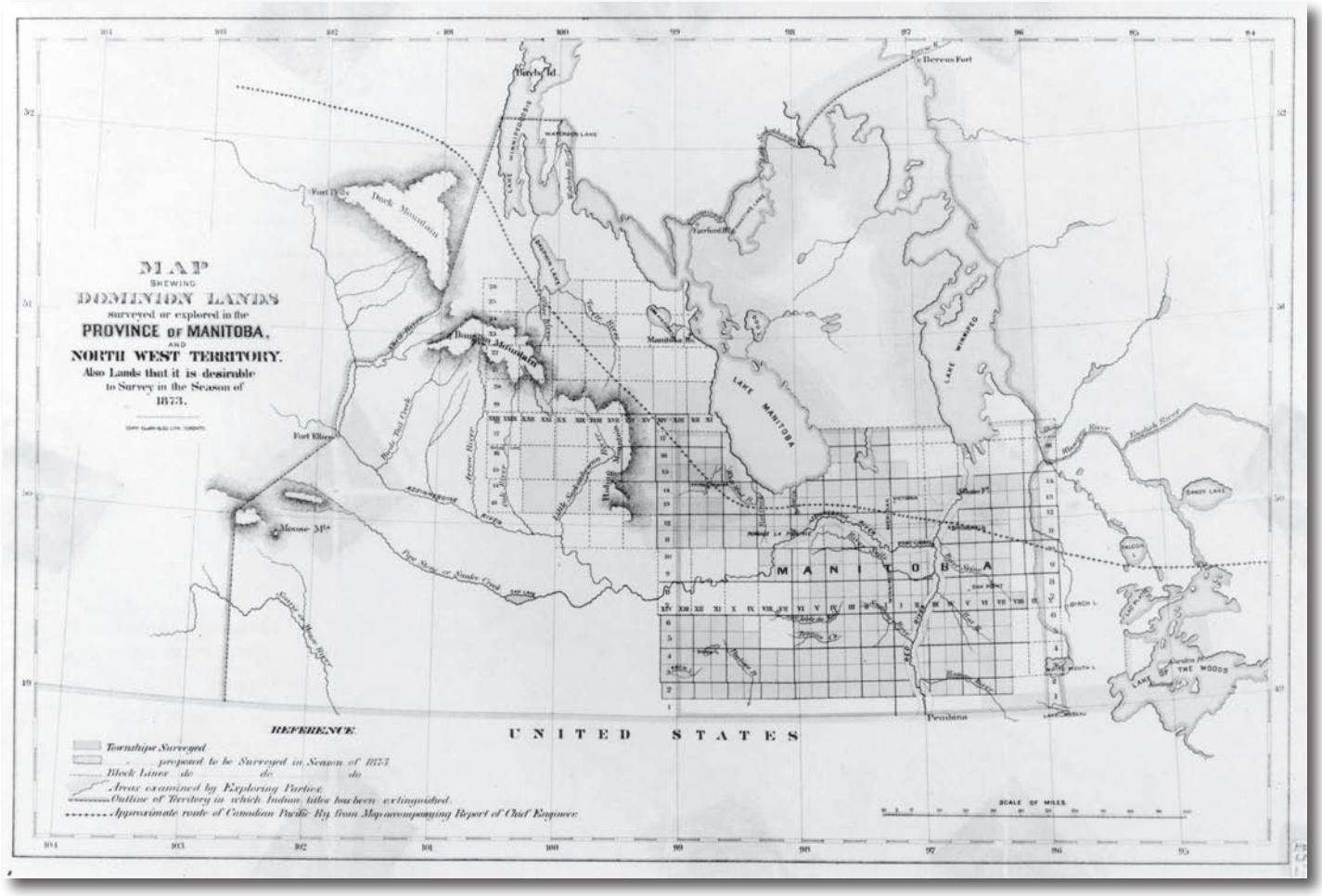
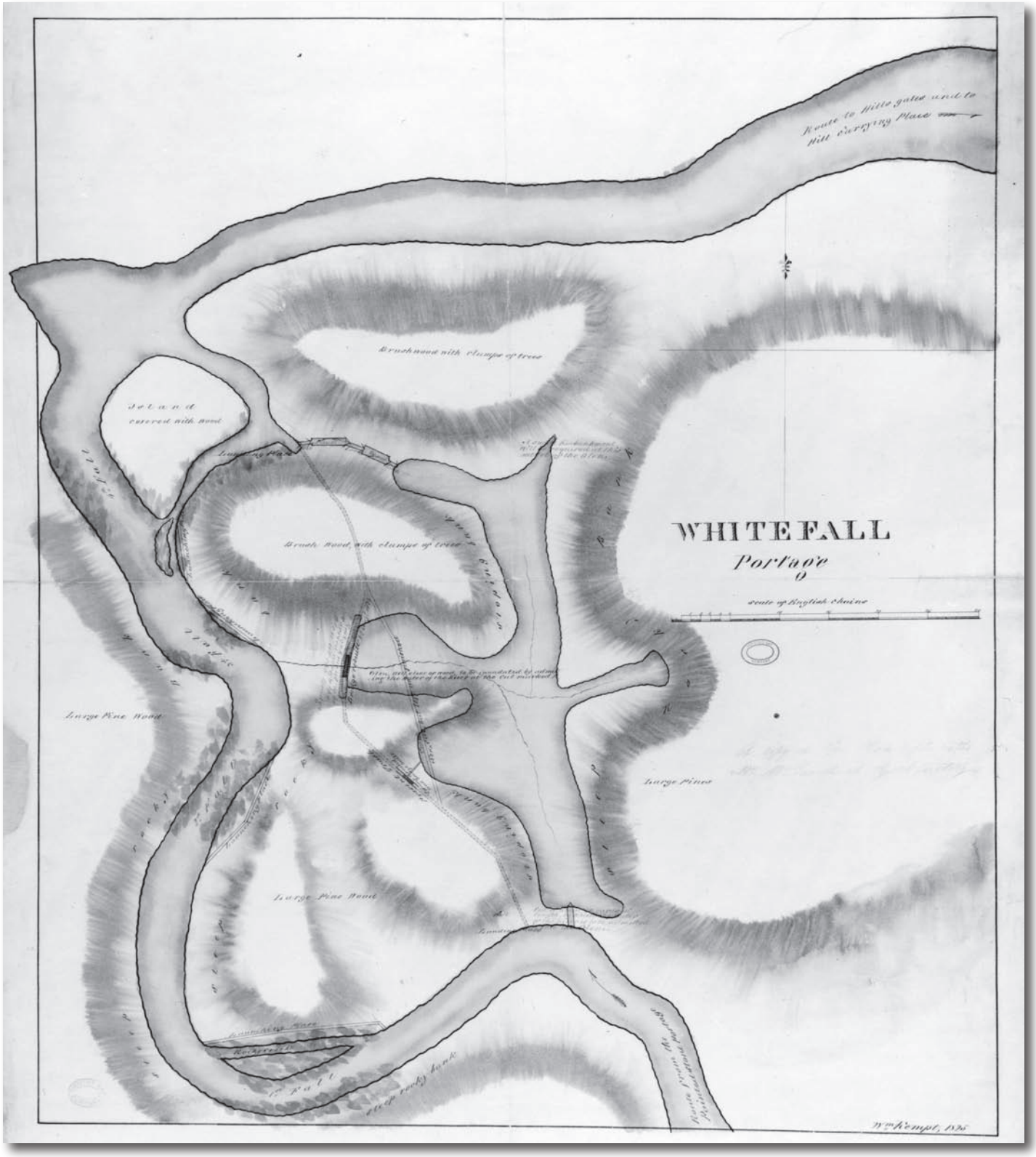


Archives of Manitoba, H3 610.3 bj 1873 c.1

On 12 May 1870, the Province of Manitoba was born. The Manitoba Act set the provincial boundaries to include most of the former District of Assiniboia, with the 49th parallel as its southern border. Its small rectangular shape earned it the nickname Postage Stamp Province. But a growing population, along with the provincial government's desire for increased revenues, meant that the tiny province needed to expand. In 1881, Manitoba's boundaries were expanded to five times its original size. On 15 May 1912, the Manitoba Legislature passed an act calling for further extension of the provincial boundaries and Manitoba grew into its present shape.



Archives of Manitoba, Hudson's Bay Company Archives, G.1/56.

As the Hudson's Bay Company's main gateway into Rupert's Land, York Factory was the entry point of goods and supplies destined for Lord Selkirk's settlement at the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. As a result, the HBC needed to improve the water route from York Factory to the Red River Settlement. In 1824, surveyor William Kempt was hired by the HBC to do this. This map shows Kempt's suggested changes to the route at White Fall Portage, situated on the Hayes River between Robinson and Logan Lakes. Some of these improvements were completed by Kempt and his crew.

Archives of Manitoba, Hudson's Bay Company Archives, E.6/14.

This portion of a cadastral plan of the Red River Settlement was created in 1838 by George Taylor, Jr., HBC surveyor to the settlement. A cadastral plan is used to define land boundaries and land units to determine land titles. Taylor's plan shows survey characteristics that shaped the Red River Settlement, such as two-mile (approximately three kilometres) long lots with an additional two miles of pasture, which were recognized by the federal government in The Manitoba Act establishing the Province of Manitoba. At the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, the lots were generally shorter as they ran into each other at the junction. Although the Red River Settlement was resurveyed by Dominion of Canada surveyors in the 1870s, Taylor's system and pattern still form the basis for Winnipeg's legal land descriptions.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