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- assist in the formation and work of local historical societies in furthering the objectives of the Society throughout Manitoba

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Red River Bicentenary

Members of the Manitoba Living History Society gather in the cemetery of the historic St. John's Cathedral in preparation for commemoration of the 200th anniversary of the Lord Selkirk Red River Settlement, in early September 2012.

Source: Chris Black Photography,
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"The charm of history and its enigmatic lesson consist in the fact that, from age to age, nothing changes and yet everything is completely different."

Aldous Huxley, *The Devils of Loudun*, 1952

The Construction of a Regional Identity: From Homeland to Industrial Frontier

by Jim Mochoruk

Department of History, University of North Dakota

Outside of the densely populated urban and agricultural southern region, Manitoba seems to most people to be one huge “wilderness” area—the land of 100,000 lakes, the home of polar bears, and a wild tangle of pre-Cambrian rock, dense forest and sub-arctic tundra. To be sure, there are a few oases of “civilization”—mining towns, transportation centres, the occasional hunting and fishing lodge—but it is essentially an empty and harsh land.

It is this view, which is shared by most Canadians, that is at the core of our “construction” of the north. As such it is a view which does not necessarily reflect reality so much as it does our own preconceived notions and prejudices. In other words, we view the north not as it really is, but rather as we wish to see it—or as our culture has taught us to see it. And while this problem of perception—this way of seeing—might seem like a minor issue, this paper (drawing heavily upon a longer book-length study¹) seeks to demonstrate not only how our views of the north have been “constructed” but also that there are dramatic consequences which have flowed from our way(s) of viewing northern Manitoba between 1670 and 1930.

The region that now comprises central and northern Manitoba has long been the subject of differing constructions. To begin with, although the records are sketchy and derive largely from European sources, it is clear that aboriginal peoples such as the Chipewyan/Dene, the Inuit of the Hudson Bay coast, and the various groups of Cree, Assiniboiné, Ojibwa, and several groups of plains peoples contested for control of various sub-regions of this vast district long before Europeans arrived.² And they, of course,

viewed their homelands as being filled with both economic value and social and cultural significance. Then, in the post-contact era, Europeans representing English and French interests added their commercial and imperial constructions to this mix, which greatly exacerbated some of the existing rivalries between native groups, helped to alter diplomatic relations and land use patterns between various aboriginal groups, and were at least partially responsible for peoples such as the Western Ojibwa moving into the region from areas further to the east.³ Later still, individuals, non-government organizations, and representatives of the state from Canada, Great Britain, the United States and southern Manitoba added yet another layer of constructions, again redefining this region to suit their own interests and preconceptions.

The first regional identity, of course, was constructed by the First Nations Peoples who frequented this region. The creation stories and oral histories of the region’s aboriginal peoples—Chipewyan/Dene, Cree, Ojibwa/Anishanabeg, and Assiniboiné—while far from uniform, indicate that all of these people viewed portions of north and central Manitoba as either their primary homeland, or as an extension of a homeland which included several hunting, trapping, fishing,

trading, and living zones as well as important religious and ceremonial centres.⁴

The Europeans who first entered the region, however, had a vastly different set of perceptions and expectations; indeed, the last thing they were looking for was a new homeland. Henry Hudson and several subsequent explorers of the Bay which bears his name were not so much interested in the region per se as with finding a way through, or preferably around it, en route to the trade goods of the Far East.⁵ Several decades later came those who would leave a more permanent mark on the region, those who were interested in the fur trade. From the outset, the business strategy of the Company of Adventurers trading



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The cabin of Billy Baker and Tom Patton at Baker’s Narrows.

Jim Mochoruk was born, raised, and educated at Winnipeg. He specializes in researching northern development in Canada and the social and labor history of western Canada.

into Hudson's Bay (HBC) made it clear that the western interior was not a site fit for European habitation; rather, it was a sub-arctic "wilderness" suited only for fur-bearing animals and the aboriginal peoples who were crucial to the success of the Europeans' fur trade.⁶

What is most remarkable about this 17th-century European perception is not that it was accurate, but that certain aspects of it held sway for so long—indeed, down to the present day. But this speaks to the ability of certain groups to construct and then maintain perceptions which accord first with their culturally determined prejudices, and then with their economic interests. For example, in the initial stages of exploration of Hudson and James bays, the environment of the region—so unlike anything most Europeans were accustomed to—struck fear in the hearts of the explorers who wintered there, and for good reason given the experiences of the Hudson, Button, Munk and James expeditions.⁷ Later, the HBC men who remained inside their "factories" waiting for the natives to arrive with furs from the interior, and for Company ships to hover into sight with their trade goods and the all-important supplies of European necessities, were also awed and frightened by their surroundings. The French, when they were in control of these Bayside posts, seemed better adapted to, and thus less intimidated by, their surroundings⁸—but by the late 17th century a uniformity of opinion as to the usefulness of the land had arisen among the traders and their masters:

In other words, we view the north not as it really is, but rather as we wish to see it, or as our culture has taught us to see it.

it was a fur-trapping frontier, plain and simple—not a surprising conclusion given the economic interests and limited environmental perspective of these men.

But it was a conclusion which flew in the face of a mounting body of evidence. Exploration into the regions beyond the Bay, and information garnered from native informants, indicated that the undifferentiated fur-trading hinterland of Rupert's Land was a far richer and more diverse region than Europeans had initially imagined.

As the aboriginal peoples knew, the vast region granted to the HBC by imperial fiat in 1670 was composed of several landscapes, linked by waterways, by inter-dependent ecosystems, and by the peoples who lived in its sub-regions.

Even the most cursory reading of HBC reports and contemporary writings indicates a growing awareness of this complexity. After Henry Kelsey ventured southwards with native guides and saw the plains in 1690–91, Company men and the French fur traders who supplanted them during "the battle for the Bay" knew that Rupert's Land was composed of an assortment of environments.⁹ However, the Europeans who profited from the fur trade had a vested interest in constructing, maintaining, and broadcasting a more dismal and unitary view of the interior—which might explain why Kelsey's masters never made his findings public, nor encouraged him to publish the journals he kept of his inland explorations.¹⁰ More to the point, questions concerning the HBC's sorry



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York boat at Oxford House, circa 1925. These sturdy boats, which for generations had been the primary cargo vessel for the north, would be increasingly supplanted by 20th-century arrivals like the steam locomotive and, later, the airplane.

record of exploration, encouragement of “plantations,” and other such responsibilities spelled out in its charter were met with outright denials of any potential use of the lands of Rupert’s Land other than for fur trading for well over a century. Indeed, from the time of Arthur Dobbs’ attacks upon the HBC in the 1730s and 1740s (in the course of which he offered a distinctly different—and wildly optimistic—construction of the region¹¹) through to the British Parliament’s Select Committee hearings of 1857, the “Honourable Company” expended considerable energy trying to convince Canadians, Americans and especially the British political establishment that Rupert’s Land was unsuited for anything but fur trading. As Sir George Simpson, the HBC’s “Little Emperor,” put it so succinctly in 1857, “I do not think that any part of the Hudson’s Bay Company’s territories is well adapted for settlement ...”¹²

Quite consciously then, many of the HBC’s leading officials maintained that their construction of Rupert’s Land was the only correct one even though they had considerable reason to believe otherwise.¹³ Of course, from the HBC’s market-oriented perspective, this view made considerable sense. Increased settler populations would inevitably mean increased challenges to the Company’s trading monopoly and a limitation upon the hunting and trapping territories available to its native fur suppliers. Thus, information which might have inclined people to enter the region had to be either suppressed or disparaged.

But during the 19th century interest in Rupert’s Land grew, both in Great Britain and Canada. As a consequence, Company officials found themselves increasingly forced to contradict views which Lord Selkirk and other representatives of the HBC had put forward when recruiting settlers for Red River, when attacking the North West Company in the courts, and when penning memoirs of their travels.¹⁴ While often humorous, this backtracking illustrated both how great was the desperation of the Company to keep people out of its territories and the simple fact that it was now fighting a losing battle.

In effect, the forces of “civilization and progress” could not be stopped by Company officials. Missionaries were the thin edge of the wedge in this regard. Although the HBC had kept missionaries out of Rupert’s Land until well into the 19th century, this was an exclusion which had become impractical. For political reasons, as well as the religious scruples of some of the HBC’s London Committee, by the second decade of the 19th century missionaries not only had to be allowed into HBC territory but had to be supported by the Company in many ways. At first the relationship between the HBC and various missionaries was strained, as many of the first missionaries assumed that they would have to get the native hunters and trappers to settle down and take up farming before they could be converted—not something that the HBC wanted to see happening. But by the 1850s an agreement of sorts had been worked out between the fur traders and the clergymen: within limits, it was accepted by many missionaries that giving up the hunt was not a necessary prerequisite for conversion

to Christianity.¹⁵ Indeed, some prominent missionaries came to take up the HBC’s view of at least the more northerly portions of Rupert’s Land, thereby reinforcing the Company’s “wilderness” construction in order to “protect their charges” from a sudden inundation of whites. The Anglican Bishop of Rupert’s Land, for example, argued in 1857, “that by opening the whole country to free competition the native would be sacrificed.” Thus, while white colonization of Rupert’s Land was not necessarily a bad thing, the Bishop was certain that it should be restricted to certain areas. Thus, “... each [Indian and White] might have his position in the country, the civilized in the south, and the Indian further north.”¹⁶ And Governor Simpson found at least one other—and quite interesting—ally in his quest to maintain the Company’s view. In the mid-1840s the artist Paul Kane was carefully encouraged to present images of the interior which accorded with the HBC’s construction of the west as a wilderness suited only for fur trading and as a habitat for the native peoples who lived there. Largely subsidized in his “wanderings” of 1846–48 by Simpson, Kane did yeoman’s service in the HBC cause—repaying the Company’s kind treatment with pictures and prose which portrayed the west and the HBC in terms Simpson himself might have penned.¹⁷

Still, try as Simpson and other Company officials might, a new construction of Rupert’s Land was emerging. The free-trade agitation of the 1840s in Red River,¹⁸ reports of missionaries critical of the Company’s native policies,¹⁹ and the growing body of writings by gentlemen adventurers, disaffected HBC employees and former residents of the interior had stirred up considerable interest in Rupert’s Land among Britons and Canadians,²⁰ especially among those concerned with the conversion of natives and the opening of new economic possibilities for Canada West. This latter concern came to the fore most clearly when the *Toronto Globe* entered the picture in 1850. Its publisher, George Brown, launched an editorial campaign favouring Canadian annexation of Rupert’s Land in that year.²¹ Picking up on critiques of the HBC in Alexander Isbister’s recent presentation to the Colonial Office and James Fitzgerald’s harsh analysis of the HBC,²² Brown focused his readers’ attention on the potential of the North West for agricultural settlement. More to the point, Brown charged—with considerable justice—that representatives of the HBC had continually downplayed this potential for the express purpose of discouraging agricultural experiments within its fiefdom.²³

A new series of editorials by Brown, written in 1856, were even more pointed about the use-value of HBC territories and the advantages that opening up those territories would bring to the citizens of Toronto.²⁴ Indeed, the *Globe* helped to spearhead a drive for the annexation of Rupert’s Land that same year: a drive which had the support of the Toronto Board of Trade, the Reform Party, several members of the Conservative Party in Canada West, as well as many individual businessmen.²⁵ As the *Globe* and its allies saw matters, Canadian possession of Rupert’s Land



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Site of the original discovery of what would become the HBM&S mine at Flin Flon, early 1920s. Although this image captures the natural beauty of the area, it would not look like this much longer. The lake in the background was later drained, all greenery was destroyed, and the area was completely altered by 1930.

would solve myriad problems: it would ease the land crisis in Canada West; it would open up trade possibilities for Toronto; it would secure “the best route for the Atlantic and Pacific Railway;”²⁶ and finally, it would counter American expansionism in the west. This was a powerful conjunction of interests in mid-century Canada West, for it appealed to the economic interests of farmers, merchants and railway men, while lashing out against both an anachronistic monopoly and the perfidious republic to the south.

Of course, this construction of the western interior was just as artificially created and as self-interested as the HBC’s had ever been. If the interests of monopolistic mercantile capitalism had been paramount in the earlier construction, it was the somewhat more complex mixture of an emergent industrial capitalism, an expanding agricultural capitalism, and an aggressive mercantile capitalism from an ambitious sub-metropolis (Toronto) which sought to redefine Rupert’s Land to meet its interests and expectations. Trained in the American school of “manifest destiny,” and self-consciously comparing itself to the “success-story” of American expansionism,²⁷ the Canadian expansionist movement was linking economics with nationalism to produce its own variant of English-Canadian manifest destiny.

Still, the interest of the expansionists was in the arable lands of the southern portions of Rupert’s Land.²⁸ For the most part, the north held little agricultural or commercial interest for the expansionists. Thus, when

Canadian agitation plus the looming renewal date of the HBC’s licence for exclusive trade culminated in a British Parliamentary inquiry in 1857, the case put forward by expansionists really concerned only the arable districts of the Company’s territory. And the Canadian government’s case—although too timid by expansionist standards²⁹—also focused upon the arable lands of Rupert’s Land and the Shield territory necessary for transportation purposes. In fact, when asked if he would object to confining the HBC “within a territory considerably to the north of the line which they now have?” Canada’s representative, Chief Justice Draper, thought that to be a reasonable idea, as the Company could help to maintain peace and trade among the natives.³⁰

The members of the Select Committee eventually recommended Canadian annexation of the southern lands most coveted by expansionists.³¹ For the lion’s share of Rupert’s Land, however, where “for the present at least, there can be no prospect of settlement ... by the European race,” the Committee recommended that it be left to the HBC.³²

While clearly a victory for the expansionist movement in Canada, these recommendations should also be seen as the triumph of a vision which had been emerging—despite the HBC’s best efforts—for quite some time concerning the potential of southern lands in the western interior. What made the victory possible in 1857 was the rapid growth of the Red River settlement,³³ American success with

western settlement,³⁴ the now proven potential of railways to serve as more than just short portage roads, and a new set of attitudes in Great Britain—factors which coincided with and shaped the territorial and economic ambitions of expansion-minded Canadians. What would have been impractical 50 or even 25 years earlier was within the realm of possibility in the industrial age—particularly at a time when British investors and financial institutions were willing to invest quite heavily in North American railways.

However, none of these changes altered the HBC's carefully constructed view of the majority of its territory as a preserve for the fur trade and the natives who made that trade possible. Ironically, the consistently held view of natives—that the region was their “homeland”³⁵—and the somewhat less consistent view of the HBC, that this was a wilderness not suitable for Europeans, had been upheld by the Select Committee's recommendations. In the south, the investigations begun by the British and Canadian governments in 1857 were allowed to continue in order to delimit the lands available for settlement purposes;³⁶ settlements were to be allowed and even encouraged; and improved communications were to be established, at Canadian expense, to prepare the way for annexation. But in the northern portions of Rupert's Land, the HBC's charter rights remained intact.³⁷

Clearly, the thriving settlement at Red River was on its way to annexation by Canada—or perhaps the United States if Canada did not act quickly enough to assert sovereignty.³⁸ Either way, its future—and that of the other arable lands in the region—would be linked to the south and east, for although still tied to the old northern-oriented fur trade, the diminishing importance of that trade—caused by a fall in fur prices and the lack of fine furs in many districts³⁹—and the growing importance of the buffalo robe trade and agriculture, turned Red River towards the south and the rapidly developing American transportation network. Indeed, by the late 1850s and early 1860s, most trade goods and exports were passing in and out of Red River via the United States, and even the HBC was eschewing its northern water transportation route in favour of cart-brigades, steamboats, and US railways when supplying its southern establishments.⁴⁰ As a result, not only was the northern fur trade faltering, but northern transportation centres such as York Factory and Norway House were suddenly diminished in importance.⁴¹ In effect, just as Red River and the surrounding southern district were being drawn into the world of agrarian capitalism, competitive mercantile capitalism, industrial capitalism, and the nation state, the north was becoming an increasingly isolated and irrelevant outpost of monopolistic mercantile capitalism, seemingly of interest only to fur traders and missionaries.

The British Government ... had no intention of spending monies on governing the north or negotiating treaties with its inhabitants: it simply assumed that at some undefined moment in the future, Canada would take up all of Rupert's Land, ensuring that it would remain part of the Empire at no cost to Britain.

Concerning the north of the 1850s and 1860s, one could well ask Lenin's question: “What is to be done?” and get no satisfactory answer. The British Government certainly had none. As both David McNab and W. L. Morton made clear, it certainly had no intention of spending monies on governing the north or negotiating treaties with its inhabitants: it simply assumed that at some undefined moment in the future, Canada would take up all of Rupert's Land, ensuring that it would remain part of the Empire at no cost to Britain.⁴² Canada had no answer either. It had never had any real interest in the north and, until 1867, could scarcely govern itself let alone any portion of Rupert's Land.⁴³ And even the HBC seemed uninterested in the question. The Honourable Company had tried to sell its interest in Rupert's Land to the British government in 1860 and three years later succeeded in arranging a sale to Edward Watkin and the International Financial Society.⁴⁴ The HBC's new

Directors, primarily financiers and railway men, cared little about the north—they had after all, bought the company because of the agricultural, trade, transportation, and real-estate potential of the HBC's southern holdings.⁴⁵

Clearly, no one was yet ready to take up “the challenge” which W. L. Morton later insisted was “the main task of Canadian life”—that is,

to “make something” of the northern Shield, our collective and “formidable heritage.”⁴⁶ In other words, no new construction had yet been placed upon the region to replace the dour 17th-century view of the fur traders or the variation on that theme developed by 19th-century missionaries. And, as if to prove this exact point, when the HBC and the British and Canadian governments began negotiating the transfer of Rupert's Land in the aftermath of Confederation, those negotiations were concerned primarily with compensation for arable southern lands.⁴⁷ After two years of haggling, this “real-estate transaction” was completed in the fall of 1869, pending only the payment of £300,000 to the HBC.⁴⁸ Canada, really only a self-governing colony itself, stood poised on the brink of acquiring its own empire; an empire which included not only the much desired arable lands of the south but also the vast and now seemingly valueless north.

But, as is well known, this transfer did not proceed as expected, largely because no one had given serious attention to the people who lived in the interior, especially those clustered around Red River—who had developed their own economic, social and political constructions of their “homeland.”⁴⁹ The dramatic actions of the people of Red River in 1869–70 forced the Canadian government to pay attention to their demands and caused the Macdonald administration to create the original province of Manitoba. The north, however, gave Canada no such trouble. And

why would it, as it looked as if nothing had—or would—change for northerners owing to this transaction.⁵⁰

Appearances, can, however, be deceiving. If only they had known what was in store for them the people of the north might very well have mounted a resistance of their own, for as Canadians and Manitobans—to say nothing of Britons and Americans—discovered how “to make something” of the Shield, it would be the natives who would pay the heaviest price for the new construction that was about to be imposed upon their homeland.

The groundwork for that construction began to be laid as soon as Canada assumed control, for even before its political leaders had decided what to do with all parts of their new acquisition, certain administrative functions had to be looked after in order to bring it within the parameters of the new nation state. Commencing in 1870 and proceeding until 1912 a series of political and administrative divisions were superimposed upon the former Rupert’s Land: in 1870 the “postage stamp” province of Manitoba was created, as was the North West Territories; between 1871 and 1876 Indian treaty groups, Superintendencies, and, a bit more gradually, reserves, were added to the political/administrative map; and in 1875–76 the NWT was split in two and Keewatin formed out of its less agriculturally valuable northeastern lands, while the remainder of the NWT was placed on the road to responsible government. Then, in 1881, Manitoba was extended at the expense of Keewatin’s southernmost lands (including, for three years, the “disputed territory” of northwestern Ontario), while the NWT and the Province of Ontario were respectively enlarged in 1882 and 1884 by the annexation of Keewatin’s western and eastern extremities, collectively the regions of Keewatin which held the most immediate economic value to whites. In 1905 the Provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta were carved out of the NWT, while all of Keewatin and all territories not yet included in any province were lumped into the reformed NWT, pending the outcome of the bitterly contested Manitoba-Saskatchewan-Ontario-Quebec boundary question.⁵¹ Finally, in 1912, the map was redrawn one last time and, with the exception of Nunavut and part of Labrador, the present day configurations of mainland Canada—and Manitoba—were set.

For the most part, these political and administrative changes from 1870 to 1905 reflected the expansion of agricultural districts and underlined their separation from the non-agricultural north. The creation of Saskatchewan and Alberta in 1905 and the multiple boundary extensions of 1912 seemingly reversed this trend by reuniting the non-arable lands of the north with the south, at least up to the 60th parallel. This, however, was a reunification that was more apparent than real. As the case of Manitoba demonstrates, the north continued to be hived off from the south—and thought of in very different terms. Within four years of acquiring “New Manitoba,” the provincial administration of T. C. Norris split the province along north-south lines at 52° 50’, for administrative purposes, with the 1916 appointment of J. A. Campbell as the Commissioner

of Northern Manitoba. It is, however, noteworthy that the demarcation of the Commissioner’s sphere of influence was immediately blurred as he found that certain aspects of his brief, notably his role as propagandist for northern resource development, brought him responsibility for the non-arable lands of central, eastern and even southeastern Manitoba; thus, the dividing line between north and south was really the Shield.⁵²

More important than these new lines on the maps of Canada, however, was the new vision of the north which emerged after Confederation. Having retained beneficial control of the natural resources within the zone of its “purchase” of 1870, the federal government was very much interested in outlining potential economic uses of its new empire, and not just agricultural lands. Thus, the treaty-making process, which had begun with a simple emphasis upon opening arable lands for settlers in 1871, was pushed northward as early as 1875–76 through the “negotiation” of Treaty Five when it was discovered that control of the lands surrounding Lake Winnipeg and the mouth of the Saskatchewan River were needed for a steam-powered inland transportation system which the HBC planned to establish.⁵³ At the same time, the first indications of the region’s mineral wealth were being investigated, while the economic value of the region’s forests and fisheries was also becoming apparent to officials such as Lieutenant-Governor Morris, particularly now that local markets were developing in Winnipeg and the surrounding area.⁵⁴

What had been viewed as a declining fur-trade frontier now became a valuable transportation, timber and fish frontier in the 1870s and 1880s as entrepreneurs rushed to take advantage of the Dominion’s largesse with its new resources.⁵⁵ A rebounding (and now open) fur trade, generous timber grants, a virtually regulation-free fishery (until the early 1880s), and freehold concessions for miners (until 1914)—when tied to the growth of local markets in the south and improved railway communications—induced



Archives of Manitoba, H. W. Meindl Collection, No. 224

The “town” of Manitou Rapids, November 1915, was one of many settlements that grew on the burgeoning resource-based economy of northern Manitoba.

many an aspiring businessperson to take a flyer on northern enterprise during the 1870s, and especially during the western boom of 1879–83.⁵⁶ The HBC, which had realized in 1870–71 that its southern real-estate holdings would be of only limited value for quite some time, led the way in this northern economic renaissance with its new transportation system and renewed interest in the fur trade,⁵⁷ but unlike its earlier experience, the Company was now joined by an army of ambitious young men who saw fortunes to be made in the forests and lakes of the Shield country.⁵⁸ And these new northern entrepreneurs—or at least those who survived and prospered in the leaner days of the mid-1880s—would soon be joined by better established individuals and companies from eastern Canada and the U.S.—a development which would create a situation of oligopoly in the timber, fishing, transportation, and fur industries of the north by 1912.⁵⁹

Of course, the Dominion government played a crucial role in all of this, for not only was it generous in its grants to these northern entrepreneurs—especially to the well-connected ones—but as the years wore on, it increasingly provided more direct and indirect aid to “developers.” The Geological Survey of Canada (GSC) was enlisted not only to help outline areas which held the greatest promise for mineral discoveries throughout the Shield, but also to promote this mineral wealth to those most likely to make economic use of this information.⁶⁰ The Fisheries Department was brought in to bring order to an oft-times chaotic and incredibly wasteful commercial fishery on the Manitoba Lakes⁶¹—and, in conjunction with Indian Agents, to enforce a closed season upon native fishermen.⁶² Meanwhile, government officials negotiated for Indian lands deemed necessary for transportation projects, for mill sites, and later for town-site expansion in places like The Pas,⁶³ while Indian agents were useful in confining natives to reserves whenever whites decided that they wanted to “harvest” the resources of the surrounding region.⁶⁴ Of

course, many natives were of considerable value to northern entrepreneurs just where they were, as native labour was often the key ingredient in the economic success of many early fishing and lumbering operations in the north.⁶⁵ But when they were not needed, or when it was thought that their presence might have hindered development, they were to return to their reserves, where government agents and missionaries sought to inculcate values which would make them even more “useful” to white society.⁶⁶

In effect, with considerable government aid, the region was turned into the entrepreneur’s north—a land of unlimited economic opportunity for whites—between 1870 and 1912. The most dramatic change in the construction of the “new north” was, however, still to come, for although “modern” enterprises such as steam-powered transportation services, and commercial fishing and lumbering had been added to the north’s now competitive fur trade, the region was not yet a full-fledged industrial frontier. It was still sparsely populated, still predominantly native, and still, in many regards, strikingly similar to the fur trade wilderness of the 17th and 18th centuries.⁶⁷ But this was about to change as the discourse of “developmentalism” hit its stride.

The steady expansion of mining, hydro-electric development, pulp and paper mills and timbering operations in Northwestern Ontario had all been watched very carefully (and enviously) by the political elites of Manitoba from the early 1880s onwards.⁶⁸ Moreover, hydro-electric developments in the southerly portions of Manitoba’s Shield territory at Pinawa and Pointe du Bois between 1903 and 1911, as well as small-scale mining “rushes” throughout eastern Manitoba and the Lake Winnipeg region from the 1870s through to 1911, heralded great things for similar lands and resources lying north of Manitoba’s 1881 border. And the steady northwestward expansion of Mackenzie and Mann’s rail lines during the 1890s and early 1900s had not only opened new agricultural lands on the western edge of Manitoba, but had steadily opened new timber and fishing frontiers in northwestern Manitoba and beyond, while the extension to The Pas (1907) brought modern transportation services to the edge of what was not only a vast forest zone, but what was already thought to be a very promising mineral area. Meanwhile, their line into the Interlake had opened up quarrying operations in central Manitoba, such as those at Gypsumville.⁶⁹ All in all then, by the early 20th century, something was finally being made of the Shield.

The most encouraging sign to those who had begun to develop a vision of northern development was that just as Manitoba assumed political control over the north in 1912 a new rail line across the entire region was in the works. Ironically though, this federally funded railway would be pushed across the north from Mackenzie and Mann’s flimsily constructed railhead at The Pas not to promote northern development, but to give western farmers the supposed advantage of the shorter Hudson Bay shipping route to market their crops in Europe.⁷⁰ Whatever the



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Aboriginal people and their dog teams arrive at the northern community of Manitou Rapids near the newly constructed Hudson Bay Railway bridge over the Nelson River, April 1916.

rationale for this line though—and it is quite clear that in the short-term, the Laurier government's decision to start construction just in time for the federal election of 1911 was a political sop to western farmers⁷¹—its timing could scarcely have been better for Manitoba's political and economic elites. The commencement of what became known as the Hudson Bay Railway (HBR) project not only coincided closely with the boundary extension, but also with the rapid improvement of the capital-intensive technologies necessary for the exploitation of resources such as mineral-bearing quartz, hydro-electric power, and pulpwood. With a railway being constructed into the north, whose use-value had been steadily increasing since 1870, and whose wealth had been steadily mapped by men such as J. B. Tyrrell of the Geological Survey of Canada since before the turn of the century,⁷² the region was set to emerge as an industrial and investment frontier of some magnitude.

Based on the experience of Ontario, and with not only a rail line being built but with a deep-water port under construction at Port Nelson, and millions of dollars flowing into the region to carry out these projects, everything seemed possible.⁷³ Winnipeg's Board of Trade, the Provincial government, the Federal government, the emerging business class of The Pas, and publications as diverse as the *American Review of Reviews*, Montreal's *La Presse*, Winnipeg's *Free Press* and *Tribune*, the *Grain Growers' Guide*, the *Hudson Bay Herald*, *The Northern Miner*, and Major Chambers' *The Unexploited West: A Compilation of all Information as to the Resources of Northern and North Western Canada*, all foresaw great things for "New Manitoba" in 1912–13: hard-rock mines, smelters, several hydro-electric developments, pulp and paper mills, new forestry complexes, new northern fisheries, massive northern towns (The Pas saw itself as the next Winnipeg, Chicago and St. Louis—all rolled into one), and whatever economic spin-offs speculators, government officials and assorted northern "boosters" could dream up from this array of northern industries, now seemed feasible.⁷⁴

Small wonder then that the addition of "New Manitoba" in 1912 was a much vaunted event in the province's economic history, although a somewhat problematic addition given that the Federal government would retain beneficial control over natural resources in Manitoba until 1930.⁷⁵ Still, despite this limitation, from 1912 on, it can be argued that the north became *the* economic frontier of Manitoba. Indeed, with the Province's agricultural frontier saturated, with its hope of acquiring more western territory dashed by the creation of Saskatchewan, and with the Panama Canal poised to take its toll on Winnipeg's ability to treat the west as its economic hinterland, this new northern frontier was not just desired, it was "needed."

Politicians and businessmen now cast the north as Manitoba's economic hinterland par excellence. Indeed, even before the territory north of the old provincial boundary was added in 1912, the Norquay, Greenway and Roblin governments had been dabbling in the game of developmental politics in the north. Emulating the



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The road from Mafeking to The Pas under construction, July 1936.

federal government, these administrations had provided large-scale aid for northward-running railways such as the original version of the Hudson Bay Railway project, part of which evolved into Mackenzie and Mann's Canadian Northern Railway.⁷⁶ They had also granted timber-cutting rights in the province's small public domain on terms even more generous than the Dominion had offered,⁷⁷ and had lobbied hard for both the federally funded Hudson Bay Railway and for provincial control over the north. More to the point, they and the Winnipeg business community had developed their own construction of the north: it was still empty—in human terms—but it was now an incredibly valuable treasure trove just waiting to be fully developed.

After boundary extension brought the north under Manitoba's political control, Premiers Roblin, Norris and Bracken—while representing three quite distinct political parties/movements⁷⁸—proved to be very much in accord on northern development: the north had to be exploited as quickly and as efficiently as was humanly possible for the economic benefit of the province. Norris and his two Commissioners of Northern Manitoba were very clear on these points, but it was Premier John Bracken, elected to the provincial house from the sprawling northern constituency of The Pas, who was the most direct in this regard. Indeed, his campaign speeches of 1922 are rife with examples of this construction of the north as the new economic hope of Manitoba;⁷⁹ an interesting perspective for a former Professor of Agriculture.

Of course, in this quest for northern "development," each of these administrations believed that private interests should lead the way. This was partially an ideological perspective, but also a practical consideration: all three administrations were laissez-faire in their core philosophy, but just as importantly, all three were perpetually starved for funds. Thus, they neither believed it appropriate, nor did they have the resources, to take the lead in northern

development. This meant that the provincial government would let the entrepreneurs who had the requisite capital and technological expertise set the agenda of northern development in Manitoba, just as federal governments had done from 1870 onwards. At best, the provincial government would try to influence that agenda so that broader “provincial interests” could be served, an approach best illustrated by Premier Bracken.

He, more than any other of Manitoba’s political leaders, had a fully integrated view of how to develop the potential of the north. Thus, in the 1920s, even as Bracken fought for provincial control over natural resources and worked towards encouraging more hydro development and the creation of a pulp and paper mill on the eastern edge of Manitoba’s Shield country,⁸⁰ he gave considerable attention to more northerly projects. In one notable case he sought to have two mining companies join forces to develop a massive (270,000 h.p.) power site at White Mud Falls on the Nelson River to provide hydro-electric power for their mine sites and the town of The Pas. Bracken and his Winnipeg-based advisors on the Industrial Development Board of Manitoba believed that this power development would have wonderful “multiplier” effects: it would lead to the establishment of a pulp and paper mill near the dam site, facilitate the creation of a series of smaller mines along the route of the proposed transmission line, provide power to mines then under development in northeastern Manitoba, and perhaps even be used to send excess power to southern Manitoba.⁸¹ Unfortunately for Bracken though, the mining companies in question refused to fall into line, and his plan came to nought.

Still, even when disappointed by developers in such matters, provincial administrations remained supportive. If they could not influence the precise pattern of development they could at least serve developers—and thereby ensure that some form of economic growth took place—by subsidizing the costs of transportation infrastructure, as both Premiers Norris and Bracken sought to do for the Flin Flon project, and by helping to arrange for important royalty and resource-use concessions from the Dominion on behalf of developers, as was done for a number of mining operations and the province’s first pulp and paper mill.

Of course, one might well ask what was “in it” for the provincial government, particularly given that all resource use/royalty fees from such projects would go to the federal government until 1930. Despite this limitation the province still saw huge advantages in aiding and promoting such mega-projects. First and foremost there

would be economic growth and new jobs, the holy grail of most liberal-democratic governments. The creation of appropriate transportation infrastructure, the building of physical plant and the construction of whole towns could create thousands upon thousands of temporary jobs along Manitoba’s resource frontier as well as a few thousand “permanent” jobs.⁸² And the spin-offs of such projects for the populated south were also considerable. As the Industrial Development Board was quick to point out, southern Manitoba in general and Winnipeg in particular were the recipients of major boosts to their economies as a direct result of providing goods, services and workers for the north. Indeed, at the height of the building boom in the late 1920s, the Board proudly announced that mining companies alone were spending over \$1,000,000 per month in Winnipeg.⁸³ Indeed, with approximately \$120,000,000 worth of private and government investment capital being pumped into various projects along the Manitoba Shield between 1925 and 1930 it was hard not to be a “booster” and

to see all of this development as an unalloyed social good. Who would not be excited by the prospect of the \$27,000,000 invested by HBM&S at Flin Flon; the \$6,000,000 by Sherritt-Gordon at Sherridon; the \$6,000,000 by five mining companies in the Central Manitoba/Rice Lake mining division; the \$10,500,000 by Winnipeg Hydro at Slave Falls; the \$12,000,000 by the Winnipeg Electric Company at Seven Sisters; the \$9,500,000 by the Manitoba Paper Company at Pine

Falls; and especially the \$40,000,000 spent by the Canadian National Railways to rehabilitate the existing line, build the new line to Churchill and construct a town site and port facilities there?⁸⁴ Even without access to resource-use fees and royalties the Provincial Treasury stood to gain directly from such development. As Premier Bracken noted when he gave his approval to royalty exemptions for Hudson’s Bay Mining and Smelting Company (HBM&S)—rather blithely signing away millions of dollars in royalty fees that would have been Manitoba’s after 1930—there were also provincial taxes that could be levied on resource developers.⁸⁵ All in all then, the north—in its new industrial guise—was seen as a real boon to the provincial economy from 1912 onwards, but especially during the late 1920s—the moment when the next phase of northern development truly commenced.

Of course, it almost goes without saying that in the quest to “make something” of the Shield, it was deemed necessary to give the real heroes of northern development—the brave men willing to risk their lives, or at least their



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Postcard of the Flin Flon mine shaft, late 1920s.

capital—a certain amount of latitude, and not just with resources but with the environment itself. Timbermen, commercial fishermen, and some fur trappers blazed the way in this regard. Manitoba's forests, for example, were clear-cut and misused to such an extent in the process of removing over 1.5 billion feet of sawn lumber, 12 million linear feet of building logs, 4 million railway ties, 1.3 million cords of pulp and firewood (and at least double that amount if all timber—cut legally and illegally—is accounted for), that by 1930 only a few areas of Manitoba were still suitable for procuring merchantable timber.⁸⁶ Indeed, an industry which had once provided employment to thousands and supported scores of companies was now reduced to only a handful of operations—at least one of which had to rely upon timber from Saskatchewan rather than Manitoba.⁸⁷ Meanwhile, in the course of taking somewhere between 0.5 and 1 billion pounds of fish from Manitoba's lakes⁸⁸ commercial fishing companies had effectively wiped out sturgeon stocks and so badly over-fished other stocks that by the early 1930s the average size of the whitefish taken on Lake Winnipeg (the backbone of both the commercial and subsistence fishery) had fallen dramatically,⁸⁹ proof positive of the harmful effects of the over-fishing which the region's first Fishery Inspector had decried as early as 1884.⁹⁰ Finally, certain animal stocks were almost completely trapped and hunted out of existence by the late 1920s in parts of the north, a phenomenon which one experienced game guardian attributed exclusively to the arrival of white trappers in the north after the railway opened up the region.⁹¹ But all of this was really only the tip of the iceberg.

Along the eastern portion of Manitoba's Shield territory, the hydro-electric plants created at Pinawa, Pointe du Bois, Great Falls, Seven Sisters, and Slave Falls between 1903 and 1931, would forever alter the flow, the fish stocks, the animal habitat, and the landscape of the Winnipeg River region. The same region's long-sought-after pulp and paper mill, finally established by a consortium of U.S. and Canadian interests in 1927 at Pine Falls, (after they were granted a pulpwood cutting zone that included over 30,000 square miles as a selection area and that basically ran from Ontario to Saskatchewan⁹²) would lead to even more clear-cutting of Manitoba's forests, to say nothing of the pollution associated with its plant. But most fascinating of all is the case of northern Manitoba's first multi-million dollar mining operation, the copper and zinc mine and smelter complex of HBM&S at Flin Flon.

This company began its mining career by obtaining Dominion approval to dam Flin Flon Lake, pump half the water out of it, and, in the process, temporarily flood the surrounding area.⁹³ But the loss of this lake, its fish stocks and other wildlife was just the beginning. The Company then applied for, and received, permission to dump its tailings into the remaining portion of the lake. A few months after the Bracken government passed the legislation which allowed HBM&S to dump its tailings and pollute the surrounding waterways (February 1928) the Company's

chief engineer R. E. Phelan, explained this arrangement to the Federal Department of the Interior, noting that, while it was known that dumping these tailings might pollute waterways as far afield as Lake Athapapuskow, such considerations were not all that important, as "the fish of Lake Athapapuskow, although a valuable asset, [are] of small value as compared with the mine."⁹⁴ Phelan also recognized that water pollution would not be the only result of his company's operations. Thus, when he went looking for a summer resort/recreation area for Company staff, he tried to acquire land at Cranberry Portage—a full 35 miles southeast of Flin Flon. His reason for looking so far afield was simple: as he explained it, "the possible pollution of the lake waters nearer the mine and the destruction of amenities by the operation of the smelter make a resort nearer the mine undesirable."⁹⁵ (By amenities Phelan meant greenery and wildlife, for as he knew, the sulphur, carbon dioxide and other emissions from the smelter's short stack would create a condition known as "brown out" for miles downwind of the smelter, killing off much of the vegetation necessary to support animal life.)

Premier Bracken's government, far from being appalled by any of this, followed up its water pollution legislation of February 1928 with an even more generous arrangement. After a quick survey of the areas that would be affected by mining and smelting operations in northwestern Manitoba, it was decided that nothing "important" like logging operations would be damaged. In fact, after it was determined that only a few squatters and trappers would be adversely affected, it was decided in the fall of 1928 that Manitoba would designate a mining, smelting and refining district comprising Flin Flon, Sherridon, and Cranberry Portage, within which industrial pollution would not only be permitted, but where mining companies would be exempt from "all damages arising from smelting operations."⁹⁶ Small wonder that thirty years later, the Provincial Minister of Mines—a resident of Flin Flon—was determined that as Inco developed its site at Thompson, he had to prevent another "Flin Flon from happening."⁹⁷

One could give many more such examples of how the north was "altered," but the point is clear—northern development implied serious, and often permanent, environmental costs. Of course, it can be argued, as the provincial and federal politicians who granted developers the right to use resources and the environment in the way that they did, and as W. L. Morton and other Manitoba historians have done since then, that northern development was well worth the price. Indeed, as anyone who has read Morton's monumental survey of Manitoba history knows, he wrote with undisguised zeal about the re-unification of north and south in the 1912 boundary extension and about the subsequent development of northern Manitoba's resources.⁹⁸ He expressed no misgivings about how Manitobans—and foreign investors—had finally "made something" of our formidable heritage. And perhaps this view is understandable: by the early 1930s, where there had once been "nothing," there now stood a whole

series of industrial outposts—connected to the south by umbilical cords of railways, transmission lines, and capital—producing millions upon millions of dollars of wealth, providing homes and employment for thousands of Manitobans and offering some escape from what Harold Innis referred to as the western Canadian “staples trap” of wheat production.

But it needs to be observed that those residing in the southern portions of Canada could “afford” this view: after all, it wasn’t really their homeland that was being “developed.” The majority of Canadians during this era viewed the north in much the same terms the HBC developed so long ago: it was a great and empty land—a tabula rasa to be written upon as emissaries of “civilization” pleased. What had changed, of course, was that since the 19th century, capital and technology became available which was capable of doing far more than the HBC ever dreamed possible. Instead of the limited terms of exchange-based mercantile capitalism, which had its own negative impact upon the land and its peoples,⁹⁹ it became possible to think in terms of industrial capitalism and southern-oriented cost-benefit ratios, and to impose those terms upon the north in an updated construction of the region as an industrial frontier. Alterations in the landscape, which would never be contemplated in arable regions, were completely acceptable: drain a lake and flood the surrounding area, sure, there are 100,000 more where that came from; pollute vast areas, why not, no one lives in the north; cut all the trees over a vast region, no problem, they would just burn in forest fires if they weren’t harvested; dam every fast-flowing northern river, flooding vast areas of land, altering delicate ecosystems and wiping out entire segments of the subsistence economies of natives so that southerners could have “cheap” power (and even export it to the United States)—of course, it was for the common good.

There were, of course, two key problems with this view. First, it was a construction which derived from economically, ecologically, and culturally chauvinistic assumptions, designed and maintained by and for the benefit of people living outside of the region. Second, it was a construction that has been forced upon the people living in the north; the very people who had to adapt to its consequences. And in central and northern Manitoba, there is no denying the baneful—and very real—effects of rapid, shortsighted development projects upon the material, social, and political bases of aboriginal life.

Of course, in the here and now of the 21st century, we do seem to have learned some important lessons. The voices and concerns of First Nations peoples are increasingly taken into account when northern development is under consideration and no major project can be undertaken without an extensive environmental review being conducted. Still, while we should be pleased that northerners are now important parts of a discourse on the development of their homeland, it cannot be forgotten that from 1670 until the second half of the 20th century, as

new use-values were found for their homelands, and as government and capital worked to “harvest” that value, First Nations peoples paid a huge price. Subsistence bases were continually eroded, access to land and other resources was steadily restricted, the land itself was altered for all time, and the people were subjected to a massive program of social engineering on the reserves and in the residential schools—all because it fit within the new, externally imposed construction of their homeland. Thus, simple “ways of seeing”—be they in the past or the present—have a way of leaving indelible marks. ☞

Notes

1. Jim Mochoruk, *Formidable Heritage: Manitoba's North and the Cost of Development, 1870 to 1930*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2004.
2. Standard European sources which make note of these conflicts include the appropriate volumes of R. Thwaites (ed) *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*; Samuel Hearne, *A Journey from Prince of Wales Fort, in Hudson's Bay to the northern ocean: undertaken by order of the Hudson's Bay Company for the discovery of copper mines, a north west passage, etc. in the years 1769, 1770, 1771 and 1772*. London: A Strachan and T. Cadell, 1795; and A. G. Doughty and Chester Martin (eds.) *The Kelsey Papers*. Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada and Public Record Office of Ireland, 1929. The secondary literature is too voluminous to list.
3. The pre-contact locations of the various groups who have lived in northern and central Manitoba is the subject of considerable debate. The Ojibwa are the most famous example of a First Nations People moving into the region after contact, but there is debate on the pre-contact location of virtually every aboriginal grouping. For almost one hundred years scholars believed that the Chipewyan/Dene, had lived in the boreal forests of the Lake Athabaska and Churchill River regions prior to being pushed northwards by the Cree sometime before contact. More recent authors have argued for more northerly pre-contact homelands such as the tundra and the transitional forest zone. For the traditional view see Emile Petiot, “On the Athabaska District of the Canadian North-West Territories,” *Proceedings, Royal Geographic Society*. Vol. 5, 1883, pp. 633-655. This was echoed in the work of Diamond Jenness and others. A more recent set of interpretations, with the more northerly interpretation is represented in the work of Colin Yerbury, “The Post-Contact Chipewyan: Trade Rivalries and Changing Territorial Boundaries,” *Ethnohistory*, 1976 Vol. 23 No. 3, pp. 237-263. On the Ojibwa see, Laura Peers, *The Ojibwa of Western Canada, 1780-1870*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1994. On the Cree see David Meyer, “Time-Depth of the Western Woods Cree Occupation of Northern Ontario, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan,” *Papers of the 18th Algonquian Conference*, William Cowen (ed.) Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1987, pp. 187-200.
4. The Assiniboine, for example, maintained that Ik-Tomi created the world and that Lake Winnipeg was the centre of this world. Given what the geological and archeological record has to say about the region, as well as the work of historical geographers, anthropologists, ethnographers and ethno-historians, it is highly unlikely that the Assiniboine or anyone else had inhabited this region since “time immemorial”—no one after all was living in this region when it lay under a glacier or glacial Lake Agassiz. Indeed, given the Assiniboines’ connection to other Siouixian-speakers, it is probable that they hailed from regions considerably to the south and east of Lake Winnipeg. Thus the aboriginal perception of the north as an ancestral “homeland” was, in many regards, just as much a construction as later European views. However, the various aboriginal groups had a much more organic relationship to the land and its resources than did the later Europeans, and they certainly had a much longer claim upon the lands of North America than these newcomers.

5. Henry Hudson (1610), Thomas Button (1612–13), Jens Munck (1619–20), Luke Foxe (1631) and Thomas James (1631) were all leaders of marine expeditions into the Bay, and all—to one extent or other—were seeking the Northwest Passage. See John Warkentin, *The Western Interior of Canada*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972 edition, p. 11.
6. Even in the early days of the fur trade, however, there were considerable differences in the reasons offered up to explain why this wilderness was inhospitable. In one rather remarkable twist, representatives of the HBC claimed that the failure of agriculture around some of their northerly posts had nothing to do with climate, but was caused by the *super-fertility* of the soil, which had lain fallow since creation. See D. W. Moodie, “Early British Images of Rupert’s Land,” in Richard Allen (ed), *Man and Nature on the Prairies*. Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1976, p. 7.
7. All four of these expeditions suffered very high mortality rates, usually attributable to scurvy. The climate and the lack of familiarity in dealing with such an environment almost certainly contributed to this death toll—although being set adrift by a mutinous crew also added to this toll in the case of Henry Hudson. For a brief account of these voyages see W. L. Morton, *Manitoba: A History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957, pp. 3–8; and the introduction to James F. Kenney (ed.) *The Founding of Churchill, Being the Journal of Capt. James Knight, Governor-in-Chief in Hudson Bay from 14th July to 13th September, 1717*. Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1932.
8. The best account of the French experience at the Bay is that of Nicholas Jérémie. His 20 years at Fort Bourbon (York) made him a valuable source of information on the region. It is clear that he made heavy use of native descriptions of the interior, as well as those of Henry Kelsey, and was aware of some of the resources to be found there. He also kept the first successful garden in the region. See R. Douglas and J. N. Wallace (eds. and trans.) *Nicholas Jérémie, Twenty Years of York Factory 1694–1714, Jérémie’s Account of Hudson Strait and Bay*. Ottawa: Thorburn and Abbot, 1926—the original French edition was published in 1720.
9. See *Ibid*.
10. Although the full body of Kelsey’s journals were not “discovered” until 1926 and not published until 1929—see A. G. Doughty and Chester Martin (eds.) *The Kelsey Papers*. Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada and Public Record Office of Ireland, 1929—there were clearly those who knew of their existence in the 18th century. Indeed, a lengthy portion of the second half of his journal covering western exploration was published as an appendix to the report of Select Committee which was struck to investigate the alleged inactivity of the HBC in 1749. See United Kingdom, *Report from the Committee Appointed to Enquire into the State and Condition of the Countries Adjoining to Hudson’s Bay, and of the Trade Carried on There*. London: 1749. Just as importantly, Arthur Dobbs had a copy of Kelsey’s journals, but did not use them in his 1744 work, *An Account of the Countries Adjoining to Hudson’s Bay, in the North-West Part of America*. London: J. Robinson, 1744. Because Kelsey’s description of the barren lands of the interior did not accord with the more positive image Dobbs sought to portray, he was willing to suppress those journals. Thus, both those who wished to construct positive and negative images of the economic potential of the western interior ignored Kelsey’s eye-witness accounts.
11. As part of the furor stirred up by Dobbs, a series of explorations were launched into Hudson Bay. Some of the published reports, based upon first-hand observation and information gathered from native informants and former Company employees—as well as a good deal of politically motivated wishful thinking—brought forth an alternative view of the lands which were part of the HBC’s inland empire. See, for example, the glowing accounts of the region in Henry Ellis, *A Voyage to Hudson’s Bay by the Dobbs Galley and California, in the Years 1746 and 1747, for Discovering a North West Passage*. London: H. Whitridge, 1748, pp. 152–173. See also, Dobbs *An Account* ...
12. United Kingdom, *Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson’s Bay Company*. London: 1857, p. 45.
13. The explorations of Kelsey in the 1690s, the information that came out of the French explorations of the southern portions of Rupert’s Land during the 1730s, ‘40s and ‘50s, the data compiled during Dobbs’ inquiry, the Anthony Henday excursion of 1754–55, and then the far more voluminous reports of the post commanders who set up shop everywhere between the “petite nord” and the Pacific Slope from 1774 to 1821, and reports of the surveyors and explorers employed by the HBC and the NWCo., as well as the growing raft of scientific reports produced in the years following Franklin’s first expedition, all provided information which indicated that the Company’s domain was a very rich and diverse empire with many possible uses other than fur trading. For a sampling of these reports see Warkentin, *The Western Interior of Canada*.
14. For early pro-Company perspectives on the agricultural potential of Red River see, Andrew Amos, *Report of the Trials in the Courts of Canada Relative to the Destruction of the Earl of Selkirk’s Settlement on the Red River, with Observations*. London: 1820; and United Kingdom, *Papers Relating to the Red River Settlement*. London: 1819. Most interesting by far, though, is George Simpson, *Narrative of a Journey Round the World, During the Years 1841 and 1842*. London: H. Colburn, 1847. Members of the Select Committee of Inquiry in 1857 took great delight in quoting various passages of this book back at Simpson, particularly those which were most glowing in their descriptions of the landscape, soil, and climate of various portions of Rupert’s Land.
15. On this early history of missionary activity in Rupert’s Land see, John Webster Grant, *Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1534*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984, Chapter Five.
16. United Kingdom, *Report from the Select Committee* ... 1857, pp. 245–246.
17. Paul Kane, *The Wanderings of an Artist among the Indians of North America*. Edmonton: Hurtig, 1968—reprint of the 1859 original. Kane simply gushed over the HBC and compared its Indian policy very favourably with that of the United States. For critical comments on Kane’s style and interpretations see, J. Russell Harper, *Paul Kane’s Frontier*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971; and Diane Eaton and Sheila Urbanek, *Paul Kane’s Nor-West*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1995.
18. Represented most famously by the Sayer trial of 1849, but really a battle which had been going on for several years. See W. L. Morton, *Manitoba: A History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957, pp. 73–78.
19. These writings are legion, and they began almost as soon as the first missionaries had the time to set their thoughts down on paper. Thus, the first CMS missionary into the region, the Rev. John West, had published his far from positive comments almost as soon as he had left the interior. See John West, *The Substance of a Journal during a Residence at the Red River Colony, Briti North America; and Frequent Excursions among the North-West American Indians in the Years 1820, 1821, 1822, 1823*. London: 1824.
20. See for example, Alexander Isbister, *A Few Words on the Hudson’s Bay Company: With a Statement of the Grievances of the Native and Half-Caste Indians*. London: C. Gilpin, 1847.
21. Editorial, *The Toronto Globe*, 12 November 1850.
22. Alexander Isbister, who had been born in the interior, but educated in Scotland and England, had been acting as the London agent of the pro-free trade forces in the western interior during the 1840s. In that capacity he not only presented Red River petitions to the Imperial government, but had also authored a larger presentation which encompassed many of the grievances of the people of the North West. See Isbister, *A Few Words on the Hudson’s Bay Company*. For an equally critical contemporary view of the HBC, see James Fitzgerald, *An Examination of the Charter and Proceedings of the Hudson’s Bay Company*. London: 1849.
23. Editorial, *The Toronto Globe*, 12 November 1850.
24. *The Daily Globe*, 28 August 1856.

25. This agitation is well covered in Doug Owsam, *Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West, 1856–1900*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980, Chapter 2; and W. L. Morton, *The Critical Years: The Union of British North America, 1851–1873*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1964, Chapter 2.
26. *The Daily Globe*, 10 December 1856.
27. As George Brown put it, “Let the merchants of Toronto consider that if their city is ever to be made truly great—if it is ever to rise above the level of a fifth rate American town—it must be by the development of the great British territory lying to the north and west.” *Ibid.*, 26 December 1856.
28. United Kingdom, *Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson’s Bay Company*. London: 1857, “Appendix No.12—Petition from the Board of Trade of the City of Toronto to the Legislative Council, presented 20th April, 1857,” p. 435.
29. The United Province’s representative, Chief Justice Draper, was the subject of several attacks in the expansionist press for his extremely cautious brief. He asked the British Parliament to set the boundary between Canada and the HBC along the lines established by the French prior to the Conquest. See *Ibid.* “Appendix No. 5 and No. 6,” pp. 374–380.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 216.
31. *Ibid.*, pp. iii–iv.
32. *Ibid.*
33. The settlement’s population had increased from 5,291 to 6,523 between 1849 and 1856 alone. See *Ibid.* “Appendix 2 (B)” p 363.
34. The dramatic growth of Minnesota was very much in the minds of several Select Committee members. This comes through most clearly in the questioning of Simpson.
35. This was all the more ironic given that native voices were noticeably absent from the inquiry.
36. Two separate exploration parties had been sent out to Rupert’s Land in 1857 to ascertain the value of the western interior for settlement—Captain Palliser’s British party and Henry Youle Hind and Simon Dawson’s Canadian group. See Irene Spry, *The Palliser Expedition: An Account of John Palliser’s British North American Expedition, 1857–1860*, Toronto: The Macmillan Company, 1963; and Henry Y. Hind, *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expeditions of 1858*. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1860.
37. In 1859 Parliament declined to renew the Company’s licence for exclusive trade, but it also refused to withdraw the Company’s charter. Thus, while it lost control over the Pacific slope, the Company did not lose any power in districts far removed from settlements in Rupert’s Land.
38. The best account of Minnesota’s territorial ambitions, as well as the best account of the growing commercial and transportation ties between Rupert’s Land and Minnesota, is Alvin Gluek Jr. *Minnesota and the Manifest Destiny of the Canadian Northwest: A Study in Canadian-American Relations*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965.
39. The immediate cause of the drop in fur prices was a simple change in fashion. Beaver felt was being replaced by silk in the manufacture of hats in the 1840s. The lack of fine fur was the result of over-trapping during the competitive period and also to the cyclical nature of animal populations in the wild.
40. Glynder Williams “The Hudson’s Bay Company and the Fur Trade: 1670–1870,” *The Beaver*, Autumn 1983, p. 81; and W. L. Morton, *Northern Manitoba—1950*. Winnipeg: Government of Manitoba, 1950, pp. 39–41.
41. *Ibid.*
42. David McNab, “The Colonial Office and the Prairies in the Mid-Nineteenth Century,” *Prairie Forum*, Spring 1978, pp. 21–38 and W. L. Morton, *The Critical Years: The Union of British North America, 1851–1873*, pp. 39–40.
43. From 1858 to 1864 the United Province of Canada’s Assembly was so badly divided that something as divisive as the addition of new territories—where language and minority rights would have to be dealt with—could not even be contemplated.
44. E. A. Mitchell, “Edward Watkin and the Buying-Out of the Hudson’s Bay Company,” *Canadian Historical Review*, September 1953, pp. 219–244.
45. Hart Bowsfield (ed.) *The Letters of Charles John Brydges, 1879–1882*. “Introduction by Alan Wilson,” Winnipeg: Hudson’s Bay Record Society, 1977, pp. xi–xvii; and E. E. Rich, *Hudson’s Bay Company, 1670–1870, Vol. III: 1821–1870*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1960, p. 848.
46. W. L. Morton, *The Canadian Identity, 2nd edition*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972, pp. 4–5.
47. Canada, *Report of the Delegates Appointed to Negotiate for the Acquisition of Rupert’s Land and the North-West Territory*. (Ottawa: Queen’s Printer, 1869). See especially pp. 7–8 and 17–27.
48. Morton, *Manitoba*, p. 117.
49. While there is no shortage of works which address this point in many different ways—from Morton’s introduction to *Alexander Begg’s Journal of the Red River Resistance and Other Documents*. Toronto: Champlain Society, 1957 through to Gerhard Ens’ *Homeland to Hinterland: The Changing Worlds of the Red River Metis in the Nineteenth Century*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996—one of the most revealing and surprisingly “modern” and “non-primitive” assessments of the use-values of the resources of Rupert’s Land comes from the participants at the Convention of Red River delegates in February of 1870. At this convention Riel raised the allied issues of provincial status and beneficial control over natural resources, points which were enlarged upon by W. B. O’Donoghue. Their comments went far beyond demands for farm lands and included grazing lands and timber resources. Indeed somewhat later, in article 12 of the controversial “third list of rights,” Riel’s Provisional government went even further, indicating that it anticipated the development of a mining industry in the North West and that it should be in a position to direct and control the development of that industry for the benefit of the people of the proposed super province of Assiniboia. See, “Proceedings in the Convention, February 3 to February 5, 1870,” reprinted in W. L. Morton (ed.) *Manitoba: Birth of a Province*. (Winnipeg: Hudson’s Bay Record Society, 1965), pp. 6–8 and 17–18. See also “The Second List of Rights,” “The Third List of Rights,” and “The Fourth List of Rights” in *Ibid.*, Appendix 1.
50. As W. L. Morton put it, “The Company ceased to rule in the West ... [but] in the northern forest it remained in fact the dominant influence and continued to trade as in the past. Morton, *Northern Manitoba*, p. 86.
51. For a discussion of this battle see Mochoruk, *Formidable Heritage*, Chapter Five.
52. See, *Manitoba, Sessional Papers*, (MSP) 1917–1921. “Report of the Commissioner of Northern Manitoba for the year 1916”; *Ibid.*, 1919; and J. A. Campbell, *Manitoba’s Northland: Including Hudson Bay Region and Rice Lake Gold Area*. The Pas: Office of the Commissioner of Northern Manitoba, 1918. For an outstanding example of the role of the Commissioner as propagandist for northern development see R. C. Wallace (Campbell’s successor) *Report and Recommendations with Reference to Proposed Railway from The Pas to Flin Flon Property*, The Pas: Office of the Commissioner, 31 January 1921.
53. The best account of the rationale behind this transportation system can be found in A. J. Ray, “Adventurers at the Crossroads: At Momentous Meetings in 1871 the future of the HBC was charted,” *The Beaver*, April/May 1986, pp. 5–12.
54. It was Lieutenant-Governor Morris’s view of the timber, fish, and mineral resources of Lake Winnipeg, as well as its value as a transportation route to the Saskatchewan River valley, which induced the Dominion government to “negotiate” Treaty Five in 1875. See

- Archives of Manitoba (AM), MG 12 B2, "Morris to Laird, Minister of the Interior, April 6, 1874."
55. This largesse is only partially outlined in official documents such as the Dominion Lands Act of 1872, its subsequent amendments, and the various regulations set out concerning timber, grazing, mining and other such lands by the Department of the Interior. Regulations, save for those covering homestead lands, were regularly ignored both by Dominion officials and the people who moved into the North West. See for example, Mochoruk, *Formidable Heritage*, pp. 19–24, 49–53, and 78–96.
 56. For the 19th century development of these industries see *Ibid.*, Chapters Two and Three. It is of considerable importance that many of the new resource entrepreneurs were—or would soon become—very influential in political as well as economic circles. John Christian Schultz, who was engaged in a wide variety of early northern enterprises, including a scheme to create a railway to Hudson Bay in the 1880's, Theo Burrows, the brother-in-law of Clifford Sifton, and the leading timberman on Manitoba's northwestern frontier, and D. C. Cameron, one of the most important timber magnates in the Kenora region, would all become active in politics and cap their careers with stints as Lieutenant-Governors of Manitoba. Somewhat lesser lights such as Hugh Sutherland (timber and the original Hudson Bay rail line project), Hugh Armstrong (the fish and fur trades), and several more such men all had federal or provincial political careers of some magnitude—while the great railway men and all-round entrepreneurs, Mackenzie and Mann and J. D. MacArthur, had impeccable political connections to provincial and federal administrations from the 1880s onwards.
 57. Ray, "Adventurers at the Crossroads," pp. 6–9; and Eleanor Stardom, "Adapting to Altered Circumstances: Trade Commissioner Joseph Wrigley and the Hudson's Bay Company, 1884–1891," Winnipeg: unpublished University of Manitoba MA thesis, 1987, pp. 3–7.
 58. The background of the men who sought to make their fortunes in the lumber trade is dealt with in Mochoruk, "The *Formidable Heritage*," Chapter Two. See especially footnotes 4 and 5.
 59. By 1912 the fishing industry of Manitoba was almost totally controlled by Booth Fisheries, via local intermediaries such as Capt. Robinson, the fur trade by the HBC and a few smaller companies like the Hyer Brothers, and the timber trade by Theo Burrows, Peter McArthur, Brown and Rutherford, and Captain William Robinson. Transportation was a bit more competitive, for the HBC's attempt to create an inland transportation monopoly had failed. However, by the close of this period, the HBC and its partial subsidiary, the North West Navigation Company controlled most water-born traffic, while Mackenzie and Mann's railway dominated transportation services in the northwestern portions of Manitoba. See *Ibid.*, Chapters Three and Five.
 60. See Morris Zaslow, *Reading the Rocks: The History of the Geological Survey of Canada, 1842–1972*. Toronto: the Macmillan Company of Canada, 1975, p. 104 and Part Two: "Growing Pains." References to the promotional role of the GSC are scattered throughout this fine work.
 61. There were times in the 1880s and '90s when reports made to the Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba and Keewatin indicated that up to 60% of the catch was being wasted by the careless practices of the large commercial fishing fleets. See for example, AM, MG 12 E1, Schultz Papers, Box 20, Keewatin Letterbook A "Copy of Report, James Stewart to J. C. Schultz, Fall, 1888," p. 204; and *Ibid.*, Box 10, #4026–28, "Inspector Begin to Schultz, Confidential, July 31, 1889, Grand Rapids."
 62. The Department of Fisheries began appointing local Indian Agents such as H. Martineau as part-time fishery inspectors during the early 1880s. Unfortunately, while his position as an Indian Agent for the Treaty Two region made it possible for him to enforce the closed season upon natives—which they properly protested as a violation of their treaty rights—he was entirely unsuccessful in stopping white-owned fishing companies from fishing out of season. See, Canada Sessional Papers (CSP), 1884, Vol. 17, No. 3, #4, "Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1883," p. 61 and pp. 143–144.
 63. See for example, Alexander Morris, *The Treaties of Canada With the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories*. Toronto: Belfords, Clarke and Company, 1880, p. 149.
 64. This could be taken to quite incredible lengths. When the town of The Pas sought to promote itself to potential investors in the period after 1912, it wished to dispel its image as an "Indian" town, so the local Board of Trade not only downplayed the town's native population figures—conveniently neglecting to mention that it was located right across the river from a major reserve—but the town fathers also managed to have the local Indian Agent impose a curfew upon Indians visiting the town. See, "Excerpt From a booklet Published Under the Authority of The Pas Board of Trade in 1914," reprinted in *The Pas: Gateway to Northern Manitoba*. (The Pas: The Pas Historical Society, 1983), p. 24; and AM, MG 12 A22, "Claude Johnson—unpublished manuscript, 'Northern Manitoba,'" p. 28.
 65. See Mochoruk, *Formidable Heritage*, pp. 54–57, 87–88, and 98–100; and Frank Tough, 'As Their Natural Resources Fail: Native Peoples and the Economic History of Northern Manitoba, 1870–1930. (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1999), Chapter Nine.
 66. Indeed, it was insisted that they become just like whites: band structures and political forms which were completely alien to these peoples were super-imposed upon them for the convenience of Canadian negotiators and administrators who didn't know how to deal with the politically decentralized and fiercely independent groups of the sub-arctic. Nor was the political power of native women acceptable (or understandable) to Dominion officials and Indian agents; thus the political disenfranchisement of native women within their own society was put in train via a superimposed, and strictly male-oriented, hierarchy on each reserve, simply because in "civilized" society it was men who held power and influence—not women. For an excellent account of how natives were "kept in line," see Vic Satezewich and Linda Mahood, "Indian Affairs and Band Governance: Deposing Indian Chiefs in Western Canada, 1896–1911," *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, XXVI, No.1, 1994, pp. 40–58.
 67. The population of the region that would become New Manitoba was estimated at under 4,000 in 1911. See CSP, 1912, Vol. 46, No. 24, "P.C. 573: Certified Copy of a Report ... March 7, 1911."
 68. For the best analysis of development in Ontario see H. V. Nelles, *The Politics of Development: Forests, Mines and Hydro-electric Power in Ontario, 1849–1941*. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1974. See especially, pp. 18–47 and Chapters Two and Three. Manitoba kept very close tabs on such development, and cited the example of Ontario's use of its natural resources in virtually every brief the province submitted in its quest for "better terms." See for example, C.S.P., 1883, Vol. 16, No. 12, #108, "Copy of a Report of a Committee of the [Manitoba] Executive Council, March 8, 1883," pp. 10–12; and *Ibid.* "Memorandum of the Delegates of the Executive Council of Manitoba ... February 7, 1882" pp. 2–3.
 69. For a detailed analysis of these developments, see Mochoruk, *Formidable Heritage*, Chapters Three through Five.
 70. Howard Fleming, *Canada's Arctic Outlet: A History of the Hudson Bay Railway*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957, Chapter One.
 71. *Ibid.*
 72. Investigations of the "Huronian rocks" spreading northward from The Pas had been made in 1896 and 1898 by J. B. Tyrrell and D. B. Dowling. See Canada, Geological Survey of Canada, *Annual Report*, Vol. 13, 1900, Part FF.
 73. Between 1912 and 1918, when both the HBR and Port Nelson development projects were halted because of war-time exigency, approximately \$20,000,000 had been spent on the two projects. See C. C. Norquay, "The Hudson Bay Route," Winnipeg: unpublished University of Manitoba MA thesis, 1930, p. 35; and B. A. Frederick, "Construction of the Hudson Bay Railway: A History of the Work

- and the Workers, 1908–1930,” Winnipeg: unpublished University of Manitoba MA thesis, 1981, p. 32.
74. Reports from all of these publications were assiduously collected, reported and commented upon in the north’s leading—and for many years only—newspaper, the *Hudson Bay Herald*. See for example the 27 February, 27 March, 10 April, and 10 July 1913 issues. Major Chambers, the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod for the Canadian Senate, provided what was essentially a compilation of pro-development government reports from the 1850s to 1913.
75. For a discussion of both the reasons behind this retention and Manitoba’s battle to gain beneficial control over those resources—or a sizable annual subsidy “in lieu of lands”—see Mochoruk, *Formidable Heritage*, Chapters Six through Nine.
76. *Ibid.* Chapter Four.
77. This was composed of swamp lands turned over to the province by the federal government after 1885 and of railway land grants that had been turned over to the province as collateral for the bonds of railway companies that eventually failed. See *Ibid.*, pp. 124–125.
78. They were, respectively, Conservative, Liberal, and United Farmers of Manitoba.
79. See for example the coverage of Bracken’s campaign speeches in *The Pas Herald and Mining News*, 1 September and 6 October 1922. Also see his later comments in, Industrial Development Board of Manitoba, *Annual Report*, 1 May 1925 to 30 April 1926. Winnipeg: The Board, 1926.
80. These convoluted negotiations are covered in Mochoruk, *Formidable Heritage*, Chapters Seven and Eight.
81. *Ibid.*, pp. 320–322 and 333–334.
82. And this actually came to pass in two quite distinct periods: first, in the heady days of 1912–1915 when the HBR was first under construction, when The Pas was booming, when Port Nelson’s facilities were being constructed, and when major mineral discoveries were being made at Flin Flon, Schist Lake, Herb Lake and several other locations; and second, and even more dramatically, between 1925 and 1930 when the re-routed HBR was finally completed, when Churchill was developed as a major port, when eight mines finally came into production in “The Pas Mineral Belt” and the “Central Manitoba/Rice Lake” regions, when three new spur lines were under construction, and when resource towns like Flin Flon, Sherridon, Bissett, Pine Falls and a host of smaller resource and railway towns were being built from scratch. According to my calculations, approximately 35,000 short-term jobs were created along the resource frontier during this second round of development—although this figure also takes into account non-industrial work such as lumbering, tie-cutting, fishing and trapping. See *Ibid.*, pp. 294–296.
83. Industrial Development Board of Manitoba, *Annual Report*, 1 May 1929 to 30 April 1930. Winnipeg: The Board, 1930, p. 8.
84. The remaining \$9,000,000 represents the money which went to develop a host of failed mines, individual expenditures on housing in nine new resource and transportation towns and seven older resource towns—all of which expanded dramatically during this period—and expenditure on infrastructure for non-company towns. See Mochoruk, *Formidable Heritage*, pp. 292–296.
85. AM, MG 13 I2 Bracken Papers, Box 19, “Bracken to A. B. Hudson, November 16, 1927”; and *Ibid.* “Bracken to Charles Stewart, November 18, 1927.
86. Library and Archives of Canada (LAC), RG15, Vol. 1289, #631690 “Memo, E. E. Wood to Pereira, Acting Director, Timber and Grazing Division, Department of the Interior, 3 April 1929. For the extent of illegal cutting in Manitoba, see Mochoruk, *Formidable Heritage* Chapters Three and Five. For a first-hand account of how illegal cutting became a “game” played by all timbermen during the 1920s see, AM, MG 9 A2, Koons Papers, “Reminiscences of a District Forester, 1924–1962,” pp. 1–4.
87. See AM, RG 17, C.B. Gill Papers # 39, “Unpublished Ms: Manitoba Forests, 1927.” pp. 134–135; and *Ibid.* File #25, p. 6.
88. This figure is derived from figures published in C.S.P.’s, 1876–1929, *Annual Reports*, Department of Marine and Fisheries. They are modified by reports submitted to the provincial government in the late 1920’s. See for example, AM, MG 13 I2 Bracken Papers, Box 19, #231, “Copy, J. B. Skapston, Inspector of Fisheries to R. C. Wallace, January 20, 1928. For examples of the incredible level of waste in the early commercial fishery, see Mochoruk, *Formidable Heritage*, p. 98.
89. H. C. Grant, *The Commercial Fishery of Manitoba*. Winnipeg: Economic Survey Board, 1928, p. 17; and Industrial Development Board of Manitoba, *Annual Report*, 1 January to 31 December 1935. Winnipeg: The Board, 1936, pp. 56–58.
90. CSP, 1885, Vol. 18, No. 6, #9 “Annual Report Fisheries, 1884—Appendix 9,” p. 298.
91. AM, GR 174, Box 165, #7 “Sessional Papers, 1926 #28 - Return to the House, Correspondence re: Fur and Game Conditions in Northern Manitoba - H. Halcrow to J. F. Evans, Deputy Minister of Agriculture, The Pas, Dec. 15, 1925.”
92. See LAC, RG 15 Vol. 1284 #604012, Part 4 “His Majesty King George V and the Manitoba Pulp and Paper Company Ltd. re: Manitoba Pulpwood Sale, June 12, 1925.” See especially Schedule C.
93. LAC RG 85 Vol. 2022, #173227 “Memo: to Mr. Rowatt, December 15, 1927.”
94. LAC RG 85 Vol. 1650, #3089 “Memorandum of an interview at Flin Flon, 19th of June, 1928 regarding the dumping of tailings from the concentrator over an area applied for by the company.”
95. *Ibid.* “Confidential Memo to W. W. Cory Re: Flin Flon and Cranberry Portage Townsites, 20 July 1928. (Phelan’s comments were paraphrased from a conversation he had with C. G. Baird of the CNR.)
96. AM, MG 13 I2 Bracken Papers, Box 19 #224, “J. W. Martin, Acting Commissioner of Dominion Lands to R. C. Wallace, Commissioner of Mines, August 25, 1928”; and *Ibid.* J. S. DeLury, Asst. Commissioner of Mines to Premier Bracken, 14 September 1928.
97. AM Range 81, Row 5, Shelf 1 - 22.1.2, “Memo, C. H. Whitney to J. G. Cowan, D. M. Re: Pollution, September 21, 1959.”
98. W. L. Morton, *Manitoba*, p. 325, pp. 401–407 and p. 471.
99. Even in the less technologically sophisticated days of the fur trade, the resource base which underlay native culture in northern Manitoba had been seriously eroded. As early as 1820 the area extending south from Churchill and York Factory to Cedar Lake and the northern tip of Lake Winnipeg had been largely depleted of both game and fur bearing animals as a consequence of the over-trapping associated with the competitive period. Only small game and fish could be relied upon for sustenance, and these were often hard to come by during the winter months. And the same situation obtained in the area extending from Fort Alexander on Lake Winnipeg to James Bay in the north and Lake of the Woods in the south. As a result, the Chipewyan, the Woodland and Swampy Crees, and the Ojibwa of northern and central Manitoba and northwestern Ontario needed increasing supplies of food, cloth, and blankets from the HBC in order to fill the gaps in a resource base which had been severely depleted during the competitive era, and which in many localities was reduced to a small game and fishing base. See, “Native Canada, ca 1820,” in R. Cole Harris (ed.) *Historical Atlas of Canada I: From the Beginning to 1800*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987, plate 69. On the growing use of fish to supplement food supplies as game resources dwindled see C. Bishop, “Cultural and Biological Adaptations to Deprivation: The Northern Ojibwa Case,” in Laughlin and Brady (eds.) *Extinction and Survival in Human Population*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), pp 213–214. On the overall decline in animal stocks prior to 1821 see, A. J. Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974, pp. 117–124.

The Red River Jig Around the Convention of “Indian” Title: The Métis and Half-Breed *Dos à Dos*

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Introduction

When the District of Assiniboia¹ entered the Canadian federation as the Province of Manitoba, section 31 of the *Manitoba Act, 1870* put aside 1.4 million acres of federal Crown lands for “the benefit of Half-Breed families” with the explicit objective of extinguishing the “Indian title” of the Métis and “Half-Breeds.”² Political scientist Thomas Flanagan has asserted that there are “difficulties with categorizing the Métis as an Aboriginal people” which are “partly historical and logical questions about the rightness of regarding the Métis as Aboriginal, and partly practical problems arising from any attempt to give legal substance to this concept.”³ In terms of the historical question, Flanagan claimed the Métis neither “described themselves as an Aboriginal people with special land rights”⁴ nor demanded “special treatment as an Aboriginal people”⁵ and that the various *Lists of Rights* they wrote up show that their consistent demand “was not for a land grant to extinguish their aboriginal title but for local control of public lands.”⁶ I have endeavoured to show elsewhere that the Métis on both sides of the Canada-US border had previously made claims to Indian title, or at least to a derivative share in Indian title,⁷ and that they specifically mandated Reverend Noël-Joseph Ritchot⁸ to negotiate a land grant on their behalf as compensation for the surrender of their Indian title.⁹ I have also made some initial inroads towards developing a legal doctrine that answers some of “the practical problems arising from any attempt to give legal substance to this concept.”¹⁰

There are, however, two aspects of the question of historical justification that I was unable to deal with. In the first place, Flanagan claimed Riel “skirted the question of Métis title” during the Resistance.¹¹ While I endeavoured to demonstrate that there was an *implicit* demand for a territorial enclave in the various *Lists of Rights*, I did not attempt to explain *why* the Métis were not more up front about their land claims during the Resistance. Moreover, to support his claim that the land grant in section 31 was simply “an act of political expediency not based on cogent

reasoning,”¹² Flanagan relied on a statement made by Ritchot before the Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia that the “Half-Breed title, on the score of Indian blood, is not quite certain. But in order to make a final and satisfactory solution, it was deemed best to regard it as certain.”¹³ The examination of this question is not merely academic, but is all the more timely in that Flanagan’s opinions have recently been adopted in juridical discourse. Flanagan acted as expert witness for the federal Crown in the case *Manitoba Métis Federation v. Canada and Manitoba* beginning in 1986.¹⁴ The plaintiff claimed *inter alia* that the federal government had not fulfilled its obligations towards the Métis people under sections 31 and 32 of the *Manitoba Act*.¹⁵ In his finding against the plaintiff, MacInnes J. explicitly referred to the debate of the Convention of Forty over article 15 of the draft version of the second *List of Rights*,¹⁶ and concluded that the “sentiment expressed” during the debate “drew clear distinction between the rights and treatment of Indians as compared to the rights of the half-breeds as civilised men and the differentiation of the two.”¹⁷ Further on, MacInnes J. claimed that the Red River delegates, and their principals, knew that the meaning of the reference in the [*Manitoba*] *Act* to the land grant being towards the extinguishment of Indian title was not clear” and quoted the aforementioned statement made by Ritchot to the effect that the “half-breed title, on the score of Indian blood, is not quite certain.”¹⁸

Admittedly, the fact that the Provisional Government mandated Ritchot to negotiate section 31 does not *ipso facto* render the underlying reasons for the recognition of Métis “Indian” title any more cogent and it certainly does not help matters that the very person who negotiated the surrender of the Indian title of the Métis seemed uncertain whether its logical underpinnings were sound. It is my contention here that by viewing Ritchot’s utterance as a speech-act,¹⁹ “the essential question [...] in studying any given text, is what the author, in writing at the time he did write for the audience he intended to address, could in practice have been intending to communicate by the utterance of this given utterance.”²⁰ This article will first look at the practical political context in the District of Assiniboia in 1869 to see how “political life itself sets the main problems for the political” actors, since it causes “a certain range of issues to appear problematic, and a corresponding range of questions to become the leading subjects of debate.”²¹ It will then present the speech-acts of both Métis and Half-Breed spokespersons around the issue of Indian title. To comprehend their respective positions on

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A group of Métis traders and their families were photographed by the 1872–74 Boundary Commission photographers.

this subject, one must reconstruct the “general social and intellectual matrix”²² within which their speech-acts must be situated.²³ One way of understanding their disagreement on the issue is to take into account how the Half-Breeds (re) formulated their identity at the material time. This involves treating “Indian title” as an inter-subjective “convention”, the meaning of which was largely determined within the juridical field.²⁴ The ambiguity of some of Ritchot’s statements is perhaps better explained by the fact that he had to justify the recognition of Indian title in section 31 to both the Half-Breeds, who accepted the prevailing juridical convention of Indian title, and to the Métis, who contested it.

The Practical Political Context

In 1870, the population of the District of Assiniboia had grown to roughly 12,000 souls, of whom approximately 5500 were Métis and 4500 were Half-Breeds.²⁵ When Canada negotiated with the Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC) the conditions on which the latter would surrender its rights in Rupert’s Land to the Imperial Crown, neither the Métis nor the Half-Breeds took too kindly to the fact that they had been “sold as chattel.”²⁶ However, the Resistance to annexation was initially limited to the Métis section of the District, who formed a National Committee composed of twelve representatives using the structure of the bison hunt to form a militia.²⁷ The main objective of the Committee was to protest the failure of any party to consult them and negotiate the conditions of entry into Canada. As early as 12 October 1869, Governor McTavish²⁸ wrote that the Métis

“consider if the Canadians wish to come here, the terms on which they were to enter should have been arranged with the local government here, as it is acknowledged by the people of the country.”²⁹ Riel effectively told the Council of Assiniboia on 25 October 1869 that the Métis “would never admit any Governor [...] unless delegates were previously sent, with whom they might negotiate as to the terms and conditions under which they would acknowledge him.”³⁰ Joseph Provencher³¹ reported to Lieutenant-Governor designate, William McDougall,³² on 3 November 1869 that, “if the Canadian Government was willing to do it, they were ready to open negotiations with them, or with any person vested with full powers, in view of settling the terms of their coming into the Dominion of Canada.”³³

Clearly, the “logic of the situation demanded that the Métis seek the support or at least the benign neutrality of the English Half-breeds and white settlers. There was little hope of gaining concessions from Canada if the Colony was openly divided. Thus his speeches and manifestos were always addressed to the people of Red River or the North West, not to the Métis nation narrowly defined. He spoke for the alleged rights of all settlers.”³⁴ Not surprisingly, “Riel wanted a broader base for his programme of action, which was nothing less than to negotiate with the government of Canada the “terms and conditions” on which Red River would enter Confederation.”³⁵ To this end, “Riel, before any rising took place, went about visiting the English settlers, asking them to take some united steps in company with the French, to protest against the policy proposed by the Canadian Government.”³⁶ In effect, Riel told the Council of

Assiniboia that the Métis considered “that they are acting not only for their own good, but for the good of the whole Settlement.”³⁷

The main obstacle to cooperation between the Métis and Half-Breeds is said to be “the French and Catholic tinge” of the Resistance, which “made it extremely difficult for Riel to build any settlement-wide consensus.”³⁸ It is certainly true that “Riel’s people” only extended to “the French-speaking element of the Western half-breeds.”³⁹ As Jennifer Brown noted, *The Collective Writings of Louis Riel*⁴⁰

The ambiguity of some of Ritchot’s statements is perhaps better explained by the fact that he had to justify the recognition of Indian title in section 31 to both the Half-Breeds, who accepted the prevailing juridical convention of Indian title, and to the Métis, who contested it.

“as a whole, lend support to de Tremaudan’s [1984] thesis that the Metisism of Riel was resolutely Catholic and French in orientation.”⁴¹ This would explain why, while there “can be no doubt but that the nationalist feeling” was one of the “cohesive forces which held together the [French] Half-Breeds in the disturbances of 1869–70,” it does not “figure largely in the documents or in Riel’s public utterances.”⁴² In effect, “one will not find many public statements by Riel or other Métis leaders reflecting this specific nationalism.”⁴³ It is said that, if Riel was “reluctant to use nationalist rhetoric,” it was because it “might prove divisive”⁴⁴ and can therefore be attributed “to tactical considerations [...] so as not to drive away possible support from the English of the Colony.”⁴⁵

In effect, while “Riel did go so far as to name his newspaper *The New Nation*,”⁴⁶ the Métis apparently downplayed their specific nationalism, claiming “to be a nation, already, along with the English half-breeds, whom they claim as their brethren, in possession of this country.”⁴⁷ In addition, when the Métis National Committee met the twelve representatives of the protestant parishes during the first Convention of Twenty-Four, they were hesitant to publicly declare their policy. Begg remarked that when the Convention met on 16 November, “there appeared to be an evident desire on the part of Riel to conceal the policy of his party from the English-speaking members.”⁴⁸ Again on 17 November, the “French adhered to their seeming desire to conceal their policy.”⁴⁹ After the meeting on 22 November, “the French had not declared their policy.”⁵⁰ This would seem to support the argument that the Métis avoided making nationalist demands “narrowly defined” that might prove divisive, but continued harbouring them as part of a hidden agenda.

However, in terms of the “French and Catholic tinge”, the Métis openly pushed for official status for the French

language in all four *Lists of Rights* and there is no indication of any opposition to such demands on the part of English-speaking settlers.⁵¹ In terms of religion, Riel tried to assure the English at a public meeting on 26 November 1869 that “the government was not one of religion, as he said had been rumoured.”⁵² While this is an indication that the Half-Breeds were concerned about the “Catholic tinge” of the Resistance, Riel’s reassurances were not simply a ploy to conceal his “real” agenda: it quite simply was not part of his agenda.⁵³ If the demand for denominational schools appeared in the fourth *List*, it was added at Bishop Taché’s insistence, not Riel’s.⁵⁴

On the other hand, Begg implied that what the Métis were concealing was their land claims when he commented that “there was no word [in the *List of Rights*] with regard to a land grant to the natives of the country, [but] there was every reason to suppose that it was *being held as a point in reserve* for a future day.”⁵⁵ Contrary to what Ens claims, “Riel’s paradigm of Métis *communitas* in 1869” in fact included a “paradigm of resistance based on a theory of aboriginal rights.”⁵⁶ Yet, as A. S. Morton observed, “the conviction that the land was theirs” does not “figure largely in the documents or in Riel’s public utterances.”⁵⁷ W. L. Morton also believed that land claims lurked “in the background of the Resistance, even if it was not in the list.”⁵⁸ The question is *why* the Métis “skirted the question of Métis title” during the Resistance.⁵⁹

It seems all the more curious when one recalls that the Half-Breeds had previously put forward similar claims. Corbett reported that “the people” – undoubtedly the Half-Breeds in Headingley – claimed to be “the original proprietors of the soil.”⁶⁰ In 1860, several Half-Breeds, including William Hallett and George Flett, were among those “who warmly advocated the rights of the Half-Breeds to the land.”⁶¹ In 1861, the Half-Breed lawyer, Alexander Isbister, argued that since “every married woman and mother of a family throughout the whole extent of the Hudson’s Bay territories” was of mixed ascendance, she, along “with her children, [was] the heir to all the wealth of the country.”⁶² One can see why Ens believed that an opportunity to build a consensus in the Settlement was lost when “the aboriginal-rights paradigm disappeared from public view in Red River.”⁶³ After all, as Flanagan pointed out, “a land grant [...] would apply to English half-breeds as well.”⁶⁴ Yet, when Riel finally raised the issue in public during the sitting of the Convention of Forty, it was the Half-Breed spokespersons who emphatically rejected it.

À la main left, à la main right: Fiddling Around Conventions

During the sitting of the Convention of Forty to discuss the second *List of Rights*, the members opened discussion of clause 15 on 1 February 1870. This clause demanded that “treaties be concluded between the Dominion and the several Indian tribes of the country.” Riel took the floor and asked rhetorically:

Had the Indians the *whole* claim to the country? [...] Are Indians the *only* parties in the country who have to be settled with for land claims? If so, all right. But if there is *some section* for which the Half-breeds would have to be dealt with, then the article as it stood was too general. I have heard of Half-breeds having maintained a position of superiority *and conquest against the incursions of Indians in some parts* of the country. If so, this might possibly be considered *to establish the rights* of the Half-breeds *as against* the Indians.⁶⁵

In order to interpret Riel's speech-act, we must try to recover the historical meaning of his *locutionary* act, that is, "the sense and reference of the terms included" in the mere act of saying something.⁶⁶ While Riel explicitly made a collective land claim here, he did not ground it in Indian title, but instead evoked the doctrine of conquest *against* Indian title. The locutionary act—*what* was said—must be distinguished from the *illocutionary* act—*why* the utterance was made. In other words, understanding Riel's act of illocution is equivalent to understanding his primary *intentions* in issuing this particular utterance.⁶⁷ While Riel's locutionary act emphasizes the justification for a land claim, his colleague's intervention suggests that his illocutionary act is arguably less concerned with the source of Métis title than compensation for its extinguishment. When Thibert expressed that his "own idea is that reserves of land should be given to Half-breeds for their rights,"⁶⁸ he made no attempt to clarify just what those rights were.

In his response to Riel, George Flett completely ignored Riel's locutionary act, which explicitly referred to the doctrine of conquest, and instead placed Riel's claim squarely in the traditional Métis doctrine of derivative Indian title:

For my part, I am a Half-breed but far be it from me to press any land claim I might have as against the poor Indian of the country (hear, hear). Let the Indian claims be what they may, they will not detract from our just claims. We have taken the position and ask the rights of civilized men.⁶⁹

Likewise, when James Ross took the floor immediately after Flett, he also understood Riel's oblique reference to Métis land claims in terms of Indian title and elaborated even more fully on Flett's evocation of the colonial dichotomy between the "rights of civilized men" and "Indian claims":

Mr. Ross—As a Halfbreed of this country, I am naturally very anxious to get all rights that properly belong to Half-breeds. I can easily understand that we can secure a certain kind of right *by placing ourselves on the same footing* as Indians. But in that case, we must decide on *giving up our rights as civilised men*. The fact is, we must take *one side or the other*—we must either *be Indians* and claim the

privileges of Indians—certain reserves of land and annual compensation of blankets, powder and tobacco (laughter)—or else we must take the position of civilized men and claim rights accordingly. We cannot expect to enjoy the rights and privileges of both the Indian and the white man. Considering the progress we have made, and the position we occupy, we must claim the rights and privileges which civilized men *in other countries* claim.⁷⁰

In other words, Flett and Ross did not respond to Riel's locutionary act, but to its illocutionary *force*. The "illocutionary force carried by our utterances are mainly determined by their meaning and context."⁷¹ In other words, a locutionary act can contain meanings that are embedded in the inter-subjective conventions one is wielding and can either exceed or fall short of the author's illocutionary intention. To be sure, Riel's reference to the doctrine of "conquest"—or at least of military defence—was in fact a commonplace way of justifying territorial claims among the Métis. As early as 7 November 1851, Governor Ramsey of the Minnesota Territory recorded that the Métis claimed "it was they who possessed the country really and who had long defended and maintained it against encroachment of enemies."⁷² However, the *context* in which Riel raised Métis territorial claims was precisely that in which the Métis had invariably raised the issue of their title in the past.⁷³ The matter before the Convention was treaties with Indians and by discussing Métis title in this context, Riel was closely associating it with the surrender and extinguishment of Indian title. It is little wonder that Ross and Flett inferred from Riel's statement that he was *really* grounding land claims in the doctrine of derivative Indian title in spite of his explicit reference to the doctrine of conquest.

When Riel once again took the floor, he attempted to side-step Ross' activation and reinforcement of the application of the principle of the excluded middle to the rights of "civilised men" and "Indian title" as well as the association of Métis claims to the latter. Riel seized on Ross' reference to "civilized men in other countries" and again invoked the doctrine of conquest to put Métis land claims on par with civilised nations: "The Half-breeds have certain rights which they claim by conquest. [...] Great Britain holds most of her possessions by right of conquest."⁷⁴ Riel's invocation of the doctrine of conquest was arguably due to his focus on his speech-act as a *perlocutionary act*.⁷⁵ That is, Riel's speech-act was more concerned with the effect or response that he hoped to bring about—Half-Breed support of land claims—than with communicating his innermost thoughts concerning the source of Métis title. That being said, four years later, Thomas Bunn⁷⁶ stated in his deposition to a Parliamentary Select Committee that the Métis "claimed that the country belonged to the half-breeds *under the same kind of title by which Indians claim*, by birth, residence and occupation," but also insisted that the "English half-breeds do not make this kind of claim."⁷⁷ Of course, some Half-

Breeds, such as William Hallett, did continue to claim that the Métis and Half-Breeds, along with the Indians, had better title to the territory than the HBC.⁷⁸ Nevertheless, the emphatic rejection of land claims grounded in Indian title on the part of the Half-Breed representatives at the Convention explains why Riel tried to avoid phrasing Métis land claims in terms of derivative Indian title when he finally did raise the issue in public.

The "Reformulation of an Ethnic Identity"

If we now have a fairly good idea why the Métis skirted the issue of derivative Indian title, it shifts the focus of our inquiry to that of the reasons why the Half-Breeds were so opposed to such demands. The trajectory of Flett is all the more curious, since he supported Indian title claims nine years previously. To be sure, a vestige of Flett's earlier claims might be implied in his reference to "any land claim I *might* have." Ultimately, however, what he calls "our just claims" are "the rights of civilized men." In order to understand Flett's trajectory, it is important to recall that the use of the term "Half-Breed" as a self-ascription only began in the 1830s when the social mobility of mixed-bloods within the HBC was increasingly limited.⁷⁹ By the end of the 1840s these mixed-bloods "no longer saw themselves as English" and when "acting in concert with the Métis they used the term 'Half-breed' to refer to their collective interest."⁸⁰ However, the contrast between Flett's position on Indian title in 1860 as compared to that of 1870 would seem to confirm Pannekoek's contention that "the Half-breeds had reoriented their identity to Canadian rather than mixed-blood or Métis in 1863–9."⁸¹ It is certainly true that some leading Half-Breeds, such as Captain William Kennedy and James Ross, had connections in Canada West and actively promoted annexation to Canada West in 1857 and 1859, respectively.⁸²

However, Pannekoek's argument that it was under the influence of Reverend Corbett⁸³ that the Half-Breeds "were coming to think of themselves as English men rather than as mixed-bloods" and consequently "abandoned much of their mixed blood heritage" in the early 1860s is more problematic.⁸⁴ First of all, Alexander Isbister had evoked the possibility of either incorporating the District of Assiniboia into Canada or establishing a distinct Crown colony some ten years before Corbett was to promote Crown colony status in 1858.⁸⁵ Second, it is doubtful that men like Ross, who was more educated than most Euro-Canadian settlers of the day with a law and master's degree from the University of Toronto, or Kennedy, who was educated in Scotland, needed an outsider like Corbett to tell them how and what to think. Third, the fact that it was Hallett,

leader of the Half-Breeds' bison hunt,⁸⁶ and a group of thirty Half-Breeds that broke none other than Corbett himself out of prison on 14 April 1863⁸⁷ shows they were perfectly capable of leading and organising themselves without Corbett. Fourth, while Corbett expressed the demands of the Half-Breeds for "representative government in the colony" as early as 1857,⁸⁸ he also voiced their land claims as "original proprietors of the soil."⁸⁹ It is not clear that he ever attempted to turn the Half-Breeds away from their mixed-blood heritage or saw it as an obstacle to claiming full political rights.

Even more questionable is Pannekoek's claim that a leadership vacuum left the Half-Breeds confused and depressed due to the lack of a strong identity and that they consequently resorted to alcohol to assuage their psychic angst.⁹⁰ He portrays William Hallett as looking to the Canadian faction "for direction" and suffering from "a personal instability" that resulted in his committing suicide.⁹¹ This depiction of the Half-Breeds as psychologically unstable and incapable of self-direction is a typical example of colonial narratives that can be traced back to Francis de Vitoria. The latter hesitantly asserted that, "if the barbarians were in fact all mad, [...] princes would be bound to take charge of them as if they were simply children. In this respect, there is

scant difference between the barbarians and madmen; they are little or no more capable of governing themselves than madmen, or indeed than wild beasts."⁹² It was precisely this colonial dichotomy that portrayed the Half-Breeds as inherently incapable of governing themselves that lay behind the HBC's refusal to allow for the election of the Council of Assiniboia and that consequently led to the disaffection of the Half-Breeds.

More importantly, during the debate between the Métis and Half-Breeds on the score of Indian title, Flett and Ross described themselves neither as Englishmen nor as "Canadians." Flett clearly stated "I am a Half-Breed," as did Ross: "As a Halfbreed of this country [...]." Furthermore, Ross spoke of being "naturally very anxious to get all rights that properly belong to *Half-breeds*," not "that properly belong to us as Englishmen." Of course, what he meant by "rights that *properly* belong to Half-Breeds" was "rights *as civilised men*". The subtlety that Pannekoek failed to take into account was that the Half-Breeds were not claiming the rights of "Englishmen" or "Canadians", but those that they share with both groups *as British subjects*. Much like their Scottish forefathers, who could claim the rights and privileges of British subjects *qua* Scotsmen, the Half-Breeds were claiming the rights of British subjects *qua* Half-Breeds. It is important to understand what they meant by the "rights that properly belong to civilised men."

[W]hile "Riel did go so far as to name his newspaper *The New Nation*," the Métis apparently downplayed their specific nationalism, claiming "to be a nation, already, along with the English half-breeds, whom they claim as their brethren, in possession of this country."

The Struggle of the Half-Breeds for Political Rights

A. S. Morton was perhaps the first to remark that when twelve delegates from the Protestant parishes met with the Métis National Committee in the first Convention of Twenty-Four, “the necessity of putting forward issues that would bring the English-speaking settlers to the support of the movement.”⁹³ Now, the priority of the Half-Breeds in 1869—and the principal reason why they were willing to support the Métis—was to fight for an elected assembly, which in turn implies full political rights. During the Convention of Twenty-Four, several delegates of protestant parishes in fact expressed support for the Métis Resistance. On 20 November 1869, Thomas Bunn “avowed his intentions openly today which were to stand up for the rights of the people which in a few words was a full and elective representation at the council board of the country. Maurice Lowman another delegate did the same thing as well as Mr. McKenney, the representative for Winnipeg Town.”⁹⁴ On 30 November 1860, William Tait is reported as expressing the same sentiments.⁹⁵

Not surprisingly, the first article in the first *List of Rights* was that the “people have the right to elect their own Legislature.”⁹⁶ Although this was a traditional Métis demand that had been put forward before, during and after the Sayer trial in 1849, their strategy was undoubtedly to appeal to the political aims of the Half-Breeds, who saw this as one of their rights as British subjects. The rest of the first *List of Rights* was also arguably phrased, at least in part, to pander to Half-Breed interests. Stanley notes that there “was nothing there to cause dissension or destroy Riel’s hopes of solidarity or opinion among the French and English Métis.”⁹⁷ Indeed, when on 7 December the surveyor Colonel John Stoughton Dennis⁹⁸ “expressed a conviction that some agency was at work which had produced a change in the feelings of the people, and the gentleman present [...] remarked that it might probably be accounted for by the distribution through the parishes, during yesterday, of the French ‘List of Rights’ [...] some of them proving reasonable in their character.”⁹⁹

On the one hand, the Half-Breeds had themselves put forward claims of derivative Indian title up until the early 1860s and the self-ascription “Half-Breed” showed an unflinching pride in their Indigenous heritage. Yet, they were not simply opposed to the Indian title claims of the Métis in 1869, but were so to the point that the issue risked causing serious division between the two groups. It is here that we must take a closer look at the convention of Indian title as a juridically determined inter-subjective convention.

The Juridical Convention of “Indian Title” in 1869

By determining what the box of “Indian title”, as a linguistic convention, contained at the time, it will be possible to measure the political actors’ speech-acts as a discursive performance. In other words, it becomes possible to determine to what extent they were contesting or reinforcing conventions in order to open up or restrict the horizon of legitimate political action. One of the first

pieces of legislation concerning Indigenous peoples passed in United Canada was the *Act for the Better Protection of the Lands and Property of the Indians in Lower Canada* in 1850.¹⁰⁰ While this act has oft been commented on because it provided the first legal definition of “Indian”, it is important to note the title and purpose of this act: to prevent “encroachments upon and injury to the lands appropriated for the use of the several tribes and bodies of Indians in Lower Canada.” In order to do so, a commissioner of Indian lands was appointed, in whom all Indian lands were to be vested in trust. For this reason, he was to “be held in law to be in the occupation and possession of any lands” despite the fact that they were “actually occupied or possessed by any such tribe or body in common, or by any Chief or member thereof.”¹⁰¹ Furthermore, the commissioner was “entitled to receive and recover the rents, issues and profits of such lands and property, and shall and may, [...] exercise and defend all or any rights lawfully appertaining to the proprietor, possessor or occupant of such land or property.”¹⁰²

[I]t is important to recall that the use of the term “Half-Breed” as a self-ascription only began in the 1830s when the social mobility of mixed-bloods within the HBC was increasingly limited.

What this legislation established is a necessary corollary between claiming Indian title, which was held in trust, and Indian status, or wards of the Crown. The application of the law to the Métis and Half-Breeds would have placed any lands they actually occupied under the trusteeship of a commissioner. It is important to recall that one of the objectives of the Half-Breeds in claiming they were the “original proprietors of the soil” was to undermine the HBC’s title and thereby deny their right to collect payment for leasing the lands.¹⁰³ The HBC considered Half-Breeds who occupied land without the Company’s permission to be nothing more than squatters. Passing from the HBC regime to a commissioner would have been like jumping from the proverbial frying pan into the fire. A second effect is that it would not only have deprived the Métis and Half-Breeds of control over “the rents, issues and profits of such lands and property”, but would also have deprived them of the basic civil right to sue for real property damages and left it up to the whims of a commissioner. Finally, since only those having title in real property enjoyed the right to vote at the time, it would have definitively deprived them of the political rights they had been fighting for, albeit unsuccessfully, for the previous twenty years.

In terms of divisive issues, it is important to recall that the Convention of Twenty-Four actually broke up over the questions of allowing the Lieutenant-Governor to enter the



Archives of Manitoba, Personalities - Ritchot, J. N. 2.

Joseph Norbert Provencher (1787–1853) arrived at St. Boniface in 1818 as a missionary priest. He was made Bishop of the North-West in 1847 and Bishop of St. Boniface in 1852.

stripped of their political and civil rights, but also have their property confiscated.¹⁰⁵ Their opposition to Indian status was for precisely the same reasons: it would have stripped them of their political and civil rights and transferred the common law title of their property to the Crown. Again, it was immediately after Ross identified himself as a Half-Breed that he stated: “I can *easily understand* that we can secure a *certain kind of right by placing ourselves on the same footing as Indians*.” He then invoked what the Half-Breeds feared most: “in that case, we must decide on *giving up our rights as civilised men*. [...] We cannot expect to enjoy the rights and privileges of *both* the Indian and the white man.”¹⁰⁶

Ritchot’s Report to the Provisional Government

Now that the reasons underlying the disagreement between Riel and Ross are clear, it is much easier to understand Ritchot’s speech to the Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia. As a first step, Ritchot’s speech-act must be placed in the immediate context. Before he left Ottawa, Ritchot had sent a dispatch dated 14 May 1870 informing the Provisional Government that a military expedition was being sent to the Settlement¹⁰⁷ and an article on the cost of the expedition appeared in the *New Nation* as well as an excerpt of the Governor-General’s speech proroguing Parliament which referred to it.¹⁰⁸ As the latter article indicated that these were “Her Majesty’s troops” and therefore under British command, everyone in the Settlement would have known that any further armed resistance would no longer simply be resistance to unilateral annexation to Canada, but rebellion against the British Crown.

After negotiating the *Manitoba Act* in Ottawa, Ritchot arrived in the Settlement on 17 June 1870. On 23 June 1870, he received an official letter from the secretary of the executive of the Provisional Government, Thomas Bunn, informing him that the President summoned him to either submit a written or oral report to the Legislative Assembly.¹⁰⁹ The *New Nation* had published the *Manitoba Act* on 27 May 1870, so it is likely that all the members of the Legislative Assembly would have been aware of its contents a month before Ritchot’s speech.¹¹⁰ It is important to recall just what was at stake. Ritchot’s instructions from the secretary had informed him that “you are not empowered to conclude finally any arrangement with the Canadian Government; but that any negotiations, entered into between you and the said Government, must first have the approval of, and be ratified by, the Provisional Government, before Assiniboia will become a province of the Confederation.”¹¹¹ According to his diary, Ritchot had also warned the ministers several times that it is not so much the delegates that must approve of the *Act*, but the people of the North-West.¹¹² When President Riel presented Ritchot to the Assembly on 24 June, Riel stated that “after reporting the results of his mission”, the members “would have an opportunity of judging of the issue¹¹³ of their delegation to Ottawa.”¹¹⁴ It was to these instructions that Ritchot was referring when he stated in his address that, “as delegates, we could not say if the people of the North-West would accept it.”¹¹⁵

As Flanagan has astutely observed, Ritchot skipped “most of the difficulties in the negotiations” and “gave a version of events calculated to win support for the act.”¹¹⁶ During his speech, Ritchot’s perlocutionary act was therefore aimed at obtaining support for the *Manitoba Act* from both sections of the population and thereby guaranteeing its legitimacy. The worst possible scenario was one where troops would arrive in a divided Settlement to enforce an *Act* that half the population saw as being illegitimate. This perlocutionary act of maintaining unity is apparent after the Legislative Assembly’s unanimous vote in favour of the *Manitoba Act*. In his closing statements, Ritchot urged the members to put aside past differences: “Nor must we at this time think harshly of those who did not dare to come with us and demand rights; for it was a very risky and imprudent thing.”¹¹⁷ He even conceded that, “if there were some among us who did not dare to oppose McDougall, they were, perhaps, right.” Finally, he noted that, “We have succeeded—but we have seen how difficult the task was. Why? *Because we were divided*. But now that we are united, we will be a strong people.”¹¹⁸ Furthermore, Ritchot not only had to maintain unity, but also present himself as a credible figure of unity. To this end, he professed that he had “never tried to work against any part of the people. As one of the delegates, I brought the bill [of Rights] to Canada, and on that bill worked for the people of the country as a whole, without distinction.”¹¹⁹

To come back to the beginning of Ritchot’s speech, secretary Bunn had informed Ritchot that he “hardly

needed to say that [the Members] are exceedingly anxious to hear the result of your mission to Canada."¹²⁰ One would expect that the source of this anxiety was the silence of the *Act* concerning the amnesty question for those who had participated in the Provisional Government, and notably in Scott's execution. But as we have seen in the debate between Riel and Ross, it was the question of Indian title that was a wedge issue. Indeed, the clause that took up a large part of Ritchot's speech, and with which the members of the Assembly seemed far more concerned, was section 31, especially the reference to "Indian title." Ritchot had to somehow assure the Métis that their birthright had indeed been recognised and a "reserve" obtained for future generations, all the while assuring the Half-Breeds that they would not lose any of their political and civil rights and liberties as a result. Ritchot began by lowering expectations, stressing the fact that the *Act*, such as it existed, was the result of a compromise between the *List of Rights* and several lists drawn up by the ministers.¹²¹ He again insisted on this point at the end of his address when he drew attention to the fact that the *Act* "differed from our *Bill of Rights*."¹²² The main difference between the *List of Rights* and the *Manitoba Act* was the absence of local control of public lands and the presence of a land grant to compensate extinction of Indian title.

What is curious about Ritchot's performance is that, when it came to section 31, his version of its genesis



Archives of Manitoba, Personalities - Ross James 4, N4796

Journalist James Ross (1835–1871) returned to the Red River Settlement on the eve of the 1870 uprising. He was the only Anglophone mixed-blood who had the stature and ability to oppose Louis Riel on equal terms, and his equivocal support for the resistance was a crucial factor in its success.

varies with what is to be found in his diary.¹²³ First, Ritchot claimed that it was the ministers who had offered 100,000 acres, "to be given to the Half-Breeds of the country for their children," a statement that corresponds to both his own and to Northcote's diary.¹²⁴ However, Macdonald and Cartier apparently offered 100,000 acres for *each* section, to which Ritchot reportedly replied tersely that he "didn't care for" the Scots Half-Breeds.¹²⁵ This is certainly in keeping with the fact that Ritchot was appointed to

represent "the French."¹²⁶ His fellow delegate, John Black, apparently remarked that Ritchot, as the representative of the Métis, was duty-bound to negotiate "land matters" only.¹²⁷ Furthermore, the ministers made the offer of 100,000 acres on 27 April, only after a "long debate over Métis rights" on 26 April and after Ritchot had insisted they could not surrender the Métis' "national and personal" rights as descendants of Indians without compensation.¹²⁸ In other words, Ritchot initially attempted to negotiate a land grant for the "Métis nation narrowly defined", something he carefully avoided mentioning in his speech.

Ritchot also told the Assembly further on in his speech that when he and the other delegates made a counter-proposal of three million acres, they were "anxious to secure the land reserve for the benefit of *all the children* of the country, *white and Half-breed alike*."¹²⁹ However, according to his diary, Ritchot clearly made a counter-offer of three million acres as compensation for the extinguishment of the Métis and Half-Breed share of Indian title,¹³⁰ not "for the benefit of all the children of the country, white and Half-breed alike." Assertions that he "worked for the people of the country as a whole, without distinction" ring hollow in this regard.¹³¹

To justify the mention of Indian title in section 31, which restricted the land grant to the children of the Métis and Half-Breeds, Ritchot stated to the Assembly that the ministers would not give in to this demand. He claimed: "We were told by the Ministry that this could not be granted as the only ground on which the land could be given was for the extinguishment of the Indian title."¹³² It was reasonable that in extinguishing the Indian title, such of the children as had Indian blood in their veins should receive grants of land; but that was the only ground on which Ministers could ask Parliament for the reserve."¹³³ On this point, Ritchot actually contradicts himself later in the very same speech. Suddenly the ministers, far from proposing Indian title as a rationalization of a land grant, "at first fought very hard against us in this matter."¹³⁴ The ministers told him: "You are claiming for the Half-breeds the rights and liberties of civilized people, while at the same time you want for them certain rights as Indians. We cannot recognize these two claims."¹³⁵ This latter version is almost a verbatim extract from his diary.¹³⁶

It is important to note in this regard that, at the material time, the convention among the Métis surrounding their notion of title to the land was generally one of *derivative* Indian title.¹³⁷ The ministers undoubtedly found this idea hard to accept in light of the terms of section 6 of the recently adopted *Act for Gradual Enfranchisement, 1869*,¹³⁸ which amended section 15 the *Act Providing for the Management of Indian Lands, 1868*, so as to read that "any Indian woman marrying any other than an Indian, shall cease to be an Indian within the meaning of this *Act*, nor shall the children issue of such marriage be considered as Indians within the meaning of this *Act*." The "half-breed" descendants of such marriages were not to receive a land grant carved out of the common lands of the "body of Indians" to which their

mothers belonged.¹³⁹ In other words, they were to inherit no share in Indian title through their mothers.¹⁴⁰

In any event, that the contradictions in Ritchot's speech are due to a desire on his part to reassure the Half-Breeds on the subject of their political rights is apparent when O'Donoghue brought to Ritchot's attention that "some gentlemen present do not, I find, understand clearly Article 31 of the *Manitoba Act*, that having reference to the extinguishing of the Indian title by a land grant."¹⁴¹ Ritchot immediately seized the opportunity, answering that the "reservation does not in the least conflict with [subsection 91(24) of the *Constitution Act*, 1867], where it is provided that certain tracts of land are to be reserved for, and owned by, Indians."¹⁴² To clarify this latter point, O'Donoghue then shared with the Assembly that an "honourable member near me" wondered "whether Half-breeds taking these lands are to be held as minors" under subsection 91(24).¹⁴³ In other words, by accepting land under section 31, would their children be treated like "Indians" (i.e., would they become wards of the Crown and consequently lose their political and civil rights and liberties)? Ritchot answered a simple "No." He further tried to dispel these concerns by specifying that the grant was "to be reserved for minors, with Indian blood—but not for adults, for the latter are allowed every liberty of self-government and all the rights of white people."¹⁴⁴ Ritchot further explained that, because they already had land as well as "the rights and liberties of white people, adults, even with Indian blood, were allowed no special privileges."¹⁴⁵

At this point, Riel intervened, stating that, apart from section 31, "the *general* Indian title has to be extinguished by being dealt with separately." That he was not simply referring to treaties with the First Nations here is evident when he specified that "[a]ll those having Indian blood have a title which must be extinguished as well as the general Indian claim."¹⁴⁶ Here then, perhaps emboldened by the official recognition of Métis derivative Indian title, Riel stated in no uncertain terms, and for perhaps the first time in such clear terms in public, what he had been "skirting around" for the last year: that the Métis and Half-Breeds had a derivative share of Indian title. Confronted with Riel's bold assertion which could have potentially upset the proverbial apple cart after Ritchot had taken such pains to reassure the Half-Breeds that they would not be treated like Indians, the priest suddenly backtracked, expressing doubt about derivative Indian title as grounds for the land grant. It was in this context that he stated that the "Half-breed title, on the score of Indian blood, is not quite certain. But in order to make a final and satisfactory arrangement, it was deemed best to regard it as certain, and to extinguish the right of the minority as Indians."¹⁴⁷

It is important to note that ... the convention among the Métis surrounding their notion of title to the land was generally one of derivative Indian title.

Again, Ritchot's claims are not only at odds with his journal, but also with what he would state later in the same speech. According to Ritchot's diary, he initially tried to claim 200 acres for each *adult* Métis during the negotiations as compensation for the extinction of their derivative Indian title.¹⁴⁸ Moreover, Ritchot added later in his speech that the land grant was to extinguish the children's "*admitted right* as Half-breeds" rather than an "uncertain right."¹⁴⁹ Further on, he took up the traditional Métis refusal to be boxed into the dichotomy of colonial conventions of Indian title and seemed to believe that *all* Métis, both children and adults, had Indian title. He claimed that he had "argued again, that though the Half-breeds asked to be recognised as civilized people, they had not therefore lost the claims derived from their Indian blood."¹⁵⁰

Again, this confirms that the ministers of the Crown, far from having insisted that Indian title was the only way a grant could be justified and pushed through the House, had in fact initially opposed the idea. Ritchot also seemed to suggest that adult Métis did indeed have Indian title when he stated that although "by their energy in hunting and cultivation the Half-breeds have raised themselves to a higher position than the Indians," their "claims are none the less good."¹⁵¹ Logically, the only Métis and Half-Breeds that could have "raised themselves, as hunters and cultivators, from a state of 'savagery' to that of 'half-civilised' are *adults*."¹⁵² Finally, far from finding Métis title "not quite certain on the score of Indian blood", Ritchot confidently asserted that "England is fully prepared to pay all the respect due to the Indian title; and, in doing so, it will not overlook the claims of Half-breeds to their rights derived in this way."¹⁵³ Here, Ritchot took up the traditional Métis position of refusing the colonial paradigm that constructed Indigenous rights as those of "uncivilized" peoples.

Conclusion

What I have tried to demonstrate here is that to understand Ritchot's statement, one must appreciate it as a performative speech-act and place it in its proper practical and ideological context. While the Métis clearly believed they held *derivative* Indian title at the very least, they did so while contesting the prevailing convention of Indian title at the time. The Half-Breeds, however, feared that Indian title claims would compromise their political rights and were far more reluctant to challenge standing conventions of Indian title. In any event, since the practical political context necessitated the building of a coalition with the Half-Breeds, the Métis had to downplay their land claims or attempt to ground them in conventions that would be more acceptable to the Half-Breeds. Furthermore, the fragility of the coalition between the Métis and Half-Breeds forced Ritchot to concentrate on his speech-acts as perlocutionary

rather than illocutionary acts. On the one hand, his responses were geared to addressing the concerns on the part of the Half-Breeds that the recognition of their Indian title in s. 31 of the *Manitoba Act, 1870*, would compromise their political rights in such a way as to ensure their support of the *Act* and the maintenance of the coalition. On the other hand, he had to reassure the Métis that their claims to Indian title had been recognised by the *Act*. The impossible situation produced illocutionary acts that varied according to whether he had the concerns of the Métis or the Half-Breeds foremost in mind. As such, his statements were not meant to reveal his innermost thoughts on the validity of Métis claims to Indian title, whether for or against, and cannot be taken as such.

To understand the respective positions of both the Half-Breeds and Métis on the question of their share in Indian title, it can be argued that it is “the power of contemporary nation-states within which Indigenous societies (necessarily) remain embedded [that] has constitutively shaped the taxonomies we use to make sense of ourselves and the world around us.”¹⁵⁴ In other words, “the fundamental power of modernity/colonialism is not that as Indigenous people we live in *it*, but rather, that it lives in *us*.”¹⁵⁵ This is because Indigenous peoples have internalised “the *symbolic violence* of race upon which the ‘colonial divide’ between Europeans and Indigenous peoples rests.”¹⁵⁶ Métis scholar Chris Andersen explains the notion of symbolic violence “to mean the power through which elements of social reality come to be seen as real or true, despite their socially constructed and thus arbitrary character,”¹⁵⁷ but that this perception of things being “just the way they are” conceals what is in fact an act of political oppression that seeks to impose and maintain a certain hierarchy. As Andersen has commented, “part of the juridical field’s legitimacy lies in its nearly unparalleled ability to name and to have such naming recognized in the perceptions and practices of actors other than its own.”¹⁵⁸

While Andersen’s focus is the power of juridical discourse to shape contemporary Métis identity, his analysis is entirely applicable to our Métis and Half-Breed ancestors in the nineteenth century. On the one hand, the Half-Breeds seemed to have simply accepted the colonial dichotomy between “Indians” and “whites” and chose to voice their distinct identity within the available convention of “British subjects”, which had the advantage of providing access to equal civil and political rights while allowing for national distinctions (English, Welsh, Scottish, and Irish). On the other hand, if the Métis rejected the colonial conceptions of Indian status as inferior and grounded their claims within the conventions of the law of nations, they nevertheless perpetuated the legal underpinnings of colonialism by relying on the doctrine of conquest. To paraphrase Andersen, that they did so is an effect both of the internalisation of colonial categories of perception and the conditions of possibility left open to them by Imperial and Canadian law and policy.¹⁵⁹ ✎

Notes

1. The boundaries of the District of Assiniboia consisted of a 50-mile circumference around Upper Fort Garry. The original “postage stamp” province of Manitoba was slightly larger than the District of Assiniboia.
2. For the historical distinction between Métis and Half-Breeds, see Darren O’Toole, “From Entity to Identity to Nation: The Ethnogenesis of the *Wiisakodewiniwag* (Bois-Brûlés) Reconsidered,” in *The Métis in Canada*, Christopher Adams, ed. Gregg Dahl and Ian Peach, Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2013 (forthcoming). While the term “Half-Breed” is considered by some to be derogatory today, contemporaneous Scots Half-Breeds proudly used it as a self-ascription at the material time. In their minds, it undoubtedly simply meant something like “of partially Indian and partially European descent.”
3. Thomas Flanagan, “Métis Aboriginal Rights: Some Historical and Contemporary Problems.” In *The Quest for Justice: Aboriginal Peoples and Aboriginal Rights*, ed. Menno Boldt et al. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985, p. 230.
4. *R. v. Blais*, [1996] M.J. No. 391, p. 160.
5. Thomas Flanagan, “The history of Métis Aboriginal Rights: Politics, Principles and Policy,” *Canadian Journal of Law and Society* 5: 73, 1990.
6. Thomas Flanagan, “The Case Against Métis Aboriginal Rights,” *Canadian Policy Analysis* 9(3): 316, 1983; Flanagan, “Historical and Contemporary Problems,” p. 231.
7. Darren O’Toole, “Métis Claims to Indian Title in Manitoba, 1860-1870.” *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 28(2): 241-270, 2008. The “doctrine of derivative aboriginal rights” essentially “traces Métis rights to the ancient rights of the peoples from whom Métis people derive their Aboriginal ancestry.” Canada, *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*, vol. 4. Ottawa: Department of Supply and Services, 1996, p. 280.
8. Noël-Joseph Ritchot (1825-1905) came to Red River in 1862 and became priest at the Métis parish of St. Norbert. See J. M. Bumsted, *The Red River Rebellion*, Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer Publishing, 1996, p. 318.
9. Darren O’Toole, “Thomas Flanagan on the Stand: Revisiting Métis Land Claims and the *Lists of Rights* in Manitoba,” *International Journal of Canadian Studies* 41(1): 137-177, 2010.
10. Darren O’Toole, “*Blais et Powley* : les doctrines des droits aborigènes des Métis sous la loupe,” *Ottawa Law Review* 41(1): 59-98, 2010.
11. Thomas Flanagan, “Louis Riel and Aboriginal Rights.” In *As Long as the Sun Shines and Water Flows: A Reader in Canadian Native Studies*, ed. Ian A. L. Getty and Antoine S. Lussier. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983, p. 251.
12. Flanagan, “The Case Against,” p. 315.
13. Thomas Flanagan, *Métis Lands in Manitoba*, Calgary: University of Calgary, 1991, p. 34.
14. *Ibid.*, p. vii.
15. *Manitoba Métis Federation v. Canada* (2007), [2007] M.J. No. 448 (Manitoba Court of Queen’s Bench), par. 5.
16. *Ibid.*, par. 607.
17. *Ibid.*, par. 608.
18. *Ibid.*, par. 649.
19. I am referring here to the “Cambridge School” method of textual interpretation that requires putting “ideas in context.” These scholars—notably John Pocock, Quentin Skinner and John Dunn—draw inspiration from Ludwig von Wittgenstein’s anti-analytical linguistic approach in his later work (notably *Philosophical Investigations*) as well as the theories of speech-acts of John Langshaw Austin, John P. Searle and Herbert Paul Grice.
20. Quentin Skinner, “Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas.” In *Meaning and Context. Quentin Skinner and his Critics*, ed. James Tully, Cambridge/Oxford: Polity Press, 1988 [1969], p. 63.
21. Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998 [1978], p. xi.
22. *Ibid.*, p. x.

23. *Ibid.*, p. xi.
24. This is diametrically opposed to Flanagan's "originalism" whereby he maintains that the word "aboriginal" must necessarily mean "uncivilized" and "cannot be stripped of these connotations." See Thomas Flanagan "From Indian Title to Aboriginal Rights." In *Law and Justice in a New Land. Essays in Western Canadian Legal History*, ed. Louis A. Knafla, Toronto: Carswell, 1986, pp. 82-83. In doing so, Flanagan is reifying "Indian title" so as to make it "be seen as real or true, despite [its] socially constructed and thus arbitrary character." Chris Andersen, "From nation to population: the racialisation of 'Métis' in the Canadian census," *Nations and Nationalism* 14, 2 (2008): 29.
25. Canada, "Return: Instructions to the Honourable A. Archibald," in *Sessional Papers*, 34 Vic., No. 20, Ottawa: I. B. Taylor, 1871, p. 91.
26. *New Nation*, "Imperial Responsibility," 16 March 1870: 1. Chris Andersen, "Moya 'Tipimsook' ('The People Who Aren't Their Own Bosses'): Racialization and the Misrecognition of Métis in Upper Great Lakes," *Ethnohistory* 58(1): 37-67, 2011.
27. George F. G. Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada: A History of the Riel Rebellions*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961 [1936], p. 69; W. L. Morton, "The Red River Parish: Its Place in the Development of Manitoba," in *Manitoba Essays*, ed. R. C. Lodge, Toronto: MacMillan Company of Canada Ltd., 1937, p. 98.
28. William Mactavish (1815-1870) came to Canada in 1833 as an apprentice with the HBC. In 1857 he moved to Red River in charge of Upper Fort Garry. He was appointed Governor of Assiniboia in 1858.
29. Canada, "Correspondence and Papers Connected with Recent Occurrences in the North-West Territories," in *Sessional Papers*, 33 Vic., Vol. V, No. 12 (Ottawa: I.B. Taylor, 1870), p. 47.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 136.
31. Joseph Alfred Norbert Provencher (1843-1887) was a nephew of Bishop Taché's predecessor, J. N. Provencher. He had articulated in the law office of William McDougall and in 1869 was appointed secretary to McDougall and tried to negotiate with the insurgents before being turned back. Bumsted, *Red River Rebellion*, p. 317.
32. William McDougall (1822-1905), an advocate of westward expansion, went to London with Sir George Étienne Cartier in 1868 to negotiate the transfer of Rupert's Land from the HBC to Canada, and as minister of public works he began road construction in the West under John Snow. Bumsted, *Red River Rebellion*, p. 298.
33. Canada, "Recent Occurrences in the North-West," p. 28.
34. Thomas Flanagan, "The Political Thought of Louis Riel," in *Riel and the Métis*, ed. Antoine S. Lussier, Winnipeg, Manitoba Métis Federation Press, 1979, p. 139.
35. George F. G. Stanley, "Confederation 1870—A Métis Achievement" in *The Other Natives: The—Les Métis*, vol. 1., ed. Antoine S. Lussier and D. Bruce Sealey, Winnipeg: Manitoba Métis Federation Press and Éditions Bois-Brûlés, 1978, p. 80.
36. A. Begg, *The Creation of Manitoba*, Toronto: A. H. Hovey, 1871, p. 78.
37. Canada, "Recent Occurrences in the North-West Territories," p. 136.
38. Gerhard J. Ens, "Prologue to the Red River Resistance: Pre-liminal Politics and the Triumph of Riel," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 5: 122, 1994.
39. Flanagan, "Political Thought of Louis Riel," p. 137.
40. Louis Riel, *The Collected Writings of Louis Riel/Les écrits complets de Louis Riel*, 5 vols., ed. George F. G. Stanley, Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1985.
41. Jennifer Brown, "People of Myth, People of History: A Look at Recent Writing on the Metis." *Acadiensis* 17: 152, 1987.
42. Arthur S. Morton, "The New Nation, The Métis," in *The Other Natives: The—Les Métis*, vol. 1, 1700-1885, ed. Antoine S. Lussier and D. Bruce Sealey, Winnipeg: Manitoba Métis Federation Press and Éditions Bois-Brûlés, 1978 [1939], p. 35.
43. Flanagan, "Political Thought of Louis Riel," p. 139.
44. Stanley, "Confederation: a Métis Achievement," p. 80.
45. Thomas Flanagan, "Political Theory of the Red River Resistance: The Declaration of December 8, 1869," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 9(1): 161, 1978.
46. Flanagan, "Political Thought of Louis Riel," p. 139.
47. W. L. Morton, ed., *Alexander Begg's Red River Journal and Other Papers Relative to the Red River Resistance of 1869-1870*, New York: Greenwood Press & Publishers, 1969 [1956], p. 416. Emphasis added.
48. Begg, *Creation of Manitoba*, p. 66.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 78.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 94.
51. Art. 10 in the first *List*, which demanded that "the French and English language to be common in the Legislature and Council, and all public documents and acts of Legislature to be published in both languages," was adopted by the Convention of Twenty-Four. Louis Riel, *The Collected Writings of Louis Riel/Les écrits complets de Louis Riel*. Vol. 1., ed. George F. G. Stanley and Raymond Huel, Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1985, p. 31. According to Begg, all the articles were "severally discussed by the French and English Representatives without a dissenting voice." W. L. Morton, *Papers Relative to the Red River Resistance*, p. 210. Later, when the Convention of Forty arrived at article 13, which demanded that "the English and French languages be common in the Legislature and Courts, and that all public documents and acts of the Legislature be published in both languages" and article 14, which demanded that "the Judge of the Supreme Court speak the French and English languages," both were adopted without discussion. *New Nation*, "Convention at Fort Garry," 4 February 1870: 6.
52. J. M. Bumsted, *Trials and Tribulations: The Red River Settlement and the Emergence of Manitoba, 1811-1870*, Winnipeg: Great Plains Publications, 2003, p. 130.
53. There is perhaps an oblique reference to them in the first *List of Rights* in art. 6, which demanded that a "portion of public lands be appropriated to the benefit of schools, [...] and parish buildings" and in art. 12, "that all privileges, customs and usages existing at the time of the transfer be respected." But this did not seem to have caused any concern among the Half-Breeds, which is hardly surprising as it simply pursued "existing privileges" in the District and applied as much to Protestant parishes and schools as to Catholic.
54. Morton, *Papers Relative to the Red River Resistance*, p. 121. Bishop A.-A. Taché (1823-1894) was born in Rivière-du-Loup, Lower Canada and sent to Red River in 1845, becoming Bishop of St. Boniface in 1853. Taché was in Rome when the Resistance broke out. Returning to Red River in March 1870 with instructions from the Canadian government, he stated that Canada had in general accepted the *List of Rights* passed by the Convention of Forty. Bumsted, *Red River Rebellion*, p. 329.
55. Begg, *Creation of Manitoba*, p. 113. Emphasis added. Not that land was not an issue. The first *List of Rights* explicitly demanded a Homestead Act and pre-emption rights. Note Begg's language, with the simultaneous use of the terms "the French" and "the natives" to designate the Métis.
56. Ens, "Pre-liminal Politics," pp.122-123.
57. A. S. Morton, "The New Nation," p. 35.
58. W. L. Morton, *Papers Relative to the Red River Resistance*, p. 136.
59. Flanagan, "Riel and Aboriginal Rights," p. 251.
60. United Kingdom, *Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company* (London, 1857), p. 139.
61. *Nor'Wester*, "The Land Question," 14 March 1860: p. 2.
62. W. L. Morton, *Manitoba: A History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967 [1957], p. 91.
63. Ens, "Pre-liminal Politics," p. 123.
64. Flanagan, "Political Thought of Louis Riel," pp. 139-140.
65. *New Nation*, "Convention at Fort Garry," 4 February 1870: 6. Emphasis added.
66. James Tully, "The Pen is a Mighty Sword: Quentin Skinner's Analysis of Politics." In *Meaning and Context: Quentin Skinner and his Critics*, ed. James Tully, Cambridge/Oxford: Polity Press, 1988, p. 9.

67. Quentin Skinner, "Motives, Intentions and the Interpretation of Texts." In *Meaning and Context: Quentin Skinner and his Critics*, ed. James Tully, Cambridge/Oxford: Polity Press, 1988 [1976], p. 74.
68. *Ibid.*
69. *New Nation*, "Convention at Fort Garry," 4 February 1870: 6.
70. *Ibid.* Emphasis added. According to Bumsted, a series of articles published in the *Nor'Wester* in 1861 that criticised and rejected the doctrine of derivative Indian title were written by Ross. See Bumsted, *Trials and Tribulations*, p. 141.
71. Quentin Skinner, "A Reply to my Critics." In *Meaning and Context: Quentin Skinner and his Critics*, ed. James Tully, Cambridge/Oxford: Polity Press, 1988, p. 266.
72. B. M. White, "The Power of Whiteness, or the Life and Times of Joseph Rolette Jr." In *Making Minnesota Territory, 1849-1858*, ed. A. R. Kaplan and M. Ziebarth, St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1999, p. 38.
73. See O'Toole, "Métis Claims to Indian Title," pp. 249-251.
74. *New Nation*, "Convention at Fort Garry," 4 February 1870: 6.
75. Skinner, "Motives, Intentions and Interpretations," p. 74
76. Thomas Bunn (1830-1875) was a Half-Breed born in Red River who served as clerk of the Council of Assiniboia and the General Quarterly Court from 1865-1870. In January 1868, he was appointed to the Council of Assiniboia. He was elected delegate for St. Clement's to the Convention of Twenty-Four, the Convention of Forty and councillor to the Provisional Government, which he served as Secretary of State. Bumsted, *Red River Rebellion*, pp. 263-264.
77. Canada, "Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Causes and Difficulties in the North-West Territories in 1869-1870," *House of Commons Papers*, 37 Vic., vol. VIII, App. 6 (Ottawa: I.B. Taylor, 1874), p. 115.
78. Begg, *Creation of Manitoba*, p. 87.
79. Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870*, Winnipeg: Watson & Dwyer Publishing, 1980, pp. 150-151.
80. John Foster "The Métis: the People and the Term," in Patrick C. Douaud, ed. *The Western Métis: Profile of a People*, Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 2007 [1978], pp. 28-29.
81. Frits Pannekoek, *A Snug Little Flock: The Social Origins of the Riel Resistance of 1869-1870*, Winnipeg: Watson & Dwyer Publishing, 1991, p. 13. This obviously does not preclude the possibility that they subsequently emphasised their mixed-blood heritage after 1870, notably in reaction to the bigotry of the Upper Canadians that arrived in the new Province.
82. United Kingdom, *Report on the HBC*, pp. 437-439; Pannekoek, *A Snug Little Flock*, pp. 148-150.
83. Rev. Griffith Owen Corbett (c1823-1909) was sent to Rupert's Land in 1852 and ordained in 1853. He returned to England in 1855 to study medicine and came back to Rupert's Land in 1857. He established the first printing press in 1858 so he could publish arguments in favour of a Crown colony, gaining the support of English-speaking mixed-bloods. Bumsted, *Red River Rebellion*, p. 269.
84. Pannekoek, *Snug Little Flock*, p. 176.
85. J. M. Bumsted, *Thomas Scott's Body and Other Essays on Early Manitoba History*, Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2000, p. 112.
86. J. M. Bumsted, *Dictionary of Manitoba Biography*, Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999.
87. Pannekoek, *Snug Little Flock*, p. 155.
88. United Kingdom, *Report on the HBC*, p. 145.
89. *Ibid.*, p. 139.
90. Pannekoek, *Snug Little Flock*, p. 144.
91. *Ibid.*, p. 183. Hallett committed suicide on 27 December 1873 but it was apparently due to health problems that resulted from his imprisonment during the reign of the Provisional Government. George Elliott and Edwin Brokovski, *Preliminary Investigation and Trial of Ambroise Lépine*, Montréal: Burland-Desbarats, 1874, p. 49.
92. Francis de Vitoria, *Political Writings*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991, pp. 290-291.
93. A. S. Morton, "The New Nation," p. 35.
94. Morton, *Papers Relative to the Red River Resistance*, p. 174.
95. *Ibid.*, p. 191.
96. Begg, *Creation of Manitoba*, p. 157.
97. Stanley, "Confederation: a Métis Achievement," p. 81.
98. John Stoughton Dennis (1820-1885) was born in Kingston, Upper Canada, and educated at Victoria College, Cobourg where he qualified as a land surveyor in 1842. One of his classmates was William McDougall. In 1869, he was sent to Red River to survey lots in advance of the transfer of Rupert's Land to Canada. The Métis obstructed one of his survey teams on 11 October 1869. He attempted to raise a volunteer force to bring down the Provisional Government, but fled the Settlement on 11 December 1869. Bumsted, *Red River Rebellion*, p. 274.
99. Canada, "Recent Occurrences in the North-West," p. 111.
100. *Act for the Better Protection of the Lands and Property of the Indians in Lower Canada*, 1850, (S.C.), 13 & 14 Vic., cap. 42.
101. Emphasis added. Note that under the guise of *protecting* Indian lands, the Legislative Assembly of United Canada in effect *deprived* Indigenous peoples of common law title to their lands and thereby of their corresponding civil rights as property holders.
102. Shortly after Confederation, the Federal Parliament passed *An Act providing for the organisation of the Department of the Secretary of State of Canada, and for the management of Indian and Ordnance Lands*, 1868, 31 Vic. cap. 42. This *Act* essentially gave force of law to the *Act for the Better Protection of the Lands and Property of the Indians in Lower Canada*, 1850, within the provinces outside Lower Canada.
103. United Kingdom, *Report on the HBC*, p. 139.
104. Riel, *Collected Writings*, p. 30. It may be because it was not until the early hours of 24 November that Riel convinced the National Committee to adopt it. *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30. When he succeeded in doing so, Begg seemed to believe that this was the policy the Métis had been concealing when he commented the "French members declar[ed] their intention to form a Provisional Government for the purpose of treating with Canada." Begg, *Creation of Manitoba*, p. 97. In any event, if the Half-Breeds initially refused, they eventually accepted a provisional government with the Métis the following February.
105. After being found guilty for the murder of Thomas Scott, Ambroise-Dydime Lépine was pardoned but stripped of his political rights.
106. To be sure, it was not simply a question of legal status. The Half-Breeds had already suffered from the negative symbolic capital attached to their Indigenous ancestry when their social mobility was reduced within the HBC trade system in the 1830s and 1840s. Understandably, they were not overjoyed about the idea of being subjected to the social stigma that went along with being identified as "Indian" in settler society.
107. Riel, *Collected Writings*, p. 119, note 12.
108. *The New Nation*, "Manitoba. The Nor'West Bill. Representation, Legislation and Constitution of the New Province," 27 May 1870: 1, 2.
109. Canada, 1874: 80-81.
110. *New Nation*, "Manitoba. The Nor'West Bill. Representation, Legislation and Constitution of the New Province," 27 May 1870: 2.
111. Begg, *Creation of Manitoba*, p. 234.
112. Morton, *Birth of a Province*, p. 140.
113. Probably *issue* in French, meaning "outcome."
114. *New Nation*, "Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia. Third Session," 1 July 1870: 2.
115. *Ibid.*
116. Flanagan, *Métis Land in Manitoba*, p. 46.
117. *New Nation*, "Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia. Third Session," 1 July 1870: 2
118. *Ibid.*, p. 3. Emphasis added.
119. *Ibid.*

120. Canada, "Causes and Difficulties in the North-West," p. 81.
121. *New Nation*, "Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia. Third Session," 1 July 1870: 2.
122. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
123. Compare *ibid.*, pp. 2-3 and William Lewis Morton, ed. *Manitoba: The Birth of a Province*, Winnipeg: Manitoba Record Society Publications, 1965, pp. 142-143.
124. According to Ritchot, the "ministers [...] offered one hundred thousand acres to be bestowed on the children of the *métis*." Morton, *Birth of a Province*, p. 142. Northcote wrote that "Sir John A. had proposed 100,000 acres, with which Ritchot was not satisfied." *Ibid.*, pp. 90-91.
125. Morton, *Birth of a Province*, p. 91. Ritchot mentions that the "ministers offered 150,000 acres, 200,000 acres to be divided among heads of families to be held for their children", but makes no mention of 100,000 for each section of the population, *Ibid.*, p. 142.
126. That is, the "French Half-Breeds." See Begg, *Creation of Manitoba*, p. 274 and Morton, *Birth of a Province*, p. 153.
127. Morton, *Birth of a Province*, p. 153.
128. *Ibid.*, p. 141.
129. *New Nation*, "Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia. Third Session," 1 July 1870: 3.
130. Morton, *Birth of a Province*, p. 143.
131. That being said, according to Ritchot, his fellow delegate's sister, Miss Black, told Ritchot that she would "long remember the generous effort that I have made for the people of Red River in general without distinction of origin or belief." *Ibid.* p. 153. However, in the preceding paragraph, Ritchot relates that the Convention charged him with the business of the French-Canadian Métis.
132. Ritchot related a "further argument against a grant of land to all the children in the colony", being that it would "give rise to trouble" in the other provinces. *New Nation*, "Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia. Third Session," 1 July 1870: 3. Curiously, Parliament would effectively do precisely that in 1874. Flanagan remarks that Ritchot's diary "contains no evidence that Macdonald and Cartier [...] accepted Ritchot's theory of a Métis aboriginal title inherited from Indian ancestors." Flanagan, "The Case Against," p. 318. Yet, Ritchot's diary makes clear that they accepted to negotiate a land base on this basis. Morton, *Birth of a Province*, p. 142. In any case, Flanagan himself quotes Macdonald on the same page in the next column as asserting in Parliament on 2 May 1870 that the Métis "had a strong claim to the lands, in consequence of their extraction." Whatever their misgivings, Macdonald and Cartier ultimately justified the section 31 land grant in terms of the "Indian" title of the Métis and Half-Breeds.
133. *New Nation*, "Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia. Third Session," 1 July 1870: 2. Cartier did use this argument on 9 May 1870. Canada, *House of Commons Debates* (3rd Session, 1st Parliament, 1870), p. 1447. However, according to Ritchot's diary, the ministers did not so much insist on Indian title to get the Bill through the House as on federal, instead of provincial, control of s. 31 lands. Morton, *Birth of a Province*, pp. 147-148. In fact, it was the reference to Indian title that made s. 31 difficult to get through the House (Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, pp. 1306, 1436, 1447, 1449, 1450-1451, 1501), namely because it was perceived as implying a "restrictive policy" (*Ibid.* pp. 1307, 1329, 1387, 1420, 1426, 1438, 1449, 1459-1460). While a land grant *per se* was not the issue, as both McDougall (*ibid.*, pp. 1448, 1454) and Mackenzie (*ibid.* pp. 1449, 1459) tried to replace s. 31 with a homestead law or grants of 200 acres to *all* settlers. Again, this contradicts Ritchot's claim that reference to Indian title was necessary to get a land grant through the House.
134. *New Nation*, "Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia. Third Session," 1 July 1870: 2.
135. *Ibid.*
136. "The ministers make the observation that the settlers of the North West claiming and having obtained a form of government fitting for civilized men ought not to claim also the privileges granted to the Indians." Morton, *Birth of a Province*, p. 141.
137. See note 7.
138. *An Act for the gradual enfranchisement of Indians, the better management of Indian affairs, and to extend the provisions of the Act 31st Victoria, 1869*, 32 Vic. cap. 42.
139. Pierre Delorme's curious demand that, "Indian status be extended to their wives, thus allowing the Métis to benefit from any Indian land settlement." Pannekoek, *Snug Little Flock*, p. 192. This can be seen as a clever, albeit sexist, attempt to manipulate the convention of Indian title in such a way as to overcome the opposition of the Half-Breeds to Indian title claims. As all married women, both Indigenous and settler, were legally minors at the time, the recognition of the derivative Indian title of Métis *women* would not entail a loss of political and civil rights and liberties as it would for Métis *men*. At the same time, as marriage resulted in the transfer of any property the wife enjoyed being passed to the husband, the wife's share of Indian title would end up in the hands of Métis men. In other words, Delorme's manoeuvre would allow Métis men to enjoy all the benefits of an Indian title claim without having to give up any of their civil or political rights.
140. However, the legislation also essentially confirmed most of the clauses of *An Act to encourage the gradual Civilization of the Indian Tribes in this Province, and to amend the Laws respecting Indians*, 1857, 20 Vic., cap. 26 (Province of Canada). Insofar as Half-Breeds qualified as "enfranchised Indians" under the terms of this *Act*, it may have been seen as reassuring. Its purpose was "the gradual removal of all legal distinctions between them and Her Majesty's other Canadian Subjects, and to facilitate the acquisition of property and of the rights accompanying it." If the application of the *Act* to them would have resulted in a mere life estate in the lands they occupied, it was an improvement on the HBC leases, and such lands would pass on to their descendants in fee simple.
141. *New Nation*, "Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia. Third Session," 1 July 1870: 2.
142. *Ibid.*
143. *Ibid.* Notice that on both occasions, O'Donoghue raises the concerns of other members and not his own.
144. *Ibid.*
145. *Ibid.*
146. *Ibid.*, p. 2. Riel's position was ultimately vindicated when Parliament adopted legislation to extinguish the derivative Indian title of Métis adults in *An Act respecting the appropriation of certain Dominion Lands in Manitoba*, S.C. 1874, 37 Vic., cap. 20.
147. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
148. Morton, *Birth of a Province*, p. 142.
149. *New Nation*, "Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia. Third Session," 1 July 1870: 2.
150. *Ibid.* In his diary, Ritchot wrote: "[...] because these settlers wish to be treated like other subjects of Her Majesty does it follow that those among them that have a right as descendants of Indians should be obliged to lose those rights. I don't believe it; thus in asking control of the lands of the province, they have no intention of causing the loss of the rights that those of the North West have as the descendants of Indians." Morton, *Birth of a Province*, p. 141.
151. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
152. The argument also seems like a reply to Ross' earlier objection that due to "the progress we have made, and the position we occupy, we must claim the rights and privileges which civilized men in other countries claim." *New Nation*, "Convention at Fort Garry," 4 February 1870: 6.
153. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
154. Andersen, "From Nation to Population," p. 35.
155. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
156. *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.
157. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
158. Andersen, "Moya 'Tipimsook," p. 49.
159. Andersen, "From Nation to Population," p. 36.

The Selkirk Settler Bicentenary

by Harry Duckworth
Winnipeg, Manitoba

The following is the text of a speech given by MHS Past President Harry Duckworth at the Tartan Day celebration at the Manitoba Legislative Building on 6 April 2012.

Your Honours, Mr Chairman, honoured guests, ladies and gentlemen. I thank the Tartan Day committee for the opportunity to speak to you on the Selkirk or Red River Settlement, whose bicentenary we are commemorating this year.

The history of the Scottish Highlands, in the years after the battle of Culloden, is dominated by a great emigration movement, one of the defining processes in the formation of the British Empire. For generations, the Highland Scots had been small farmers, growing barley and grazing cattle. Their lands were clan property, though the chiefs were in charge in peacetime and in war. But now a different relationship was developing between the clansmen and the chiefs. The violent old ways of the Middle Ages were no more, and would-be warriors were finding a new outlet for their temperaments in the British Army. Military leaders were no longer needed in the Scottish glens, so the chiefs could live in the towns of the south, where they found new activities, and greater comfort. Their sons mastered the pen instead of the claymore, and found employment as lawyers or merchants.

To live in the towns, the chiefs needed a cash income, and they started to think of themselves as the owners of the clan lands. In Edinburgh or Aberdeen, they met southerners who had suggestions as to how the Highland valleys might yield more profit. The most popular idea was to replace the poor and inefficient tenant farmers with a hardy breed of sheep that could graze all over the hills, in all kinds of weather. Bringing this idea to the Highlands eventually led to the forced expulsion of many Highlanders from their ancestral lands—the Highland Clearances.

There were those who saw the writing on the wall long before this, of course. Throughout the 1700s, large numbers of Scots left their homeland to settle in the New World. The Conquest of Canada, in 1759–60, opened up a vast new country for settlement by British subjects, and soon the Scots were flooding in. By the year 1800, most Highlanders would have had friends and relations who could inform them in person, or by letter, of opportunities that awaited them over the sea.

In preparing themselves for emigration, the Scottish Highlanders had one great asset—education. In Scotland, even in the remotest districts, a good education was widely

available. Many people could read and write, and many Gaelic speakers could also operate in English. Though the Highlanders might be living in poverty, they were not living in ignorance.

One of the most imaginative promoters of Scottish emigration was Thomas Douglas, the fifth Earl of Selkirk. As a boy, he had seen the American privateer, John Paul Jones, come ashore and alarm the Selkirk mansion by the shores of the Solway Firth. This experience, he later believed, taught Selkirk to distrust Americans in general, and be suspicious of their motives and ambitions. Thomas Douglas and his brothers were caught up in the ideas of the Enlightenment, the new insights that engendered our modern understanding of human rights and social responsibilities. He travelled widely, and he learned and remembered. All six of his older brothers died before their father, and in 1799, Thomas Douglas succeeded to the title of Earl of Selkirk, and to a substantial fortune that would allow him to follow his dreams.

Selkirk knew that the Highlands were no longer supporting their population, and that things would get only worse. For most, new homes would have to be found elsewhere. In 1803, using his own resources, he brought a group of Scottish colonists to Prince Edward Island. This project was a success. The next year, he took another group of Scots to Baldoon, in Upper Canada. The land there was poor for farming, and only a few settlers remained there for long.

For his last and most ambitious venture, Selkirk turned his eyes much farther west, to the Red River of the North. As far as the British authorities were concerned, Red River was already the property of the Hudson's Bay Company, whose title was based on the old grant of Rupert's Land from King Charles II of England, in the year 1670. Selkirk bought shares in the Hudson's Bay Company, to gain the influence he needed for his scheme. In the spring of 1811, for a price of 10 shillings, the Company sold him some 116,000 square miles, to be called Assiniboia. Here, an agricultural settlement was to be placed. Much of it was magnificent land.

That summer, Lord Selkirk sent an advance party out from Scotland, by way of Hudson Bay, with orders to go to the Forks of the Red and the Assiniboine, and prepare for the arrival of the first real party of settlers, who would come the following year. The commander of the advance party was Miles Macdonell, who would have the title Governor



G. Goldsborough

Thomas Douglas (1771–1820), Fifth Earl of Selkirk, guards the east entrance to the Manitoba Legislative Building. It is one of several commemorations of Selkirk and his settlers in Manitoba.

of Assiniboia. The ships arrived very late in Hudson Bay, and the advance party could not get to Red River before the onset of winter. Instead, they remained in a winter camp near York Factory, proceeding south the next summer, after the rivers were open. The advance party did not get to Red River till the end of August. On 4 September 1812, at a site just north of the present St Boniface Hospital in Winnipeg, Macdonell assembled his men and a few local fur traders, and read out his credentials, declaring that he was taking possession of Assiniboia on behalf of Lord Selkirk.

Meanwhile, the first group of actual settlers had reached York Factory on schedule, and by mid-October they were also at Red River. Very little had been done to prepare for their arrival, but Macdonell did his best. He sowed some winter wheat—this was the first wheat sowed in western Canada—and took the whole party south to Pembina for the winter. There, arrangements were made with the Métis buffalo hunting community to provide food. The winter was a shock for the settlers, who had never encountered such cold, but they got through it, and in the summer of 1813, they were back at the Forks, ploughing land, sowing crops, and putting up buildings. Selkirk sent a further group of settlers out from Scotland that year, and a third group in 1814. In the second winter, the settlement still could not provide for itself, and everyone moved back to Pembina again. It was only with the season of 1814 that the colony became reasonably self-sufficient, from a combination of its own crops and the produce of the hunt.

The farm lots were long and narrow, each with a frontage on the Red River, and all on the west side. The southern boundary of the group was just south of the present Bannerman Avenue, and the tract ran north to the place where the old Kildonan stone church was later built,

and then beyond to the present boundary of the City of Winnipeg. The lines of the streets in this part of Winnipeg, running slightly north of west, preserve the layout of the lots as they were surveyed by Peter Fidler, the Hudson's Bay Company surveyor, in 1817, and as they remain to the present day. In this part of Winnipeg, some of the modern streets, such as Bannerman, Polson, and Matheson, preserve the names of settlers.

Apart from the natural dangers, and the difficulties of an unfamiliar climate, the main challenge that the Selkirk Settlers had to face was from their fellow Scots. Assiniboia was far from uninhabited in 1812. There was a large population of First Nations people—Assiniboinés, Crees and Ojibwes. There were a couple of hundred so-called “freemen,” retired fur trade voyageurs or clerks, all with native wives. Greatest in terms of their influence, though few in number, were the actual fur traders. There were a few Hudson's Bay Company posts hereabouts, but the strong presence was that of the North West Company, a mighty and imperious enterprise controlled by Scots. The Nor'westers' main interest in the Red River district was not in furs, but in pemmican, the fuel on which the canoe brigades ran. Much of the pemmican came from what Miles Macdonell was now calling Assiniboia, and a confrontation was inevitable when Macdonell, worried about how he was going to continue to feed his colonists, proclaimed that no foodstuffs were to be exported from Assiniboia. The North West Company, already suspicious of Lord Selkirk's motives, saw this “Pemmican Proclamation” as a direct attack on their business enterprise.

This was in 1814. At once, the North West Company set to work to undermine the colony. First, they told the colonists that Indians were coming to destroy them. This was seen to be false, and one particular First Nations leader, the chief Peguis, showed himself as the settlers' friend. The North West Company then warned that the Métis, mixed-blood children of fur trade fathers and native wives, were going to attack the colony. This was more believable—many Métis were employed by the Nor'westers, or had family ties to them. A campaign of harassment began, and the Nor'westers accompanied this with an offer to transport the settlers to Upper Canada, where new lands would be found for them to settle on. By midsummer of 1815, about two-thirds of the colonists had accepted this offer, while a pretext was found to make a prisoner of Governor Macdonell. Something like 110 individuals were taken down to Canada. Those colonists who did not defect left their farms for the safety of Jack River, at the north end of Lake Winnipeg; and the Nor'westers burned their buildings behind them.

So it seemed, near the end of the summer of 1815, that Lord Selkirk's experiment had failed, and that the colony had indeed been destroyed. Then, at Jack River where the remnants had retreated, a Hudson's Bay Company trader, Colin Robertson, persuaded the settlers to return to Red River. Strengthening their resolve, a further party of new settlers, fresh from Scotland, now made their

appearance. Most of these had been displaced from their homes in Kildonan by the most notorious of the Highland Clearances, that inflicted by the Countess of Sutherland, and all they wanted was a place to lay their heads. A new Governor, Robert Semple, was with them, a replacement for the captured Miles Macdonell. The whole group returned to Red River, rebuilt the houses and settled down for the winter, to the astonishment of the Nor'westers. A Canadian freeman, Jean Baptiste Lagimodière, set off overland to Montreal, to inform Lord Selkirk that, against all odds, the colony had been reestablished.

Selkirk now decided that some kind of military force was needed to protect his settlers at Red River. He hired a number of demobilized soldiers, and set off in the spring of 1816, to reach his colony by way of the Great Lakes canoe route. At Sault Ste Marie, terrible news reached him from Red River. On 19 June 1816, a brigade carrying pemmican for the North West Company, under the command of a young Métis clerk, Cuthbert Grant, was passing overland behind the settlement. Robert Semple, accompanied by some colonists and Hudson's Bay servants, had gone out to confront them at a place called Seven Oaks. Everyone on both sides had a gun, and once the first shot was fired, the superior marksmanship of Grant's horsemen had its inevitable effect. Within a few minutes, Semple and 20 of his companions lay dead or dying. In later life, Cuthbert Grant admitted that he would have gone on to overrun the rest of the colony, and kill more people. But the Ojibwe leader Chief Peguis, who had already shown himself a friend to the colonists, stepped in, prevented further bloodshed and saw to it that the bodies were buried in a common grave. It was the news of this bloody episode that reached Lord Selkirk on his way up from Montreal.

Selkirk pressed on to Fort William, the North West Company's great depot, captured it, arrested several of the partners, and found in their documents much evidence that the Company had planned the destruction of his colony. He wintered at the Fort, and in the spring continued on to Red River. There, he met the settlers, assuring them that they were safe now. Some of his mercenaries were settled on farm lots. Selkirk was a handsome man of sincerity and charm, and the few weeks he spent at Red River were remembered by the settlers for the rest of their lives. He then returned to Canada, where he became embroiled in legal struggles with the North West Company. By the time he got back to Britain, he was in the grip of tuberculosis, and he died in the south of France in 1820, and is buried there. Much of his fortune was gone, but he died knowing that the Red River Settlement would be a success.

The settlers still had much to contend with—cold winters, unsuccessful crops, grasshoppers, and in 1826, a catastrophic flood. A sudden, late breakup of the Red River brought huge chunks of ice down upon the settlement's houses, sweeping everything away. But the houses were quickly rebuilt, and life went on. The settlers knew where they were now, what the country would demand and what it could give, and what they had to do to make their

community a success. With each year, more and more children were born for whom the environment was not strange, but simply the world they knew. No more new settlers came direct from Scotland after 1815, but the colony was a centre to which fur traders could retire, and occasional settlers could come from Canada. The Hudson's Bay Company provided basic government services, including a system of land titles, a court system, and some resources for religion and education.

The founding of the Selkirk Settlement in 1812, whose bicentenary we mark this year, was an important step in the development of western Canada. By planting here a colony of British subjects, Lord Selkirk made it unlikely that the expansionist United States would simply continue north and west, and annex all of Rupert's Land. The boy of seven, who had been frightened by John Paul Jones, showed as a man a vision that was well beyond the average British colonial administrator. As for the settlers, they proved that a farm economy, which can support a large population, was possible in what is now the Canadian West. This knowledge encouraged Canada to purchase Rupert's Land, make the west a part of our country in 1870, and open the land to settlement by millions of European immigrants in the generations to come. ✎



G. Goldsborough

A small cairn in Joseph Zuken Heritage Park near the MHS's Ross House Museum commemorates the spot where, on 7 October 1812, Miles Macdonell helped to plant the bushel and a half of wheat brought from Scotland on behalf of Lord Selkirk. It was the beginning of the "prairie breadbasket" in western Canada that would eventually become an important component of the global food supply. The cairn was dedicated in October 1987 by members of the Lord Selkirk Association of Rupertsland.

1912 Remembered: In Pursuit of an Idea

by J. S. C. McKee

Department of Physics, University of Manitoba

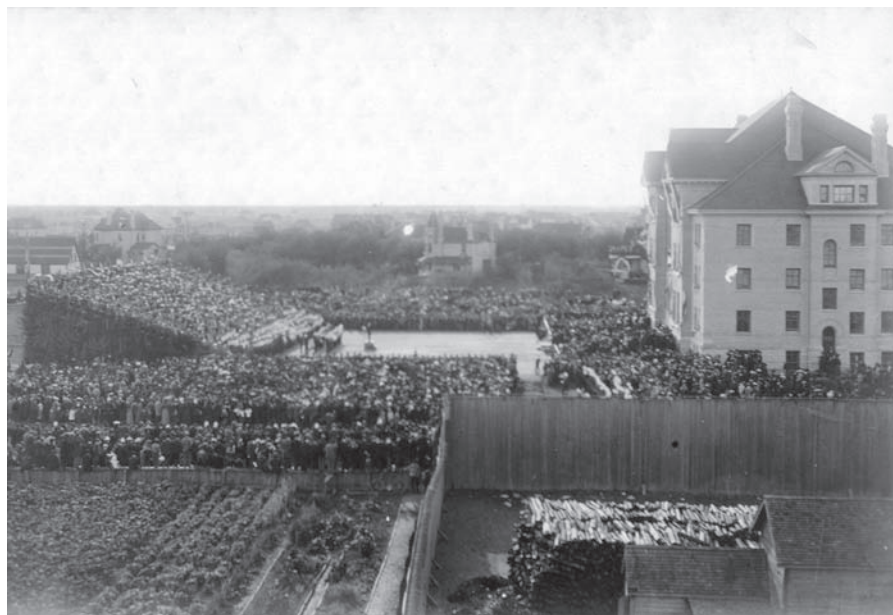
The first Congress of Commonwealth Universities was held in July 1912 in London, England, and spawned the body now known as the Association of Commonwealth Universities, or the ACU. This original meeting involved only fifty-three universities, by invitation, and a key member of the group was somewhat unexpectedly the fledgling University of Manitoba in Winnipeg, Canada.

At this time, the Head of the Department of Physics at the University was Frank Allen who, although a young professor at the time, was appointed by the Province to represent his university and province at the London Congress. While there, Allen led a discussion on the topic "Why should the British Universities refuse reciprocal recognition to Montreal and Toronto (which they had done) and thus drive Canadians by the 100s to Universities in the United States?" The reasons for this situation are not entirely clear at that time, but might relate to the fact that it was not until May 1919 that a papal charter from Pope Benedict XV granted

full autonomy to an independent Catholic university with Université de Montréal as its name. The University of Toronto, on the other hand, founded in 1827, became a collegiate university comprising twelve diverse colleges with much independent autonomy, not unlike the universities of

Oxford and Cambridge in England, but only in 1971 became a truly monolithic university. It is one of two members of the Association of American Universities located outside the United States, and Toronto puts great store in that relationship which still continues.

In 1912, Winnipeg was at the forefront of global change in academia. Frank Allen (1875–1965) had graduated from the University of New Brunswick in



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A standing-room-only crowd attended the 1901 opening of the University of Manitoba's new science building on Broadway [now the site of Memorial Park], officiated by the Duke of York [later King George V].

1895, taken his MA two years later and then received the PhD degree from Cornell in 1902 for a thesis on "The Persistence of Vision in Colour Blind Subjects." He then went to Winnipeg in 1904 as a researcher and teacher of physics. He published more than 300 papers between 1900 and 1950, and was still productive in 1964. He led the Department of Physics as Head for forty years; the longest tenure recorded at the University of Manitoba, and continued to pursue research in optics to the year of his death. It is important to note here that, while in Great Britain for the Congress, Allen also attended the annual meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, the leading world body for promoting and communicating scientific advances at the time. His invitation there was both timely and appropriate

Jasper McKee, a Professor Emeritus of Physics, obtained BSc and PhD degrees from the Queen's University of Belfast, and the official degree of DSc from Birmingham University in 1968. He is the author of six books and several hundred scientific papers. He came to Canada in 1974 as Director of the Cyclotron Laboratory at the University of Manitoba. His current interests include science, communication, and public policy.



University of Winnipeg, WCPI Collection, A1765-57727

Some of the University of Manitoba's first science professors (front row L-R: Swale Vincent, Frank Allen, Reginald Buller, Matthew Parker, Neil Mclean) had their photo taken with students, circa 1912.

as Birmingham, founded in 1900 as one of the newer "Red-Brick" Universities, was actively involved and an English contemporary of Manitoba in Canada.

By an earlier happy circumstance, Winnipeg had already become a prominent player in the Commonwealth Universities arena as a result of hosting the Annual Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1909, and attracting a large audience. The total attendance at the meeting was 1468 which exceeded that of Toronto, 1362 at the first Canadian meeting in 1897. Of the 1468, ninety were women, and seven from countries neither British nor North American.

It now seems remarkable that so many world-famous scientists attended that meeting, including:

- physicist Lord Rayleigh [John William Strutt], Nobel Prize winner for 1904 and Chancellor of Cambridge University
- physicist, physiologist and psychologist Hermann Ludwig Ferdinand von Helmholtz, the first to measure the speed of nerve impulses
- physicist Wilhelm Konrad Roentgen, discoverer of X-rays and winner of the first Nobel Prize in Physics, in 1901
- physicist Robert Andrews Millikan, measurer of the electric charge on the electron and winner of the 1923 Nobel Prize in Physics
- chemist Otto Hahn, discoverer of nuclear fission and winner of the 1944 Nobel Prize in Chemistry
- physicist John Henry Poynting, developer of the Poynting Vector and the Poynting Theorem of energy conservation for electric and magnetic fields

- physicist Sir Joseph John Thomson, discoverer of the electron and winner of the 1906 Nobel Prize in Physics
- Lord Ernest Rutherford, discoverer of the means to change one element into another, and winner of the 1908 Nobel Prize in Chemistry for working out the theory of radioactive disintegration

The stars of the meeting, however, were J. J. Thomson who gave his Presidential Address in the Walker Theatre, and Ernest Rutherford, then Professor of Physics at Manchester University, who gave an inaugural address to the mathematical and physical sciences section of the assembly in the Convocation Hall of Wesley College. Indeed, the foremost physicists of the decade were all in Winnipeg for a short period in 1909.

The success of the 1909 meeting was remarkable and was recognized as such throughout the British Empire. Speaker after speaker at the closing sessions praised the excellence of the hospitality and arrangements, with Sir J. J. Thomson saying, "He wished to thank the citizens of Winnipeg for their generosity and hospitality which had known no bounds," declaring it to have been "the most successful meeting in the history of the Association." For the record, the program included polo matches, garden parties, a train trip for participants to the West Coast of Canada, and a banquet at Lower Fort Garry, accessed by river-boat.

At the first congress in 1912, The University of



University of Winnipeg, WCPI Collection, A0837-25024

Frank Allen (1874–1965), the University's first physicist, *de facto* leader before it had a formal President, and Head of its Physics Department from 1909 to 1949, kept up a daily routine of research work until shortly before his death.



University of Manitoba Archives & Special Collections, A. H. R. Buller Papers

Scientists pose for a photo in front of the University's science building during the well-attended 1909 Winnipeg meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science.

Manitoba did not yet have a President or even a Dean in place, although its first science professors were both installed and well established. Indeed, by then Professor Allen was President in all but title, and represented the Province of Manitoba on many academic and public occasions.

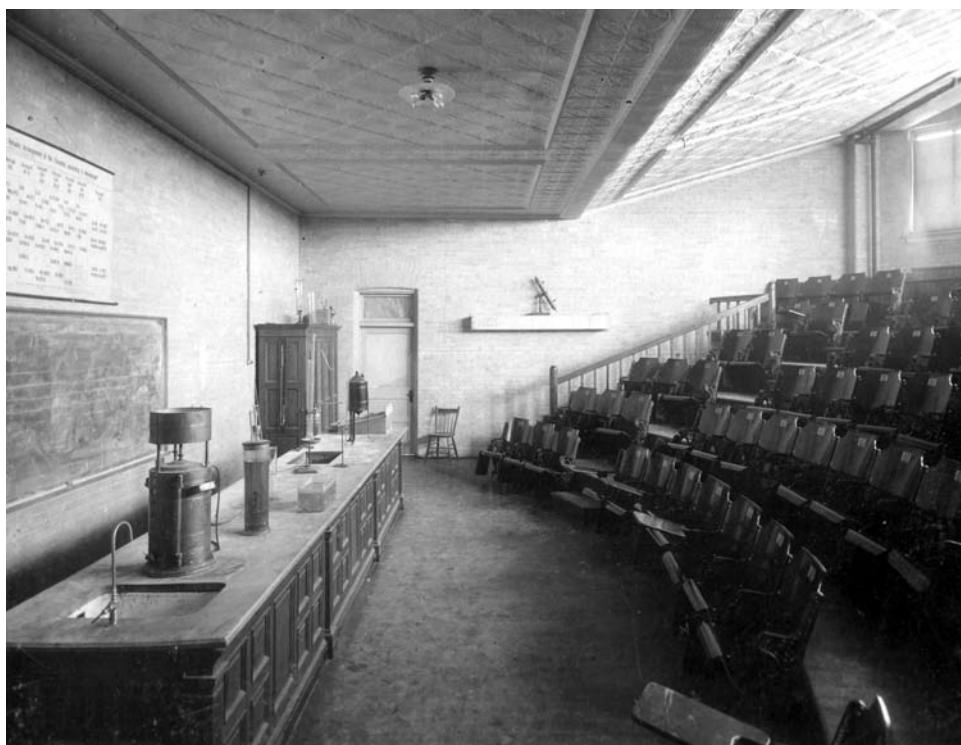
The role of Lord Strathcona was considerable as an evangelist for both the University and the Province of Manitoba. Strathcona, born Donald Alexander Smith in Forres, Scotland, was elected for the riding of Winnipeg in the first general election held in Manitoba in December 1870. In the following year he was elected to the Canadian House of Commons for the Federal riding of Selkirk. He became a leading figure in the Canadian Pacific Railway and had the honour of driving in the last spike, completing the construction of the cross-Canada rail line. Lord Strathcona was appointed High Commissioner to the United Kingdom in 1896, and continued in that role until his death in 1914. He was created Baron Strathcona of Glencoe in the County of Argyll

and Mount Royal in the Province of Quebec in 1897. Indeed, at the age of 94 he hosted a reception in London during the first Congress that started near midnight. What fortitude for the cause!

Now, in 2012, one century on, it is appropriate to remember the enthusiasm and creativity of the founders and staff of an embryonic University of Manitoba in a young city, Winnipeg, in a young country, Canada, with only occasional trains and ships for transport, and a boundless world of their own imagining ahead.

Let us remember and celebrate their vision in 2012 and look forward with confidence to the future. Perhaps a commemorative plaque, or a summer Arts and Science Festival for the public, opening with the Winnipeg Symphony Orchestra playing Brahms' *Academic Festival Overture* on the University lawn, would be appropriate, but that is for

others to decide. It is important to look both backward and forward as the beginning of another academic year approaches. ∞



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A lecture theatre in the University's new science building, circa 1905.

Titanic—The Manitoba Story

by Michael Dupuis
Victoria, British Columbia

The 100th anniversary of the sinking of the RMS *Titanic* took place on 14 April 2012. As a result of meticulous research for *Titanic: The Canadian Story* in 1998, author and journalist Alan Hustak established that 130 Canada-bound passengers and crew were on board the ill-fated White Star liner and only 48 survived. Not as well known is that among the 130, the largest contingent—30 men, women and children—had a Manitoba connection. This article examines the fate of these first-, second-, and third-class passengers as well as the role played by Arthur Ford of the *Winnipeg Telegram* and Herbert Chisholm of the *Manitoba Free Press* in reporting the “story of the century” from New York City.

Thanks to wireless telegraphy, in the early hours of 15 April 1912 the world learned the catastrophic news that the White Star’s giant luxury liner *Titanic* had struck an iceberg on its maiden trans-Atlantic voyage and in less than three hours plunged bow-first to a dark and watery grave. After the Cunard liner *Carpathia* had raced 93 kilometres in a sea dotted with icebergs and rescued *Titanic*’s survivors, subsequent Marconigrams were just as calamitous: less than one-third of the doomed ship’s 2,223 passengers and crew were still alive.

Questions soon arose on both sides of the Atlantic. How was it possible for the “unsinkable” *Titanic* to founder? Why had only 706 people been saved given the ship’s lifeboat capacity for 1,178? Had any of the famous and wealthy American passengers such as multi-millionaire John Jacob Astor, Macy’s owner Isidor Strauss, industrialist Benjamin Guggenheim, and Denver socialite and millionairess Molly Brown perished? For Canadians, what was the fate of railway magnate and CPR President Charles Hays, wealthy Harry Markland Molson of Montreal, Toronto industrialist, military man and yachtsman Major Arthur Peuchen, and Winnipeg millionaire Mark Fortune?¹

These and other questions surrounding the wreck and rescue of the *Titanic* would take several agonising days to answer with absolute certainty because the *Carpathia* was not expected to arrive in New York City until the evening of 18 April. Meanwhile, a press firestorm erupted and over

500 journalists, newspapermen and women, reporters, wire service correspondents, stingers, special writers, telegraph operators and artists began to descend on the east coast metropolis to cover the “story of the century.” Among the more than twenty Canadian news correspondents sent to New York to cover the *Carpathia*’s arrival were 26-year-old Arthur Ford of the *Winnipeg Telegram*, and 30-year-old Herbert Chisholm of the *Manitoba Free Press*.²

When the *Titanic* story broke on 15 April, both Ford and Chisholm were in Ottawa on assignment as Press Gallery reporters. Ford had joined the *Tely* in 1911 and was immediately sent to the nation’s capital as the paper’s parliamentary correspondent. He would later write for the *Ottawa Journal*, the short-lived *Toronto Times* and the *London Free Press*, eventually becoming the London paper’s managing editor, editor-in-chief and *editor emeritus*. During 60 years in journalism, Ford was a confidant of Prime ministers Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Sir Robert Borden, Arthur Meighen, R. B. Bennett and Mackenzie King. Herbert Eustace Maxwell Chisholm was a Scot who came to Canada as a child. He learned journalism under *Manitoba Free Press* editor John W. Dafoe. The “able but erratic” Chisholm rose in the ranks of the *Free Press* to become city editor and later the paper’s Ottawa correspondent.³ In 1926 Chisholm transferred to the federal government’s Department of Trade and Commerce, and from 1940–1945 was the Director of Publicity. Ford and Chisholm were “close friends but keen rivals, carrying on in Ottawa the traditions of competition of the Winnipeg field.”⁴

Since the *Titanic* story was so sensational, it was essential for the *Telegram* and *Free Press* to provide comprehensive reporting of the event. However, coverage of the disaster was equally newsworthy because several prominent Winnipeggers were on the ill-fated liner. Among the first-class voyagers were millionaire Mark Fortune, wife Mary, son Charles, and daughters Ethel, Alice and Mabel. Mr. Fortune was a self-made man who had amassed his money in real estate speculation, buying and selling property in Winnipeg many years before the city became the Chicago of the North. The Fortunes occupied adjoining Upper Deck compartments C23/25/27. The total cost for these staterooms was £263—about \$18,000 in today’s money.

Also travelling first class were three prosperous bachelors with a Winnipeg connection: realtor Thomson Beattie, Union Bank President Thomas McCaffry, and land merchant John Hugo Ross. Beattie had moved to

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Winnipeg in 1896. Several years later, he partnered with future mayor Richard Waugh to open the Haslam Land Company. Thomas McCaffry began his career with the Union Bank in Trois-Rivières, Quebec. He was eventually transferred to a branch in Neepawa, Manitoba, and then in 1897 to Winnipeg. McCaffry moved to the West coast in 1902 to become manager of the Dominion Assay office, but in 1907 returned to the Union Bank as manager of the newly opened Vancouver branch. John Hugo Ross moved to Winnipeg with his parents in 1877. After graduating from Upper Canada College, he returned to Winnipeg in 1894. He established the Hugo Ross Realty Company, and in 1903 helped to found the Winnipeg Real Estate Board. Towards the end of his European holiday with McCaffry and Beattie, Ross fell ill with dysentery. As a result, he had to be carried on board the *Titanic* in a stretcher when passengers embarked in Southampton. Although Ross remained in his room on A Deck throughout the voyage,

he had frequent visits from the Fortune sisters, Beattie, McCaffry and Major Peuchen.

Other first-class passengers with a Winnipeg connection were John James Borebank, George Graham, Austen Partner, Albert Dick, and Hudson Allison. Borebank had moved to Winnipeg from Toronto in 1896. He became a successful real estate agent and remained in the city for 14 years. George Graham was the manager of hardware and crockery for Eaton's Winnipeg store. He had been transferred from Toronto to the Manitoba capital in 1906 to head up the new store's crockery and fine china division. Graham was returning from a spring buying trip in Europe. Austen Partner was an English stockbroker en route to Winnipeg via Toronto. An authority on Canadian investment and securities, Partner was on his seventeenth annual visit to Canada. Albert Dick was a successful building contractor who had been born in Winnipeg but had spent most of his life in Calgary. He and his 17-year-old bride Vera were returning from a belated honeymoon in the Holy Land and Europe. Ironically, they had been married on 31 May 1911—the day the *Titanic* had been launched.

Hudson Allison began his business career with a brokerage firm in Montreal. Later he worked for Sun Life and New York Life insurance companies and was sent to Winnipeg to open up an office. He lived two years in the Manitoba capital and during this time became acquainted with Mark Fortune and Thomson Beattie. After Allison married Bessie Daniels of Boston in 1907, he returned to Montreal to continue work as a stockbroker. Hudson and Bessie booked three cabins on the *Titanic*: one for themselves, a second for nursemaid Sarah Daniels and three-year-old Lorraine Allison, and a third for nursemaid Alice Cleaver and eleven-month-old Trevor Allison.

Second-class passengers with a Manitoba connection were Charles Sedgwick, brothers Stanley, Leonard and Lewis Hickman, Charles Davies, Percy Deacon, William Dibden, and Benjamin Hart, his wife and young daughter. Sedgwick was an English electrical engineer en route to Veracruz, Mexico via New York City. Originally, he was to be accompanied on the *Titanic* by his new bride Adelaide and their 11-year-old nephew Leslie Radcliffe. However, due to the violence surrounding the Mexican Revolution, Charles decided to go alone to Mexico and send for his wife and nephew when it was safe. Eventually Radcliffe became the purser on *Titanic's* sister ship *Olympic*, and in the mid-1920s came to Winnipeg and raised a family in Crescentwood.

Leonard Hickman had emigrated to Neepawa, Manitoba in 1908 and found work as a farm hand in Eden. In early 1912, he returned to England and persuaded his entire family of eleven to return with him to Manitoba. However, due to a coal strike only two of his brothers—Lewis and Stanley—were able to book passage on the *Titanic*. Leonard was returning to Eden and Lewis and Stanley were headed for The Pas. On the same second-class ticket with the Hickman brothers were Charles Davies, Percy Deacon and William Dibden—all headed for Eden. Benjamin Hart



Brian Hubner

A plaque in the Winnipeg City Hall commemorates six local men who died during the sinking of the RMS *Titanic* on 15 April 1912: Thomson Beattie, J. J. Borebank, Charles A. Fortune, Mark Fortune, George E. Graham, and John H. Ross.

was an English builder emigrating to Canada to open a hardware store in Winnipeg. He was accompanied by his wife Esther and seven-year-old daughter Eva.

The only third-class or “steerage” passengers with a Manitoba connection were seven members of the Andersson family. Johan Anders Andersson worked as a farmer in Kia, Ostergotland, Sweden. He was married to Alfrida and they had five children between the ages of two and twelve. Although financially secure, Johan was persuaded to emigrate to Canada by his wife’s sister, Anna, who lived in Sturgeon Creek, St. James, Winnipeg. The entire Andersson family boarded the *Titanic*.

As the rescue ship, *Carpathia* steamed along the eastern seaboard of the United States towards New York City on 18 April, *Manitoba Free Press* reporter Herbert Chisholm was also on his way to New York. Early in the day, he had received instructions from his superiors in Winnipeg to secretly board the next New York-bound train. He had done so leaving Ottawa’s Union Station on an afternoon express. Upon reaching the east-coast metropolis, his plan was to go to Chelsea Pier 54 in Lower Manhattan where the *Carpathia* was expected to dock that evening at 9 o’clock. There Chisholm hoped to learn the fate of several distinguished Winnipeggers who were first-class passengers on the *Titanic*.

Meanwhile, soon after Chisholm’s departure from Ottawa, *Winnipeg Telegram* reporter Arthur Ford discovered from a Press Gallery colleague in the Russell House Hotel that his close friend and rival was on his way to New York. “You and your paper are going to be beautifully scooped,” his fellow journalist, remarked casually.⁵ Ford immediately contacted *Telegram* editor and president Mark Nichols in Winnipeg asking for funds to be wired ahead to New York. Then he rushed to Union Station, caught the 5-o’clock “Soo” train to Montreal, and from there connected to a New York-bound night train. Unfortunately, he arrived in New York too late to cover the *Carpathia*’s landing, so he went to the Murray Hotel where “\$100 had been wired me for expenses,” and then to the *New York Times*.⁶ With the help of the paper’s managing editor Carr Van Anda, Ford located members of the Fortune family at the Belmont Hotel.

Before the *Carpathia* docked, Chisholm had managed to wire a brief story to the *Free Press*. Headlined “New Yorkers Awaited In Great Suspense,” his lead summarized the general feeling in the city about the rescue liner’s impending arrival. “Horror has gripped New York,” he observed, and “the opinion is that it will be a hospital ship which will dock tonight.”⁷ Through the courtesy of the *New York Herald*, Chisholm was “attached to the staff of the New York daily and given an entry to the dock at which the *Carpathia* landed.”⁸ However, even though he was present when *Titanic*’s survivors disembarked the Cunard liner, there was so much confusion that Chisholm could not learn the fate of the Winnipeg passengers other than Mrs. Fortune and her three daughters were safely at the Belmont Hotel.

What happened next was serendipitous for both Chisholm and Ford. At 11 o’clock, Ford was on his way to



G. Goldsborough

The grand two-storey home at 393 Wellington Crescent in Winnipeg was built in 1911 for *Titanic* victim Mark Fortune. The remaining Fortune family members returned to Winnipeg after the disaster and lived there until 1920.

the Belmont to find and interview the Fortune women. “I was hurrying down 42nd Street to the Belmont,” recalled Ford, “when of all people I ran plump into Chisholm. He was the most astounded man in the world. We started a play of wits, and finally Chisholm said: ‘Arthur, what is the use of cutting each other’s throats. Let us work together.’”⁹ Ford agreed and for two days they worked in partnership giving their papers “information Winnipeg particularly desired.”¹⁰

On 19 April, Ford wired three dispatches to the *Telegram*. In the first, headlined “Winnipeg Men, It Is Now Certain, Went To Death When The Riven *Titanic* Took Its Dreadful Plunge”, Ford confirmed that Mark and Charles Fortune, James Borebank, George Graham, Thomson Beattie, and Hugo Ross were lost when the *Titanic* sank. According to the story, “Mrs. Fortune and the girls parted company with Mr. Fortune and Charles when they took the lifeboat while they were speaking to Thomson Beattie after the collision, and he left them to go and dress Hugo Ross who was ill.”¹¹ Ford also reported that “the only others from the Prairie Provinces were Mr. and Mrs. A.A. Dick of Calgary, who were among the rescued.”¹²

In the second dispatch, “Moving Story Of Disaster Told By Fortune Family,” Ford reported details of the disaster provided by Charles Allen, Alice Fortune’s fiancé. In doing so, Allen and Ford, perhaps unwittingly, contributed to the *Titanic*’s mythology. First, Allen mentioned the Fortune women praising the sinking ship’s bandmen who were “wonderfully heroic, they never flinched, thought nothing of self and played until the last piece, the Christian hymn ‘Nearer Thy God To Thee.’”¹³ There is still debate as to whether the final song played by the *Titanic*’s band members was “Nearer, My God, To Thee” or “Autumn.”

Second, Allen supplied details from the Fortune women about what would later become the legend of the man dressed as a woman. Allen told Ford that “among

the hundreds of cases of heroism, one story of a dastardly coward is told by the Misses Fortune. A man put on a woman's coat and donned a veil, and in this way succeeded in getting into their life boat. They did not know his name.¹⁴ In the aftermath of the disaster three male survivors, William Sloper, Bishop Dickinson and William Carter (four if one counts Calgarian Albert Dick), were victimized by this rumour. While it is certain that, the *Titanic's* lifeboats held a boy in a woman's hat and a young man in a woman's shawl (both items were placed on their heads by others), the identity of the man who allegedly escaped by cross-dressing remains a mystery.

Ford's third dispatch, headlined "Maid Who Saved Allison Baby Tells How Family Were Left On The Titanic," reported the loss of Hudson, Bess and Lorraine Allison, and the rescue of baby Trevor. The details were provided by nursemaids Sarah Daniels and Alice Cleaver and given to Ford in an interview by J. Wesley Allison, Hudson's uncle. Unknown to Hudson and Bess, after the *Titanic* collided with the iceberg, Alice Cleaver took Trevor and boarded a lifeboat. Meanwhile, Hudson grabbed up Lorraine and Bess went to look for Trevor. She could not find Trevor and would not leave the ship without him. In the end, Hudson, Bess and Lorraine perished when the *Titanic* sank.

Chisholm also "scored for the *Free Press*. In a 19 April story headlined "Calgary Man Was Pushed Into Boat," he provided an interview with newlyweds Albert and Vera Dick of Calgary in their Belmont Hotel room. Mr. Dick described how, when the *Titanic* struck the iceberg, "the shock was not very great. It was a sort of grinding with a noise like low thunder."¹⁵ 'Bert' Dick then explained how he and Vera eventually left their room and went to the upper deck "and we met Mr. Andrews, the designer of the ship... He told us to go down to our cabins and get our life belts on."¹⁶ Eventually they lined up to board one of the life boats. "Our boat was the sixth, and there were few women by the rail, which was lowered away. Mrs. Dick came forward, and they started pulling her to the boat and away from me. She did not want to go without me, but I took her to the rail and kissed her goodbye. Then an officer shoved me on board, and we were lowered away."¹⁷ Although Albert Dick's recounting of events surrounding his departure from the ship was accurate, upon returning to Calgary he was considered a coward because he had survived and many women and children hadn't. Furthermore, his reputation was sullied by the rumour that he had dressed as a woman to board one of the life boats.

What neither Ford nor Chisholm reported was the fate of the second- and third-class passengers with a Manitoba connection. Charles Sedgwick died when the *Titanic* foundered. His body was never recovered. The Hickman brothers and their friends Charles Davies, Percy Deacon and William Dibden also perished. Only the body of Lewis was recovered (by the *Mackay-Bennett*) and returned for burial in Riverside Cemetery in Neepawa.¹⁸ Benjamin Hart died in the sinking and his body was also never recovered. Both Esther and Eva Hart survived with




Manitobans As We See 'Em, 1908-1909

Real estate agent John James "Jack" Borebank (1870–1912), although generally described as a Winnipegger, had been living in Toronto for over a year by the time of the *Titanic* sinking.

Eva eventually writing memoirs of her experiences and becoming one of the most famous of the *Titanic* survivors. According to Hustak, "She didn't get to Winnipeg, where she was bound as a child, until 1980, where she visited as a delegate to a convention."¹⁹ None of the bodies of the seven-member Andersson family were recovered.²⁰ As a postscript to their tragic story; on 20 April, the *Free Press* published a large photograph of Mr. and Mrs. Andersson and their five children.²¹

The bodies of Mark and Charles Fortune, Hugo Ross and James Borebank were never recovered. All either drowned or froze to death in the North Atlantic's minus 1°C water. The bodies of Thomas McCaffry and George Graham were recovered by the *Mackay-Bennett*. When taken from the water, McCaffry's body was identified by the monogram "T.C.Mc." embroidered on his underwear.²² He was buried in the Notre Dame des Neiges Cemetery in Montreal, Quebec. Graham's final resting place was the Harriston Cemetery in St. Mary's, Ontario. In Graham's memory, the Union Bank paid for a large granite tombstone. As for Thomson Beattie, a month after the disaster occurred, the liner *Oceanic* recovered his badly decomposed body in *Titanic's* drifting Collapsible A Englehart raft.²³ Beattie was buried at sea and is remembered on a stone in the family plot in Fergus, Ontario. Hudson Allison's body was recovered by the *Mackay-Bennett* and was laid to rest in Maple Ridge Cemetery in Chesterville, Ontario.²⁴

What was the response in Winnipeg to the deaths of so many prominent citizens? On 17 April, flags flew at half-mast from civic buildings, and on 19 April, Eaton's closed its store at 1 p.m. to honour George Graham.²⁵ Three days later, Winnipeg city council voted to erect a memorial plaque to six of the victims. Located in City Hall it reads: *Erected by the People of Winnipeg in memory of Mark Fortune, John Hugo Ross, Thomson Beattie, Charles A. Fortune, George E. Graham, J. J. Borebank. They with 1,484 others died when the S.S. Titanic foundered in the mid-Atlantic, April 15, 1912. They died that women and children may live.* It is also possible that streets were named after several of the victims mentioned in the memorial plaque.²⁶ In addition, the Fortune family donated the chimes in Knox United Church in memory of Mark and Charles. Finally, on 5 May the orchestra from the Royal Alexandra Hotel and the Winnipeg City Band gave a concert at the Walker Theatre to raise funds for the families of the *Titanic's* bandmen "who did so much to allay the fears of the survivors and make the last moments of the victims sweeter."²⁷

As for reporters Ford and Chisholm, Ford recalled in his memoirs that after their final dispatches were wired to Winnipeg they "then took another day off to see the sights of New York with the little money we had left, before returning to Ottawa satisfied that we had the opportunity of covering one of the greatest stories of all time."²⁸ 

Notes

1. It can be argued that there is one more Manitoban with a direct connection to the *Titanic*. Two days after the liner foundered, the *Toronto World* reported that J. P. Alexander, former Manitoba MLA and registrar of the Boissevain Land Titles Office, dropped dead of a heart attack when he heard the news of the disaster. According to *Titanic* researcher Alan Hustak, confirmation of the death of his friend Hugo Ross contributed to Alexander's death which occurred after he sat in a barber's chair (*Titanic: The Canadian Story*, p. 117).
2. The other reporters represented daily papers in Ottawa, Toronto and Montreal. Among these correspondents, Grattan O'Leary (*Ottawa Journal*), Harry Hindmarsh (*Toronto Daily Star*), Mary Dawson Snider (*Toronto Evening Telegram*), and George Macdonald (Canadian Press) would go on to distinguished careers in journalism. However, none would ever again report a story of such interest and magnitude.
3. Cited in O. Mary Hill, *Canada's Salesman to the World: The Department of Trade and Commerce, 1892–1939*, p. 349.
4. Arthur Ford, *As The World Wags On*, p. 78.
5. Ford, *As The World*, p. 77.
6. Ford, *As The World*, p. 78. In a *Winnipeg Telegram* story published 19 April and headlined "Reaches New York In Drizzly Rain", mention is made of a *Winnipeg Telegram* reporter who boarded the tugboat *H.O. Raymond* in New York City's harbour and made contact by megaphone with *Titanic* survivors on the *Carpathia* as it neared Battery Park. Since Ford arrived too late in New York to meet the *Carpathia*, the *Winnipeg Telegram* reporter must have been a freelance journalist or stringer employed by the *Telegram* to cover the ship's arrival.
7. *Manitoba Free Press*, 19 April 1912.
8. *Manitoba Free Press*, 22 April 1912.
9. Ford, *As The World*, p. 79.
10. Ford, *As The World*, p. 80.
11. *Winnipeg Telegram*, 20 April 1912.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.* In an interview with Chisholm on the same day, Vera Dick also stated that as the lifeboat she was in pulled away from the *Titanic*, the band was near the rail and playing "Nearer My God To Thee." *Manitoba Free Press*, 20 April 1912.
14. *Winnipeg Telegram*, 20 April 1912. The Fortune women were in Lifeboat 11.
15. *Manitoba Free Press*, 20 April 1912.
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*
18. The cable ship *Mackay-Bennett* was one of four vessels chartered by the White Star Line to search for bodies from the *Titanic*. The recovery ship sailed from Halifax on 17 April and returned on 30 April. Her crew eventually recovered 306 bodies and buried 116 at sea.
19. Hustak, *Titanic*, p. 151.
20. Another family with a Canadian connection suffered an even greater loss. Sometime after 1900 Englishman John Sage and his son George came to Canada where they worked as dining-car attendants for the Canadian Pacific Railway. In 1911, John Sage deposited money on a citrus farm in Jacksonville, Florida and sent George ahead to manage the property. Meanwhile John returned to England and booked third-class passage on the *Titanic* for his wife Annie and their seven remaining children: their destination was Florida. All nine members of the Sage family were lost in the *Titanic* disaster, and only the body of 13-year-old William was recovered.
21. Between 16 and 20 April, the *Free Press* published photos of the Fortune family members (both saved and lost), Ross, Beattie, Borebank, Graham, McCaffry, and Albert and Vera Dick. The *Winnipeg Telegram* published photographs of Fortune and Ross on 16 April, and the next day of Beattie. Also, on 19 April the *Telegram* featured a photo gallery of the six members of the Fortune family who had been on board the *Titanic*. To emphasize their wealth and status, the *Telegram* included in the gallery a photograph of the Fortunes' 36-room, Tudor-style Crescentwood mansion.
22. Lanny Boutin, *Titanic: The Canadian Connection*, p. 106.
23. There is good evidence that Beattie died within hours of the White Star liner's sinking. *Titanic's* fifth officer Harold Lowe was in charge of Lifeboat 14, and after the ship foundered he was the only officer who returned to pick up survivors. According to Hustak, Lowe spotted survivors in Collapsible A and rescued them. However, he left the bodies of three dead men including Thomson Beattie in Collapsible A and then set it adrift. Beattie's death from exposure was described in detail by Ole Abelseth, a 26-year-old Norwegian who was with Beattie in Collapsible A before Lowe arrived. (Hustak, *Titanic*, pp. 108-109) Beattie was identified by his watch, papers in his overcoat, and labels on his clothing, which showed his name and that of the dealer. See Boutin, *Titanic: The Canadian Connection*, p. 123.
24. The bodies of Bess and Lorraine Allison were never found. Trevor Allison was raised by his aunt and uncle. He died at 18 in Maine from ptomaine poisoning and was buried next to his father in Chesterville.
25. Boutin, *Titanic: The Canadian Connection*, p. 110.
26. Hustak (*Titanic*, p. 139) claimed that "streets were named after each of the dead men" but this is misleading. Fortune Street *was* named after Mark (and possibly Charles) Fortune, Borebank Street after James Borebank, and Hugo Street after Hugo Ross, but no street was named for Thomson Beattie or George Graham. There is a Graham Avenue bordering the south side of Eaton's store but it was named thirty years before the *Titanic* disaster for fur trader James Allan Graham. Museum curator Sharon Reilly has suggested that Fortune, Borebank and Hugo streets were named *before* the *Titanic* disaster because these three men were involved in Winnipeg real estate. See "Tied to the *Titanic*" (*Manitoba Free Press*, 12 February 2011). In support of Reilly's suggestion, at least for Hugo Ross, city records indicate Hugo Street was created before 1908.
27. Cited in Jim Blanchard, *Winnipeg 1912*, p. 98.
28. Ford, *As The World*, p. 80.

Ralph Connor House: National Historic Site of Canada

by Parks Canada
Winnipeg, Manitoba

Built by the Reverend Charles Gordon, this large, well-appointed house reflects his very public position as the best-selling Canadian author of the early 20th century, and his prominence as one of Canada's best known writers at that time. Thirteen of the twenty-two Christian adventure novels Gordon wrote under the pen name of Ralph Connor, many of them exciting, fast-paced stories preaching a message of salvation and hope, were published while he was living in this house. The house represents the public face of the Reverend Gordon, a leading Presbyterian churchman who for twenty-three years used the house as a manse from which he undertook many important activities in the area of social activism.

Minister, author, and social activist, Charles Gordon's influence on Canadian society and literature was unparalleled in his time. Born in Glengarry County, Ontario in 1860, Gordon was the son of a Presbyterian minister; he



G. Goldsborough

In October 2011, the former Winnipeg home of Rev. Charles W. Gordon (Ralph Connor) was designated a National Historic Site.



Parks Canada

The plaque was unveiled at Ralph Connor House by (L-R): Joyce Bateman, Member of Parliament for Winnipeg South-Centre; Sylvia Marsh, President of the University Women's Club of Winnipeg; Dr. John Lennox, University Professor Emeritus of English at York University; Robert Darling, Chair of the Friends of Ralph Connor House; John Gordon, great grandson of Charles W. Gordon; and Dr. Robert O'Kell, Manitoba representative of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada.

studied at the University of Toronto, at Knox Theological College, and at the University of Edinburgh before his own ordination in 1890. Gordon's brand of activism was rooted in the social gospel movement, which swept through Protestant churches in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. It promoted a Church that was involved in people's social as well as their spiritual well-being. Gordon himself championed labour issues, immigration and settlement issues, and the temperance movement.

Intimately linked with his deeply held social convictions were the themes of his many books and articles. Writing under the pen name Ralph Connor, Gordon's literary career encompassed twenty-two novels, as well as numerous works of non-fiction. Gordon used writing as an extension of his ministry, and marshalled literature into the services of his energetic brand of Christianity. Characterized by themes of morality and justice, and written as gripping adventures set in Western Canada, Gordon's books were immensely popular at home and abroad; indeed, over five million copies of his novels were sold, making him the most successful Canadian writer of the early 20th century.

It was in this house that Gordon wrote many of his hugely popular and influential books, and it was here

Plaque text

Ralph Connor House

Built for the Reverend Charles Gordon in 1913–1914, this large, stately residence reflects his position as a leading Presbyterian clergyman and the best-selling Canadian author of the early 20th century. Thirteen of the 22 Christian adventure novels he wrote under the pen name Ralph Connor, many of them exciting, fast-paced stories preaching a message of salvation and hope, were published while he was living here. This house also represents the public face of Gordon, who for 23 years used it as a manse from which he pursued parish duties and social activism.

Maison Ralph Connor

Construite pour le révérend Charles Gordon en 1913-1914, cette prestigieuse demeure témoigne de la position sociale de cet éminent ecclésiastique presbytérien, le plus grand auteur à succès du Canada au début du XX^e siècle. Lorsqu'il vivait ici, il publia 13 des 22 romans d'aventures d'inspiration chrétienne, écrits sous le pseudonyme de Ralph Connor. Plusieurs de ses récits, passionnants et très rythmés, livrent un message d'espoir et de salut. Cette résidence représente l'image publique de Gordon, qui s'en servit comme presbytère pendant 23 ans et y exerça d'importantes activités paroissiales et militantes.

that he actively pursued his work as a minister and as an advocate of many social causes. The house at 54 West Gate was built in 1913–14 to the designs of one of Winnipeg's most successful architects, George W. Northwood, in Armstrong's Point on the Assiniboine River, an enclave of well-to-do houses developed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The house features details so beloved at the time, such as Tudor stacked chimneys and ornamental windows, executed in a rich red brick with contrasting warm, Manitoba Tyndall stone for trim, quoins, mullions and high foundations. The interior has a welcoming central hall, an ornamental stairway, and rich yet restrained woodwork. ☞

Thanks ...

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Queen Elizabeth's Diamond Jubilee in Manitoba

by Gordon Goldsborough
Winnipeg, Manitoba

This year marks the 60th anniversary of the ascension to the British throne of Elizabeth Alexandra Mary Windsor, also known as Queen Elizabeth II. A long reign by any standard, our Queen is now the second longest-serving British monarch in history, bested only by the record of 63 years, 216 days set by her great-great-grandmother Victoria (1837–1901). In commemoration of the Diamond Jubilee, this article summarizes some of the connections—it makes no claim to be comprehensive—between Her Majesty the Queen and Manitoba.

Manitoba Organizations with Royal Prefix

Institutions wishing to have the word “Royal” in their names are evaluated by the Department of Canadian Heritage before a recommendation is made to the Governor General. The decision on whether the prefix is granted is ultimately made by the Queen. To be given the prefix, an institution must be: a) preeminent in its field, b) in a secure financial position, c) established for at least 25 years, d) devoted to artistic, scientific, charitable, or sport objectives, e) a non-profit organization under the Income Tax Act, and f) a provider of services on at least a regional basis. Institutions retain the prefix beyond the life of the monarch who conferred it.

Five Manitoba institutions have received the Royal prefix from Queen Elizabeth II: Royal Winnipeg Ballet (1953), Royal Manitoba Winter Fair (1970), Royal Manitoba Yacht Club (1981), Royal Military Institute of Manitoba (1982), and Royal Manitoba Theatre Centre (2010).

Founded in 1939 by British dancer/choreographers Gweneth Lloyd (1901–1993) and Betty Farrally (1915–1989), the Winnipeg Ballet would become Canada's premier ballet company and, in time, the longest continuously operating ballet company in North America.

The Royal Manitoba Winter Fair began in March 1908, building on the success of summer fairs that had been held annually at Brandon since 1882. They operated independently until 1967 when the two fairs were amalgamated under the umbrella of the Provincial Exhibition of Manitoba. The winter fair received the prefix during the 1970 Royal Visit and the first fair bearing the new name was held in March 1971.



G. Goldsborough

A statue of Queen Elizabeth II in the gardens adjacent to Government House was sculpted by Manitoba artist Leo Mol in commemoration of Her Majesty's address to the Legislative Assembly during the provincial centennial in 1970. Originally situated at the Centennial Concert Hall, the statue was relocated to its present site in 2010. It was unveiled by the Queen and Prince Philip, during a Royal Visit to Winnipeg, on 3 July 2010.

The Manitoba Yacht Club was founded in September 1956, making good on a Second World War boast that “all the best sailors came from the land of the wheat fields.” Its first Commodore was Gilbert M. Eaton, the Winnipeg scion of retail merchant-king Timothy Eaton. It gained the Royal



Archives of Manitoba, 1970 Royal Visit Albums, C-70-1900

Queen Elizabeth II tours a Hutterite colony at Benard during her 1970 visit to Manitoba.

prefix in 1981. The Club marked Her Majesty's Diamond Jubilee with a 20-boat flotilla that sailed from its clubhouse along the Red River, north of Winnipeg, to the Legislative Building on the Assiniboine River.

Known as the United Services Institute of Manitoba when it formed in late 1945 as a successor to the Western Canada Military Institute, membership was open to officers and ex-officers of the three armed services. Its aim was to "encourage, promote and further interest in Canadian military issues." After gaining the Royal prefix in 1982, the organization became the Royal Military Institute of Manitoba.

The newest Royal prefix in Manitoba builds on Winnipeg's long traditions in live theatre. Starting with amateur dramatic societies formed before Manitoba joined Confederation and continuing through the Winnipeg Little Theatre (formed in 1921), the Manitoba Theatre Centre was founded in 1958 under Artistic Director John Hirsch (1930–1989) and Business Manager Tom Hendry. As the country's first Anglophone regional theatre, the MTC "led to the establishment of theatre companies in every major city in Canada."

Manitoba Organizations with Royal Patronage

Institutions with Royal patronage do not necessarily bear the word "Royal" in their names. They make application to Canadian Heritage which provides a recommendation to the Governor General who, in turn, makes recommendation to Her Majesty. Criteria used in making these recommendations include: a) the institution should have been in operation for at least five years, b) it should be in a secure financial position, c) the patronage should not be associated with any fundraising campaign,

d) the basic objectives of the institution should be worthy of encouragement, and e) the institution should be national in scope. Institutions do not retain patronage beyond the life of the Royal family member who conferred it.

At present, there are several national institutions operating in Manitoba for which Queen Elizabeth II is the patron, but only one is based in the province: St. John's Ravenscourt School, for which patronage was conferred in 1981. It was formed in 1950 through the merger of St. John's College School, with roots going back to the 1820s, and Ravenscourt School, founded in 1929. The private school occupies a campus in south Winnipeg.

Royal Visits to Manitoba

Her Majesty has visited Manitoba six times, once as Princess (1951) and five times as Queen (1959, 1970, 1984, 2002, and 2010).

The first Royal visit as Queen, from June to August 1959, involved stops in all provinces and territories. A more prolonged visit to Manitoba occurred in July 1970, for the 100th anniversary of the province's entry into Confederation. Communities visited included Churchill, Thompson, Gillam, Flin Flon, Norway House, Swan River, The Pas, Dauphin, Clear Lake, Brandon, CFB Shilo, Portage la Prairie, Oakville, Winnipeg, Carman, Beausejour, and Lower Fort Garry. The Queen and Prince Philip visited Canada in 1984 but the Queen alone came to Manitoba for visits to Winnipeg, Dauphin, Brandon, and Dugald. Prince Philip visited Manitoba alone in 1997 to see damage resulting from the "Flood of the Century."

The latest two Royal visits to Manitoba have been of relative short duration. The Golden Jubilee visit occurred on 8–9 October 2002 with stops at several sites in Winnipeg: 17 Wing Winnipeg, The Forks, Minto Armoury, and the Legislative Building. In 2010, a brief but busy visit to Winnipeg on 3 July included Her Majesty being the first passenger to arrive at the new James A. Richardson International Airport. This visit also included the sealing



Archives of Manitoba, 1970 Royal Visit Albums, C-70-1895

In 1970, Queen Elizabeth II travelled by train through southern Manitoba with her husband Prince Philip and two eldest children Prince Charles and Princess Anne, seen here at Brandon.

of a time capsule addressed to the youth of the future. In addition, the Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh attended a luncheon at Government House, unveiled the cornerstone for the future Canadian Museum of Human Rights, and attended a multicultural concert at The Forks.

Commemorative Place Names

There are several places in Manitoba whose name derives from a member of the Royal family but not necessarily Queen Elizabeth II. For example, Royal Road in Portage la Prairie (and probably other Royal Roads elsewhere in Manitoba) was named in 1939 during a visit by King George V and Queen Elizabeth I.

Some structures named for the reigning monarch no longer exist or have been renamed. The Princess Elizabeth Hospital, opened in Winnipeg in 1950, is now part of the Riverview Health Centre. Princess Elizabeth Public School, opened at Shilo, Manitoba in 1951, was later closed and demolished in early 2011. Winnipeg's Queen Elizabeth School, now a French immersion facility, was renamed École Henri-Bergeron in 1998.

The Queen Elizabeth II Music Building is situated at Brandon University. A section of Main Street in Winnipeg was named Queen Elizabeth Way in commemoration of the 2002 Royal Visit. There is a Queen Elizabeth Avenue in Erickson, Manitoba.

Royal Honours

Queen Elizabeth II was the first inductee into the Manitoba Order of the Buffalo Hunt, predecessor to the Order of Manitoba. Inaugurated in 1957, the Order recognized people who, though not necessarily residing in Manitoba, were "known to be kindly disposed towards Manitoba."

The Order of the British Empire (OBE) was the highest honour that could be conferred on a Canadian citizen, prior to the establishment of the Order of Canada in 1967, typically for exemplary military service, but sometimes for civilian activities. Queen Elizabeth II has made a few



Archives of Manitoba, 1970 Royal Visit Albums, C-70-1896

Queen Elizabeth II inspected Canadian troops at CFB Shilo during her 1970 visit to Manitoba.



G. Goldsborough

Commemorative ninebark. During the 2010 Royal Visit to Winnipeg, Queen Elizabeth II planted an Amber Jubilee Ninebark (*Physocarpus opulifolius* 'Jefam') in the garden adjacent to Government House. The shrub, developed by Jeffries Nurseries of Portage la Prairie in honour of the Queen's Diamond Jubilee, was among five million trees planted as part of Manitoba's "Trees for Tomorrow" program between 2008 and 2012.

Manitobans (or former Manitobans) members of the OBE. Canadian can no longer hold knightships but at least four Manitobans have been inducted into the Royal Victorian Order, the highest British honour for which Canadians are eligible. Most of the RVO appointments have been made during Royal Visits.

At notable milestones during the reign of Queen Elizabeth II, the Canadian federal government has given commemorative medals to students, members of the military, fire and police services, and others in recognition of their meritorious public service. Statistics on the number of Manitobans who have received these medals are incomplete, but several received the Coronation Medal in 1953, at least 959 received a Silver Jubilee Medal in 1977 and at least 1,672 received a Golden Jubilee Medal in 2002. (Lists of recipients are available on the MHS website.) This year, several Manitobans have already received the Diamond Jubilee Medal but a total will not be known until 2013.

Miscellaneous Connections

Queen Elizabeth II owns at least three paintings by Manitoba artist Wilfred Roy Corbett (1910–1997), two of which hang in Windsor Castle. ✎

Queen Elizabeth and Manitoba

Are there other connections between Queen Elizabeth II and Manitoba? Visit the MHS website:

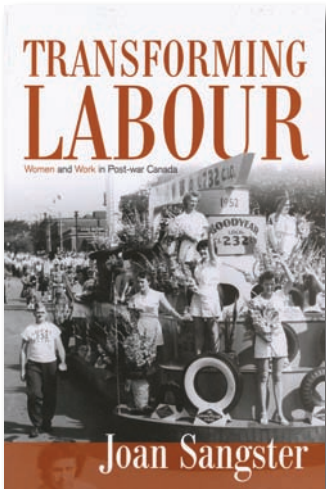
www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/diamondjubilee

Reviews

Joan Sangster, *Transforming Labour: Women and Work in Post-war Canada*

University of Toronto Press, 2010, 416 pages

ISBN 978-0-8020-9652-4, \$35.00 (paperback)



The relationship between women and work in the decades following the Second World War is an ongoing area of research and debate among historians of women in Canada. Did the post-war years represent a regression from the so-called workplace gains made by women during the war, or was there more continuity than previously suggested? Did women's paid labour decline after the war, or rather, was it transformed? Such questions are part of

the backdrop to Joan Sangster's *Transforming Labour: Women and Work in Post-war Canada*, a book which received honourable mention for the 2011 Sir John A. Macdonald Prize for the best scholarly book in Canadian history.

In this beautifully written and complex study, Sangster sets out to question the impact of the "Fordist accord" on women's labour in the twenty-five years that followed the Second World War. She defines the Fordist accord as an "accommodation" between the state, capital and labour that ensured productivity and profits for business while also protecting wages and stability for workers. This accord began to break down following the global oil crisis of the 1970s. Sangster proposes that, contrary to male-centred labour studies that view a disjuncture between the "golden age" of the accord and the difficult years after its demise, for women workers the period was more one of continuity whereby the benefits of unionization were not equally experienced. This research question also reflects Sangster's contribution to a revisionist view of the post-war era that departs from prevalent understandings of a conservative, domestic norm for women in the 1950s and 1960s.

Another goal of the book is to reaffirm—in response to some postmodern theorists who declared otherwise—the usefulness of women's material "experience" as a tool of analysis. Writing as a "feminist historical materialist," Sangster assumes the "intersectionality" of class, race and gender, yet firmly reminds us that formation of class is gendered and racialized. At times one wonders if Sangster "doth protest too much" in countering postmodern analyses, since at least this reader needed no defensive rationale for the value of women's lived experience as an ever-present dialectic between agency and subordination.

At times heavy theoretical reading, the book also offers many engaging stories of women at work in an era when gender ideals and ideas were highly contested.

After an introduction that lays out Sangster's research questions and the theoretical issues that frame her inquiry, the first chapter provides an overview of women's labour-force participation in the post-war period and examines to what extent the "representation" of women's work in the press was or was not reflected in the "realities" of the workplace. Sangster traces the trends and patterns of this era that saw an overall increase in female workforce participation, especially in the service sector, and that notably included more married women than before. The merits of this development was debated in the press, be it women's magazines, union newspapers, or business reporting. Focussing most of her analysis on the union press, Sangster concludes that, even while arguing for better wages for both sexes, unions maintained prevailing ideas about the gendered division of labour, and also about a family model dependent on the male-breadwinner wage.

Each of the next five chapters have a unique focus, exploring a particular group of women workers in a specific workplace and regional setting. Chapter two examines the important issue of immigration and ethnicity in the post-war workplace with a case study of refugee women from Europe working under two-year contracts in Quebec's textile industry, specifically the Dionne Spinning Mill. The story of these immigrant workers represents the interplay of union opposition to the "unfree" nature of their contracts, the desire of business owners to be both charitable and profitable, and the agency of women themselves in seeking to improve their lives.

Female agency is less evident in the third chapter, which examines the impact of Cold War politics on three unionized labour sectors—fur, electrical, and textiles. Women workers here appear mainly as pawns in the struggle between leftist and anti-communist union leaders. This theme continues partly in Chapter four, in which Sangster profiles women retail workers at Montreal's Dupuis Frères department store, a context in which religion, nation and owner paternalism confronted an emerging sense of workers' rights. Chapter five addresses an ostensibly more positive outcome of the Fordist accord in terms of the new access of women workers to arbitration for labour grievances, many of which were gendered. Here the workplace focus is on meatpacking plants and Bell Telephone.

Chapter six importantly acknowledges the limits of Fordism in Sangster's attention to women's work in

Aboriginal communities on the prairies, while Chapter seven takes us into the era of second wave feminism as it analyzes letters written by women workers to the Royal Commission on the Status of Women beginning in the late 1960s. In the end, as Sangster's conclusion indicates, the post-war era is one of "contradictions" for women workers, who likely thrived in many ways in new labour settings, even while the debates and ideologies about their "right to work" and their "workers' rights" swirled around them.

Sangster notes at the outset that her focus is on formalized waged labour, as opposed to women's unpaid, voluntary and informal work. Certain gaps in the range of women's work will be noticed by most readers, and is acknowledged by the author. Women who were teachers, nurses, professionals, domestic workers, or were self-employed, are largely absent from this study. Given the

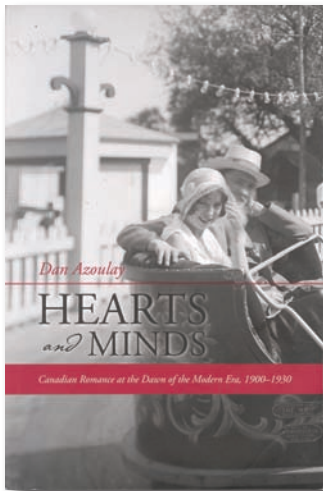
book's emphasis on women workers within unions, it would be helpful to know early on how many women workers in Canada were unionized during this period—likely a small percentage of the overall female workforce—and not just what percentage of union membership was female. This demonstrates just how much more work needs to be done to understand the remarkable history of women workers over the past six decades. Sangster's book nevertheless fills an important gap in our historical understanding of gendered and racialized labour during the post-war era; it also provides further evidence that women did not all "go home" after the war, but were active and activist in many workplaces.

Marlene Epp
Conrad Grebel University College
University of Waterloo

Dan Azoulay, *Hearts and Minds: Canadian Romance at the Dawn of the Modern Era, 1900–1930*

Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2011, 289 pages

ISBN 978-1-55238-520-3, \$34.95 (paperback)



In this age of reality television where such shows as "Bachelors" attract large audiences, the concept of traditional romance involving marriage-oriented men and women seems part of a distant past. However, in his recently published *Hearts and Minds*, historian Dan Azoulay delivers a very lively and creatively researched examination of Canadian romance for the period 1900–1930. In the burgeoning field of gender history, Professor Azoulay

has taken Canadian historiography in this area of social history forward, while providing the reader with a very accessible portrayal of what romance was like for Canadians a century ago.

Hearts and Minds explores key aspects of romance for these years. Specifically it addresses what average Canadians sought in a marriage partner; the specific rules they were expected to follow and in most cases did pursue in their romantic endeavours; the many hardships they endured along the way; and how the defining event of that era—the Great War—influenced the pursuit of romance. In framing this discussion, Azoulay explores a variety of primary sources, but he particularly focuses upon letters to the "correspondence columns" of two leading

periodicals of the era: Montreal's *Family Herald and Weekly Star* and Winnipeg's *Western Home Monthly*. While these two publications emanated from two major urban centers, the source of the correspondents is a reminder of how rural Canadian society remained during the first three decades of the past century.

Although Azoulay's comprehensive examination of over twenty thousand letters to the periodicals ultimately allows him to provide the student of romance with considerable insight into the practice of romance from both a male and female perspective, there seem to be Canadian communities excluded from the discourse. Quebec's profile on the romantic scene is clearly underrepresented, as are the many ethnic communities who arrived in the Canadian west prior to the First World War. Yet, to be fair, the reader does come away with considerable insight into the romantic practices of Western Canadian bachelors struggling to establish farms and ranches throughout the western provinces.

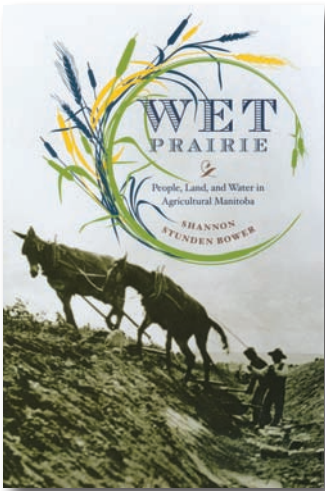
A highlight of this study is an excellent chapter entitled "Love And War" which examines and analyses the impact of the First World War upon the practice of romance. We often forget that between 1914 and 1918, some sixty thousand Canadians served overseas with the Canadian Expeditionary Force. In terms of romantic opportunities during the war years, the main beneficiaries in Canada were single men who did not, or could not, enlist. With so many men going off to war, a dearth of eligible bachelors emerged, and soon the number of single women far outnumbered the number of single men, an imbalance accentuated by the rising number of war widows. This

meant that any remaining bachelors (provided, of course, they were not considered to be “shirkers”) suddenly found themselves in high demand. Azoulay also provides equal treatment of the difficulties surrounding romance for the soldiers embroiled in the horrors of life at the front in Europe. In this chapter the author successfully argues that the First World War was, in many ways, the birthplace of modern culture: “of a more liberal, secular, rebellious and experimental mindset” that gained momentum during the 1920s.

Azoulay’s strong use of primary sources is complemented by the generous integration of period photographs primarily from the collections of Library and Archives Canada. This winning combination of text and visuals is a tribute to the editors at the University of Calgary Press who continue to produce an impressive body of historic scholarship dealing with a wide variety of topics of interest to both the scholar and lay community.

Greg Thomas
Winnipeg

**Shannon Stunden Bower, *Wet Prairie: People, Land and Water in Agricultural Manitoba*
Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2011, 264 pages
ISBN 978-0-7748-1853-7, \$34.95 (paperback)**



Seasonal flooding has been much on the minds of southern Manitobans in recent years. Indeed, since the very beginning of the European settlement period in the valleys of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, residents have lived in the reappearing shadow of the late stages of Glacial Lake Agassiz, of which Lakes Winnipeg, Manitoba, Winnipegosis and Dauphin, may be considered lasting remnants. The unwelcome and regular reappearance

of this shadow is the central fact underlying the final conclusions reached by Shannon Bower in her valuable book on the role of water in Manitoba’s economic and social history.

Bower’s interpretation is developed largely with reference to events taking place after the sudden and rather unexpected achievement by Manitoba of provincial status in 1870. Her main theme is that of the effort by agricultural pioneers and their descendants to establish suitable drainage regimes appropriate to the fluctuating geographic circumstances, natural and human, of southern Manitoba. Drainage ditches may seem a rather mundane focus of attention but readers will quickly be drawn into the story and warm to its relevance. The story takes on dramatic qualities, as “lowlanders” are pitted against “highlanders.” The reference is not to some residual social conflict between factions of some of Manitoba’s well-known Scottish pioneer stocks, but rather to those, of whatever ethnic background, who found themselves farming on higher ground as opposed to lower ground.

The attempt to establish drainage systems, with the support of federal, provincial and municipal agencies, often found farmers opposing each other based on the geographic elevation of their properties. Highlanders did not want to pay for improvements which were of no immediate interest to them, while lowlanders felt that some of their problems originated in erosion or in the improvements originating on farms on higher ground, further up the watershed. The story of these contending points of view is often cast in terms of what Bower calls “divergent colloquial liberalisms” (p. 166), which is to say differing understandings of the appropriate interplay of individual land rights with government tax or environmental policies. These conflicts are first described for the period from 1870 down to the passage of the important Federal North West Irrigation Act of 1894 and Manitoba’s Drainage Act of 1895. From the standpoint of water management, we come to learn just how different the situation was for citizens of the “postage stamp province” relative to those in other territorial lands to the north and west. Aside from natural resource jurisdictional differences, complications arose from the central geographic fact of Manitoba’s location in what Bower calls the “soup bowl.” This was the vulnerable low terrain of the valley of the northward flowing Red River, sandwiched between higher Shield country on the east and the first prairie level to the west, of which Riding Mountain is such a prominent feature.

Subsequent chapters detail the various local, regional and national efforts to come up with a correct geographic model for water management. The debate was influenced by private forces, including the activities of the American based, hunter-oriented organization, Ducks Unlimited, established in 1937. Interest by Ducks Unlimited focused on the vast Big Grass Marsh, west of Lake Manitoba, which had resisted efforts at drainage. Ducks Unlimited advertised an international conservationist mandate aiming at the

stabilization of good bird breeding and feeding grounds and successfully engaged influential Manitobans such as James Richardson in its cause. Ducks Unlimited had considerable success by 1942, but some farmers along with Manitoba naturalist, Albert Hochbaum, did not entirely subscribe to the narrative of waterfowl recovery promoted by Ducks Unlimited, with its pragmatic, hunter-oriented bias (pp. 127–132). Nevertheless, the late 1930s saw the start of a qualification of the view that wetlands were merely to be drained and turned towards productive crops.

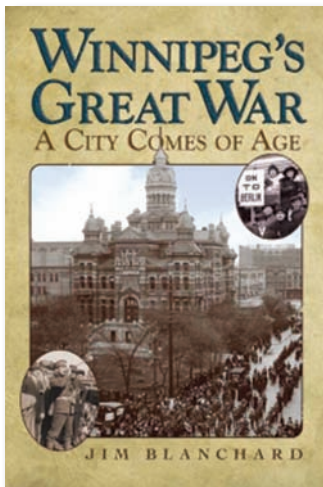
The seemingly logical vision of watershed units as the ideal management unit, promoted early by that enterprising federal civil servant William Pearce (p. 64), was steadily resisted for a variety of reasons. For those who believe all politics is local, many confirmations will be found in the episodes detailed by Bower. As the 20th century unfolded, the search for the managerial watershed unit was stalled further by what Bower calls “institutional inertia” in government land use departments, accompanied by a related fatigue among citizens. So many experiments had been tried, that further innovation was now resisted. When a Watershed Act was finally passed in 1956, regional efforts to organize along such lines were few. One might speculate, with some nostalgia, on the mischievous nature

of the Anglo-American Convention of 1818 with its eventual consequence of dividing North America along the 49th parallel. The result was, in part, to artificially divide Lord Selkirk’s fief of the entire Red River Valley, as obtained from the Hudson’s Bay Company. The division of that important watershed in terms of international jurisdiction, had early and ongoing implications for water management on the Roseau, Red and Souris Rivers, and perhaps helped to defeat any early interest in the logic of watershed units in Manitoba until more diplomatically sympathetic times and the establishment of the International Joint Commission.

Graeme Wynn, in his informative Foreword, provides some valuable suggestions with respect to some of the juicy bones that Bower has thrown out to historians concerning the politics of “colloquial liberalism” in Manitoba politics as well as natural resource policy as it has affected federal-provincial relations since 1867. Historians of technology will be interested in the rare photos of dredging equipment and the discussion of double dyke drains. The book is otherwise well illustrated with maps, and includes excellent notes and an extensive bibliography.

Graham A. MacDonald
Parksville, BC

**Jim Blanchard, *Winnipeg’s Great War: A City Comes of Age*
Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2010, 296 pages
ISBN 9780887557217, \$24.95 (paperback)**



In this book, popular historian Jim Blanchard describes the tragic loss to individuals, families, and to Winnipeg of more than 1,658 of its residents in the military during the First World War. He aptly argues that given its relatively small size and its isolation, the loss of so many of its young men had a greater impact on Winnipeg than did war losses in major eastern cities. Among the “unknown amount of unrealized potential,” he includes

those who would have been Winnipeg’s skilled tradesmen, and the many sons of the city’s leading families who might have built upon their fathers’ successes after the war (p. 8).

Blanchard, the Head of Reference Services at the University of Manitoba library, and author of the award-winning book, *Winnipeg 1912* (2005), contends that Winnipeg contributed to the war effort more in people

and money than most Canadian cities in proportion to its size (p. 267) and “came of age” during the war years. With other historians, he maintains that the impact of the war in conjunction with several other factors, such as the opening of the Panama Canal in 1913 and the cessation for several years of large-scale European immigration, destroyed Winnipeg’s dream of becoming a pre-eminent North American city, instead relegating it to secondary status. According to Blanchard, Winnipeg was transformed from “a brash and overconfident place, bragging about its growth and future potential” in 1914 to a much demoralized city in 1918, as “old boosterish Winnipeg had had the wind taken out of its sails and ... would now be a more cautious and conservative place” (p. 267).

Blanchard indicates that he wishes to tell “the story of Winnipeg during the First World War, of some of the men who went to fight, as well as the people and the city they left behind, of the sacrifices they all made, the role they played in winning the war, and the profound impact the war had upon them and their city” (p. 8). Nevertheless, *Winnipeg’s Great War* is not solely, or even mostly, a work of military history. The author examines how the approximately 160,000 people of Winnipeg faced the War, investigating why large numbers enlisted and went overseas. He also

analyzes and describes major political, economic, social and demographic developments that the city's population experienced during these very turbulent four years.

The reader is transported from the blissful summer idyll "at the lake" for Winnipeg's Anglo-Protestant commercial and political elite to the horrors of trench warfare in Europe. There is much poignancy in Blanchard's account, including the grief experienced by hundreds of Winnipeg families in losing loved ones, exemplified by the mass casualties of Winnipeg battalions in the Second Battle of Ypres in April 1915 and the Battle of the Somme in September-October 1916. Especially moving are the letters sent home by Winnipeg soldiers overseas, some of whom were later lost. For example, Alec Waugh, shot by a sniper in 1917, was the son of Winnipeg's mayor (1915-1916) Richard Waugh, who later tried unsuccessfully to find his son's grave. The Waugh family's service was illustrated additionally by their daughter, an army nurse and another son who was wounded and permanently disabled.

Figuring prominently in the book are the women engaged in voluntary unpaid labour in support of the war effort on the home front. The author shows how their efforts, including knitting warm socks for overseas soldiers, staging fundraising events, and selling nationalistic sheet music, became central to the everyday lives of numerous Winnipeggers. Although not all organizations were exclusively female, the essential activities of women in associations such as the St. John Ambulance Society, the Winnipeg and Manitoba Patriotic Fund, the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, and the Manitoba Red Cross (classified as a branch of the British Red Cross), are chronicled. Winnipeg's social welfare services developed from the work of these women's volunteer organizations. Also of interest was the precedent of the formation in Winnipeg of a Women's Military Reserve Corps, whose members were taught to march, shoot, drive ambulances, swim and operate telephones.

The book is arranged into five chapters, one for each year of the war, and an Epilogue centering on the dedication of the Soldiers' Relatives War Memorial on the grounds of the Manitoba Legislative Building in May 1923. The topics covered are listed conveniently under the chapter headings. There are occasional errors (for example "twenty-five Canadians died in front of firing squads during the war, twenty-three for desertion, two for murder, and one for cowardice," p. 171) and repetitions ("Winnipeg had done her duty," and "Winnipeg had done its duty," pp. 258, 267). Throughout, though, Blanchard writes in a dispassionate and even-handed style. While there is no Bibliography, there are forty-three illustrative and evocative photographs, most from public archives, but some from private individuals and not reproduced previously.

This reviewer has some concerns about the book. It seems amiss for Blanchard to have made no comparisons or contrasts between Winnipeg's and Regina's experiences, especially in light of James Pitsula's popular history *For All We Have and Are: Regina and the Experience of the Great War* (same publisher, 2008). Also remarkable are the several shortcomings in the footnotes. Many of the topics—such as the formation of military battalions, Manitoba's elections of 1914 and 1915, the Legislative Building scandal, the fall of the Roblin government, the Norris administration, women's suffrage, prohibition, unilingual schools, the Shoal Lake Aqueduct, the nativist sentiment, xenophobia, and paranoia reinforced by British Empire and civic boosterism directed against Winnipeggers of Central and Eastern European background, and growing social, ethnic, and class divisions during the war—have been discussed at some length in several books which should have been cited. These include Morton's *Manitoba: A History*, and Jackson's *The Centennial History of Manitoba*, and *Manitoba 125: A History*, vol. 2. Indeed, there is only one reference to Artibise's *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth 1874-1914* and none to his *Winnipeg: An Illustrated History*. Nor were there any references to Thompson's *The Harvests of War: The Prairie West 1914-1918*, Bercuson's *Confrontation at Winnipeg*, Smith's *Let Us Rise*, or, for an overview of the national experience, Cook and Brown's *Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed*. The first two chapters of Loewen's and Friesen's *Immigrants In Prairie Cities* could also have been referenced.

The author, perhaps to reinforce his academic *bona fides*, has relied heavily on primary sources, some of which have not been utilized elsewhere. Even there, although a scholarly apparatus has been employed, there is a relative paucity of notes. Within these, one also wonders why there are references to documents in the City of Winnipeg Archives for 1914 and 1915, but not for the other years. Similarly, the notes refer to the *Manitoba Free Press* (which is mistakenly cited as the *Winnipeg Free Press*) and to *The Winnipeg Telegram* but not to *The Winnipeg Tribune*, or from a labour perspective, *The Voice*. Furthermore, in the Acknowledgements the author makes mention of documents from Library and Archives Canada, but none show up in the footnotes.

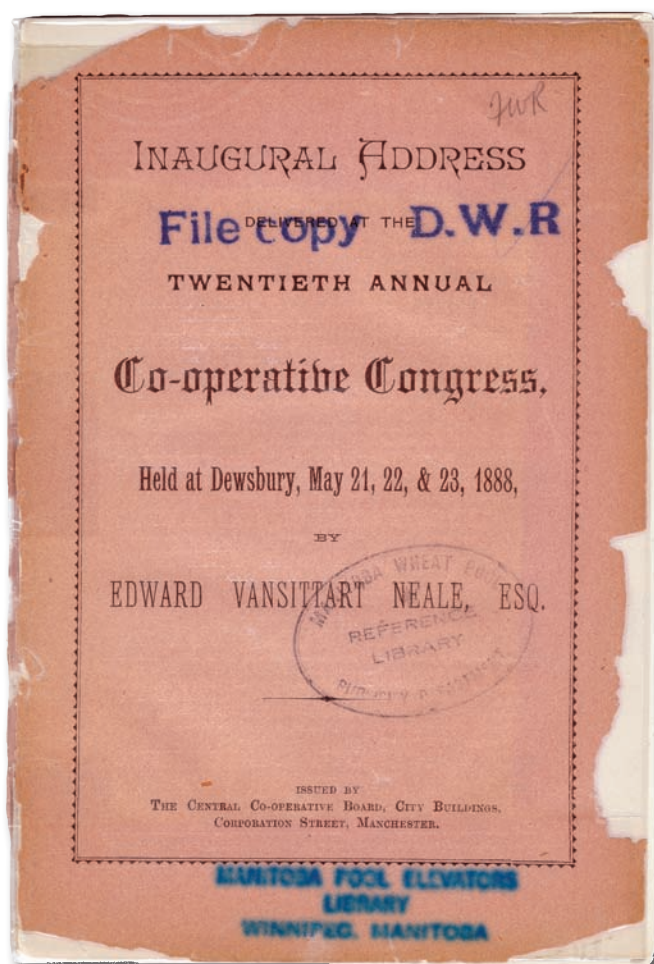
With the centenary of the outbreak of the First World War rapidly approaching, the publication of *Winnipeg's Great War* is timely. Despite its limitations, this is an admirable effort. The book will be of interest not only to the general reader, but to all students of Winnipeg's history, who will turn to it as a very significant source for the years 1914-1918. The book has won the Margaret McWilliams Popular History Award (2010) and the Manitoba Day Award (2011).

Henry Trachtenberg
Winnipeg

Cool Things in the Collection: Manitoba Pool Elevators Pamphlet Collection*

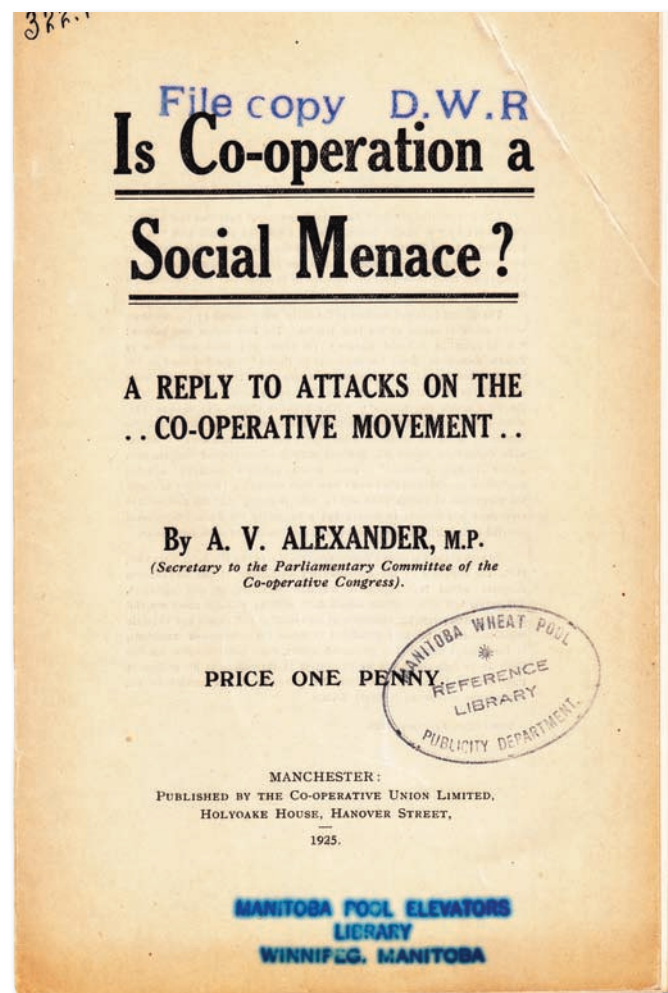
by Marianne E. Reid
John E. Robbins Library, Brandon University

Manitoba Pool Elevators came to life in 1925 as a creation of the Manitoba Wheat Pool, the latter founded in 1924 to ensure the co-operative marketing of wheat by Manitoba farmers. The Pool went bankrupt in the early 1930s, but Pool Elevators survived and prospered over time, extending its reach into every corner of rural life. In 1975, the Pool, in association with Brandon University, laid the foundation for the S. J. McKee Archives with the donation of \$25,000 and the first instalment of its archival papers. More followed, and after the transformation in 1998 of the Pool into Agricore Co-operative, Ltd., then in 2002, into Agricore United and finally, in 2007, into Viterra Inc., the Pool's complete archive arrived at Brandon University. It



S. J. McKee Archives, Manitoba Pool Fonds E4-1-27

The British influence on Canadian cooperators was formative. Among the pamphlets are ones on British meetings such as this 1888 example from Dewsbury.

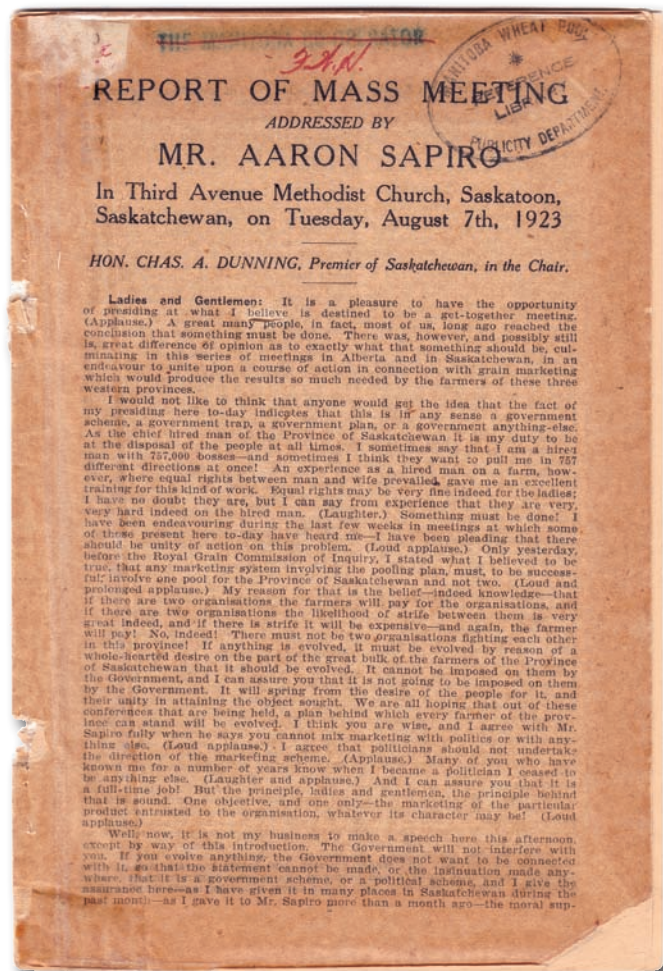


S. J. McKee Archives, Manitoba Pool Fonds E4-1-36

Pamphlets were often about controversy—about general principles or practical actions, such as this 1925 British example.

comprised over 100 metres of textual records and thousands of images—an extraordinary archive essential to any account of Manitoba's development in the 20th century.

The leaders of this formidable grass-roots movement—local chapters covered rural Manitoba—were committed to the idea that the progress of the co-operative idea required an informed membership. So, the Pool published newspapers (*The Scoop Shovel* and *The Manitoba Cooperator*), created a travelling library, offered lectures and informed commentary through radio broadcasts, and distributed circulars on the operation of elevators, the grain trade and rural life. The Pool also collected and published pamphlets for circulation to its members on topics of importance to agrarians and their families.



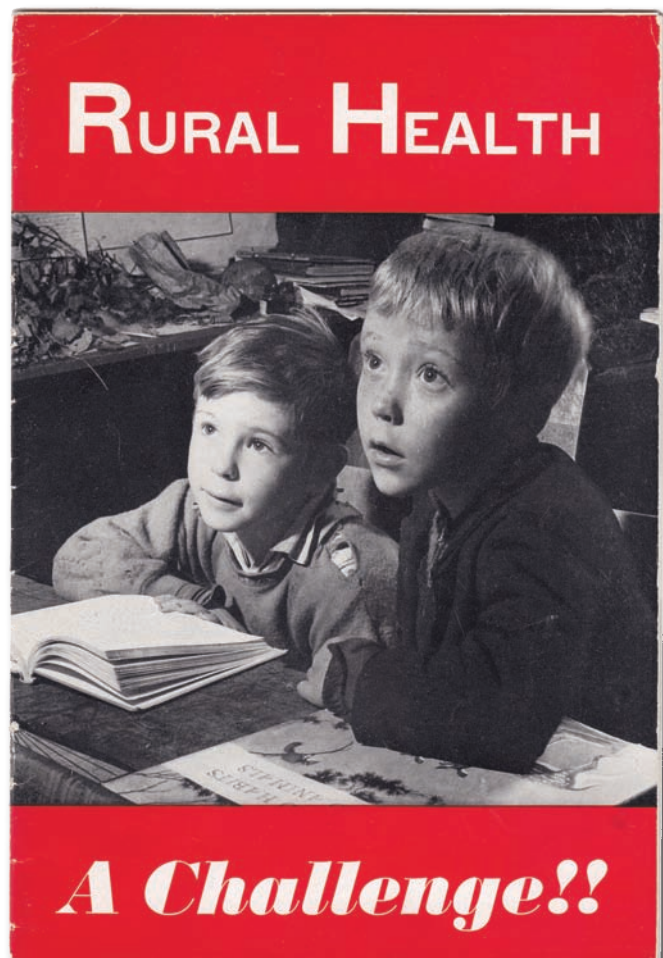
S. J. McKee Archives, Manitoba Pool Fonds E4-1-214

American cooperative activist and lawyer Aaron L. Sapiro (1884–1959) toured Canada in the 1920s. Pamphlets such as this 1923 example from Saskatoon helped to launch the “pool” movement in Western Canada after the Great War.

The collection includes hundreds of pamphlets published between 1888 and 1992 with a complicated provenance. There are pamphlets published by the World Students’ Christian Federation, the Christian Social Union (Oxford Branch), Britain’s Cooperative Union, the *Western Producer*, Roblin’s Women’s Institute, the Alberta Wheat Pool, the American Farm Economic Union, the Co-operative Union of Canada, the National Farm Forum, the Winnipeg Grain exchange, the United Co-operatives of Ontario, the Co-operative Union of Manitoba, St. Francis Xavier University (Extension Department), and of course Manitoba Pool Elevators. Subject matter is equally diverse: the social significance of the co-operative movement, poverty in Canada, western community life, rural women, rural health (more on this later), freight rates, co-operation (theory and practice), the Winnipeg Grain exchange, George Jacob Holyoake, farmers and the state, education for action, Christian Socialism, and mass meetings in Saskatoon featuring Aaron Shapiro. This panorama of subject matter illuminates the influences that shaped the co-operative movement in western Canada and the pre-occupations of the Pool.

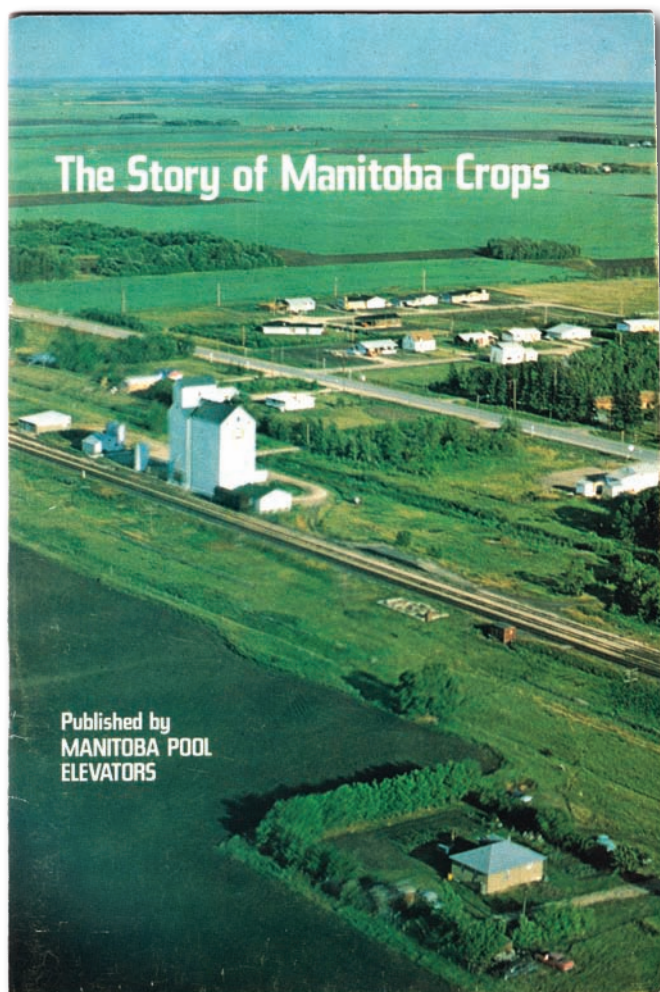
Why are these publications—research libraries refer to them as *fugitive print ephemera*—worthy of attention by posterity? Assuming their modern form in the 18th century, pamphlets allowed controversialists to enter the public sphere to engage controversy. (Edmund Burke made public his reflections on the French Revolution through a pamphlet.) Written to convey and to argue a point of view in the past, now they constitute a residuum of unique historical data. The presence of pamphlet collections in research libraries such as the Tamiment Library at New York University, the London School of Economics, and the Fisher Rare Books Library at the University of Toronto, are a testament to the importance placed on pamphlets as primary sources for historical research, as authentic sources of raw historical data. Usually less than 49 pages in length, unbound, and printed on cheap, lightweight paper, pamphlets were printed cheaply and distributed rapidly to address a current concern or controversy. Such *timeliness* makes it unlikely that pamphlets will be republished except as the focus of digital projects.

The history of the prairie co-operative movement is presented in pamphlet-length instalments. The struggle



S. J. McKee Archives, Manitoba Pool Fonds E4-1-189

The Pool fought to reduce child mortality in rural Manitoba and improve access to health services, and issued pamphlets to encourage adoption of good health practices.



S. J. McKee Archives, Manitoba Pool Fonds E4-1-209

The Pool had utopian tendencies—its story was about progress, progress, progress. The cover of this pamphlet from the 1960s featured a view of agrarian life in Manitoba.

of grain growers to free themselves from the grasp of the Winnipeg Grain Exchange; the concerns of Canadian producers with worldwide wheat production, wheat prices, and wheat surpluses/deficits; and the fight to forestall the dissolution of Crow's Nest Pass Agreement (i.e., "the Crow Rate") are a few of the themes evident in the Pool Pamphlet Collection. Mundane matters are also addressed. There are pamphlets dealing with operating a pool elevator, training young people to be farmers and running a ladies' study group about the co-operative movement. The eloquent public addresses by pool leaders including Aaron Shapiro and Alexander James McPhail appear here in pamphlet form, as do the persuasive writings of J. T. Hull and Ralph S. Staples. Pamphlets from meetings and inaugural addresses of the Co-operative Congress in Great Britain, from the Christian Social Union in England, from the Antigonish Movement in Nova Scotia (some written by Moses Coady), and of speeches made in the United States about the Canadian co-operative movement and Canadian grain production, offer a broader picture of the worldwide co-operative movement.

Oftentimes, a pamphlet would be followed by rebuttal pamphlets and counter-rebuttal pamphlets. For example, three pamphlets illustrate the tension between the Winnipeg Grain Exchange and the wheat pool movement. On 22 October 1930, Sydney S. Gampbell gave a lecture at the City of London College in England. This anti-pool lecture was subsequently published by the *Grain Trade News* (an organ of the Winnipeg Grain Exchange) as "Canada and her wheat pool." In January 1931, the Saskatchewan Co-operative Wheat Producers published its rebuttal to Gampbell, "A reply to 'Canada and her wheat pool'" and in February 1931, the Alberta Wheat Pool published its rebuttal to Gampbell, "A defence of Canada's wheat pool: a reply to Gampbell." They are all here to read and ponder.

Of course, prairie farmers and their families were concerned with more than just the production of wheat. Several pamphlets address the issues of health and the rural populace, proper nutrition for children, building rural medical facilities, mortality rates of rural vs. urban populace, and infant/maternal health. A chart on infant mortality between 1911 and 1940 in a 1945 pamphlet promoting rural health care is especially poignant, as is the statement in a 1946 pamphlet: "In Canada, as a whole, during the Second World War, infant losses, including stillborn and deaths under one year of age, are reported by the Federal Department of Health as approximately 130,000 compared to Canadian war dead of approximately 41,000." A simple pamphlet, a call for help, is a disclosure to the 21st century researcher of the reality of life on the Prairies and of the reasons for the strength of the movement for free universal medical care advocated by the Pool.

These pamphlets are available physically at the S. J. McKee Archives at Brandon University. They are fully described and available through the university's library catalogue under the series entry, Manitoba Pool Elevators Pamphlet Collection. The Archives hopes to reproduce these pamphlets digitally, making the digital copies accessible via a hyperlink through both the S. J. McKee Archives website and through the bibliographic record on the library catalogue, as are the documents in the Robert Dudley Howland Fabian Society Collection. 📖

* I would like to acknowledge Tom Mitchell for his useful suggestions for revisions to the original draft.



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