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The war memorial at Russell, Manitoba is topped by a stone statue of a grieving soldier crafted by German-born Toronto sculptor Emanuel Hahn.

Photo by Shawn Stankewich

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"Acts of injustice done between the setting and the rising sun in history lie like bones, each one."

W. H. Auden,
The Ascent of F6

Moving South: The Other Jewish Winnipeg Before the Second World War

by Daniel Stone
History Department, University of Winnipeg

Introduction

For about fifty years, Winnipeg's North End was a New Jerusalem of Yiddish-speakers where the large majority of Jews lived and joined vibrant Jewish organizations that ranged from left-wing politics to religious orthodoxy. Many North Enders considered the South End to be "The Other," a place inhabited by wealthy Jews who had abandoned Yiddish culture and acculturated or even assimilated into the Anglo-Canadian world. As historian Arthur Chiel noted in 1961, "by 1911 the Jewish community was quite clearly divided, both socially and geographically, into North Enders and South Enders." In 1987, Harry and Mildred Gutkin similarly discerned "a distinct family rift … between North-Enders and South-Enders, which continued for several generations" and Allan Levine recently confirmed in 2009 that a "North End – South End feud had been waged for more than a century."[1]

Several incidents occurred before the First World War that helped create the reputation of the South-End Jewish community. In 1911 when the community debated whether there should be one philanthropic agency to help the Jewish poor or separate North- and South-End organizations, a North Ender wrote a letter to the Montreal-based *Kanader Adler* questioning "the motives of the South Enders to organize and to take care of the poor which 'are not theirs.'"[2] A mass meeting at the Queen's Theatre on Selkirk Avenue echoed his sentiments with an outpouring of complaints "that the so-called South Enders … were determined, at all hazards, to intrude on the ground of the north enders and impose their undisputed power." Not long after, the editor of Winnipeg's *Yiddishe Vort* (*Israelite Press*), Baruch Goldstein, denounced the "South End Jews for trying to steal the newspaper from the North End."[3]

The feud took on a more intense and generalized significance with the 1919 General Strike, when prominent south-enders, Max Steinkopf and J. E. Wilder, were widely assumed to be members of the secret anti-strike organization, the Committee of 1000. After the strike was broken, numerous North-End socialists saw all South Enders as anti-labour and restricted their electoral support to left-wingers, preferably but not necessarily Jewish. Steinkopf was punished by his fellow Jews in the 1919 school board election that rejected him in favour of Rose Elkin (Alcin), a young North-End socialist, and Wilder lost to the future mayor, John Queen, a Scottish socialist.[4]

The South End figures in accounts of Winnipeg Jewish history in this fashion, but it has never been studied for itself. This article aims to examine who moved south before the Second World War, where they lived, and what life in the South End was like for Jews. Secondarily, it reflects on the factors that kept the two parts of the Jewish community together. Much of the information for the early period comes from census records, especially the 1911 Census which recorded nationality, place of origin, and place of immigration, as well as name, address, age, and family status.[5] Since detailed census data have not yet been released for 1921 and beyond, information is derived from the social pages of the *Jewish Post and News*, which started publishing in 1925, and *Henderson's Directory*. Names and addresses from these sources are not "endnoted" here.

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Areas of Jewish Settlement

About 100 Jews came to Winnipeg in the 1870s, starting with the Coblentz brothers from Alsace-Lorraine, who spoke both French and German and founded several businesses among the Franco-Manitoban and Mennonite peoples of southern Manitoba before settling in Winnipeg. Winnipeg was very small in those days and the few Jews mixed in with everyone else. Jews began to develop their own community in 1882 when 350 Russian-Jewish refugees from Czarist pogroms arrived, and it grew exponentially after 1890 with mass migration, primarily from eastern Europe. The newcomers—Jews, Ukrainians, Poles, and other nationalities—settled mostly in newly created districts in the north end of the city which, because of their poverty and newness, were appalling slums at first, while more affluent individuals tended to push farther south.[6]

Between 1911 and 1941, almost 90% of Winnipeg's Jews lived in the North End while a post-Second World War migration south left only 47% living there in 1961. At this point, demographer Louis Rosenberg predicted that "it does not appear likely that the Jewish population … south of Assiniboine River will ever equal, let alone exceed, the Jewish population … north of the … Canadian Pacific Railway," but the migration continued and, in 2006,

75% of Winnipeg's Jews lived in the South End. Most community institutions migrated there as well.[7] To put these percentages into perspective, Canadian censuses gives the Jewish population of greater Winnipeg as 645 in 1891 (2.5% of the overall population), 1,156 in 1901 (2.6%), 9,023 in 1911 (6.3%), 14,449 in 1921 (8.1%), 17,236 in 1931 (7.9%) and 17,027 in 1941 (7.7%), 15,959 in 1951 (6.6%) and 14,790 in 1961 (2.4%).[8]

The North End formed before the First World War as an area of working-class settlement on both sides of the Canadian Pacific Railway lines, adjacent to the mixed residential and industrial neighbourhood of Point Douglas. Only three Jews lived in the North End in 1886 but 11,746 lived there in 1916.[9] This runaway population growth, along with similar patterns among other immigrant groups, required that the North End expand farther north to include areas near Selkirk Avenue, which became the main shopping street, and west along the CPR yards and shops. Growing success in business and the professions permitted some Jews in the 1930s to buy North-End middle-class and even up-scale homes near St. John's Anglican Cathedral, east of Main Street from their original Anglo-Celtic owners. The North End expanded farther north after the Second World War to develop modest, middle-class neighbourhoods in Garden City and beyond.[10]

Despite the availability of middle-class housing in the North End, many Jews chose to move to the South End, i.e., south of Assiniboine River, after the Second World War. Most of these Jews went to new developments in south River Heights at first, while in later years, they spread to other neighbourhoods such as Tuxedo, a formerly independent municipality that was developed after 1914 by a Jewish developer as a neighbourhood in which Jews could not live (except for himself). In addition to residences in the North and South Ends, small numbers of Jews always lived in other parts of Winnipeg (350 in 1941).[11]

After the [1919] strike was broken, numerous North-End socialists saw all South Enders as anti-labour and restricted their electoral support to left-wingers, preferably but not necessarily Jewish.

The Central Core: The First South End

The general focus on the North and South Ends has obscured Jewish settlement in the first South End—the central core and its early extension south to, but not across, the Assiniboine River. Winnipeg grew up on Main Street, north of Portage Avenue and in Point Douglas. Southerly expansion was blocked for more than a decade by the Hudson's Bay Company Reserve, lands awarded to that company in the deal that brought Manitoba into Canada in 1871 but which were not developed right away.[12]

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This home at 151 Harvard Street was owned by Dr. Maxwell Rady (1893–1964), the first Jewish physician to be granted privileges at the St. Boniface Hospital, in the 1920s. Other Jews bought fashionable homes on nearby Yale, Dorchester, and Grosvenor avenues between the two world wars.

Jews, especially working-class Jews, lived in industrial and commercial areas near Point Douglas on both sides of Main Street This area, part of Ward 2 in electoral politics, held 135 Jews who made up 21% of the 1891 Jewish population.[13] For example, Sam Bronfman lived on Lily Street behind what is now the Centennial Concert Hall when he first came from Saskatchewan, as did Mordechai Weidman, while the latter's brother lived nearby on Jarvis Avenue. Eleven tinsmiths, cabinet makers, harness makers, and labourers lived a short distance away on King Street in 1914, close to the first home of Shaarey Zedek Synagogue at King and Henry (316 King).

Richer Jews also lived downtown before the Great War and well into the 1930s. For example, Max Finkelstein, a prominent lawyer, resided at the Royal Alexandra Hotel, at Main and Higgins. The South Enders who were the targets of North End complaints in 1911 lived north of Portage Avenue, as did the Board of Directors of Winnipeg's largest synagogue. Ten of twelve lived between Bannatyne Avenue and the CPR tracks, one lived in West Broadway, and one in Fort Rouge.[14]

As the Hudson's Bay Company developed its Reserve in the 1880s and reaped handsome profits, one-family houses and apartment buildings sprang up between Portage Avenue and the Assiniboine River, and Eaton's department store made Portage the city's major commercial street after 1900.[15] With the development, 1,191 Jews could be found in the central core in 1916, increasingly south of Portage Avenue.[16] For example, in 1911, businessman Isaac Ripstein lived at 27 Kennedy Street, opposite the Lieutenant-Governor's residence and the Provincial Legislature, and other Jews lived at 165, 233, and 237 Kennedy Street. Some Jews chose riverfront apartment blocks such as 400 and 440 Assiniboine Avenue while Jews with more modest socio-economic profiles could be found

in nearby rooming houses, such as 187 Hargrave Street and 176 Smith Street. Six Jews lived on Main Street near York Avenue in 1901 and one, a machinist, lived near the Union Station in 1911.

The area immediately west of the Legislature also attracted Jews. By 1915, the fashionable St. Elmo Apartments at 177 Colony Street, one block from the legislature park, housed at least three Jewish families including a former rancher and a director of a local wholesale grocery firm. A Jew from Morden moved to a riverfront apartment at 27 Balmoral Street and several Jewish families bought houses

Richer Jews also lived downtown before the Great War and well into the 1930s.

on Balmoral Place, now the greenbelt separating the Great West Life parking lot from Balmoral Street. Not far away, the London-born and Saskatchewan-raised president of a grain-trading firm, Maxwell Heppner, rented Sir Charles Tupper's mansion, Hawthorndean, 147 West Gate, on Armstrong's Point in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Two other Jews bought properties in the Gates a few years later.[17]

Jewish settlement soon extended across Maryland Street into the Wolseley District. Three Jewish families moved onto the 800 block of Palmerston Avenue in the 1920s, one on the river and two across the street. Other Jews moved in, too. Successful businessman, Moses Finkelstein (Northwest Hides and Furs), bought 1185 Wolseley Avenue and Hyman Kay (Dry Goods) lived at 96 Canora. Other Jews lived somewhat more modestly throughout the Wolseley district. The Gensers, pioneers in the music business, lived at 30 Arlington Street, several families lived on Home Street, and others lived on Garfield, Lenore, Lipton, Walnut, Westminster and elsewhere throughout the district.

The South End

Areas south of the Assiniboine River opened for settlement at different times: Fort Rouge (1900), Crescentwood (1910), and River Heights (1930s), when permanent bridges and streetcar lines integrated them with the rest of the city.[18]

A number of Jewish families lived in Winnipeg's first suburb, Fort Rouge, which Saidye Bronfman later called "a pretty and affluent residential district."[19] They started east of Osborne Street and moved west as the city changed. The family of Max Goldstine, a merchant, moved to Mayfair Place before the First World War and was joined in the 1920s by other Jewish families. Hermann Steinkopf, a former country merchant and grandfather of Maitland Steinkopf who developed the Centennial Concert Hall complex, lived at 383 Wardlaw Avenue, east of Osborne. Mary Vineberg, widow of businessman Louis Vineberg, lived on Wardlaw west of Osborne with six children and a servant. Several other Jewish families lived on the same street, such as Sam Rosner, who moved his family there from Plum Coulee, MB, in order to give his daughters a high-school education. Rosner continued to manage his general store in Plum Coulee and even served as mayor, commuting to Winnipeg for the Sabbath.[20] Apartment buildings were scattered across Fort Rouge, including the striking Roslyn Apartments on Osborne Street and the large Tudor-style Wellington Apartments at 360 Wellington Crescent, both of which attracted Jewish tenants as soon as they were completed in 1910. Other Jewish apartment dwellers could be found throughout the area.

Jews moved into Crescentwood, west of the Maryland Bridge, a neighbourhood full of impressive houses and spacious yards, that opened for development in 1904.[21] Frank Druxerman (clothing, dry goods, and other businesses) bought a house at 2 Ruskin Row, one of Winnipeg's most prestigious streets, and a few years later Mordechai Weidman joined him across the street at 1 Ruskin Row. Dr. Max Rady and family purchased 151 Harvard Street and other Jews bought homes on Yale, Dorchester, and Grosvenor Avenues between the two world wars. Jews also lived in fashionable apartments on Lilac and Dorchester.

North River Heights between Wellington Crescent and Corydon Avenue, the neighbourhood to the west, drew Jewish buyers from its beginnings in the 1920s. Jews were among the early residents of streets such as Ash, Cordova, Montrose, Oak, Oxford, and Niagara. Some of the musical Genser family moved from Wolseley to 80 Brock Street in the 1930s.

The residents of these areas south of the Assiniboine came primarily from the business and the professional classes. The growing number of Jews in these middle-class neighbourhoods, as well as their counterparts in middle-class areas of the North End and Wolseley, reflected the social and economic ascent of Winnipeg's Jews after the Great

Jewish Heritage Centre Archives, JM307

South-side synagogue. The Beth Shalom Synagogue operated at 232 Nassau Street North in the Fort Rouge area until around 1945. The site is now occupied by a Christian church.

Jewish Heritage Centre Archives, JM234

Mordecai Weidman (1864–1952) came to Canada and farmed in Saskatchewan then became a wholesale grocer in Winnipeg with his brother Hiram. A founder of Shaarey Zedek Synagogue, in 1892 he helped to establish the first YMHA in Western Canada.

War. This community produced and supported a higher percentage of doctors, dentists, lawyers, and teachers than the Jews of Montreal and Toronto, even though they still lagged slightly behind the percentage of professionals in the population as a whole. More Winnipeg Jews played a role in professional fields such as engineering and teaching, as well, than their counterparts elsewhere in Canada. Winnipeg Jews enjoyed per capita superiority in management positions in merchandising, manufacturing, real estate, and insurance compared to Toronto and Montreal Jews. The Jewish ascent to the middle class across Canada preceded other immigrants from Eastern Europe by margins approaching 4:1 in the professions. The disproportion was probably higher in Winnipeg in the rest of the country.[22]

Not all South-End residents had money, of course. Jewish labourers lived on Pembina, Garwood, and McMillan Avenues, near the CNR yards. Small-business owners lived at or near their shops on Corydon and McMillan Avenues, and on Osborne Street.[23]

Mobility Patterns

South-End Jews generally moved south in stages from the city centre or the North End. The Weidman family illustrates this process particularly well. Arriving in 1882 and living at first in the CPR immigrant sheds, Mordechai and Chaim (Hiram) Weidman worked across western Canada as manual labourers for the Canadian Pacific Railway and then farmed near Moosomin, Saskatchewan before settling in Winnipeg where they built a successful wholesale grocery business in the city centre. The brothers lived close to each other on Lily Street and Jarvis Avenue, near what is now the Disraeli Freeway, and their fifteen children shuttled freely between the two houses as if they were one family. In 1916, five Weidmans moved south to West Broadway within easy walking distance of each other. One moved a few blocks farther west to a house on Palmerston Avenue in the Wolseley District. A few years later, two Weidmans crossed the river to the south bank to share a large house on Ruskin Row in Crescentwood. Another brother took an apartment nearby on Dorchester Avenue before buying a house on Oxford Street in the emerging River Heights neighbourhood. All these second-generation Weidmans held important positions in the family business, Weidman Brothers, which also manufactured specialty foods products. While these Weidmans moved south, other family members moved north to streets such as Machray and Aberdeen. Similarly, Wolfe Cohen, a tailor and furrier, progressed from Selkirk Avenue to Maryland Street, and then Montrose Street in River Heights, while Charles Rosenblat, who owned a hardware store and a small hotel, grew up on Lily, moved to Langside as an adult, and then to Montrose.

Some Jews, like Frank Druxerman, jumped directly from the city centre (Elgin Avenue) to the South (Ruskin Row) without an intermediate stop. Similarly, Dr. Max Rady moved from downtown (Lily) to River Heights (Harvard). David Balcovsky settled in Winnipeg at the St. Elmo Apartments on Colony Street when he gave up cattle ranching near Medicine Hat, Alberta. He later moved to the Wellington Apartments on Wellington Crescent.

Religion and Place of Origin Among South End Jews

Most South-End Jews attended Shaarey Zedek synagogue in the central core at 129–133 Dagmar Street at William Avenue, just east of the Carnegie library. The ritual practices of Winnipeg Jewry at that time are poorly understood, but Shaarey Zedek appears to have observed Modern Anglo-Orthodoxy before the First World War and throughout the 1920s.[24] It followed traditional Orthodox practices such as praying in Hebrew and Aramaic only, and seating women separately. Modern features included an insistence on decorum during services, preaching weekly sermons in English, and hiring a rabbi who had a secular as well as a religious education. The synagogue put itself under the jurisdiction of the Orthodox Chief Rabbi of Western Canada, Israel Isaac Kahanovitch. Shaarey Zedek contributed $150 annually towards his salary until the congregation hired its own rabbi in 1914, although it continued to recognize Kahanovitch's authority on ritual questions.[25] It is impossible to establish at this time how many North Enders attended.

The new rabbi, Herbert J. Sondheim, who patriotically changed his surname to Samuel in 1918, was a seventh-generation British Jew who came to Winnipeg on the recommendation of the Chief Rabbi of the United Kingdom. The Chief Rabbi headed the British United Synagogues, which followed traditional Orthodox Judaism with modifications that suited the emerging Jewish middle class.[26] Rabbi Samuel brought something of the solemnity of British Judaism to Winnipeg but maintained a warm spirit towards his congregants. He actively represented the Jewish community to the gentile world by presenting public talks, writing newspaper articles, and serving as chaplain to the Canadian Club. He left Winnipeg in 1926 to become the Rabbi of the richest congregation in Montreal, Reform Temple Emanu-

Jewish Heritage Centre Archives, JM41

Moses Finkelstein (1873–1939) was born in Russia, came to Winnipeg as a child, and became a prominent fur merchant. In 1905, he was the first Jew on Winnipeg's city council.

El, in Westmount.[27] Samuel's successor, Rabbi Solomon Frank trained in the Reform rabbinical seminary in Cincinnati, OH, and presided over the gradual liberalization of synagogue practice at Shaarey Zedek without initiating any radical breaks with tradition. The congregation confirmed its liberalization by joining the Conservative Movement in 1929 and increased the amount of English used in services a few years later.[28] By 1945, Shaarey Zedek had outgrown its building and rented the Pantages Playhouse Theatre for the well-attended High Holiday services. It moved to its present location on Wellington Crescent in 1949. The new rabbi, Milton Aron, introduced much more English into religious services along with a second, less traditional, Sabbath service, held immediately after the usual Saturday morning ritual.[29]

A symbol of Shaarey Zedek's evolution can be seen in the choice of rabbinical residences. By this measure, too, Shaarey Zedek moved away from strict Orthodoxy to a more relaxed practice. Rabbis decide where to live according to a mixture of institutional politics and personal choice and a special factor is the requirement to walk to synagogue on the Sabbath and other holy days, an injunction that congregants may expect their rabbi to follow even if they do not. The two interwar rabbis, Samuel and Frank, lived north of the Assiniboine River within easy walking distance, usually less than one kilometre from Shaarey Zedek, although both finished their careers at a two- or three-kilometre distance. In contrast, Rabbi Aron, who came to Winnipeg in 1949, lived seven kilometres away in River Heights. There are hints that most congregants drove to synagogue or used public transportation.[30]

South Enders who did not want to drive to synagogue and could not manage the seven-kilometre round trip made other arrangements. To solve the distance problem, Fort Rouge residents rented a hall for their High Holiday services in the early 1920s and organized after-school Hebrew classes for their children at Gladstone School on Gertrude Street. In 1923, South Enders formed "a congregational church of Jews according to the faith and order and practices of orthodox Jews," according to the legislative act giving the Fort Rouge Hebrew Congregation legal standing. Beth Sholem (House of Peace) bought property at the corner of Nassau Street and McMillan Avenue from the Roman Catholic Church to hold religious services, after-school religious classes for young people, and social activities such as card-playing.[31]

Rabbi Morton Goldberg from Pittsburgh and Cantor Jacob Albert were hired for High Holidays (Jewish New Year and Day of Atonement) in Fall 1924. The following year, J. A. Raffaeli led the congregation but he does not appear to have stayed long. Rabbi David Savitz left his congregation in Milwaukee, WI, after two years to come to Beth Sholem in 1927, but he appears to have left after only four or five months and Rabbi C. Rubinstein officiated at High Holiday services in 1928. Subsequently, Beth Sholem never managed to hire a permanent rabbi and weekly Sabbath services must have been led by the members, if they were held at all, while professional assistance was sought to lead High Holiday services. The organization of the congregation seems to have faltered and, in 1937, several members bought the Nassau Street building to turn the deed over to Shaarey Zedek, which paid one-third of the purchase price. Shaarey Zedek assumed responsibility for managing the synagogue, hiring Winnipeg Cantor Yoshua Glock to lead High Holy Day services at Beth Sholem in 1937 and Winnipegger Reuben Slonim, a rabbinical student at the Chicago Hebrew Seminary, in another year. The building was sold shortly before Shaarey Zedek moved south to its present location.[32]

Religious services at the Jewish Orphanage might be considered an extension of South End Judaism, since South Enders played a prominent role in establishing and maintaining this North End institution. Like Shaarey Zedek and Beth Sholem, the Orphanage was modern Orthodox in orientation, perhaps tending towards the Conservative movement. Sabbath services were held weekly but the

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2 Ruskin Row. Built in 1912 for financial agent John Williams, a later occupant of this house was hotel manager Frank Druxerman whose sister-in-law was a Bronfman. During the 1940s, Winnipeg sororities bought the house to use for meetings.

children were allowed to violate Orthodox precepts afterwards by handling money to ride the streetcar and go to the movies. Male staff and orphans wore head coverings only for services. Reflecting North End values, however, Director Aaron Osovsky emphasized the importance of Yiddish and Hebrew to Judaism even though English was the everyday language of the Orphanage.[33]

Unlike the experiences in Toronto, Montreal, and United States cities, Reform Judaism failed to gain a foothold in Winnipeg and its failure is significant for understanding the South End because religious differences provided a clear marker of a broader cultural divide on national origin. German-Jewish immigrants brought Reform Judaism to North America in the 1840s and 1850s and introduced a number of significant innovations that changed some traditional practices and repudiated others. (Reform Judaism has reversed many positions since then.[34]) A stratum of mostly German-Jewish reform Jews came to live "Uptown" in cities such as Montreal's Westmount, Toronto's Forest Hill, and New York's upper East Side while poorer immigrant "Downtown" Jews lived in Montreal's Plateau, Toronto's Kensington Market, and New York's Lower East Side. Uptown Jews worshipped at Reform "Temples" while Downtown Jews attended traditional Orthodox *shuls*.

This gap scarcely existed in Winnipeg. Holy Blossom Congregation (1884), named after the Toronto synagogue, was a reform congregation that failed to win enough adherents to sustain itself. Its successor, Shaarey Shomayim (Gates of Heaven, 1907), fared better but gave up after a few years and merged with Shaarey Zedek. Shaarey Shomayim contributed its newly constructed Dagmar Street building to the union and the larger Shaarey Zedek congregation contributed its name.[35] The next reform synagogue in Winnipeg was founded in 1963.

By the early 1900s when a distinct South End was beginning to form, the Jewish economic and social elite in Winnipeg included Jews from Eastern Europe who had prospered in the boom economy of the pre-First World War years. To cite only a few examples, the two families that bought houses on Ruskin Row in Crescentwood were Russian-Jewish by birth and arrived in 1882–1883. The Jew who lived opposite the Manitoba Legislature was born in Manitoba to a Russian-Jewish father who immigrated in 1879 and a Russian-Jewish mother who came in 1882. South Enders David Finkelstein, who developed Old Tuxedo as a Jewish-free neighbourhood (except for himself) around the time of the First World War and Moses Finkelstein, the first Jew to be elected to public office in Manitoba, were also born in the Russian Empire.[36]

Some of these eastern European Jews endorsed liberal tendencies that made them join the short-lived Reform synagogues and Orthodox synagogues that made allowances for modern life. The ethnicity of the directors who merged Shaarey Shomayim and Shaarey Zedek in 1913 was evenly split between eastern Europeans and central Europeans.[37] Within a few years, the eastern European element came to dominate.

Some American Jews also settled in the South End. Pioneer businessmen like George Frankfurter and David Ripstein were born in Europe and came to Winnipeg after living in the United States for some years. Several American "business travelers," as the census described them, lived near Broadway in the early part of the century, some accompanied by wives and children. An interesting if atypical example is Russian-born Sam Blumenberg, a socialist and small-business owner, who lived and worked at his Minneapolis Dye Works at 319 Good Street until rampaging veterans wrecked his shop during the General Strike and the Canadian government deported him to the United States as a dangerous radical.[38]

By the early 1900s when a distinct South End was beginning to form, the Jewish economic and social elite in Winnipeg included Jews from Eastern Europe who had prospered in the boom economy of the pre-First World War years.

Points of Contact Between South End Jews and North End Jews

Moving south did not mean cutting ties with the North End and creating two isolated communities. Visits back and forth were common between North End and South End branches of extended families like the Weidmans. South Enders also went north to buy Jewish foods. Distances were modest and Winnipeg's network of streetcars made travel easy. Shaarey Zedek synagogue provided a possible meeting place.

Young people of all economic, social, religious, and political stripes met at The Young Men's Hebrew Association in the city centre. Founded in 1919, the "Y" rented facilities on Main Street until 1935, when the Steinkopf family bought the Imperial Dry Goods Block at 91 Albert Street in today's Exchange District and fitted it out as a gymnasium and community centre. Throughout the interwar period and beyond, young people travelled, usually by streetcar, to share in a common passion for individual and team sports. Jewish enthusiasm was fuelled by the success of the Y's baseball, football, rugby, and soccer teams, some of which won city championships.[39] In 1952, the YMHA moved to a spacious building nearby at 370 Hargrave Street, then came south to the newly formed Asper Jewish Community Campus in 1997.[40]

North and South End Jews shared a common concern for organizing and running the Jewish community's rich institutional structure after the initial fight over charitable organizations ended. The Jewish Orphanage on Matheson Avenue east of Main Street provided a particularly popular focus. The Orphanage not only looked after parentless children but also children of impoverished and ill parents

and children from rural areas who came to Winnipeg for a Jewish education. Rabbi Reuben Slonim, who lived in the Orphanage as a youth, warmly recounts that Harry Steinberg, a businessman who lived in the South End, came regularly to the North End orphanage to read Sholom Aleichem stories to children. Other South Enders served on the Board of Directors. Numerous other charities drew community-wide support from institutions such as, to name only a few, the United Hebrew Charities, the Jewish Old-Age Home, Jewish War Relief, Mt. Carmel Clinic, and also the Winnipeg branches of the Canadian Jewish Congress and the National Council of Jewish Women.[41]

Zionism provided another point of contact among Winnipeg Jews since North Enders and South Enders shared the same enthusiasm and worked together to help create and build a Jewish state in Palestine. Political and religious disagreements among Zionists were common, but they did not hinder co-operation in striving to achieve the common goal. Winnipeg had no opposition in principle to Zionism such as existed among some German-American Jewish organizations in the United States, although some of Winnipeg's richer Jews had reacted coolly at first to Zionism's fervent idealism. A delegate to the 1924 meeting of the Zionist Organization of Canada observed that Winnipeg delegates represented "all classes and sections of the population, the wealthiest as well as the poorest. They meet with religious regularity [and] they display a degree of enthusiasm and devotion heretofore unsuspected and unhoped for."[42]

Canadian politics provided some linkage between north and south, as well, despite sharp differences. The North End elected socialist candidates to municipal, provincial, and federal bodies in the interwar period and the South End did not, but the Liberal and Conservative Parties, which dominated the South End, maintained a presence in the North End as well. The Jewish electorate, north and south, voted Liberal before the 1919 General Strike and the Liberals remained competitive in the North End afterwards, even when they regularly lost to socialist candidates. Liberal S. Hart Green won election to the Manitoba Legislature from a North End constituency in 1911 and remained active for many years. There may have been more non-socialist Jewish voters than socialist between the two world wars, as Gerald Tulchinsky, the leading historian of the Canadian Jewish community, suggests. Conservative William Tobias who lived in the city centre, a war hero of the First World War, won a city-wide election for the Manitoba legislature in 1927. In 1935, in the depths of the Depression, the Liberal candidate, Col. Charles Stephen Booth, a Gentile, came second to socialist incumbent A. A. Heaps in the North End, and defeated Heaps in 1940. Booth appealed somewhat unfairly to Jewish eagerness to help the war effort. Booth was supported by young Jewish business people and professionals.[43]

Jewish Heritage Centre Archives, JM1251

Sam Rosner (1870–1952), centre, became a prominent businessman and Mayor at Plum Coulee before he moved to Winnipeg. One of his six daughters married Samuel Bronfman, who later created a business empire.

Everyday Life in the South End

Overt anti-Semitism does not appear to have been a problem in the South End, although South End Jews remained relatively isolated with few non-Jewish close friends in their own neighbourhoods, fragmentary anecdotal evidence suggests. South End Jews tended to socialize with Jews who lived nearby. Unlike rougher parts of the city where fistfights between Jews and non-Jews were common in schoolyards, South End Jewish children rarely encountered anything more than an occasional taunt. For the most part, Jewish and non-Jewish children played together and attended school dances. Saidye Rosner Bronfman reported enjoying school dances and other social activities as well as specifically Jewish social groups. Family ties remained very important, extending to relatives in the North End.[44]

Some Jews lived in proximity to other Jews. The Weidman family bought houses within a few blocks of each other in West Broadway / Wolseley and then, several years later, in Crescentwood / River Heights. Several Jewish families owned houses on the 200 block of Garfield Street, on the 400 block of Wardlaw Avenue, and on the 800 and 900 blocks of McMillan Avenue. The Wellington Apartments and the St. Elmo Apartments had several Jewish tenants each. Everyone ate traditional Jewish foods and many homes kept kosher.[45]

Despite their relative affluence, wives and children in the South End often worked at modest clerical positions in family businesses or worked for wages elsewhere. For example, Saidye Rosner worked for several months as a typist in the Winnipeg office of the Red Rose Tea Co. before she became engaged to Sam Bronfman and left the workforce at his request.[46] Many wives continued to hold down jobs, however. Mona Ripstein worked at different times as a cashier and a stenographer while her husband pursued his career as a grain broker, and Jacob Udow, who lived in the Wellington Apartments, hired family members for minor positions in his firm, Boston Clothing. Sadie Morgenstern taught school while her husband, David, owned a meat business. Ethel Gotlieb worked as a stenographer in her husband's business, Empire Auto. Irene and Ruth Frankfurter commuted from their home on Montrose Street to the Hudson's Bay store to work as clerks.

As noted above, many South End Jews were very active in Jewish community affairs. Some joined South End constituency associations of the Liberal and Conservative Parties.

Unlike rougher parts of the city where fistfights between Jews and non-Jews were common in school yards, South End Jewish children rarely encountered anything more than an occasional taunt.

Conclusions

A large majority of Winnipeg Jews lived in the North End before the Second World War but a South End community also existed. Jews lived in the central core north of Portage Avenue and followed the city's growth to the new residential districts before the First World War. As these areas developed, Jews lived between Portage Avenue and the Assiniboine River and in Fort Rouge. What is known today as the South End Jewish community took shape south of the Assiniboine River in Crescentwood and River Heights in the first half of the twentieth century. These areas attracted businessmen and professionals, although labourers and small-business owners could also be found.

Fragmentary evidence fails to identify why some Jews moved south while others, equally successful, preferred to move into the attractive neighbourhoods in the North End. There were no fundamental differences between the two groups. Both came from eastern European stock and shared the same religious, linguistic, and culinary traditions. Family ties and institutional ties united Jews from different parts of the city. Overt anti-Semitism was rare in the South End but, by choice or by necessity, the social life of South End Jews focused mainly on other Jews and Jewish institutions.

The primary identifying factor of South End Jews before the Second World War appears to be their earlier immigration to Canada and their degree of comfort in an English-speaking environment. As time passed, more Jews came south and there was little difference between South and North by 1945. These factors probably underlie the rapid expansion of Jewish life in the South End since that time.

Notes

1. Arthur A. Chiel, *The Jews of Manitoba.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961, p. 135; Harry Gutkin with Mildred Gutkin, *The Worst of Times, The Best of Times: Growing Up in Winnipeg's North End.* Markham, ON: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1987, p. 7; Allan Levine, *Coming of Age: A History of the Jewish People of Manitoba.* Winnipeg: Heartland, 2010, pp. 105, 406. Chiel defined the South End as River Heights, which was correct for 1961 but premature for 1911. There is a large literature on the North End. For example: Gutkin *The Worst of Times, The Best of Times* and *Jewish Radicalism in Winnipeg, 1905–1960,* ed. Daniel Stone. Winnipeg: Jewish Heritage Centre of Western Canada, 2002, *Jewish Life and Times*, vol. 8, and, more generally, Russ Gourluck, *The Mosaic Village: An Illustrated History of Winnipeg's North End.* Winnipeg: Great Plains Publications, 2010. See also Harvey H. Herstein, "The Growth of the Winnipeg Jewish Community and the Evolution of its Educational Institutions," Manitoba Historical Society, Series 3, Number 22, 1965–66 Season, http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/transactions/3/jewishschools.shtml (accessed 29 June 2014).
2. Moses Finkelstein, *History of the Jews of Winnipeg.* Chicago: The Reform Advocate, 1911, p. 23; Chiel, p. 135.
3. Levine, p. 148.
4. Levine, pp. 167-168.
5. The original handwritten census forms along with transcribed summaries can be seen at: http://automatedgenealogy.com/census11/Test6.jsp?province=Manitoba (accessed 29 June 2014).
6. Chiel, pp. 10–41ff; Levine, p. 35; Alan Artibise, *Winnipeg: An Illustrated History.* Toronto: Lorimer and National Museums of Canada, 1977, pp. 38–78.
7. Louis Rosenberg, *A Study of the Growth and Changes in the Distribution of the Jewish Population of Winnipeg, 1961*. Montreal: Bureau of Social and Economic Research, Canadian Jewish Congress, c1963, p. 16; http://winnipeg.ca/census/2006/Clusters/ and http://winnipeg.ca/Census/2006/City%20of%20Winnipeg/City%20of%20Winnipeg/City%20of%20Winnipeg.pdf (accessed 6 March 2012).
8. Artibise, *Illustrated History*, p. 207. For discussions of the Jewish population in the twentieth-first century, see "Census Date Raises Question in Winnipeg," *Canadian Jewish News*, 30 June 2014, http://www.cjnews.com/canada/census-data-raises-questions-winnipeg (accessed 30 June 2014).
9. Artibise, *Illustrated History*, p. 207.
10. Chiel, pp. 89–91; Herstein "educational institutions" on-line.
11. Levine, *Coming of Age*, pp. 126–127, 165–166. Restrictive covenants and so-called gentlemen's agreements prevented sale of property to Jews in Canada until 1950 when the Canadian Supreme Court decided the case of Noble and Wolf vs. Alley in favour of the Jewish plaintiffs. http://h-net.msu.edu/cgi-bin/logbrowse.pl?trx=vx&list=h-antisemitism&month=9807&msg=O/XHwcqXwyXiORPiDKWmpA (accessed 22 June 2014). Louis Rosenberg, *A Population Study of the Winnipeg Jewish Community*. Bureau of Social and Economic Research: Canadian Jewish Congress: Montreal, 1946, p. 14.

Daniel Stone

147 West Gate. In the late 1920s and early 1930s, Sir Charles Tupper's mansion in the exclusive Armstrong's Point enclave was rented by London-born and Saskatchewan-raised grain-trader Maxwell Heppner (1881–1957).

Jewish Heritage Centre Archives, JM1731

Max J. Finkelstein (1882–1960) came to Winnipeg as a child, became a successful lawyer, and served on the boards of several Jewish and non-Jewish organizations.

12. Artibise, *Illustrated History*, pp. 149–150; "Hudson's Bay Company Reserve," www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/sites/hbcreserve.shtml (accessed 24 November 2013).
13. Rosenberg, "A Population Study," pp. 11–12; Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth.* Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975, p. 157.
14. Chiel, p. 85 identifies the board members, and their residences can be found in *Henderson's Directory* and the 1911 census.
15. Marjorie Gillies, *Street of Dreams: The Story of Broadway, Western Canada's First Boulevard.* Winnipeg: Heartland, 2001, pp. 50–57; Russ Gourluck, *Going Downtown: A History of Winnipeg's Portage Avenue.* Winnipeg: Great Plains Publications, 2006, p. 12.
16. Artibise, *Urban Growth*, p. 157.
17. Randy R. Rostecki, *Armstrong's Point: A History.* Winnipeg: The Heritage Winnipeg Corporation, 2009, pp. 159, 221.
18. Artibise, *Urban Growth*, pp. 165–169; Randy R. Rostecki, *Crescentwood: A History.* Winnipeg: Crescentwood Home Owners Association, 1993; Walter E. Bradley, "History of Transportation in Winnipeg," *MHS Transactions*, Series 3, 1958-59 season http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/transactions/3/transportation.shtml (accessed 27 November 2012).
19. The phrase, "Winnipeg's first suburb," comes from Rostecki, *Crescentwood.* p. 19; Saidye Rosner Bronfman, *Recollections of My Life.* Privately printed, 1986, p. 129.
20. Bronfman, *Recollections*, p. 129.
21. Rostecki, *Crescentwood*, p.23.
22. Louis Rosenberg, *Canada's Jews. A Social and Economic Study of the Jews in Canada in the 1930s*, ed. Morton Weinfeld. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1961, pp. 162, 185–193.
23. Census material and oral history interviews with Dr. Allan Klass, tapes 194 and 396, Jewish Heritage Centre of Western Canada archive.
24. David Rudavsky, *Modern Jewish Religious Movements.* New York: Behrmann, 1979, pp. 378–380; Richard Menkis, "Reform Judaism in Canada," *Canada's Jews In Time, Space and Spirit*, ed. Ira Robinson. Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2013, pp. 296–97.
25. Goldie Gelmon Weatherhead, *Congregation Shaarey Zedek: One Hundred Years.* Winnipeg: Shaarey Zedek Synagogue, 1990, pp. 24–37; Jodi Giesbrecht, "Chief Israel Rabbi Isaac Kahanovitch: His National Significance," *Jewish Life and Times: A Collection of Essays,* Agnail Greenberg and Daniel Stone, eds., Winnipeg: Jewish Heritage Centre of Western Canada, 1983, vol. IX, pp. 58–71.
26. Geoffrey Alderman, *Modern British Jewry.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992, pp. 216–218.
27. Weatherhead, pp. 62–63; Herbert J. Samuels in "Memorable Manitobans", http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/people/samuel_hj.shtml (accessed 17 July 2014).
28. Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Shaarey Zedek Congregation, Board of Management Minutes, 9 September 1935; Weatherhead, p. 32.
29. Weatherhead, p. Interview with Rabbi Alan Green.
30. Weatherhead, p. 15.
31. Bronfman, *Recollections*, p. 129; Weatherhead, p. 15; *Israelite Press*, 21 November 1921; Act to Incorporate "The Fort Rouge Hebrew Congregation," 12 April 1923, Bill #48, Jewish Heritage Centre Archives 492. File -01. Ms. 8464; Archives of Manitoba, Shaarey Zedek Congregation Board of Management minutes, 31 December 1922.
32. Archives of Manitoba, Shaarey Zedek Congregation Board of Management minutes, 16 January, 9 February, 10 June, and 8 July 1937; Reuben Slonim, *Great to Be an Orphan.* Toronto: Clarke Irwin, 1983, pp. 182, 188, 195; *Israelite Press*, 11 November 1927, 3 January 1928 and 9 October 1928; Milwaukee County, Jewish Congregations to 1963, http://linkstothepast.com/milwaukee/jewcong.php (accessed 6 September 2014).
33. Slonim, pp. 34, 184.
34. Rudavsky, pp. 298–308.
35. Chiel, pp. 83–85; Weatherhead, pp. 42–43, 62–63.
36. Henry Trachtenberg. "Weidman, Hiram (Chaim) Leib; 1862–1933" and Mordecai S." *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. 2nd ed. Vol. 20, p. 698. Gale Virtual Reference Library (accessed 30 June, 2014); "Memorable Manitobans," Manitoba Historical Society website: David R. Finkelstein http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/people/finkelstein_dr.shtml, Moses Finkelstein, http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/people/finkelstein_m1.shtml (accessed 22 June 2014)
37. Chiel, p. 85 and 1911 census records. Thus, the synagogues did not represent "the divisions" between the German-Anglos and the Russians: Levine, p. 131
38. *Rising to the Occasion: A Community History of Wolseley, West Broadway & Armstrong's Point.* Winnipeg, 2000, p. 69; T. Peterson, "Ethnic and Class Politics in Manitoba" in Martin Robin (ed.), *Canadian Provincial Politics.* Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall, 1972, p. 81.
39. Historic Buildings Committee, "91 Albert Street. Imperial Dry Goods Block,"http://www.winnipeg.ca/ppd/historic/pdf-consv/Albert%2091-long.pdf (accessed 21 February 2012); Chiel, pp. 110–111; Levine, pp. 201–207. For details on sporting activities, see Leible Hershfield, *The Jewish Athlete: A Nostalgic View.* Winnipeg: self-published, 1980.
40. Levine, pp. 399, 406.
41. Chiel, pp. 129-152; Reuben Slonim, *Great to Be an Orphan.* Toronto: Clarke Irwin, 1983, pp. 14, 20, 24; Chiel, pp. 128–152ff; Levine, pp. 172–75; Sharon Graham, "The Jewish Orphanage," a paper presented to the Jewish Heritage Centre of Western Canada on 11 February 2014.
42. Quoted in Levine, pp. 182, 186; Chiel, pp. 153–67.
43. Gerald Tulchinsky, *Branching Out: The Transformation of the Canadian Jewish Community.* Toronto: Stoddart, 1998, p. 9; Peterson, pp. 78-84. For details, see Henry Trachtenberg, "The Winnipeg Jewish Community and Politics: the Inter-War Years, 1919–1939,"Manitoba Historical Society Transactions, Series 3, Number 35, 1978–79 Season. http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/transactions/3/jewishpolitics.shtm (accessed 27 June 2014).
44. Bronfman, *Recollections*, pp. 23, 33; Bronfman, *My Sam*, p. 19; Oral History tape #396 by Dr. Alan Klass, personal interviews with Dr. Martin Weidman and community leader Marjorie Rady Blankstein.
45. Interviews with Marjorie Blankstein and Donald Weidman. Oral history tape by Alan Klass.
46. Bronfman, *Recollections*, p. 34.

Bayanihan and Belonging: Filipinos in Manitoba[1]

by Alison Marshall
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The *Wow! Mabuhay* gift shop in Riding Mountain National Park caught my eye during the Canada Day weekend in 2013. As I entered, I saw an array of global giftware: shell jewellery, bamboo chimes, wooden salad bowls. I noticed a figurine of the Buddha and an item marked with the Chinese character for auspiciousness (*fu*). Then I heard a girl explaining to her mother that this was a Chinese store. Having just returned two months earlier from a research trip to the Philippines, though, I knew that "*Mabuhay*" is a Filipino, not Chinese, word meaning "Cheers!" As I left the shop, I suddenly became aware of many Filipino faces on the main street of the park's resort town of Wasagaming. Beyond the picturesque streets and shops, I noticed scores of Filipinos quietly cleaning the tourists' sheets, towels, and toilets.

These small moments of observation reminded me that Asian communities in Canada and institutionalized racism are ever-evolving. As an Asian studies specialist, former resident of Brandon and current Winnipegger, I was well aware of Manitoba's urban Filipino communities and issues. Yet I still felt a twinge of surprise at encountering a Filipino-owned business, Filipino Canadian vacationers, and temporary foreign workers in this lakeside resort town. The girl's misinterpretation of the shop as Chinese also brought home to me that Filipino Canadians' cultural distinctiveness is often overlooked and misunderstood.

My initial interest in Manitoba's Filipino history and leadership had been sparked in 2011 through an encounter with a distinguished Filipina Manitoban, the Honourable Flor Marcelino, then provincial Minister of Culture and Tourism. She spoke at a ceremony at which I received a Manitoba Day Award for my first book on Chinese prairie history.[2] I remember saying how proud I was to live in a province with an Asian woman as minister of culture. In the days that followed, I began to reflect further on the many ways that Filipinos might be changing Manitoba's cultural fabric. These reflections developed into research questions and a study into the structure and processes that led to

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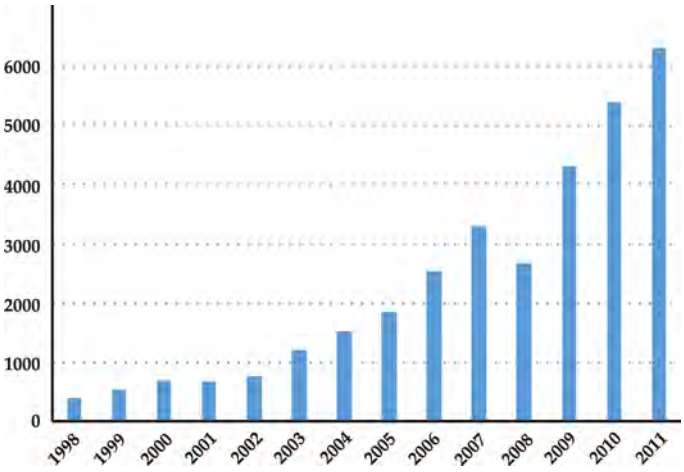

Wilf Falk, Manitoba Bureau of Statistics, 22 May 2013

The Filipino population of Manitoba has grown ten-fold in the span of 14 years.

Filipino migration, settlement, belonging and leadership in Canada. This article presents a collage of community organizer biographies in two parts, based on their own stories of adaptation and success.

Method

As I completed my second book on Chinese prairie Canada (*Cultivating Connections*, UBC Press, 2014), I expanded my investigation of local prairie histories and other archival research to include not only Chinese, but Filipino Canadians.[3] I reviewed census and immigration projections, as well as secondary sources that focused on Filipino women's migration experiences and employment as nurses, caregivers, pen pals, domestic and garment workers.[4] Drawing on nearly fifteen years of ethno-historical research on prairie cultural diversity, I tried to understand Filipino culture within an increasingly Asian Manitoba.

I knew that I had to do fieldwork in the Philippines to understand migration patterns and cultures here in Canada. In April 2013, I conducted exploratory research. Since then I have worked with research assistants to interview and conduct surveys on migration, food, religion and culture with almost 150 research participants in the northern Philippines. In addition, I have used snowball sampling to gather a range of rural and urban, left-wing and more centrist stories from male and female Filipinos in Manitoba. After I completed the interviewing, I did not have the space to tell all or more stories. I plan to expand the number of stories told in future projects.[5]

Although surveys used in the Philippines highlighted religion as a theme, research instruments used in Manitoba did not focus on religion. Based on years of interviewing Chinese research participants, I assumed Filipinos would want to keep religious involvement private. But Filipinos did not see the efficacy of downplaying ties to Christianity. Almost everyone spoke with enthusiasm about faith, church life and the impact of religion on their community involvements. Migrante was the only local branch of an organization I encountered where meetings did not begin with a prayer.

I asked everyone to submit photographs and shared interview transcripts with research participants. I encouraged them to delete or add what they wanted. I was not interested in exposing community disunity or forcing stories to suit my thesis. My goal was to document community history and highlight common themes and patterns in research-participant accounts of their own life stories and accomplishments. I also wanted to include narratives that were important to both original narrators and to me as the academic listener.[6] Research participants thus edited and approved the oral history transcripts used in this article. While many research participants chose to use their real names in published research, others opted for pseudonyms or confidentiality.

My use of the first person pronoun "I" here and in other published works is deliberate. I acknowledge my powerful position as a researcher and academic writer, and attempt to avoid creating the illusion of objectivism or authority that pervades so much of historical writing.[7] I edit my work to achieve a tone that has been variously perceived by reviewers as approachable, informal, conversational or folksy. This tone reminds the reader of my role, my outsider position as a "white" identified academic, and my bias in writing and shaping the stories presented in this article.[8]

I did not intend to take a celebratory stance that included certain stories of successful newcomers and occluded more complicated narratives of racism, vulnerability, or exclusion. Willing research participants were usually those migrants with positive stories to tell. Temporary foreign workers by contrast were less available and unable to spare even an hour to speak with me. Moreover, as I discuss later in this paper, institutionalized racism in the form of the Temporary Foreign Worker Program meant that they lived with the uncertainty of future work or residency in Canada. They had no reason to be part of this study. Manitoba has more than 100 organizations and tens of thousands of Filipinos. It made sense to begin my study with community male and female leaders and activists, who for the most part had stories that had not yet been told. I did not intend to omit certain individuals or groups, some of whom did not respond to e-mail and voice-mail messages inviting them to participate in the research program.

Filipino Canadians' cultural distinctiveness is often overlooked and misunderstood.

Rey Pagtakhan

Dr. Rey Pagtakhan signed as a newly elected Member of Parliament with then-Clerk of the House of Commons, Robert Marleau, 1988.

In accounts of emigrating and forming new connections in Manitoba, I heard common themes. Based on comments in the testimonials, the article highlights the positive socio-cultural values of (1) *"matibay at sumusunod katulad ng kawayan"* (being resilient and pliant like a bamboo), (2) *"bahala na"* ("whatever happens" or "leave it up to God"), and (3) *"bayanihan"* spirit (communal unity).

1. "Resilient" in the context of a bamboo tree means (with Tagalog translation) strong (*matibay*) or flexible and being pliant. "Like bamboo" translates "*katulad ng kawayan*." This socio-cultural value likens Filipinos' strength and flexibility in the midst of adversity and setbacks to that of bamboo, which is able to recover far more quickly after a strong blast of wind than one would expect.
2. "*Bahala na*," an expression used almost universally by Filipinos, translates literally as "leave it up to God (*Bathala*)," and roughly as "whatever happens." It can also mean to "let the circumstance take care of itself." While the first two translations reflect positive cultural values of courage and confidence anchored by religious faith, the third connotes a negative and defeatist attitude that was introduced to the Philippines through the colonial influences of Spain and the United States. One may only appreciate the meaning that is being conveyed

from the tone and inflection of the speaker, in the context of the conversation. My choice of it as a socio-cultural value is in its positive aspect, whereby it becomes a flexible strategy employed to adapt to challenging situations.

3. *Bayanihan* spirit expresses Filipinos' strong belief in helping one another without expecting anything in return, especially in times of need, such as following a natural calamity. Its application usually transcends immediate familial boundaries.[9]

Resilience, *Bahala na*, and the *Bayanihan* spirit are central to narratives describing how Filipinos work together to form affective ties[10] and a sense of belonging in Manitoba.[11]

Manitoba's Filipino Migration History

It makes sense that people would mistake a Filipino gift shop for a Chinese one, since Chinese are well established in Manitoba, having first arrived in 1877.[12] Canada's earliest pair of Filipinos arrived in 1921.[13] They were noted under the heading "various" and resided in British Columbia. It is nearly impossible to document migration prior to 1921 because Canadian census and immigration records lacked a specific category for Filipinos. However, it seems plausible that Filipino migration would have followed established North American patterns of Asian settlement. Elsewhere I have identified strong prairie borderland populations of Chinese migrants.[14] Hundreds of Filipinos who came to Minnesota and North Dakota as colonial subjects after 1898[15] might have ventured northward into Canada periodically—for pleasure, business or simply to extend a visa.[16]

I did not intend to take a celebratory stance that included certain stories of successful newcomers and occluded more complicated narratives of racism, vulnerability, or exclusion.

The first wave of Filipino migration to Manitoba began in the 1950s, when a number of Filipino female nurses arrived in Winnipeg from Minneapolis to work at the Misericordia General Hospital.[17] Gradually, more came either via the United States or directly from the Philippines and included teachers, nurses, doctors and domestic workers.

A sudden influx of predominantly unmarried women occurred at the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s when several Manitoba garment companies, with support from the federal and provincial governments, actively recruited skilled workers from the Philippines.[18] Filipino garment workers in the Netherlands whose work contracts were prematurely terminated readily found placement in Winnipeg. As newcomers became established, they paved the way for others in their network back home to follow them to Canada—a process known as chain migration. Many family members—spouses, children, parents and siblings—came to join the original Filipino Manitobans throughout the ensuing years.

Since 1967, a point system has made it easier for Filipinos and others to migrate to Canada based on economics, not race.[19] While Canadian permanent immigration guidelines were no longer shaped by ethnic selection, new temporary foreign worker programs became popular ways for Canadian companies to initially recruit low-skilled, low-waged seasonal farm and live-in care workers from select and often non-white racialized backgrounds.[20] In the 1970s, President Marcos in the Philippines additionally encouraged Filipinos to seek work outside the country to stimulate the national economy.

Filipinos relied on agencies in the Philippines to whom they paid thousands of dollars to connect them with employers looking for temporary workers in Canada and elsewhere. Most of the early migrant labourers were females recruited to work for families in their homes. By law, the Filipino women were consigned to precarious

Mike Pagtakhan

Newly elected city councillor Mike Pagtakhan (right) with Winnipeg Mayor Glen Murray, November, 2002.

work and living conditions. They arrived in Canada with permits that enabled them to work for only one employer, and to live only in the homes of the families who employed them. Temporary foreign workers bought houses, cars and contributed to the economy. They were required to pay unemployment insurance premiums and contribute to the Canada Pension Plan but, as temporary employees and not permanent residents, most didn't have a right to citizenship, and most were ineligible to collect pensions, or qualify for assistance in the event they lost their jobs.

In 2014, Manitoba's thousands of male and female Filipino temporary foreign workers continue to be well-educated, underemployed and vulnerable migrants who must wait two years before they may apply to be permanent citizens.[21] They are employed in meat processing plants such as Hylife Foods, Maple Leaf Foods and Granny's, franchise restaurants, resorts, inns, construction, gas stations, and as health care, and domestic workers in every corner of the province. Most of them are unionized and have benefitted from programming and assistance provided by unions such as the UFCW (United Food and Commercial Workers). Manitoba's branch of Migrante also offers counselling to migrants who are sometimes unaware of their rights to holiday or overtime pay, and breaks, or who may be too fearful to complain about abuse or harassment. Diwa Marcelino, who will be profiled in Part 2 of this article is Migrante's branch Programme Co-ordinator.

None of the individuals profiled in this article has been untouched by the temporary foreign worker program. Guided by a *bayanihan* spirit and Christian faith, they have used their organization or volunteer involvements to help the Filipino community's weakest members.

In addition to Filipinos who arrive in Manitoba through the temporary foreign worker program, select skilled Filipinos are recruited to come to Canada as permanent residents through the Provincial Nominee Program. They also come as pen pal brides and through chain migration to join family. Based on the 2011 census and provincial Filipino immigration projections, 75,000 Filipinos are estimated to be living in Manitoba in 2014.[22] Winnipeg is home to Canada's largest *per capita* Filipino-Canadian community. More immigrants come here from the Philippines than from any other country. Moreover, ethnohistorical research reveals sizable and growing populations in Neepawa (1,200), Steinbach (1,000), Portage la Prairie (500), Brandon (325), Dauphin (125) and Russell (60),[23] and a handful of Filipinos in most small towns beyond these centres.[24] Today there are more than 500,000 Filipinos throughout Canada and Tagalog is the country's fifth most common language.[25]

From the 1910s to 1940s, Prairie Canadians knew about the Philippines through popular singers,[26] dancers and cock fighters,[27] Freemason international meetings,[28] boxing[29] and as the place where Canadian grain companies and executives did business.[30] Filipinos were recognized as Asian Christians exempted from exclusion south of the border. Some knew them as colonialized inhabitants of islands discovered by Magellan in 1521 that were now under American occupation.[31]

The reasons for Filipino migration to Canada have been many and varied. First-wave migrants of the 1950s and 1960s were predominantly female. Most came from south of the border. They arrived to resolve expiring visas in the United States, to pursue graduate medical training, or to seek employment while waiting to determine final career paths. Those who came directly from the Philippines, like most Asian migrants, were attracted by the possibility of better and well paid employment.[32] Second-wave migrants of the 1960s and early 1970s were a mix of mostly educators and garment and health-care workers, as demonstrated in the chart documenting chain migration to Brandon in the story of Tom Colina—told in Part 2 of this article.

The first wave of Filipino migration to Manitoba began in the 1950s, when a number of Filipino female nurses arrived in Winnipeg from Minneapolis to work at the Misericordia General Hospital.

Throughout the years, migrants have left the Philippines due to uncertainties created by martial law (1972–1986), as fiancées or pen pal brides, for status or in search of adventure. They also leave the Philippines due to poverty and the lack of job opportunities. As of 2014, nearly 23 million people in the Philippines, or 20 percent, are homeless.[33]

Common Themes

Despite the cold climate, Filipinos remained in the province because their families depended on the remittances (regular payments) they sent home each month, because life was easier than in the Philippines, and due to relationships, and a *bayanihan* spirit. Filipinos may not have experienced the kind of institutionalized racism that excluded Chinese from Canada until 1947, or caused Japanese Canadians to be interned during the Second World War. Filipinos arrived in Canada speaking English, so they did not face a daunting language barrier. Nevertheless, they experienced discrimination based on the colour of their skin and other physical traits, which varied depending on the time and place of settlement and the degree to which they were perceived to take away dominant-society jobs. There are strong parallels between the historical discrimination against Chinese-Canadian railway and contract labourers and contemporary Filipino temporary foreign workers. Chinese and Filipinos were and are sought-after exemplary employees, needed to do contract work few people wanted. As the numbers of migrant workers increased, so too did the racism and claims that they were taking away dominant-society jobs. As far back as 1885, the government

responded with the Chinese Immigration Act and a head tax of $50 to stem the tide of migrant workers. In April 2014, the government responded with the banning of the hiring of temporary foreign workers by restaurants. In both instances, the important contributions of the contract workers were obscured. In April the ban was temporary and by June the government had announced that it was phasing out low-waged workers.[34] The ban did not specifically target Filipinos. However, the timing of the ban coincided with media reports of Canadian citizens complaining that temporary workers were taking away Canadian jobs. Usually these media reports were accompanied by photographs of Filipino temporary foreign workers.[35] The swift government response to media and public outcry over complaints about temporary foreign workers seemed to suggest government endorsement of discriminatory views. Filipinos are not the only group of temporary foreign workers employed by McDonald's and other businesses. As mentioned, most of the individuals who will be profiled in Part 2 of this article have spent careers helping vulnerable migrants, students, care givers, and domestic and temporary foreign workers.

Several of the individuals interviewed for this article were affiliated with the Knights of Rizal. The Knights of Rizal is an organization that promotes the values of resilience, *bayanihan* and *bahala na* and that is also associated with José Rizal (1861–1898), the national hero of the Philippines. Some research participants hastened to add that Rizal was a much more complex figure and not the hero of those associated with today's liberation movement in the Philippines.[36] Levy Abad, a former Social Sciences teacher, poet and songwriter, noted that Rizal's reformism was tainted with colonialism: "Historically, we fought and gained independence from colonial rule of the Spaniards and had Independence declared in 12 June 1898 but this was not acceptable for the US and Spain. The US granted us independence (US colonial Rule) on 4 July 1946 through the Treaty of Manila but the granting of independence was just the beginning of the struggle against US Neo-Colonial rule. It is pervasive to this day and is still raging. Almost everybody is silent about this. You will note that this struggle will not be seen in the mainstream Canadian cultural presentation. Hence, what the diaspora is getting is just a partial story of the struggle narrative."[37]

An affluent, highly educated physician, author, sojourner and Catholic, Rizal as person and persona has become the figurehead of the mainstream Filipino men and women around the globe who belong to the Knights of Rizal. Rizal's father was a wealthy Chinese mestizo, and his mother had received a college education. Rizal studied medicine at Santo Tomas University in the Philippines, and then spent a decade in Europe completing his medical degree at the University of Madrid, and a Doctorate at the University of Heidelberg. Although he was a medical doctor by training, Rizal became famous in 1887 for a novel called *Noli Me Tangere* (*Touch Me Not*) that criticized both the Catholic church and Spanish colonialism. The book was banned, Rizal's family was exiled, and in December 1896 the Spanish executed him for treason. Spurred on by Rizal's sacrifice, two years later the Philippines became the first independent Asian nation.[38]

Religion is deeply embedded in Filipino history and has been an integral part of the migration and settlement process here. Filipinos, unlike Chinese and Japanese migrants, were usually Christian (Catholic or Protestant) when they migrated. In this way, they met with greater acceptance because Canada was a Christian nation. Churches, along with religious groups, continue to play an enormous role in providing newcomer assistance and enabling Filipinos to form ties and relationships.[39] As one Filipino observed: "It's an important part of our life. Whether it's Roman Catholicism, or whether it's *Iglesia ni Cristo*, or whether it's Jehovah's Witness, or whatever, Filipinos are very religious."

Evangelical and Catholic churches in Manitoba have been revitalized by Filipino congregations, and services are entirely in Tagalog. A variety of Winnipeg's religious groups, including Our Lady of the Miraculous Medal, Sacred Heart, Santo Niño, Our Lady of Fatima, Our Lady of Piat, Our Lady of Penafrancia, Lord of Pardon and Cenacle Prayer Group, organize and host religious festivals. Each year on 25 January, Winnipeg Filipinos observe *Ati Atihan*, one of a few festivals that celebrate Santo Niño (Infant Jesus).[40]

Although Manitoba Filipinos originate from diverse provinces and speak different regional languages, they are unified here in speaking English or Tagalog. They use regional languages amongst themselves. Most research

Flor Marcelino

Newly elected MLA Flor Marcelino (right) celebrates with Manitoba Premier Greg Selinger at the Winnipeg Convention Centre, 22 May 2007.

Alison Marshall

Tom Colina speaks at the unveiling of a commemorative monument at Dr. José Rizal Park in Winnpeg, 21 June 2014.

participants also mentioned wordless greetings to acknowledge other Filipinos: Men lift the eyebrow, sharing a special look, or saying "spss," and women exchange nods, waves or smiles.

The importance of education was a strong theme in the oral history interviews. Another pervasive value was that of multiculturalism. Most early Winnipeg Filipinos had been active participants in ethnocultural groups and initiatives. Filipinos engaged with Manitoban society and were attracted to multiculturalism through values imparted by *bayanihan* spirit.

Early Migration Experiences

Through involvement with leaders of the Chinese, Japanese and other newcomer communities, Filipinos have fundraised, lobbied, organized and hosted Asian and multicultural events since the late 1960s.[41] By 2002, Filipinos had been elected to all levels of government in Manitoba.

As happened with other Asians, discrimination initially limited the earliest Filipino migrants in North America to unskilled labour as domestic servants, care givers and cooks, on sugar beet farms and in market gardens, in factories, and on the railway.[42] During periods when lone labourers and their families lived apart, ties were maintained through regular correspondence and financial remittances sent home. Family ties and networks are key to immigrant success in all Asian contexts. Chinese cultivate connections and belonging in Manitoba through five traditional relationships[43] and *guanxi*.[44] Filipinos cultivate connections through the *bayanihan* spirit that both solidifies and transcends family bonds. But there are key differences between Chinese and Filipino migration patterns in terms of gender, religion, language, politics, socio-economic status and education. Manitoba's earliest Filipinos lived in a predominantly bachelorette (not bachelor) society of nurses, caregivers, domestic and garment workers.[45] Given the paucity of Filipino men in the province, single migrating women seldom married after they arrived. Filipinos migrated mostly after 1950, and were Christians who already spoke English and thus the classes that had been important for other earlier groups of non-Christian Chinese and sometimes Buddhist Japanese were not needed by them. Most Filipino newcomers were university–educated and sometimes from affluent families. Unlike Chinese Canadians, the earliest Filipinos were usually not anchored to home through political associations.[46] Their attachment to birthplace nevertheless remains strong as displayed through the use of formal costume, annual celebration of Philippine Independence Day, singing of the Philippine National Anthem and regular vacations to the Philippines.

When I first became a professor, I remember telling my classes about a growing apathy toward institutionalized religion. At that time, I incorporated the study of secularism into religion classes. Most students were either atheists or nominal Christians, but rarely churchgoers. Almost 15 years later Manitoba's religious terrain has changed. The United and Anglican churches may be dying in this province but evangelical and Catholic churches have been revitalized by Filipino congregations, ecumenism, and services entirely in Tagalog.

Filipinos were now working at the legislature, in parliament, at city hall, as well as in hospitals, dental clinics, the military, libraries, universities, insurance agencies, hotels, and at the post office. Manitoba's spoken languages reflect the complicated shifts in migration patterns. For most of the 20th century, English, German and French were the most widely spoken languages in Manitoba. In 2014 Tagalog has become the province's second language. Today, most non-Filipinos know that the Philippines is its own country, but when Mike Pagtakhan was growing up they thought it was part of China.

During periods when lone labourers and their families lived apart, ties were maintained through regular correspondence and financial remittances sent home.

Bayanihan and Belonging is part of an ongoing study. Part 2 of this work, which will appear in the next issue of *Manitoba History*, will present the stories of Filipino activists and leaders from Dauphin to Winnipeg. These individuals have shown leadership in the garment industry and on behalf of domestic helpers and temporary foreign workers, in medicine and dentistry, and as entrepreneurs, politicians, life insurance agents, postal workers and nurses. Through service to the broader community they have formed strong bonds and changed Manitoba's cultural fabric. I end Part 1 with a poem by Levy Abad, describing the beginning of a Filipino migrant's journey to Manitoba:

"Leaving"
lyrics by Levy Abad

I'm journeying tomorrow to a distant land
And wondering what the future holds for me
Hoping that this venture will bring a better life
Wishing it's all worth the misery.

You and me, countless others take this leap of faith
Gambling all into the hands of fate
Leaving all relations to the cost of distance
And a sad song that will be playing through the years.

Who knows of the burden that we've been carrying
Or the colored walls that we have to climb
Who can share the struggles that this journey is asking
As we take on unfamiliar times.

If only things were different that we don't have to leave
And home is free of hard times brought about by greed
If only empires crumble by itself without fight
You and I may never be here tonight.

And so often there's this endless yearning to look back
To embrace the motherland that brought us up
And in the silence of the night we cry to be forgiven
While the souls of our forebears call us home.

At times under the neon lights we find ourselves grieving
For friends and comrades slain to set us free
In our weakness we left them alone to do the fighting
Through the violence of darkness to break free.

Sadly, reality comes to wake us up
And here we are scattered and trying to rise up
And so we gather strength through bonds of living hope
Care for one another to build a better world. ☙

Notes

1. This is Part 1 of a two-part article. The research presented here has been funded by two SSHRC grants for which I am principal investigator (2008–2011; and 2012–2017 with Pauline Greenhill, co-investigator), and the CCK Foundation (with Allen Chun, collaborator). I thank research assistants Pat Garry, Alison Mayes, Hannah Tufts, Melba Sumat, Barb Manko, and Morganna Malyon. Last but not least, I thank confidential research participants who read a draft of this article, and edited the introductory, concluding sections, though no changes were made to research participant stories.
2. Alison R. Marshall, *The Way of the Bachelor: Early Chinese Settlement in Manitoba.* Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2011.
3. My research team and I have searched well over 500 local histories in Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Ontario since 2008, as well as newspapers and other archives related to settlements in these regions. Research participants have also shared personal archival collections with me.
4. See Marcial Q. Aranas, *The Dynamics of Filipino Immigrants in Canada*. Edmonton: Coles Print Co., 1983; Darlyne Bautista, *Winnipeg's Filipino Health Professionals (c. 1950–1970).* Winnipeg: ANAK 2012; Glenda Tibe Bonifacio, *Pinay on the Prairies: Filipino Women and Transnational Identities.* Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013; Anita Beltran Chen, *From Sunbelt to Snowbelt: Filipinos in Canada.* Calgary: Canadian Ethnic Studies Association, 1998; Roland Sintos Coloma, et al., eds., *Filipinos in Canada: Disturbing Invisibility.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012; Jim Corrigan, *Filipino Immigration.* Broomall: Mason Crest, 2004; Isabella T. Crisostomo, *Filipino Achievers in the USA & Canada: Profiles in Excellence.* Farmington Hills: Bookhaus, 1996; Pauline Gardiner Barber, "The Ideal Immigrant? Gendered Class Subjects in Philippine-Canada Migration," *Third World Quarterly* 29(7): 1265-1285 (2008).
5. I have come to know since my deadline for this preliminary work that there are others not included here who had become the first to achieve positions of distinction in their careers or places of employment, namely, a "member of the University of Winnipeg Board of Regents; Heads of Vascular Surgery Section and Pathology departments at the Health Sciences Centre and St. Boniface General Hospital; Professors in the Faculties of Human Ecology and Arts and Dean of Education at the University of Manitoba; Vice-Principals and Chair of Seven Oaks School Board; Head of high-school Math and Science department; key roles in musical production and performing arts; high-school graduate Governor General Gold Medalists; owners of supermarkets, restaurants, travel agencies and architectural firm; geologist soil specialist; Speaker of the Manitoba Legislative Assembly and other Members of the Manitoba Legislative Assembly, publishers of community newspapers and entrepreneurs." Rey D. Pagtakhan, "Filipinos in Manitoba: Celebrating Half a Century of their Coming", lecture at the Philippine Canadian Centre of Manitoba, 27 May 2009. It is my hope that I could engage these individuals later as research participants in this continuing project.
6. I attempt to research and write reflexively by choosing methods and theories that develop patterns within research participant narratives. I attend events and get to know research participants and develop relationships with leaders to determine community interest in a project. As much as possible, I try to balance my own role as scholarly interpreter and outsider with the needs of the individual community. Sometimes, this means that I omit stories I perceive to inflame disunity in a community, or racism toward it. See Katherine Borland, "That's Not What I Said": Interpretive Conflict in Oral Narrative Research," in S. B. Gluck and D. Patai, eds. *Women's Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History.* New York: Routledge, pp. 63-75.
7. "Objectivism is the relentless faith in the ideal correctness of a truly unbiased account as not only possible, but preferable." See Pauline Greenhill and Alison Marshall, "Racism and Denial of Racism: Dealing with the Academy and the Field," *Journal of American Folklore*, forthcoming. See also, Donna Haraway, "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective," *Feminist Studies* 14(3): 575-599 (1988).
8. See Natasha Pinterics, "Riding the Feminist Waves in With the Third," *Canadian Woman Studies* 21(4): 15-21 (2001).
9. Dr. Rey Pagtakhan provided important elaboration on these three socio-cultural values in Filipino culture.
10. Affect, as defined in this article, can be a physical feeling or an emotion. Affect is both positive and negative, creates bonds among people in different places and times, and has momentum leading to conviviality or apathy and belonging or exclusion. See Brian Massumi, *Movement, Affect, Sensation: Parables for the Virtual.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2002, p. 217.
11. Arthur Frank adds, "Stories work with people, for people, and always stories work on people, affecting what people see as real, as possible, and as worth doing or best avoided." Arthur W. Frank, *Letting Stories Breathe: A Socio-Narratology.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010, p. 3.
12. In the Philippines, Chinese are generally seen as distinct from "Filipinos" belonging to an ethnic group known as "Chinoy" or mixed-race Chinese "mestizos." Chinese-Filipino trade began in the Song dynasty (960–1127) and migration began in the 16th century. See Edgar Wickberg, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850–1898*, Reprint. Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2000, p. 25.
13. "Table 24—Population Classified According to Racial Origin by Provinces." *Census of Canada, 1921.* Vol. I. Ottawa: F.A. Acland, 1925, pp. 356-357.

14. See Alison Marshall, *Cultivating Connections: The Making of Chinese Prairie Canada.* Vancouver: UBC Press, 2014.
15. Between 1898 and 1934, Filipinos (unlike Chinese) enjoyed unrestricted migration to the United States as colonial subjects. Two Filipinos resided in Minnesota in 1910 and by 1930, 236 Filipinos resided in Minnesota. After 1934, United States migration was limited to a quota of 50 Filipino newcomers per year. June Drenning Holmquist, *They Chose Minnesota: A Survey of the State's Ethnic Groups,* Reprint. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Association, 2004, pp. 547-550.
16. See Gemma Dalayoan, Leah Enverga-Magsino, and Leonnie Bailon, *The First Filipino Immigrants in Manitoba (1959–1975).* Winnipeg: Artbookbindery, 2008, p. 39.
17. See Darlyne Bautista, *Winnipeg's Filipino Health Professionals*.
18. Cleto M. Buduhan, "An Urban Village: The Effect of Migration on the Filipino Garment Workers in a Canadian City," MA Thesis. University of Manitoba, 1972.
19. Immigration Act, 1967.
20. Nandita Sharma, *Home Economics: Nationalism and the Making of "Migrant Workers" in Canada.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006.
21. Diwa Marcelino, Programme Coordinator-Migrante Manitoba, "Migrant Workers and Human Rights," Winnipeg Multicultural Human Rights Forum. 26 June 2014.
22. Wilf Falk, Chief Statistician of Manitoba, reports that according to the 2011 Census National Household Survey, the province has 61,270 people of Filipino origin and that each year a quarter of Manitoba's 13,000 newcomers are Filipino. This makes the total population roughly 75,000 by 2014 (if one includes 2011 migration numbers). Telephone conversation, 24 March 2014.
23. Ema Olarte notes that of the 60 Filipinos who currently reside in Russell, Manitoba, a handful of them live with families.
24. Neepawa's Filipino population is estimated to be 1200 as of April 2012. Jeremy Janzen, Human Resources, Hylife, Neepawa, and Settlement Office, Filipino Association, and Town of Neepawa. See also Monday, 22 April 2013, *Filipino Journal* and "Neepawa Filipino Basketball League gaining momentum." Tuesday, 19 November. 2013, My Westman.ca http://www.mywestman.ca/sports/1793-neepawa-filipino-basketball-league-gaining-momentum.html (accessed 22 July 2014).
25. http://www.cicnews.com/2014/01/story-filipino-immigration-canada-013193.html. See also "Tagalog fastest-growing language in Canada, data show." 24 October 2012. *The Globe and Mail*, http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/tagalog-fastest-growing-language-in-canada-data-show/article4650109/ (accessed 22 April 2014).
26. "Strand Week of April 8: Filipino Sextette," 5 April 1918, *The Voice,* n.p.
27. "Champagne Orgy at Jamestown," 25 September 1907, *Brandon Daily Sun*, n.p.
28. Peel 10569.15: Proceedings of the M. W. Grand Lodge of Alberta, A.F. and A.M. Freemasons, 1920, p. 155.
29. Canadians followed Filipino boxing matches in the 1930s. 24 January 1933, *The Globe*, p. 13.
30. Peel 7378**:** *Facts about the new international wheat agreement, 1949–50 to 1952–53*. Saskatoon: Modern Press, 1949, pp. 49-50.
31. Peel 10567.64: Manitoba Telephone System. Radio Branch. Manitoba Calling. Winnipeg Manitoba Telephone System v. 6, no. 4. 1937.
32. For a thorough discussion of 1970s wages and cost of living in the Philippines, see Buduhan, pp. 38-48.
33. "MM has world's highest homeless population" by Jose Rodel Clapano, *The Philippine Star*, 6 May 2014. http://www.philstar.com/headlines/2014/05/06/1319831/mm-has-worlds-highest-homeless-population (accessed 30 June 2014).
34. See, for instance, "Jason Kenney effectively phasing out temporary foreign workers in low-wage jobs," CBC news, 21 June 2014. http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/jason-kenney-effectively-phasing-out-temporary-foreign-workers-in-low-wage-jobs-1.2682950 (accessed 21 July 2014).
35. "Concerns rise over temporary foreign workers," Fort Saskatchewan Record, 3 July 2014. http://www.fortsaskatchewanrecord.com/2014/07/03/concerns-rise-over-temporary-foreign-workers (accessed 21 July 2014).
36. Research participants emphasized that most left-wing liberation movement supporters had not migrated and thus their views, heroes, and interests were not represented in Manitoba's cultural fabric or in activities that take place during the annual Philippines Heritage Week celebrations.
37. Email correspondence, Levy Abad, 11 June 2014.
38. See Stanley Karnow, *In Our Image: America's Empire in the Philippines.* New York: Ballantine, 1989, pp. 67-77.
39. Only one research participant among the 30 interviewed did not list religion as a major involvement. For the majority, churches, pastors and volunteer ministry figured prominently in experiences, life decisions and community participation. Information collected thus far strongly suggests that Filipinos are reviving and re-invigorating dwindling or dying church populations from Winnipeg to Dauphin.
40. Aklanons in Canada to hold Ati-Atihan, Blog. 9 January 2014. http://aklannewsupdate.blogspot.ca/2014/01/aklanons-in-canada-to-hold-ati-atihan.html (accessed 14 April 2014). For a list of Winnipeg's earliest religious and other associations, see Buduhan, p. 94.
41. See for instance, Joseph Du, ed., *Mr. Hung Lee and Winnipeg Chinatown* (Winnipeg: publisher name? 2003), p. 94, and Patrick Choy, ed., *Winnipeg Chinatown*. China: Winnipeg Chinese Cultural and Community Centre, 2011, p. 186.
42. See Marshall, *Way of the Bachelor*, and the discussion of Japanese sugar beet farmers in Halbstadt Heritage Book Committee, *Halbstadt Heritage: Halbstadt, Strassberg and Blumenthal, 1879–2005.* Halbstadt: The Committee, 2005, p. 301. Most of Manitoba's earliest migrants came from Minnesota, Dakota and other American states. For a discussion of Filipinos in Minnesota, see June D. Holmquisto, *They Chose Minnesota*. See also Gemma Dalayoan, et al., *The First Filipino Immigrants in Manitoba (1959–1975)*, p. 39.
43. Subject to ruler, father to son, husband to wife, brother to brother, and friend to friend. See *Confucian Analects, juan* 12.19, and 13.3.
44. "*Guanxi* is a term that is often used to describe the circulation, exchange, and redistribution of material goods, as well as pampering and gifting by both donors and recipients." See Alison Marshall, *Cultivating Connections: The Making of Chinese Prairie Canada*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2014, p. 28.
45. For an incisive discussion of the formation of Filipino nursing migration culture in the United States, see Catherine Ceniza Choy, *Empire of Care: Nursing and Migration in Filipino American History.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2003, pp. 18-21.
46. From the beginning, Manitoba's Chinese settlers were strongly nationalist, atheist bachelors. By contrast, the province's Filipino settlers were non-political religious bachelorettes. See Alison Marshall, *The Way of the Bachelor*.

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Winnipeg's Great War Legacy

by Tim Higgins
Winnipeg, Manitoba

This essay, and the following three articles, are offered in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the beginning of the First World War. Eds.

On 28 June 1914, in the Bosnian town of Sarajevo, a world ended. The Archduke Franz-Ferdinand, heir apparent to the Emperor of Austria-Hungary, was touring the provincial capital with his wife when their driver took a highly unfortunate wrong turn. Waiting along the alternate route was a young Serb terrorist, Gavrilo Princip, who succeeded in assassinating the royal couple.

What followed was Armageddon—fifty bloody months that washed away 10,000,000 lives, four empires and a hundred years of social and political certainties. It was immediately followed by the worst pandemic since the Black Death. The 'Spanish' Flu may have killed 50,000,000 people worldwide.[1] In six horrible years, nearly 3% of the entire world's population was gone, and with it, the nineteenth century.

Something else died on those battlefields and hospital beds—optimism. Before the Great War, people believed in the inevitable march of 'Progress'. The question was not *whether* society was perfectible; it was simply a matter of method. Reformer or revolutionary, jingoist or cynic, the underlying assumption was the same. War might be possible, even probable. But such a conflict would, at worst, be only a temporary corrective on the road to an ever better future.

As Carstairs and Higgins have noted,[2] when Rudyard Kipling chided the United States for failing to take up the 'white man's burden' in the Philippines, he was not criticizing Americans' lack of stomach for empire. What he took exception to was their reluctance to do their duty as an advanced society and help a "lesser" people better themselves. Even as detached an observer as Oscar Wilde remarked, in all seriousness, that "a map of the world that doesn't include Utopia isn't worth even glancing at." The direction of History was clear; the tide, unstoppable.

Tim Higgins has two Blizzard nominations for screenwriting; one for historical documentary, the other for drama. In addition to his television work, he has written and directed four plays about Manitoba history and authored four books. He is currently at work on his first novel, Doppelgänger, *a First World War thriller set in Winnipeg.*

And then, the unthinkable happened. Instead of 'home for Christmas' after a glorious explosion of duty and heroism, we created one of the worst disasters in the history of humanity. The loss, disillusionment and sense of dislocation were, for many people, overwhelming. After Kipling, the great imperialist, lost his son in the conflict, he had little time left for the white man's burden. In 1923 he wrote:

> When you come to London Town,
> (Grieving-grieving!)
> Bow your head and mourn your own,
> With the others grieving.
> For those minutes, let it wake
> (Grieving-grieving!)
> All the empty-heart and ache
> That is not cured by grieving.
> For those minutes, tell no lie:
> (Grieving-grieving!)
> "Grave, this is thy victory;
> And the sting of death is grieving."[3]

It is difficult to overestimate the effect that the First World War had on the psyche of Canadians. The butcher's bill in Manitoba was 7,760 dead[4] from a total population of just over 600,000, with thousands more wounded in mind and body. It is little wonder there was a spike in interest in the afterlife and participation in séances in the 1920s. The temptation offered by the chance to communicate with departed loved ones, so many of whom had been in the prime of their lives, must have been irresistible.

One of the most high-profile participants in these sessions was Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, the creator of Sherlock Holmes. He, like Kipling, had lost a son in the war and was convinced they had succeeded in communicating through the offices of a medium. It is interesting that Doyle singled out Winnipeg as a shining example of such activity during his 1924 visit.[5]

The social costs of the war, though obvious and real, present challenges to quantification. Of the economic consequences, however, there is no doubt whatever. As Niall Ferguson has argued in his book *The Pity of War*:

> Quite apart from the killing, maiming and mourning, the war literally and metaphorically blew up the achievements of a century of economic advance … One estimate of the cost of the war puts it at $208 billion (about $2.5 trillion in 2009 $US); that grossly underestimates the economic damage done. The economic misery of the post-

> war decades—a time of inflation, deflation and unemployment due to monetary crises, shrinking trade and debt defaults—could not have contrasted more bleakly with the unprecedented prosperity which had characterized the years 1896-1914, a time of rapid growth and full employment based on price stability, growing trade and free capital flows. The First World War undid the first, golden age of economic 'globalization.'[6]

For an economy driven by commodity exports and external investment, the results were devastating. Winnipeg's golden years of growth ended, never, as it has turned out, to return.

The Spanish Flu

As has been noted previously, the global influenza epidemic of 1918–1919 may have killed far more people than the war itself. The strain seems first to have appeared in a military training camp in the US Midwest during the late summer of 1917 and subsequently transported to Europe on American troop ships.[7] Once there it mutated, reappearing in the much more virulent form that swept around the world beginning in the spring of 1918.

Aside from the astounding death toll, which included 55,000 Canadians, the most unsettling thing about this disease was who was attacked. Against all common sense, many of the most vulnerable proved, once again, to be people in their prime—the stronger and healthier the patient, it seemed, the higher the risk. This was a time when respected authorities had been suggesting that man had already learned everything worth knowing. The realization that our most esteemed doctors not only had no cure, but could not even identify the cause of this ruthless killer served only to reinforce post-war disillusionment. Meanwhile, the rising death toll amplified the grief of an already stricken society.

In Winnipeg, another 1200 fatalities were added to the toll that had been mounting relentlessly since 1914. But the ramifications of the pandemic went beyond the appalling death rate. As Esyllt Jones points out, quarantines and the banning of public gatherings had significant economic impact, particularly for the working class of Winnipeg's North End.[8] Not only were these decisions ineffectual; they took no account of the hardship imposed on people who supported their families payday to payday in a time before benefits. The result was a further exacerbation of social tension in Canada's most ethnically diverse city.

The General Strike

The third major event that defined the mental landscape of post-war Winnipeg was, of course, the famous General Strike of 1919. Portrayed at the time as a great victory over the scourge of Bolshevism, the strike was, in reality, yet another symptom of post-war malaise.

With the fall of the Roblin government in 1915, the extremely cozy relationship between public and private sectors—so thoroughly exposed by the Kelly case[9]—began to unravel. Subsequent challenges to the established

Rob McInnes, WP1809

"Our boys off to the War." Winnipeggers at the CPR station send their sons and daughters to the European battlefields.

Rob McInnes, MN0888

A taste of things to come. New recruits at Manitoba's Camp Sewell train in trenches similar to ones they would encounter in Europe.

order—the move toward a professional public service, enfranchisement for women and the escalating unrest among workers who seemed to have forgotten their place in society's hierarchy—were troubling to the business elite, a group who believed that they and the *ancien régime* they had supported were largely responsible for Winnipeg's golden age.

After all, in addition to the grand homes south of the Assiniboine, the period's legacy included the Shoal Lake aqueduct that guaranteed clean water for a growing city; the Manitoba Telephone System and Winnipeg Hydro, which substantially lowered the costs of doing business here; and, despite the corruption that attended its construction, the new Manitoba Legislature, by general agreement, one of the finest public buildings on the continent.

Winnipeg's elite had made very comfortable lives for themselves, particularly during the pre-war expansion. What had become clear to these men as the war ended was that if the state were no longer to be a part of this compact, then it would have to be managed. It is an approach documented by Reinhold Kramer and Tom Mitchell in their analysis of the correspondence between A. J. Andrews and Arthur Meighen[10] in their book *When the State Trembled: How A.J. Andrews and the Citizens' Committee Broke the Winnipeg General Strike*.[11]

Andrews and the Committee of 1000—a group of prominent citizens formed to resist industrial action—had a very effective tool at hand as the strike got underway. It was the widespread fear that communist revolution had spread to Canada.

That a great power like Russia could fall to what many saw as a rabble of communist agitators came as a huge shock to the entire world. In the chaos following the war, it was not hard to convince oneself that, if it could happen once, it could happen again. The evidence was everywhere. In January 1919, with civil war raging in Russia, papers were full of the attempted Spartacist coup in Berlin[12] and the mass arrests of communists in the United States.

Although unusually widespread and well organized, the Winnipeg General Strike still largely concerned complaints about poor wages and working conditions—a situation only exacerbated by the economic recession that began almost as soon as the war ended in November 1918.

However, the rhetoric of the strike leaders, some of whom had called for the end of capitalism by whatever means necessary, as well as the presence of so many eastern European 'aliens' in Winnipeg made it much easier to sell the public and the government on the idea that the strike might actually be the precursor to a Bolshevist coup. Given the devastation and loss so many families were experiencing in the aftermath of war and disease, the shift from seeing the strikers as 'not really one of us' to 'dangerous Other' was easier to orchestrate than might otherwise have been the case.

In this sense, the strike can be seen as a competition. The elite, through the Committee of 1000, were attempting to use public opinion to pressure the state into dissipating what they considered to be an existential threat. Success would help them reduce the pressure the end of economic expansion was exerting on their privileged existence.

On the other hand, labour and the activists who helped bring the new Norris government[13] to power—prominent among them suffrage and temperance groups[14] —were interested in taking advantage of the chaos of war to change

society,[15] though there was little agreement between them as to what form that change should take.

In addition, the war had created a fourth player—the returned veterans. These were men who had grown up listening to sermons on the social gospel and the perfectibility of society as expressed through the British Empire in churches barely able to accommodate their burgeoning congregations; who had left a city still in the twilight glow of its golden age to fight for King and Country; who were brutalized beyond the comprehension of non-combatants. While 'our boys' were idolized in the general sense on their return, many of the 'heroes' who stepped from trains in their hometowns soon became, to borrow the American phrase, forgotten men.

> Remember my forgotten man,
> You put a rifle in his hand;
> You sent him far away,
> You shouted, "Hip, hooray!"
> But look at him today![16]

As a group, they shared a strong and understandable desire to return to the world they had left, as well as a huge antipathy for those who hadn't served, or who didn't appear to share the ideals upon which the war was fought—most recognizably the "alien" foreigners who had arrived during the great wave of pre-war immigration. The former preoccupation made the veterans natural allies of the Committee, the latter, convenient weapons. The parallels between these men and their counterparts in Germany—the demobilized soldiers who provided muscle for the anti-Communist Freikorps and later on, shaped by different historical pressures, formed the core of Hitler's Brownshirts—are unmistakable.

The tone was set in the months leading up to the strike. On 25 and 26 January 1919, groups of returned soldiers rampaged through the Exchange and North End, demanding that owners fire any aliens they employed and make the resulting jobs available to real Canadians, i.e., men of British descent. Those who demurred had their premises vandalized. Interestingly, the *Free Press* reported that the police followed the mob from place to place, making little attempt to intervene.[17]

Once the strike began, many of these same men were enlisted as special constables, initially to support the police, then to replace them when much of the Force joined the strike. Once the Citizens had successfully co-opted the state's monopoly on the use of force, the arrest of the strike leaders for sedition and subsequent violent defeat of the strike became only a matter of time. The status quo had triumphed. Unfortunately, pre-war Winnipeg, the 'Chicago of the North' Winnipeg, had never been about the status quo.

War. Disease. Economic turmoil. Class struggle. It was a perfect storm. By 1921, most of the icons of Winnipeg's Golden Age had died or were spending their declining years contemplating their legacies. With few exceptions, their sons and daughters were not up to the challenges posed by the birth of the twentieth century; through the 1920s, businesses closed and the new generation began to abandon the city their parents had built.

As the last of the great golden-age projects, the Legislative Building, was completed, it was becoming clear that Winnipeg's elite had moved from expansion to consolidation. The 1922 victory of John Bracken and the Progressives (who were anything but),[18] was merely punctuation for a story and time that had already ended.

If neither government nor business is committed to progress; if both have lost the imagination that vision demands and the will to carry it forward, the result is stagnation. This was Winnipeg as the world headed into post-war recession—a city no longer driven to become, but merely content to be. ☙

Notes

1. Johnson NPAS and Mueller J. 2002. *Updating the Accounts: Global Mortality of the 1918-1920 "Spanish" Influenza Pandemic.* Bulletin of the History of Medicine 76:105-15. Reprinted in *Bird Flu: A Virus of Our Own Hatching*. Gerger, M. Lantern Books. New York, 2006.
2. Carstairs, S., Higgins, T. *Dancing Backwards: A Social History of Women in Canadian Politics.* Heartland Associates. Winnipeg, 2004.
3. Excerpted from "London Stone," as published in the *Wellington (NZ) Evening Press*, 10 November 1923.
4. Higgins, T. *Broadway*. Heartland Associates. Winnipeg, 2001.
5. Homer, M. W. *Arthur Conan Doyle's Adventures in Winnipeg*. Manitoba History. Vol 25, Spring 1993.
6. Ferguson, N. *The Pity of War: Explaining World War I*. Basic Books. New York, 1999.
7. Barrie, J. M. *The Great Influenza: The Story of the Deadliest Pandemic in History*. Penguin Canada. Toronto, 2004.
8. Jones, E. *Influenza 1918: Disease, Death and Struggle in Winnipeg.* University of Toronto Press. Toronto, 2007.
9. Thomas Kelly was convicted of fraud in the construction of the Legislature and served two years at Stony Mountain Penitentiary. Although Premier Sir Rodmond Roblin's involvement was never established, the case was largely responsible for his resignation.
10. A. J. Andrews was a Winnipeg lawyer and spokesperson for the Committee of 1000. Arthur Meighen was federal Minister of the Interior and acting Justice Minister in the Borden Government.
11. Kramer, R., Mitchell, T. *When the State Trembled: How A. J. Andrews and the Citizens' Committee Broke the Winnipeg General Strike*. University of Toronto Press. Toronto, 2010.
12. The Spartacus League, led by Rosa Luxembourg and Karl Leibkneckt, were a hard-left faction of the German Social Democrats. The coup was defeated by the German Army, supported Freikorps militias, leaving nearly 1000 dead. Both Luxembourg and Leibkneckt were executed as soon as they were captured.
13. T. C. Norris was elected Premier of Manitoba on 6 August 1915. A Liberal, he served until 1922.
14. On 28 January 1916, Manitoba women became the first in Canada to be able to vote. Prohibition, also enacted in 1916, was defeated by referendum in 1921.
15. Carstairs and Higgins, *op. cit*.
16. Dubin, A., Warren, H. *Remember My Forgotten Man*, Warner Brothers, 1932.
17. *Manitoba Free Press*, 27 January 1919.
18. The case is made cogently by W. L. Morton in *Manitoba, A History*. University of Toronto Press. Toronto, 1957.

The Making of a Memorial

The following is an extract from a report entitled "War Memorials in Manitoba: An Artistic Legacy" available on the MHS website.[1] The report has its roots and inspiration in a 1996 inventory of Manitoba's war memorials created by Mr. Patrick Morican of Gimli. In honour of the centenary of the beginning of the First World War in 1914, Morican proposed to update his original inventory.

The project grew larger as it became clear this was a topic worthy of extensive research, and likely to be of considerable interest to Manitobans. Staff at the Historic Resources Branch of Manitoba Tourism, Culture, Heritage, Sport and Consumer Protection, including the Province's Architectural Historian, Nicola Spasoff, worked with Morican, incorporating his research into a series of essays exploring Manitoba's war memorials in the context of the history of such monuments and of the war itself, and culminating in a guide to the different types of memorials in the province. A series of relevant extracts from Manitoba's many community histories is also included. Finally, a section called "Learning Materials" provides suggestions for educators wishing to use the town cenotaph as a doorway to the study of local and broader history.

The essay here is a condensed version of a chapter examining the materials, people and processes that made Manitoba's memorials. Readers are encouraged to seek out the full report with many more illustrations.

Introduction

Designing and building Manitoba's community war memorials was a remarkably complex enterprise, which is well worth examining. Though it is likely that we will never know exactly how any given monument came together or precisely who was involved, we can learn something of the process through a variety of sources. Many memorials are the product of several different people or firms: possibly an architect or designer, a sculptor, a carver, and a monument maker, as well as the actual installers.

Before a community could even begin thinking much about designers and materials, though, it generally had to gather funds. In the majority of cases, funds were collected—in amounts as small as fifty cents—from community members and local organizations, such as sports teams, churches, lodges, social clubs and business organizations. Rarely did a local government commit any money, though Neepawa was an exceptional case. Quite often, the whole effort was spearheaded by a women's organization such as the Women's Institute or the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire. Energized by the wartime necessity of filling the shoes of men at the front, such groups found themselves with newly gained confidence and hard-won credibility as they forged ahead in the pursuit of the public good.[2]

Historic Resources Branch

A marble soldier atop the war memorial at Newdale, Manitoba.

Some communities debated the type of memorial they wanted. Should they spend their money on something practical, like a community hall? Some people argued that a useful memorial—especially if it were something they might have built anyway—would not express the deep respect for the dead that a statue, obelisk or other monument would do. Others thought that a building people used often would keep memory alive more effectively. Already in 1923 the Board of Trade in Brandon had concluded that "statuary, beautiful as it is, as a war memorial is becoming threadbare."[3] They recommended the purchase of a carillon of twenty-three bells, though a year later Brandon erected a stone Cross of Sacrifice.

Once a community or committee had determined that it would erect a war memorial of some kind, it was quite common for representatives to write to the government—often the Ministry of Defence—for advice. They asked for design ideas, suggestions about suitable locations, and, of course, money. By 1919, the government had determined that it would not pay for community war memorials. Indeed, strapped as it was for cash in the post-war era, the Ministry regularly charged communities for paltry favours, such as for the train fare for the buglers it sometimes lent to unveiling ceremonies.[4]

One thing the government would often provide was captured guns—war trophies from the front. These were collected throughout the war, and the Dominion Archivist, Sir Arthur Doughty, had the task of recording where and by which unit they had been taken, and where they ended up.[5] Sir Arthur received hundreds of requests for guns to use on memorials; by the time he was finished, 3,450 German guns were in use beside, on, or even as memorials across the country. Most have disappeared, some having rotted or been removed for safety reasons. Many others were melted

down during the Second World War. In Selkirk the town council decided in 1942 to turn the guns in War Memorial Park over to the local salvage committee to support the new war effort.[6] Douglas, Manitoba has one of the few remaining examples—a machine gun that sits on top of its monument.

Like the one in Douglas, some of the simplest monuments are cairns, perhaps constructed by handy community members, probably from local stones. Bronze or marble plaques with inscriptions most likely came from a nearby monument maker. A more unusual "homemade" monument was put up in Treesbank even as the war still raged. Completed eighteen months before the Armistice, the painted wooden "Treesbank War Shrine" (since replaced by a stone cairn) was about three metres high, with painted inscriptions that suffered badly from weathering despite the shingled overhang protecting them.

Requiring the services of one or more professionals are the various tablets, obelisks, columns, etc. that make up a large number of Manitoba's memorials. These, too, are most likely to be fairly local productions, having been designed and made by whatever nearby firm was generally in charge of gravestones and similar monuments. More elaborate constructions often involved an architect working with a monument firm. The cenotaph in Stonewall, with its four lion's head fountains, is such an example. It was designed by the Winnipeg architect Gilbert Parfitt and built of Tyndall and local stone.

Archives of Manitoba, H. G. H. Smith Collection

A war shrine at Treesbank, seen in this September 1968 photo, has since been replaced by a stone cairn.

Many of the most complicated monuments are those topped by figural sculptures, which are most often stone or, more rarely, bronze. These figures generally stand on a stone pedestal of more or less complexity. Most often, the pedestals, with their inscriptions, were made locally or semi-locally by a monument maker (a firm which might find most of its business making gravestones), but the sculptural parts are almost always imported.

Memorials in Manitoba and elsewhere range enormously in their size and grandeur, but the grief and pride that underlie them are palpable in each. We always hope that, by remembering the past, we will protect ourselves from repeating it. But even as some of Manitoba's memorials had barely been unveiled—hats only just replaced on the bared heads of bereft families and friends, the bugle back in its case—the rumblings of the next war were audible.

Not long after these memorials were erected, "lest we forget," another generation of young men was sucked into the abyss. Once that conflict had finally ended, space was found on many memorials to carve a fresh set of names. A discerning eye might detect a slight difference in the words "World War II," perhaps compacted a little to fit where, it was thought, no such addition would be needed. Sometimes a bronze or stone plaque or a separate tablet is added for the second war. On many memorials, the Korean War also finds a place. Other communities chose to add a second cairn or a nearby slab for these later conflicts.

Planning the Memorial

We know of no detailed information on the processes that must have attended the commissioning, planning, design, manufacture and construction of any Manitoba monument. But there is good information available on the memorial in Moosomin, Saskatchewan—which is on the Trans-Canada Highway not far from Virden—and it is reasonable to assume that the process was not so different from what went on in many Manitoba towns.[7]

In Moosomin, initial planning and fundraising began as early as 1919. The process officially started early in 1923, with an advertisement in the local newspaper seeking sculptors and marble firms to provide sketches and design ideas within a budget of $4,000. The response was surprisingly broad: a dozen firms or individuals (including a sculptor from California) submitted ideas, but the committee was able to winnow these quickly down to three or four as they had already decided they wanted a bronze statue of a soldier standing on a stone monument with names carved into it.

The successful bidder was Guinn and Simpson, of Portage la Prairie, which we know to have been responsible for a number of monuments in Manitoba. Reportedly, they recommended their design number 172 to Moosomin. Despite the firm's experience, a delay was caused when

they learned that they would require a larger main stone on which to carve the more than 60 names of Moosomin war dead—a much longer list than they had expected.

It appears that Guinn and Simpson placed an order for a bronze soldier figure with an Italian bronze foundry in June 1923, about the same time they began work on the granite base. The majority of the Italian figures that were imported to Canada were carved in marble, but the people of Moosomin made the wise, if expensive, decision to use the much more durable material. It seems that the bronze figure was cast in Florence from a plaster model made in Carrara by a sculptor named Sergio Vatteroni. Once cast, it was shipped by steamer to New York, making its way to Moosomin via Montréal. Delays in shipping meant it could not be unveiled on 11 November of that year, as planned, but had to wait until the late summer of 1924.

A site was selected at a downtown intersection. The Government of Saskatchewan lent the town an engineer to help with the planning and technical aspects of the site preparation, and the work was carried out by volunteers. Another department provided blueprints for landscaping.

We can thus see that a lot of people were involved in the planning, design and erection of this monument. This does not even include the many who involved themselves in fundraising, including an energetic local girls' club formed specifically for the purpose.

Looking back from nearly a century later, it may come as a surprise that a small prairie town was blithely ordering bronze statuary from Italy and corresponding with Californian sculptors, but this is the story of many such memorials in Manitoba and elsewhere. Of Manitoba's many memorials topped by figures, all of the marble figures are almost certainly imported from Carrara, with the supporting plinths etc., and their inscriptions, and perhaps relief carvings, having been done more locally. That being said, a number of these figures were designed by local sculptors, and several other figures were actually made in Canada—a few even in Manitoba. Following is an effort to identify and describe the major factors—materials, firms, and people—in the making of Manitoba's war memorials between the wars.

Design and Craftsmanship

Across Canada, figural memorials were one of the most popular types, and Manitoba has many examples. Some are rather generic, but many are fine works of art, and evoke strong emotional reactions. They are most often carved in marble, but a few are bronze or carved in other stones.

The first thing to understand is the basic differences between the common materials used for figural sculptures such as these. The two most likely materials are bronze and stone, with bronze being particularly long-lasting, and also by far the more expensive option. Stone ranges from quite soft and subject to weathering (such as marble) to very hard (igneous rocks such as granite) though no stone is as robust as bronze. Stone monuments of all kinds are also vulnerable to vandalism; they may be broken when hit with a hard object, and paint is difficult or even impossible to remove completely.

Gordon Goldsborough

Memorial at Elm Creek. The red stone directly below the obelisk is engraved "To the immortal memory" of the sixteen men (their names on the sides of the stone) from the district who died in the Great War. Five battle sites are listed on the back. The lower, dark grey stone, tablet at the bottom was added later, and reads "In memory of those who gave their lives in the war of 1939–1945." It lists 21 names.

Marble Figures

All of the marble figures on First World War memorials in Manitoba and elsewhere are almost certainly of Italian manufacture. In general, a local memorial manufacturer would have been the go-between for ordering these figures, and would have installed them on bases made here. The origin of these figures in Italy helps explain why their uniforms are not always 100% accurately Canadian, though the carvers were usually careful to put a maple leaf where Canadian uniforms had this symbol (on the cap and collar). Few names of sculptors have come down to us, and many of these Italian marbles are quite generic—they would probably have been selected from a catalogue or a generalized description, and often resemble each other quite closely.

These off-the-shelf Italian marbles vary greatly in sculptural quality, in expression, and in verisimilitude as

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An angel conveying a dead soldier to heaven was unveiled in 1922 in front of the Winnipeg CPR station on Higgins Avenue. Created by sculptor Coeur de Lion MacCarthy (1881–1979), the monument commemorated the 1,125 railway employees killed during the First World War. The monument was later moved to the grounds of the Deer Lodge Hospital.

Canadian soldiers. We don't know what the process was for ordering these figures, so we can't know whether a community could pay more for a statue by a more talented or experienced sculptor, or whether it was just luck. Many figures, however, resemble each other so closely in pattern that we might imagine they were ordered from a catalogue description. The figures at Newdale and Binscarth, for example, might have been described almost identically in a catalogue. It might run something like this: "Standing figure of a soldier looking forward, with rifle at his side. Available with either helmet or cap, in any national uniform as specified."

Such a description basically describes both figures, but they are very different as realized. Aside from details such as the fact that the Newdale soldier—who also appears as an adult man—is combat-ready with webbing (personal load-carrying equipment) and a helmet, our young Binscarth soldier is stiff and expressionless, with far less depth about his uniform. Both figures stand at attention (the Newdale figure with his left leg slightly advanced), but the Newdale soldier is far more naturalistic than the static Binscarth figure, who looks as if he might be holding his breath. Each of these memorial figures is an equal expression of the loss experienced by its community, but such details mean that some speak to us more eloquently today.

It is instructive to look farther afield, to other countries that were purchasing Italian marble figures in memory of their dead. A look at figures from New Zealand and Australia suggests that our hypothetical catalogue description might not be far off; many are nearly identical in pattern to the Manitoba figures.

In addition to the standard figures produced by quarries, Carrara sculptors would also work to designs that were sent to them. This resulted in a number of more individualized figures, including some to which we can attach the name of a local or Canadian sculptor. To help us understand how this process might have worked in the case of an individually commissioned work, we can look at the Ontario sculptor Frances Loring and her memorial for the Law Society of Upper Canada, in Toronto.[8]

Loring began by working on a clay model, which the committee then reviewed and, after suggesting a few modifications, approved before she made a full-sized plaster cast that would be used by the eventual marble carvers to create an exact copy with the help of calipers and precise measurements. The cast was shipped to Italy, and Loring herself went to Carrara to select the marble to be used for the sculpture, and to supervise its carving. This is obviously a much more involved process, for a memorial done for an organization with deeper pockets than most Manitoba towns, but it does give us a notion of the general process by which a Canadian sculptor's work in a Canadian location might actually have been carved by Italians in Carrara.

Manitoba has several examples of marble figures designed by a local sculptor, as we shall see. It is not known at this time whether the Italian sculptors would have worked from a small plaster or clay model, from photographs of a model, or, as in the case of Loring's work, whether a full-sized plaster model would actually have been sent to Italy.

Other Stone Figures

Marble is quite subject to damage, and many Manitoba war memorials show the depredations of weathering or vandalism. It was the most common stone for war memorial figures, but limestone, sandstone and granite were also used. Limestone, a sedimentary rock of which marble is a metamorphic form, is softer than marble, while sandstone (also sedimentary, but mostly made up of tiny grains of the hard mineral quartz) is somewhat harder. The igneous rock granite is harder yet, making it difficult to carve but extremely durable. At the Russell memorial, Emanuel Hahn's Grieving Soldier figure (illustrated below under "Emanuel Hahn") is carved in granite. It was supplied by the Thomson Monument Company, where it (and several

others that found homes across Canada) was carved to Hahn's design by company artisans. The figures of the Belgian Monument[9] in Winnipeg (see below under "Hubert Garnier") are carved from andesite, a hard igneous rock from Haddington Island, BC.

Bronze Figures

Bronze is probably the most durable material for statuary, though its cost made its use quite rare. Most bronze figures were cast in Europe, but in 1920 the Canadian William A. Rogers Limited Company published a catalogue of memorial designs which, though it focussed largely on plaques, also featured several images of bronze figures. Of particular interest to Manitobans is the over-life-sized statue of a pensive infantryman, leaning on his rifle, with his chin resting on his hand. According to the catalogue, Rogers was at that time the only bronze foundry in Canada that had successfully made large casts like this, but even more interesting is that we recognize the figure as a cast from a model by a St. Boniface sculptor named Nicolas Pirotton (see below for more information).

The majority of Manitoba's bronze figural monuments are found in Winnipeg. These include the St. Boniface Memorial, the Next of Kin Memorial on the Legislative Grounds, the Canadian Pacific Railway Memorial, now at Deer Lodge, and the Bank of Montréal memorial at Portage and Main. Bronze figures elsewhere are the figure of a soldier in greatcoat in Neepawa, probably from Italy, and the figure of the "Herald of Peace"—an angel blowing a bugle—in the Memorial Room in Carmen's Memorial Hall. This figure was definitely cast in Canada, as it also appears in the Rogers catalogue.

Archives of Manitoba, St. Boniface - War Memorial #2, N17244

Sculptor Hubert Garnier (1903–1987), who apprenticed with Mount Rushmore creator Gutzon Borglum, at work in his Winnipeg studio on the fallen soldier featured in his Belgium War Memorial on Provencher Boulevard.

Individual Sculptors and Designers

Eugène Benet

Creator of the figure topping the St. Boniface War Memorial (unveiled in 1920), Eugène Benet was a well known sculptor in Paris. His design for Le Poilu Victorieux, which we find on this monument to the fallen French of Western Canada, was widely marketed by the Durenne foundry in Paris. Indeed, it is believed that over 900 casts of this figure were made, making it the most common work of public art in France. The design is thought to have been based on a celebrated war poster showing a charging French soldier, one arm outstretched and a rifle in the other, shouting encouragement to his compatriots.[10] It is a rare example of a French soldier on a Canadian war memorial; another is part of the memorial at St. Claude, which was designed in Manitoba by Nicolas Pirotton. Benet was born in Dieppe in 1863, and studied at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris. He died in Paris in 1942.

James Earle Fraser

Born in Minnesota in 1876, and studying in Chicago and Paris, James Earle Fraser was a prominent American sculptor. His large oeuvre of figurative sculptures includes many well known commemorative sculptures and memorials. When the Bank of Montréal announced an international competition to choose a sculptor to create a memorial to its 230 fallen employees, Fraser submitted two designs. Both were chosen: a soldier in bronze (in American uniform) was unveiled in 1923 in front of the Winnipeg bank branch at Portage and Main, and a white marble allegorical figure of Victory, carrying a sword sheathed in palm fronds, stands in the main branch in Montréal. Fraser died in 1953.

Historic Resources Branch

The soldier in front of the Bank of Montreal at the corner of Portage and Main, wearing an American uniform from the First World War, was created by American sculptor James Earl Fraser.

Hubert Garnier

Sculptor of the figures for the Belgian War Memorial, Hubert Garnier was born in 1903 in Chasseneuil, France, and settled in St. Boniface with his parents about ten years later. He studied art in Winnipeg, Chicago and Vancouver, became an adept carver, and apprenticed with artists in Paris, New York and Chicago before returning home. He died in Winnipeg in 1987 after a productive career that included many projects at home, in the United States, and elsewhere in Canada.

Emanuel Hahn

Born in Reutlingen, Germany in 1881, Emanuel Hahn moved with his family to Canada at age seven. He studied art and design in Ontario and Stuttgart, and went on to a distinguished career as a sculptor, starting with Toronto's McIntosh Marble and Granite Company in 1901.

From 1908–1912, Hahn worked as an assistant to Walter S. Allward, who would later create Canada's war memorial at Vimy Ridge. In 1906, he also began working on contract with the Thomson Monument Company, a 40-year professional relationship which saw him become chief designer. Many of Thomson's advertisements feature his designs, but they rarely promoted him by name after the war lest his German roots lose them business. Their fear was not unfounded: in 1925 Hahn's design beat out 47 others to unanimously win the competition to design Winnipeg's cenotaph, but his German birth caused an uproar and he ultimately lost the commission.

Despite this handicap, Hahn's five distinct soldier figures appear on war memorials in at least 19 communities across the country. Manitoba has an example of his "Grieving Soldier" in Russell. The actual carving was done in granite by Thomson company stone carvers following Kahn's original bronze, which stands in Westville, Nova Scotia. This design was his most popular, and other companies borrowed heavily from, or even nearly copied it, for their own business. Manitoba has an example of this in Killarney. Carved of marble in Italy, Killarney's figure was supplied by Hooper Marble and Granite, of Winnipeg. Hahn died in Toronto in 1957.

Coeur de Lion MacCarthy

Coeur de Lion MacCarthy (1881–1979) was the son of Hamilton MacCarthy, a sculptor responsible for a range

of war memorials, especially for the Boer War. The Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) commissioned the younger MacCarthy to create a bronze memorial to the 1,125 CPR employees killed in the war. Three were cast: for Montreal, Winnipeg and Vancouver. Winnipeg's was unveiled in 1922.

MacCarthy also created war memorial figures in bronze for Lethbridge, Alberta, Trois-Rivières and Verdun, Québec, and Niagara Falls, Ontario.

As Alan MacLeod has observed, MacCarthy's war memorial figures exhibit an emotional range probably unmatched among Canada's war memorial sculptors, from the CPR's elegant angel bearing a peaceful fallen soldier to heaven, through Lethbridge's mourning soldier resting on arms reversed, to the determined infantryman in Trois-Rivières, apparently about to plunge his bayonet into the viewer below.[11]

Nicolas Pirotton

Nicolas Pirotton was born in Liège, Belgium in 1882, and immigrated to St. Boniface in 1907. Here he pursued his métier as a stone carver. In 1917 he founded his own studio, specializing in commemorative and funerary monuments, on the Rue Dubuc; in the late 1920s he was advertising "Marble and Granite Monuments." Pirotton was active in the community, founding the Belgian Relief Fund and being an amateur actor and cornet player, among other accomplishments.[12] He served St. Boniface as alderman from 1930 until his death in 1943.

Pirotton was responsible for a number of war memorials in Manitoba. The figure in Morden and the face in the arch in St. Andrew's have also been attributed to him, probably incorrectly.[13] Pirotton was for a time foreman and plant superintendent with the Western Stone Company,[14] which is credited with manufacturing the Morden monument. However, that monument dates from 1921, and Pirotton had left the firm four years before. Also, the Morden figure is stylistically very different from Pirotton's more sophisticated pensive soldier figure, which must have been designed slightly earlier, and which was used on monuments in St. Claude, St. Pierre-Jolys, Emerson and MacGregor, and in Weyburn, Saskatchewan. The Weyburn figure was carved in Italy,[15] and it is likely that they all were. The same figure appears, in bronze, in the 1920 catalogue of the foundry department of Canadian William A. Rogers Limited, and in bronze it was used for a memorial in Gananoque, Ontario.

Another figure, of a soldier holding a rifle in his left hand and a grenade in his right, appears in bronze in Brockville (1924). It is said to have been modelled as a portrait of Major Thain Wendell MacDowell, a local man who had been awarded the Victoria Cross for his actions at Vimy Ridge.[16] The figure was cast by the Allis Chalmers Company of Toronto. The town of Meaford, Ontario appears to have another cast of the same figure. Orangeville, Ontario has a very similar figure, but with the rifle resting on the shoulder. This may be Pirotton's work,

Library and Archives Canada, RG24, Vol. 4262, File 107-1-2

Pensive soldier in bronze. A page from the catalogue of Toronto's Canadian William A. Rogers Limited featured a design by Nicolas Pirotton. A stone version was used on monuments at Emerson, MacGregor, St. Claude, and St. Pierre-Jolys.

or that of an imitator. Like MacCarthy's soldier in Trois-Rivières, these figures are quite unusual among Canadian memorials in depicting a soldier in the very moment of combat.

It is tempting to think that this design was influenced by Benet's dynamic "Poilu Victorieux" figure for St. Boniface, on which Pirotton had done the final preparations before it was mounted on its pedestal several years earlier.[17] The energetic posture of the Brockville figure is quite a departure from Pirotton's earlier pensive soldier, and even the position of the body, with a rifle in his left hand and his right hand raised (in this case to throw a grenade rather than to wave a wreath of victory) is similar.

Marguerite Taylor

Born Marguerite Jud in Paris in 1886, Mrs. Hilliard Taylor (as she usually called herself professionally) learned her art in the Paris studio of Antoine Bourdelle, who was in turn a pupil of the great French sculptor Auguste Rodin. She met her husband, Hilliard Taylor, in Paris, and came with him to Winnipeg in the early years of the twentieth century, where she maintained a studio. Among her many works is her bust of Chief Peguis in Winnipeg's Kildonan

Historic Resources Branch

The Stonewall Cenotaph was crafted in 1922 by architect Gilbert Parfitt (1887–1966), who also designed the cenotaph that stands on Memorial Boulevard in Winnipeg.

Park. Taylor's own favourite sculpture was her 1927 statue of Canada personified as a woman, on the war memorial in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan. She received the commission after winning a national competition.

Probably her most familiar work is her figure for the Next-of-Kin Monument on the Legislative Grounds in Winnipeg, from 1922. She sculpted the figure in London, England (as she did with all of her large works), using as her model a soldier who was a veteran of the horrors of Passchendaele. Nonetheless, the figure is a rare example of a joyous figure on a war memorial, because she chose to depict the moment when peace was declared, noting that she "wanted to do a happy soldier so the bereaved wives and mothers would not be too much saddened when they looked at it."[18] Marguerite Taylor died in Winnipeg in 1964.

Gilbert Parfitt

Gilbert C. Parfitt was born in England in 1887. Having studied architecture there, he immigrated to Winnipeg in 1912, where he became Provincial Architect in 1923. In addition to the cenotaphs in Stonewall (1922) and Winnipeg (1928), he is known for his work on a wide range of buildings, including the Tier and Buller buildings at the University of Manitoba, the Cathedral Church of St. John in Winnipeg, and several consolidated schools. He died in Vancouver in 1966.

Monument Firms

Three firms dominated the war memorial business in Canada in the postwar period: Thomson Monument Company, McIntosh Granite Company, and Canadian William A. Rogers Limited (later Frank G. Tickell). All were located in Toronto, produced catalogues, and marketed their wares across the country. We know of Manitoba projects by Rogers and Thomson; to date, Manitoba has no known examples of work by the McIntosh Granite Company. Smaller firms with a more local clientele also did memorial work, and some had connections to foundries or quarries in Europe. Among others, Guinn and Simpson of Portage la Prairie and Hooper Marble and Granite of Winnipeg did work for memorials in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. ☙

Notes

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3. *Winnipeg Tribune*, 14 August 1923, p. 2.
4. Shipley, pp. 62–63.
5. Shipley, pp. 161–164.
6. *Winnipeg Tribune*, 1 April 1942, p. 11.
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8. Law Society of Upper Canada website at www.lsuc.on.ca/PDC/Archives/Virtual-Museum/WW1/The-World-War-One-Memorial.
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11. MacLeod, Alan. Annotated photostreams of figurative war memorials across the country. See particularly "The Memorialists" at https://www.flickr.com/photos/bigadore/collections/72157632460045768// and "War Memorials" at www.flickr.com/photos/bigadore/collections/72157627507664602.
12. "Nicolas Pirotton," family history at www.dujardindefanfan.be/Nicolas_pirotton.htm
13. Shipley, p. 133.
14. *Winnipeg Tribune,* 22 November 1943, p. 11.
15. *Winnipeg Tribune,* 27 May 1924, p. 12.
16. Brockville Museum Website at www.brockvillemuseum.com/museum/military/cenotaph.html
17. *Winnipeg Tribune,* 14 September 1920, p. 1.
18. *Winnipeg Free Press*, 13 April 1963, p. 17.

War Memorials in Manitoba: An Artistic Legacy

The 299-page report from which this article is excerpted is on the MHS website:

www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/features/warmemorials

Manitoba's Military Monuments

by Gordon Goldsborough
Winnipeg, Manitoba

The MHS is compiling an inventory of historic sites around Manitoba as an encouragement to tourism and management. Some sites in that inventory are featured in issues of Manitoba History. *Eds.*

When I find a war monument in my travels in search of historic sites, I stop and reflect on what that monument means to the community. It is always sad to think that so many young Manitobans lost their lives just as they were reaching adulthood. As the parent of young adults myself, it is especially sobering to think how people just like me would have coped with the news that their child was gone forever. And the mourning was not just personal. Erection of this monument was a public expression of grief for friends who would not be returning and, in some symbolic way, for the community itself that lost a vibrant and contributing member.

Now that information on Canada's war dead is made readily available on the Internet—by Library and Archives Canada and Veterans Affairs Canada—one can dig more deeply and learn about the lives of those whose sacrifices we commemorate: when and where they were born, their occupation at the time of their military enlistment, the unit in which they fought, their date of death, and often their place of burial.

A natural extension of this online information is an inventory of the military monuments that exist around Manitoba. For the past year, we have worked with the staff of the Manitoba Historic Resources Branch and Patrick Morican to make sure that our inventory of historic sites includes all the monuments listed in the 1996 Morican report—the instigating factor for an article elsewhere in this issue of *Manitoba History*—as well as other monuments unveiled since then. Several people helped us in this project, most especially Morden school teacher Darryl Toews. He took on the daunting task of researching the hundreds of names listed on the monuments. Despite being hampered by numerous misspellings, Darryl was able to compile basic biographical data for most of them.

Gordon Goldsborough

A monument in the village of Foxwarren, guarded by a stone soldier, contains the names of fifteen First World War and nine Second World War casualties from the local area.

The result is that we now have a comprehensive resource describing 211 military monuments around Manitoba. In nearly all cases, we provide a photo of the monument, a map showing its precise location, and lists of the names of those commemorated. If you are able, we encourage you to visit a monument in person. Otherwise, go to the MHS website and travel "virtually" around the province to pay your respects to those whose sacrifices made possible the freedom that we enjoy today.

Military Monuments of Manitoba

The MHS website features an interactive map of over 5,100 historic sites, including over 200 military monuments. Magnify a particular part of the province and see markers denoting local museums, historic buildings, monuments, cemeteries, and others. Select a specific marker to see more information about that site.

www.mhs.mb.ca/military

The Darlingford Memorial Park

by Jeffrey Thorsteinson
Winnipeg, Manitoba

At first glance, New York City and the town of Darlingford, Manitoba (population 200) do not seem to have much in common. One thing the two communities do share is a history of sacrifice in war. It is estimated that New York State lost over 40,000 citizens in the American Civil War; this was an astonishing toll, the most lost by any state in a calamity which claimed more than 600,000 lives. A half-century later, during the Great War, eighteen Darlingford residents perished in the First World War: a devastating sacrifice for a community so small. Remarkably, the two communities also share memorials honouring this sacrifice by the same architect: Arthur A. Stoughton.

The majority of New York State's Union troops came from New York City. In the city a combination of anger with conscription, numerous casualties (many new immigrants) and economic ties to the South led to anti-war sentiments and the anti-draft riots of 1863. At the war's end, however, the city's veteran soldiers and sailors were greeted as victorious heroes of a noble cause; these men would come to serve as an important demographic and voting-bloc. Plans for a New York Civil War monument began to coalesce in the 1880s. Following a lengthy debate over location, an architectural competition was finally held in the summer of 1897, one of the most publicised such contests in turn-of-the-century America. The prospective monument was intended to grace the corner of Fifty-Ninth Street and Fifth Avenue, the south-east entrance to Central Park, adjacent to the future Plaza Hotel.

Winning the competition was the firm of Stoughton & Stoughton, an office comprised of brothers Charles and Arthur A. Stoughton. An 1888 graduate of Columbia University, Arthur Stoughton was quickly becoming a notable in New York architectural circles. Having studied under William Robert Ware, the founder of the school's architecture program, he was the winner of Columbia University's first Fellowship in Architecture. This prize was selected by a jury that included the eminent Richard M. Hunt and Charles F. McKim, whose firm would go on to design Winnipeg's classical Bank of Montreal at the corner of Portage & Main. The fellowship allowed Stoughton to travel to Paris to attend the famous École des Beaux Arts. Here he won the Prix Jean Leclaire and studied in the atelier of Gaston Redon, architect of the Louvre's Musée des Arts Décoratifs. In the New York memorial competition Stoughton's winning design drew on his neo-classical training and featured a pedestal, soaring columnar shaft and a personification of Peace. Shifting tides led to a change in location, to Riverside Park on the city's west side, and a revised design. The ultimate monument, unveiled by Theodore Roosevelt in 1903, took the form of a massive circular temple of white marble, adorned by sculptures by the Franco-American Paul E. Duboy.

In 1921, it was in a very different locale that Stoughton completed his second war monument. Darlingford's memorial was the vision of local farmer Ferris Bolton, who had lost three sons in the Great War during a harrowing three months in 1917: Wilbert (23), Elmer (19) and Harold (21). By this time, Stoughton was in Winnipeg, serving as the first head of the University of Manitoba's School of Architecture, which celebrated its centenary in 2013. In contrast to the neo-classical New York monument, Stoughton's design for Darlingford's memorial resembles a compact, brick, Gothic-revival chapel. Patterned masonry, a steeply pitched roof and projecting buttresses are the building's defining features; a central curved doorway leads to two black marble tablets that bear the names of the fallen. The small building possesses a sense of solemnity, its Gothic design calling to mind Empire but also church-like, an appropriately sacred allusion. Its quiet dignity is enhanced by a sizable lawn and flower garden, designed and landscaped by staff at the Morden Experimental Farm and maintained for many years by Dr. W. R. Leslie, Farm superintendent. Named a Manitoba Heritage Site in 1991, the monument remains the only free-standing building in the province dedicated solely to honouring the war dead; it also displays panels commemorating those lost in the Second World War.

The Darlingford Memorial was not the only Great War monument that Stoughton completed. In Winnipeg, the war—which cast a shadow over Stoughton's early years at the School of Architecture—was to be commemorated by a new Maryland Street Bridge. Announced in 1915, when a

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Gordon Goldsborough

Gothic memorial. In 1921, Darlingford and the surrounding district commemorated those who had served in the First World War by constructing a small memorial building and park. It is the only free-standing memorial building in Manitoba with the sole function of commemorating the war dead. Inside the memorial, two black marble tablets bear the names of men who served and died in the First World War and Second World War.

further three years of war was an unimaginable scenario, it was to possess a Renaissance character with prominent decorated lamps and pylons adorning it in pairs. Unbuilt, it was one of three Assiniboine spans designed by Stoughton at this time. An Arlington bridge "devoted to representing the Dominion" styled in a modern spirit and a Gothic-revival Main Street bridge devoted to Empire likewise went unconstructed. Stoughton was eventually to execute a far simpler design for the Main-Norwood bridges in the 1930s. Another Winnipeg war monument by Stoughton was completed, however: a modest but intricate Gothic-revival plaque at Augustine United Church, unveiled in October of 1920. Seven years later Stoughton would also design the base for a war memorial in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan.

The Great War was a stunning tragedy which ravaged families and communities world-wide. The out-pouring of grief and desolation it incurred was honoured globally in a variety of forms, notably in the re-popularisation of the cenotaph form by British architect Edward Lutyens. (Winnipeg's cenotaph bears its own curious history: the original competition for its design won by a German-Canadian, his victory revoked, his wife's design selected, her victory also revoked, with the ultimate design executed by provincial architect Gilbert Parfitt in 1928.) Set against the adjacent prairie, the Darlingford memorial—stately, modest and quiet—is one of these many commemorations, but possesses its own remarkable effect. As with the New York monument, its quality is one of silence and peace: a contrast to the violent events to which it bears testimony. A symbolic cluster of poppies anchors its carefully tended garden. The monument stands across from the former town school, now a museum, serving as a reminder to future generations of past sacrifice.

Zepherin Laporte: The "Forrest Gump" of Red River

by Tom LaPorte
Winnipeg, Manitoba

The Laporte family has a long and storied history in Canada, starting with Louis Laporte (1667–1717). In 1742, Louis' son Pierre was contracted to transport furs for LaVérendrye in what later became western Canada. In 1880, a branch of the family moved to St. Norbert, Manitoba. But a distant cousin, Zepherin Laporte, had preceded them in 1874, eventually setting himself up as an hotelier in the new city of Winnipeg.

In 1994, the acclaimed Hollywood movie Forrest Gump *featured a title character who was an unwitting bystander at historic moments. As the sleepy fur-trade post of Upper Fort Garry morphed into Winnipeg, particularly during the tumultuous period from 1870 to 1885, many whose names are all but lost to history lived amongst now-legendary people like Riel and Dumont. Zepherin Laporte was one such character.*

As the evening darkened on a hot day in July 1885, a crowd gathered on Main Street in Winnipeg, near its historic junction with Portage Avenue. The occasion was a public celebration. The rebel Louis Riel had been caught and was standing trial in Regina. General Middleton's troops were passing through Winnipeg on their way back to eastern Canada and the entire downtown area was decorated gaily with illuminations, garlands, spruce boughs, banners, and flags. A torch-lit parade of representatives from the City Police, Fire Brigade, St. George's Society, Bicycle Club, and Snow Shoe Club was joined along its route by illuminated wagons and carriages carrying Manitoba's Lieutenant Governor and Premier, Acting Mayor, General Middleton and his staff, military band, and several detachments of troops.[1] But some Winnipeggers were not celebrating that night. They supported Riel and defended what his rebellion had stood for. One of them was Zepherin Laporte.

Laporte was an hotelier, the son of an Ottawa hotelier, who had purchased the Commercial Hotel from its owner, Louis Payment, in 1879.[2] The Commercial was a former Winnipeg post office, a clapboard-sided log building erected behind a general store belonging to early pioneer A. G. B. Bannatyne. In October 1870, the community's post office had moved from its original location in the home of William Ross into a 12- by 14-foot room in Bannatyne's store. This soon proved insufficient to handle the increasing volume of mail arriving at Winnipeg. So, in October 1871, the post office moved into the nearby log building after it was vacated by the print shop for *The Manitoban* newspaper.[3] The nearby lane became known as Post Office Street, but was renamed Lombard Avenue sometime in the early 1880s. With mail volume continuing to increase, a new post office was constructed on Main Street in 1876. The next year, Bannatyne connected the former post office to an adjacent log building and converted them into a hotel with bar and restaurant, and sold it to Louis Payment.[4] In 1881, city health inspector George Kerr toured the local hotels to award a gold medal to the one with the "cleanest yard."[5] Laporte's Commercial took the prize, being described as "a model of cleanliness and is well worthy of emulation by more pretentious hotels."[6] By 1884 Laporte bragged that his facility was the "best house in all Winnipeg," offering accommodations for $1 per day.

Laporte owned horses in addition to his hotel. In July 1883, he offered a $300-prize to anyone who could beat his "London Boy" in a 10-mile trotting race. A contest with Dan Mill's "Minneapolis" was duly scheduled but, for reasons unknown, Laporte backed out. He forfeited his $100 deposit and "was expelled from the Turf Club for conduct considered to be unsportsmanlike and of a nature to debase the turf in the eyes of the public." In 1884, "London Boy" redeemed himself by winning a race against George Kerr's "Inspector." The race had taken place on Portage Avenue and the owners were promptly brought before the court on charges of "immoderate driving within the city limits." They were each fined $10 plus costs but Laporte could easily afford to pay it, having won $300 from the health inspector and another $200 from private side bets.

In the spring of 1885, Laporte closed the Commercial Hotel and the building sat vacant for a time. The building passed through several owners, including a harness maker and grocer, until 1909 when it was demolished by the Great West Life Assurance Company to make way for their new corporate headquarters. That building still stands today, dwarfed by the Richardson Building across the street. Meanwhile, Laporte had moved across the street to become

A retired enterprise computer architect, Tom LaPorte now works as an assistant to the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba. A direct descendant of Pierre LaPorte, a Montreal voyageur sent to pick up LaVérendrye's furs after his first winter in the West at Fort la Reine, he is keenly interested in his French and Irish roots.

Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg - Streets - Lombard 2

Laporte's former Commercial Hotel, once the Winnipeg post office, as it appeared shortly before demolition in 1909.

proprietor of the Hotel du Canada. Not only was it a larger facility than the Commercial but it was widely known as the Winnipeg refuge and bastion of French-Canadian voyageurs and Métis bison hunters. The Hotel du Canada had its origins in the early 1860s as a one-room saloon run by pioneering businessman Onesime Monchamp who:

> … came here a poor man and commenced by keeping bar for a Mr. Holmes who had a brewery at St Boniface. Monchamp, however, soon opened in a quiet way on his own account. A small room on Post Office Street, with a bench and rough deal counter, a barrell of beer, and one or two black bottles and a few glasses, constituted his first outfit. Monchamp, however, took good care of the dollars and cents, and ere long he began to improve his place, and when the troops arrived in Winnipeg [in 1870] he could boast of a small hostelrie and bar on the spot where the Hotel du Canada stands to-day.[7]

The "small hostelrie" became a two-storey structure with Monchamp's saloon on the main floor and a barbershop above it. The saloon became the place where thirsty Hudson's Bay Company voyageurs went to celebrate after delivering their loads to company warehouses at Upper Fort Garry and where the French-Canadian and Métis population of Winnipeg could feel welcome in a community that was becoming increasingly "English" with the arrival of settlers from Ontario. By 1897, when the building was getting a new roof, a reporter at the *Manitoba Free Press* reminisced that "it was in this building that the half-breeds used to congregate prior to the first rebellion (1869) and several times Riel harangued his compatriots there and excited them until they began the Indian war dance."[8]

One of Riel's men remembered these meetings differently and much less colourfully. Jean Baptiste Ladéroute wrote in his memoirs that after work one day in late April 1869, he "went to Monchamp's saloon for a drink and met Narcisse Marion, Dr. Walter Bown and Charles Mair. Joseph Genthon and Riel arrived shortly after, and upon being introduced to each other, the men sat down for a friendly chat. … The conversation quickly turned to the impending transfer of sovereignty of the Red River Settlement to Canada. Riel declared that the political change was not going to happen as had been foreseen. Dr. Brown and Mair asked, "Who is going to stop it?" Riel answered, "It is I who is going to stop it."

In 1873, Monchamp added a billiard room with six Brunswick tables to the rear of his saloon. Upstairs were several rooms "for gentlemen to relax in."[9] By 1874, when Winnipeg was formally incorporated as a city, Monchamp's saloon had an estimated value of $7,000 and was occupied by seven people, including Monchamp and his wife. Later that year, Monchamp replaced his original saloon and advertised it in local newspapers for the first time using the name "Hotel du Canada"[10] or sometimes the "Grand Canada Hotel." In 1877, he hosted the founding meeting of the Winnipeg Lacrosse Club for which he was Vice-President.[11]

In 1878, Monchamp leased his hotel to Laporte's brother-in-law Casimir Prud'homme but continued to live in one of its rooms. Prud'homme had arrived in Winnipeg around the same time as Laporte and opened a dry goods store on Main Street in partnership with A. H. Bertrand.[12] Two years later, Monchamp sold out to J. A. Richard and the Prud'hommes moved to Emerson to operate a hotel there. In January 1885, Laporte took over the Hotel du Canada from Richard. By July, a local paper reported that

Archives of Manitoba, Events #145, N9582

In 1885, Zepherin Laporte became an active witness to history when he opposed an angry mob intent on venting their fury at Louis Riel by burning him in effigy on the streets of Winnipeg.

After being taken into custody following the failed rebellion in the North West Territories, Riel was taken to Regina and charged with high treason. His trial was set to begin on Monday, 20 July 1885. Many Winnipeggers expected swift justice and a guilty verdict. The daily newspapers duly reported what happened on Main Street during the evening of Friday the 17th. The *Manitoba Free Press* noted gleefully that:

> "A small scaffold had been constructed, on which was erected a gallows. Riel was represented in a kneeling position, with a rope around his neck, and his hands crossed on his breast in attitude of supplication. He was surrounded with a battery of Roman candles, and his interior economy was fitted up with a bomb, containing about half a pound of powder. The whole was suspended from a line stretched across the street from the Brunswick Hotel to the building opposite."

The *Winnipeg Times* added that "… below the effigy was a black coffin … on either side were stirring mottos demanding Riel's execution." The celebration started with a torchlight procession to the effigy. The roman candles were lit, the effigy caught fire, the gunpowder exploded, "and the leader of the rebellion was blown sky high. In the course of time he descended in fragments amid the yells of the excited crowd."

But the crowd was not unanimously in favour of "executing" Riel. Around 10:00 PM, as the procession neared the site,

> "a buggy stopped directly underneath [the effigy] and a man suddenly rose from his seat and clutched the coffin which he detached from its supports and let fall to the ground. So sudden and unexpected was the affair that the crowd hardly realized the nature of the incident and the party in the buggy drove off before the object of the occupant was thoroughly understood. Once known, however, the utmost excitement arose, and vengeance was freely uttered against the despoiler. … The latter drove down Main Street."

The buggy driver was none other than Zepherin Laporte, whose views were clearly not shared by other business-owners in the area. The group who installed the effigy included such Main Street mainstays as the McLaren Brothers—proprietors of the Brunswick Hotel who later established the McLaren Hotel that still carries their name today—and saddle-maker Elisha F. Hutchings who, by 1910, numbered among Winnipeg's 19 millionaires.

In a trial lasting less than two weeks, Riel was found guilty and, on 16 November 1885, he was hanged. In a last, symbolic gesture of support, Zepherin Laporte walked alongside Riel's coffin in a procession to the cemetery of the St. Boniface Cathedral.

the facility "has been renovated and is now one of the most fashionable in Winnipeg."[13]

Laporte must have realized, when he tried to pull down the Riel effigy then drove away with a crowd in hot pursuit (see the sidebar), that his actions could affect his future as the proprietor of the "only First Class French Canadian Hotel in Winnipeg." So he suddenly stopped his buggy, wheeled about, and rode back to face his pursuers. They surrounded him and threatened bodily injury but Laporte managed to make his way through them amidst hoots and yells, and was able to return to his hotel. By the next morning, when questioned by a reporter from the *Winnipeg Times*, he had his cover story ready. He explained that he had thought the display was a plan by the local Grits (that is, the Liberal party) to embarrass the government and so he tried to pull it down to "baulk the designs of the Grit manipulator" as he was a "John A. man."[14] His claim must have been accepted at face value. Laporte continued to operate his hotel in peace until his death in 1891.

Laporte's true feelings were revealed at Riel's funeral. After the hanging at Regina on 16 November, Riel's body was returned to his family at St. Vital. Archbishop Taché did not want to hold a public funeral, feeling that it might lead to trouble, but the family ignored him and organized a very public procession. On 12 December, Riel's casket was carried on foot by his pallbearers all the way from St. Vital to the St. Boniface Cathedral, a distance of some six miles. Riel's brothers Joseph and Alexandre walked at the head of the procession. Several prominent members of the Francophone community walked along both sides of the casket. A newspaper account listed them: "The Hon. M. LaRiviere, MLA; Judge (Louis Arthur) Prud'homme; Mr. [Senator] Trudel; the Hon. Joseph Royale, M.P.; A. H. Bertrand; Z. Laporte, O. Monchamp and others." They were in turn flanked by an armed Métis guard, following by over 300 people.

Archives of Manitoba, Personalities - Dumont G #4

Métis leader Gabriel Dumont, shown here (centre) circa 1890 with Napoleon Nault and ? Gladu, was a prominent guest at Laporte's Hotel du Canada.

Meanwhile, Riel's military commander, Gabriel Dumont, retreated to Montana where he tried to reunite the Métis forces and rescue Riel. When Canada declared a general amnesty for participants in the rebellion, Dumont returned to Canada where he continued to campaign for Métis rights and improvement in Métis living conditions. In 1889, he toured western Canada, arriving at Winnipeg on 24 April where he stayed, of course, at the Hotel du Canada. That evening he gave interviews to the press with Laporte acting as his interpreter.[15]

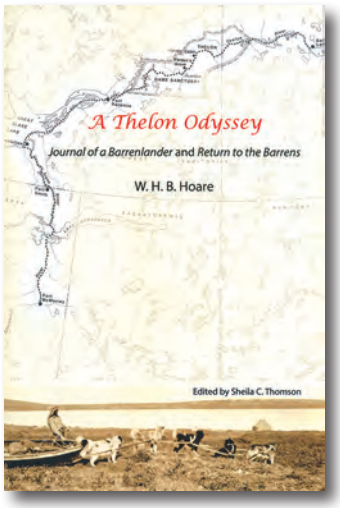
Laporte operated the Hotel du Canada until his death at the age of 44 on 20 February 1891.[16] The hotel passed into the hands of businessman Hermisdas Benard and began a slow decline. In 1903, concerned about a growing gambling problem in the city, the police raided the Hotel du Canada. Forty people were arrested while over 100 others escaped. The city council decided to make an example of Benard and withdrew his hotel licence. Benard sold the building to D. Bell who re-opened as a temperance hotel, The Emporium. In 1905, The Emporium was badly damaged by fire and was sold for demolition in 1906.[17] A newspaper headline lamenting the "passing of another of the landmarks of the Winnipeg of the earlier days", described the Hotel du Canada as "the oldest hotel in the city, and the centre for years of the French-Canadian life of the country. In the romantic days of the seventies its old walls rang often with the hearty cheers and the gay songs of the trapper from the north and the voyageur."[18] Yet it somehow escaped demolition and struggled on as the Lombard Hotel until being finally torn down around 1917. The Richardson Building stands on the site today.

Notes

1. *The Manitoban*, 17 July 1885; *The Manitoban*, 18 July 1885.
2. *Henderson's Guide to the City of Winnipeg*, January 1880.
3. *Manitoba Free Press*, 18 December 1886.
4. *Manitoba Free Press*, 22 December 1877.
5. *Winnipeg Daily Times*, 15 June 1881.
6. *Winnipeg Daily Times*, 27 June 1881.
7. *Ten Years in Winnipeg* by Alexander Begg and Walter Nursey, p. 12.
8. *Manitoba Free Press*, 9 October 1897.
9. *The Manitoban*, 13 December 1873.
10. *The Manitoban*, 16 May 1874; *The Manitoban*, 29 August 1874.
11. *Manitoba Free Press*, 28 April 1877.
12. *Le Métis*, 31 January 1878.
13. *Le Métis*, 30 July 1885.
14. *Winnipeg Daily Times*, 18 July 1885.
15. *Manitoba Free Press*, 25 April 1889.
16. *The Manitoban*, 26 February 1891.
17. *Manitoba Free Press*, 17 April 1905.
18. *Winnipeg Telegram*, 30 June 1906.

Reviews

W. H. B. Hoare, *A Thelon Odyssey: Journal of a Barrenlander* and *Return to the Barrens*. Sheila C. Thomson (ed.). Ottawa: McGahern Stewart Publishing, 2014, 314 pages. ISBN 978-0-9868600-4-1, $24.95 (paperback)



The book under review is the outcome of a long Arctic apprenticeship by Ottawa-born William "Billy" H. B. Hoare (1890–1948). This is the fourth title released by McGahern Stewart Publishing in its enterprise of making available 'Forgotten Northern Classics.' Of the two works combined here, the first is a re-issue, available previously in a limited 1990 edition, also edited by Sheila Thomson (Hoare's daughter). The second appears for the first time. Both concern the journals kept by Hoare when charged to explore and help organize the Department of Interior's new Thelon Game Sanctuary, legally designated in 1927. This large and isolated tract of land lies between Great Slave Lake and Baker Lake in the old district of Keewatin.

Few Europeans had been in this area before 1900. Samuel Hearne skirted to the south of the sources of the Thelon River during his first trip inland from Churchill in 1770. George Back passed to the west in the mid-1830s while heading north. Sportsman Warburton Pike did not go farther east than Artillery Lake in the early 1890s. Geologist J. B. Tyrrell surveyed just south around Dubawnt Lake in 1896. His brother William provided the first useful maps of Thelon country in 1899, followed by those of David Hanbury in 1901. Not much more was added to local maps by the end of the First World War. What had been added in the north, however, was a certain institutional presence by the North West Mounted Police and various church bodies. The latter fact helps explain how Hoare eventually came to be involved in the Thelon project.

Hoare, a man of broad technical and classical education, had considered taking Anglican orders. His skills as a steam fitter and his spiritual outlook caused him to answer a call to serve as a lay Anglican Missionary in the high Arctic in 1914. His task was to transport a boat north from Fort McMurray for use on the Arctic coast in order to serve the 'Copper Eskimos' of the Coronation Gulf. Working between the Mackenzie Delta and Bathurst Inlet gave him a rare knowledge of the Inuit way of life and language. After marriage in Ottawa in 1919 he returned to the new community of Aklavik on the Mackenzie Delta, met Vilhjalmur Stefansson, and took an interest in the Government's developing program to stimulate domestic caribou herding for the resident populations.

With his young family he returned to Ottawa in 1924 and joined O. S. Finnie's Yukon and Northwest Territories Branch as a Special Investigator. Over the next three years he produced important reports on caribou habitat and movements over a large area east of Great Bear Lake. These were the credentials which led to an assignment, with Warden A. J. Knox of Wood Buffalo National Park, to organize the Thelon Game Sanctuary in 1928 and promote its importance to the local surrounding populations as a special area for caribou and muskox conservation. The immediate task was to establish the boundaries and put in place a central warden station.

Two geographical questions soon surface for today's reader. The sanctuary was dominated by two rivers: the Thelon, rising in the southwest, and the Hanbury in the northwest. The warden cabin would be at the junction of the two, actually closer to the eastern boundary. Why haul tons of supplies all the way from Fort Reliance on Slave Lake via Pike's Portage and Artillery Lake rather than from Baker Lake? The answer, in part, is that Hoare wanted a chance to see the western reaches of the sanctuary *en route*. This was reasonable perhaps, given accurate maps. The second question emerged from the slow realization that there was great cartographic confusion associated with the route from Campbell Lake to the upper reaches of the Hanbury River, supposedly accessible by a good channel. This was not so. In short, Hoare and Knox were soon asking a terrible question: where are we? The issue is well explained by K. L. Buchanan's paper, helpfully included by editor Sheila Thomson as an appendix. Portages multiplied by the dozen for the two men in their search for the Hanbury. The resulting difficulties, their slow progress towards their destination, and the return to Fort Reliance by Christmas, 1928, are documented in agonizing detail. Wintering over at Reliance, the men then set out do it all over again, completing other outbuildings at 'Warden Grove' before Hoare came out to Baker Lake in August of 1929.

Hoare returned to Ottawa from Baker Lake in the fall of 1929 but was soon re-assigned to the Thelon. *Return to the Barrens* is the journal of this second trip in which he was charged with establishing warden facilities on the eastern boundary of the sanctuary where the Thelon River empties into Beverly Lake. Arriving via the Chesterfield Inlet route this time, the inland travels from Baker Lake were almost as gruelling as had been the first journey. Along the way, much is learned of the local Inuit people, assisted by good photos. Like the first assignment, it was understaffed and *ad*

hoc in its provisioning and might as easily again have cost Hoare his life. Unforeseen contingencies were many, such as his abandonment on Schultz Lake in early September 1930, by his hired assistant. Carrying on alone he had to take shelter on what he called Prisoner's Island at the west end of Aberdeen Lake. He was finally able to retreat back to Baker Lake with much loss of time. Wintering over there he prepared for overland treks of supplies to his destination in the spring and summer of 1931. The journal of this 'Jack-of-all-trades,' including lumberjack, ends with a final entry for July 31. Much had been accomplished to supply the new post, but with the onset of the Depression and a new government in Ottawa, O. S. Finnie's Yukon and Northwest Territories Branch was eliminated and the staff rewarded with pink slips. A. J. Knox, after service at Thelon, lived for the rest of his life at Snowdrift, Great Slave Lake, dying at age ninety in 1976.

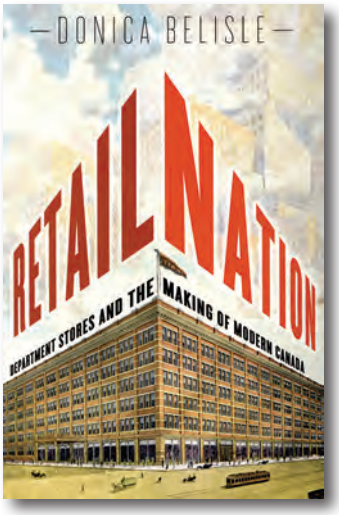
There is a David Thompson-like quality to Hoare's journal entries: regular, disciplined, precise in the recording of useful geographical, wildlife or climatological data, and generally free of personal emotion or complaint in the face of adversity. It was a journal kept with a view to later reports. Happily, Hoare was hired on contract by C. H. D. Clarke when the latter was preparing his biological investigations of the sanctuary in 1937. Not so happily, Hoare died in an auto accident in 1948. With him went a great unwritten autobiography, but these journals provide remarkable insight into some of the memories it would have been based upon. Any wilderness parties going into Thelon country will want to have this volume included in the supplies.

Graham MacDonald
Parksville, British Columbia

Donica Belisle, *Retail Nation: Department Stores and the Making of Modern Canada.* Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2011, 308 pages. ISBN 978-0774819473, $32.95 (paperback)

Cheryl Krasnik Warsh & Dan Malleck (eds.), *Consuming Modernity: Gendered Behaviour and Consumerism before the Baby Boom.* Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2013, 294 pages. ISBN 978-0774824699, $32.95 (paperback)

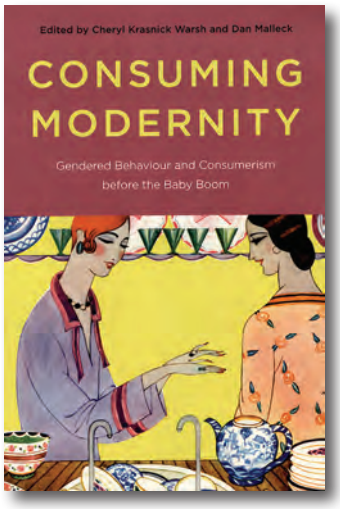
Graham Broad, *A Small Price to Pay: Consumer Culture on the Canadian Home Front, 1939–45.* Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2013, 275 pages. ISBN 978-0774823647, $32.95 (paperback)



Two of the most interesting and fastest-growing fields of North American history in recent years have been retail history and the history of consumption. The two are obviously closely related, and together they make the important point that a community's patterns of buying and selling tell us a lot about how that community defines itself and what it values. Much of the recent literature has been interested less in specific products in and of themselves, than in more intangible commodities. Throughout the twentieth century, gender roles and evolving definitions of 'modern' identity have been implicitly and explicitly wrapped up in products, advertising, and the evolving culture of consumption in which we live.

The history of department stores has long recognized the connection between consumer culture and gender roles. Even the most diversified of the early department stores focussed much of their attention on women's and children's clothing: for instance, combined with drapery those categories accounted for as much as three-quarters of the total turnover in British department stores before 1914.[1] These emerging retail giants appealed specifically to female customers, mostly of the middle classes—or those aspiring to be middle-class. Many department store employees were female, too, and their images were carefully managed by their employers.

Donica Belisle's *Retail Nation* is a welcome addition to this growing field. Saturated as the field seems to be with studies of department stores in France, Britain, and the United States, Belisle turns away from Macy's and the Bon Marché to investigate these retail phenomena in Canada. Between 1890 and 1940, Simpson's and the Hudson's Bay Company were two of Canada's biggest retailers, but they were dwarfed by the quintessential Canadian department store, Eaton's. Part of the strength of the big department stores was that they were involved in every realm of the marketplace: they purchased manufactured goods (usually in bulk), they processed their own commodities, they advertised, and they sold both goods and services. Belisle perhaps overstates the extent to which they "monopolised"



the Canadian retail market—she admits that the 'big three' accounted for less than twenty percent of retail sales even at their peak—but there can be no overstating their impact on the retail industry and on the country (pp. 4-7).

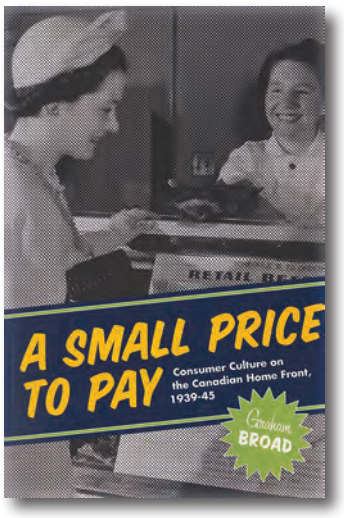
Part of the power of department stores was their obvious, even ostentatious, modernity. Stores were fitted out with the latest in elevators, ventilation systems, electric lighting, and often incorporated cutting-edge construction and design elements. They were even modern behind the scenes, utilising the latest techniques in accounting, cost control, inventory management, organizational structuring, and personnel training. After providing a useful and up-to-date survey of the rise of mass retail in North America and western Europe in the late 1800s and early 1900s—surely one of the most fascinating stories in the business history of that or any other period—Belisle lays out the foundation of her argument. Canadian department stores, especially Eaton's, did not just influence people's spending habits, material culture, and patterns of movement (department stores have usually been associated with downtown business districts, the rise and fall of which deserve more attention than urban historians have given them). They actively helped construct a particular vision of 'modern' Canada, with specific hierarchies of class, race, and ethnicity, and with consumer capitalism at its core.

If department stores were alone in this nation-building project, then their long-term success would have been doubtful, even given the massive advertising clout which they wielded in the first half of the twentieth century. The essays collected and edited by Cheryl Krasnick Warsh and Dan Malleck in *Consuming Modernity* demonstrate the many fronts on which retailers and advertising struggled to influence not just where Canadians shopped, but what they shopped for and why. Many of those efforts were directed at women, who were considered both the main shoppers in most households and the most easily swayed by good advertising. In the process, very clear images were articulated about what the 'modern' Canadian woman looked like, how she dressed, what she ate (and what she fed her family), how she behaved, etc.

One of the primary messages communicated to Canadian women in the first half of the twentieth century was their maternal role, not just within their own families, but within the nation at large. Women had an important role to play in keeping their homes clean and safe. Advertisements for Lysol played on people's fears of infection and disease, a particularly powerful message at a time when infant mortality was still as high as ten percent (Kristin Hall, "Selling Lysol as a Household Disinfectant in Interwar North America"). Tracy Penny Light, "Consumer Culture and the Medicalization of Women's Roles in Canada, 1919–1939," and Denyse Baillargeon, "Medicine Advertising, Women's Work, and Women's Bodies in Montreal Newspapers, 1919-1939," elaborate on this theme. Science, especially medical professionals speaking with the voice of authority, increased the pressure on wives and mothers to make certain buying choices as part of fulfilling their expected role.

Science could not just keep you healthy, it could make you beautiful too. In Jane Nicholas' essay, "Beauty Advice for the Canadian Modern Girl in the 1920s," beauty specialists take the place of medical professionals as the source of 'expert' advice, but the goal remains the same: to help women negotiate an increasingly crowded consumer scene in order to create and maintain a 'modern' lifestyle, with all that this entailed. The very concept of the Modern Girl grew directly out of the emerging consumer culture of the early 1900s, a product (in part) of women's growing visibility in the workplace and other public venues. Greater visibility, especially in conjunction with the rising political voice of women, made a woman's outward appearance more important rather than less.

Nowhere was this more the case than behind the counters of a department store. The 'shopgirls' (too often, they were denied full adult status) had codes for dress and behaviour, articulating clear expectations of the servile yet respectable image they were expected to portray. Their employers warned them not to be too dressy: they were not to intimidate the customers by demonstrating superior fashion sense, although such overt style may have better illustrated their ability to dress fashionably on poor wages. They were to look attractive, and staff magazines were replete with photos and text that portrayed female employees as pleasing and docile, as much ornaments as employees. But there was a moral danger in appearing too attractive: some critics worried that department store 'shopgirls' were as much a commodity to be purchased (or at least rented) as anything on the shelves.



Such fears say much about those critics' poor opinion of female moral fibre, but the underlying theme of temptation was present in most discussions of department stores, whether positive or negative. Some were anxious that the sheer volume and array of the latest goods in the latest styles would be too great to resist, and would draw female customers into shoplifting. At the same

time, though, temptation was a fundamental part of much retail advertising, a mechanism for luring customers into stores. Taken together, the theme of 'temptation' speaks to the sense of anxiety that ran through consumer culture: the fear that perhaps we can have too much of a good thing.

In general, though, department stores and other retailers had a fairly receptive audience for their overall message that happiness was not only achievable, it was on sale this week. Housewives were particularly informed what their shopping list should include in order to achieve health, beauty, comfort, and all the trappings of a snug middle-class lifestyle. The idea that shopping was not just a woman's chore, but a means for her to achieve various desirable ends, was enhanced during times of war. The two world wars put unprecedented pressure on the nation's resources, and military demands took precedence over the production of consumer goods. Graham Broad's *A Small Price to Pay: Consumer Culture on the Canadian Home Front, 1939–45,* examines how the pervasive belief that it was virtuous to want more and better things was challenged and modified during the Second World War. 'Thrift' was the watchword of the day, but even in wartime that was a difficult message to get across to consumers who were finally enjoying some purchasing power after the depressions of the 1930s. People did spend money on more than just their meagre rations and some Victory Bonds. In fact, as Broad demonstrates, in the early days of the war many Canadians were advised not to cut back, because "the best service that can be rendered is to keep our national economic structure functioning as normally as possible"(pp. 4-5). Not until late in 1941, after France had been knocked out of the war, the Soviet Union was on the defensive, and several smaller countries had been occupied with alarming speed, were Canadian consumers told to shorten their shopping lists. Even after that, though, there were some decidedly mixed messages in the media: should I buy Victory Bonds or a new car?

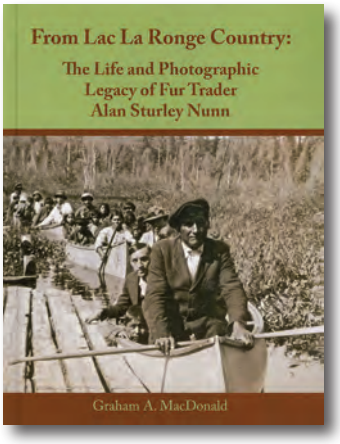
Taken together, these three books offer diverse perspectives on the buying and selling habits of Canadians during the first half of the twentieth century. More important, they shed light on what those patterns of getting and spending can tell us about our economy and our society. The anxieties surrounding the rise of mass retail at the end of the 1800s were in many ways echoed in the Second World War, when many people tried to rationalise consumer spending in an atmosphere of thrift and sacrifice. But the Second World War was, among other things, a war in defence of capitalism and free enterprise against the managed economies of fascism. In that sense, the patriotism inherent in exercising your 'right' to free enterprise echoed assurances earlier in the century that the road to a better you—and to a better Canada—lay down the aisle of a retail store.

Scott Stephen
Parks Canada, Winnipeg

Note

1. Alison Adburgham, *Shops and Shopping 1800–1914: Where, and in What Manner the Well-dressed Englishwoman Bought her Clothes,* London: George Allen & Unwin, 1964, 145-146; James B. Jefferys, *Retail Trading in Britain, 1850–1950*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954, 20, 328.

Graham A. MacDonald, *From Lac La Ronge Country: The Life and Photographic Legacy of Fur Trader Alan Sturley Nunn*. Fairmont Hot Springs, BC: MacDonald & Nunn Publishing, 2014, 134 pages. ISBN 978-0-9919178-1-5, $29.95 (hardcover)



The fur trade seems far distant now, an enterprise and a way of life gone these many decades, known to Canadians only from books, a few preserved historic sites, certain iconic paintings, and, every so often, a retrospective article in a magazine. Its legacy is mixed. One's imagination may be stirred by the trade's heroic age—the big canoes, the voyageurs and their songs, York boats, dog-teams in the snow, those immense distances yet to be disturbed by roads, telegraph, radio, or float planes. Yet such images mislead, for they have little or nothing to say about bitter rivalries, economic vicissitudes, cross-cultural tensions, or the despairs of solitary men, deep in the wilderness, suffering from illness, their own shortcomings, or crushing loneliness. Nevertheless, that pre-1900 northern world continues to exert its allure. By comparison, the fur trade in the first half of the twentieth century, its final era, has seldom attracted the public's attention, other than when figuring in adventurers' accounts of far northern travel. This period has, however, drawn the scrutiny of academics, whose predilections, and research, during the past fifty years have led them to call into question the motives, conduct, and attitudes of those who served the Hudson's Bay Company and its competitors from 1670 to the Second World War. Their scholarly animus has been directed particularly at what they argue was the exploitation of native peoples, an exercise of power fostered not simply by avarice but also by the conviction of racial, cultural, and moral superiority.

One might well ask, then, if the story of an obscure man who served in the fur trade from 1905 to 1936 is worth the telling, and whether such a story can possibly be absorbing, let alone historically illuminating. *From Lac*

La Ronge Country satisfies all three questions, thanks to the erudition, comprehensive research, and fluent style of its author, Graham A. MacDonald. But despite its title, this book is by no means exclusively a narrative of Alan Nunn's fur-trading experiences, for MacDonald's purpose has been to examine Nunn's life in full, from birth to death. As he explains, although Nunn (1874-1946) kept a fur-trade diary between 1924 and 1936 while in the employ of Revillon Frères Ltd, it was "very much a work-a-day kind of business document: only occasional glimpses of his personal life are to be found there." This diary, held by the Nunn family and shown to MacDonald, who has published frequently on northern subjects and whose knowledge of the fur trade is profound, spurred his interest in Nunn, but only, one suspects, because it had as company an album of evocative photographs, many of them striking, illustrating Nunn's active career. Those images, once supplemented by family members' recollections, genealogical records, and preserved correspondence, stimulated MacDonald's inquisitiveness, giving the book substance and rewarding his reader with insights germane to particular cultural, religious, economic, and political connections that existed between Great Britain and the Dominion from the Victorian age into the early twentieth century.

Nunn, we learn, was born in Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk, into a prosperous farming family, was educated at Great Yarmouth Grammar School, and thereafter "mastered much of practical farm experience." Then, in 1903, for reasons unknown, at age twenty-nine, Nunn left England for Saskatchewan: "With the turn of the century … the Empire's far reaches were again front and centre. There was no shortage of places on the red imperial map capable of drawing the attention of the restless or dissatisfied. Farmers, soldiers, prospectors, mechanics and workers alike were being encouraged to seek their fortunes abroad." After working briefly on a farm, then as a hotel clerk in Prince Albert, in 1905 Nunn enlisted in Winnipeg with the Hudson's Bay Company, serving with it until 1924, except during a brief, unsuccessful interlude as a free trader. "[He] became savvy in the routines of the Hudson's Bay Company and of the ways of a so-called 'tripper' in the trade. Although a newcomer, he was a quick study and … learned through his willingness to serve in isolated parts of northern Saskatchewan and Manitoba," i.e., Lac du Brochet, South Indian Lake and other Nelson River District locales, Montreal Lake, and La Ronge. While at Brochet he dealt with the Woodland Cree and the *Idthen-eldeli,* the Barren Land Chipewyans; elsewhere he sought furs primarily from the Cree. His occupation was one demanding an affinity with the native peoples, shrewdness tempered by honesty, travelling skills of a high order in both summer and winter, and physical and emotional stamina.

In 1924, now age fifty, fed up with remote postings and disgruntled by his financial prospects with the Hudson's Bay Company, Nunn joined their major competitor, Revillon Frères, who had begun operating in Canada in 1901; they welcomed his experience and competence. He was to serve them as their manager at La Ronge until 1936. In what constitute the most compelling chapters of this book, MacDonald astutely reviews the "French Company's" history, its policies and field operations in the Churchill River country during Nunn's tenure, and the challenges it encountered during this period: the vagaries of fur fashions, trade goods calculations, wilderness transportation, game laws, and, above all, coping with the competition of the Hudson's Bay Company, the consequences of the fur crash of 1921, and the Wall Street disaster of 1929. These years also saw the gradual arrival of outboard motors and the bush plane, motorized freight 'swings', the radio, and the telephone. The old, tradition-bound North of Nunn's earlier career was on its last legs, as was Revillon's Canadian experiment. Unbeknownst to the traders and even the district managers of both organizations, the Hudson's Bay Company had bought a controlling interest in Revillon in 1926 and had been secretly operating it as a form of subsidized competition after that. Revillon's capitulation and the dire economic climate of the Great Depression led to the French Company being wholly absorbed by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1936, and with that, Alan Nunn retired.

To consider the full significance of the book's title, attention now turns to Nunn's two marriages and how the characters and callings of these women inspired the author to examine interwoven religious and educational characteristics of life in Lac La Ronge country. Nunn's first wife, Esther Gilmour, after graduating from the Deaconess and Missionary Training House in Toronto, came out to work with the Rev. Albert Fraser at Christ Church Mission, The Pas. Her philanthropic idealism is associated, not without irony, with the historical impulse to convert native people to Christianity and, eventually, to educate them—an undertaking that acquired momentum from the evangelical fervour of nineteenth-century England. Like many such well intended, and self-serving, enthusiasms, this determination to 'better' the souls and minds of the Indigenous peoples was brought under political control, and by 1890 the Canadian government had decreed "a lack of choice on the part of those legally defined as Indians as to how their children were to be educated." Nowadays, knowing its worst consequences, we deplore that edict. No such animadversion can have occurred to the dedicated Miss Gilmour when in 1922 she moved on to teach in All Saints Missionary School, in La Ronge, where she and Nunn married in 1926 and where she died in 1927 after giving birth to their daughter. Nunn soon remarried, to Barbara Allcock, a young woman from Nottinghamshire whose altruism resembled Esther's. They met at the isolated post of Stanley Mission, where she was teaching Cree children. The couple found contentment, Nunn engaged anew with his demanding managerial routine, and she soon delighting in their son and taking enthusiastically to canoe travel, snowshoeing, and trips by dog team with her husband. With Revillon Frère's demise in 1936, the Nunns relocated to Spruce Home, north of Prince Albert, where they ran

a general store until Alan died in 1946, a long way from Bury St. Edmunds and a Suffolk farm. Barbara, who had left Sherwood Forest for the boreal forest, lived until 1977. It is fitting that Nunn Lake and Nunn River can be found on maps of Saskatchewan.

The written contents of *From Lac La Ronge Country* are complemented by the book's physical and visual excellence. Lori Nunn's design and layout are those of a first-rate talent. The evocative cover image, facsimile endpapers from Nunn's diary, the clarity of the photographs, the binding, the quality of the paper used—all set a standard most publishers can only envy. The majority of the photographs were selected from the Nunn Family Collection; other photos and illustrations come from diverse sources. Coloured archival maps are strikingly reproduced. An Epilogue, nine pages of endnotes, a substantial bibliography, and an index reinforce the merit of this handsome, absorbing book.[1]

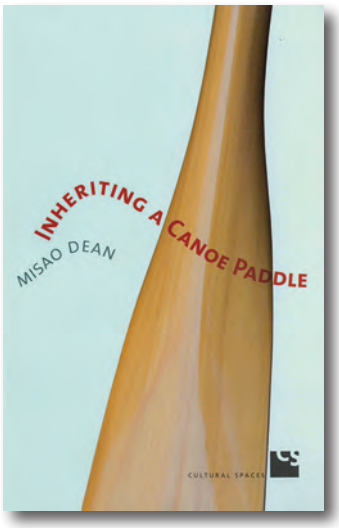
Robert H. Cockburn
The University of New Brunswick, Fredericton

Note

1. This reviewer has but two complaints, both minor: he regrets the written and pictorial attention paid the mountebank "Grey Owl," and notices that two sources to which the reader is directed on page 112 in the endnotes fail to appear in the bibliography.

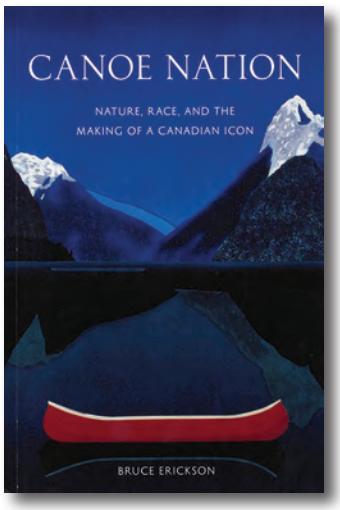
Misao Dean, *Inheriting a Canoe Paddle: The Canoe in Discourses of English-Canadian Nationalism*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013, 240 pages. ISBN 978-1442612877, $29.95 (paperback)

Bruce Erickson, *Canoe Nation: Nature, Race, and the Making of a Canadian Icon*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2013, 252 pages. ISBN 978-0774822497, $32.95 (paperback)



While most Canadians probably can identify a canoe as a common form of light recreational watercraft, and many have paddled a canoe, these two recent books extend beyond discussion of the material canoe and its use. Rather, they examine the canoe's role as a powerful symbol conscripted to support a particular vision of Canada. Erickson's stated intent was to "interrogate the colonial imagination" as represented by the canoe, in order to understand the "production of Canada" (p. 3). Dean's study started with the death of her father, who left her his canoe paddle. For her, the material object, a symbol of loss on a personal level, led in turn to a questioning of the "narrative of nationality" underlying Canadian identity and its link to colonialism (pp. 9-11). Dean and Erickson, as professors of literature and geography, respectively, approach their studies differently, but both examine how the utilization of the symbolic canoe by the state and by cultural elites provides insight into certain aspects of Canadian society, nationality, and identity. Starting with Benedict Anderson's concept of imagined communities and Edward Said's model of nations as narratives, Dean and Erickson move the discussion forward into post-colonial literature, as they analyze how the canoe has been utilized to support a certain construct of Canada.

Dean, in her first chapter, "Paddling the Uncanny Canoe," notes a prevalent sense of dislocation or uneasiness found in Canadian literature, and suggests that the canoe provides a metaphor for that motif. The canoe often acts as a symbol of a desired "material and experiential" nation, but analysis and deconstruction of the symbolic canoe "disrupts, troubles, and denaturalizes" the wish for such a simply understood Canada (Dean, p. 39). In his introduction, Erickson emphasizes the role of the symbolic canoe in connecting the "wilderness"—seen as an essential part of what defines the settler understanding of Canada—with the construct of the nation. Following the post-colonial theorist Homi Bhabha, Erickson notes that the "production of the nation" rests on two narratives. One recounts the origin of the nation, and the other represents the "temporal performance of the nation in the daily lives of its people" (Erickson, pp. 26-29, pp. 12-13).



Both authors contend that examining the meanings contained in the canoe provides a key to understanding constructions of Canadian identity. The canoe, as a symbol, has been perceived

by the cultural and political hegemons of the country as a device which contributes to the construction of a unified national narrative. The political entity "Canada" is the product of strategies of resettlement—approximately 97 percent of its population comprised of immigrants and the descendants of immigrants. For four centuries, people have been attracted from other parts of the world by the economic and cultural "pulls" of the regions which now constitute the nation.

With such a heterogenous, immigrant-based population in a physically enormous and diverse country, constructing a unified national identity—and a sense of belonging or inclusion—provides a significant challenge. Central to the process of nation-building has been an ongoing effort to make the population believe that it is engaged in a common project: the development of the imagined community, "Canada."

Inventing an inclusive national identity—implying a level of cultural unification or homogenization—rests on the construction and naturalization of an origin myth. Such narratives typically explain how a specific group of people came to use and occupy a homeland, to legitimize the group's presence and hegemony. Legitimacy can be achieved through the actions of supernatural forces, through the defeat of another group, or through proving worthiness by successfully meeting certain challenges. Naturalizing a distinctively Canadian origin myth is complicated by the influence of a much larger and more powerful settler-immigrant neighbour nation, the United States. Both nation-states were resettled by, and for, newcomers, in a manner that did not acknowledge the legitimacy of pre-existing indigenous economic, social, and political structures. Resettlement was intended to create new nations, which would provide, within a framework of capitalism and liberalism, opportunities that would attract more newcomers. Within such broadly similar trajectories, how may a distinctly Canadian origin myth be created?

Both Dean and Erickson contend that for more than a century Canadian hegemons have turned to the canoe as a key symbol in the construction of a distinct origin myth. Following Marx, they suggest that while the canoe has lost its use value, thus having less economic power (Dean, p. 17; Erickson, pp. 6-8), it has acquired greater symbolic and cultural power. Both scholars use the term "fetishization" to describe this transformation. This follows the observations of Daniel Francis who, in his 1997 book *National Dreams: Myth, Memory and Canadian History*, described the power of the canoe as symbol, calling it "the mother image of our national dreamlife."[1] These authors appear to follow Francis in privileging the canoe above other Canadian icons: the maple leaf, the beaver, the moose, the toque, the snowshoe, hockey, and Canadian beer. All have been imbued with special meaning as signifiers of Canadian identity, but the integral role of the canoe within the origin narrative seems to have given it greater power.

The power of the symbolic canoe, for these authors, lies in its ability to mediate between contemporary Canadian identity and the origin myth, which is set in the past, and in the wilderness. Following Bhabha, Erickson contends that the two narratives required for what he terms the production of the nation—the origin story, and the contemporary performance of "national" themes—can both be situated and experienced in the canoe. The "past" and "wilderness" aspects of the origin myth is inhabited by symbolic ancestors, both indigenous people and "pioneers," who, through their cooperation in the fur trade, transformed the wilderness into the nation. One of the interesting points brought forward by Dean (pp. 14, 62), and echoed by Erickson, is that the contemporary Canadian population has, through devices such as the fetishizing of canoes, appropriated historic First Nations populations as its "folk" or "volk." They suggest that while lacking the legitimacy provided by indigeneity—the continuous occupation of a region—immigrant populations have attempted to acquire such status by participating in "traditional" First Nations activities. Canoeing is linked symbolically to indigeneity, and so participation in the activity permits members of immigrant society to share, symbolically, in the nation's origin myth.

Both authors consider the canoe to be central to the historical construction of a Canadian origin myth. Dean, in her second chapter, "Canada is a Canoe Route," and Erickson, in his first chapter, "Pedagogical Canoes," examine the ways in which the symbolic canoe figures in the metanarrative of the origins of Canada. Rather than American-style conquest, this rests on a transcontinental fur trade, which demonstrates the self-ascribed modern Canadian values of multiculturalism and inclusion. British managers oversaw Quebecois voyageurs and labourers, who exchanged manufactured goods for commodities—principally furs—from First Nations producers. All three "founding nations" participated voluntarily in the fur trade, with roles defined by their ascribed attributes. This proto-capitalist economic and social enterprise required a complex transportation system—often relying on canoes—extending across the northern half of the continent, later equated with the geo-political construct "Canada."

After framing the central role of the canoe in the Canadian origin myth, each author presents evidence for its subsequent fetishization—the evolution of the watercraft into a culturally significant symbol or icon. For both, this process begins with the growth of recreational canoeing in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For participants, the aesthetically-driven appreciation of the experience superseded the practical or functional role of the vessel itself. Recreational pleasure was intensified, because canoeing could be linked to a central trope of the Canadian imaginary in this era of capitalist optimism, expansion, and nation-building. In a variation on the concept of the "trial in the wilderness," those who challenged and overcame Canada's environment in the origin narrative legitimized their claim of being "true Canadians." By sharing in experiences redolent of those described in the origin narrative, recreational canoeists also could share in

experiencing the pioneer virtues of the ancestor figures. The recreational version of the trial in the wilderness would transform them, and make them feel more fully engaged in the project "Canada."

Dean's examination of the process of fetishization identifies some of the aesthetic and conceptual aspects contributing to the power of the symbolic canoe, then outlines efforts to mimic and recreate the experience of the origin narrative. This is followed by an overview of the conventions of the "wilderness canoe trip" in literature, and then the rise of environmental romanticism in the work of author and filmmaker Bill Mason. Dean presents the Canadian Canoe Museum as a material representation of some of the themes she raises—the primary narratives, as well as the contradictions and stresses inherent to them. Finally, she closes with "De-colonising the Canoe," a discussion of how indigenous Canadians have utilized the symbolic power of the canoe as a way to invigorate cultural values, and to challenge and resist the unitary construction of Canadian identity.

In his discussion, Erickson incorporates aspects of the material canoe with ideology and attitudes, with ongoing reference to the issue of race. He emphasizes the role of hunting and fishing in the development of recreational canoeing, and how aspects of these activities created inherent stresses along racial, cultural, and class lines. He describes a sometimes uneasy relationship between canoe tourists, often privileged men from dominant social groups, and guides, usually members of indigenous societies. This is further developed as he examines the importance of racial identities and constructions of wilderness, and the role of "Indian surrogacy" in reaffirming hegemony for national elites. Erickson then looks at the role of recreational canoeing in reaffirming a certain vision of the nation, by linking the "production of an ideal national subject" to the goals of the environmental movement. He contends that through such efforts, wilderness space is integrated, as a recreational commodity, more fully into the orbit of the capitalist system and the authority of the Canadian state (Erickson, pp. 181, 184). Erickson concludes his study, somewhat like Dean, with reflections on resistance to the national narrative as represented by the symbolic canoe, although focussing on sexuality in addition to race, as an example of how a particular icon, or fetish, may be utilized in different ways by those who do not conform.

The central role of the canoe in this process, while convincingly argued by Erickson and Dean in their respective studies, can be debated. Both authors may have been influenced by the cultural values of central Canada, where the summer idyll—involving lakes, cottages, summer camps, and canoes—has great resonance. For Canadians from other regional societies, the canoe might not hold the same central cultural location—or fetish value. For example, on BC's west coast, kayaks are the ubiquitous personal recreational watercraft. It could be more difficult to frame an argument that the recreational paddlers enjoying their carbon fibre vessels are performing an "Inuit masquerade." Although combining wilderness and a vessel loosely based on an indigenous prototype, there is a much less direct link to a universal origin narrative, and the construction of Canadian identity.

However, the power of both of these books lies in their thoughtful analysis of the process whereby historical experience and material objects are transformed into powerful symbols that may be used to support, or sometimes resist, naturalized values and identity. Whether or not one accepts the canoe as a metaphor for a certain cultural uneasiness, as suggested by Dean, or as a tool used by hegemons to legitimize power expressed along political, racial, and sexual vectors, as presented by Erickson, these books present some real insight into the historical construction of national identity.

The fetishizing of a certain material object, such as the canoe, is naturalized further through its use, following certain prescribed scripts. By following a similar process, people, places, and events, as well as objects, can acquire great symbolic power—elements of our collective past transformed into ideological tools. Fetish objects, when incorporated into cultural production, provide potent and easily understood symbols carrying meanings concerning the attributes and values central to constructing, and to explaining constructions of, Canadian identity.

Jamie Morton
Alberni Valley Museum

Note

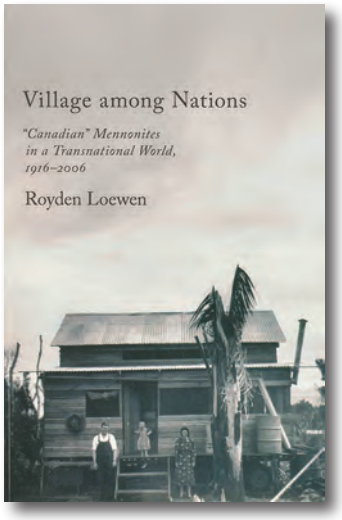
1. Daniel Francis, *National Dreams: Myth, Memory and Canadian History*, Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1997, page 129.

Future History

In the next issue of *Manitoba History* ...

- Filipinos in Manitoba, Part 2
- The Winnipeg Deaf School, 1888–1900
- Winnipeg Jews and the Garment Industry
- Crime Comics in Manitoba
- Frank Gowan's Brandon: Then and Now
- book reviews & more

Royden Loewen, *Village Among Nations: "Canadian" Mennonites in a Transnational World, 1916–2006*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013, 301 pages. ISBN 978-1-4426-4685-3, $23.07 (paperback)



The multinational setting of Loewen's most recent historical meditation on Mennonite worlds includes regions in the Americas stretching from northern Canada to Argentina. At the same time the setting is profoundly "local" in the sense that the traditionalist Mennonite groups discussed in the book are deeply bound by interpersonal relationships and shared history. The emphasis of his study, based on research gathered by scholars and students over decades, encompasses this two-sided nature of Mennonite transnationalism in the twentieth century and beyond.

Chapters 1 to 3 explore the first generation of Canadian Mennonites leaving Canada for Mexico and Paraguay and their experiences in their new host countries. The 1916 Public School Attendance Act in Manitoba required all children within three miles of a public school to attend that school. Mennonites had arrived in Manitoba from New Russia in 1874 with the understanding that they would have the right to build their own school system and educate their own children. This was part of a larger agreement with the Canadian government in return for their settlement on the prairies. The 1916 school legislation seemed like a betrayal, and not to a small minority. Six thousand Mennonites relocated to Mexico and 1700 to Paraguay in the 1920s, after securing new agreements from those governments to settle in "remote" areas. Loewen plainly states that this was an act of resistance, one that carried emotional and economic costs, not only for the immigrants themselves, but for their descendants as well. The familial and communitarian bonds of the homeland were severed, and the new environment provided serious agricultural challenges.

The Mennonites who left Canada saw modernity as corrosive and the modern state as faceless and imperious. Both were threats to a "traditional" way of life that Mennonites believed was central to their spiritual well-being. This view of the Mennonite as a pacifist agent of resistance to twentieth-century Canadian values challenges a mainstream view of Canada as benevolently liberal and progressive.

Chapters 4 and 5 cover a period of migration out of Canada and within and throughout the Americas that is less direct than earlier migration stories. Beginning in 1948 more Manitoban Mennonites left for Mexico and Paraguay, again because of the perceived threat of modernity. In the 1950s Mennonites began to settle in British Honduras (Belize), other parts of Paraguay, and later still Bolivia. Again and again Loewen uncovers the irony in a search for isolation on a planet in which the Mennonite economic imperative (cash crops) was inseparable from global markets. The author also reveals some of the dynamics of friction and schism within Mennonite communities, usually based on issues of modernity and economic opportunity.

Chapters 6–8 trace the return migrations from Latin American countries from the 1950s onwards. This is a period of great complexity, as many of these movements were based on the individual or the family, rather than an entire colony, church or village. Many of those who left Mexico for southwestern Ontario also moved back to Mexico, and then Canada again, in pursuit of economic security. Loewen gives us a clear view of the very nature of "transnationalism," in which neither the individual nor the group is tied to a nation (or to nationalism), but instead seeks belonging in a larger group of known individuals who neither have nor seek a particular homeland. But these Mennonites are never simply nomadic. Having now considerable investments in land (whether farmland in Mexico, or ranches in Paraguay), many of these Mennonites are deeply tied to their homes. But for thousands, it is possible and sometimes necessary to move on when life has become too tenuous (economically or for security reasons as in Mexico), or if there is a perceived need for more isolated conditions. In fact, roughly 20 percent of the settlers returned to Canada within the first few years of settlement, so the back and forth between the countries began almost immediately.

Media is often the mediating link between members of a diaspora. Loewen leans heavily on the example of *Die Steinbach Post* (later, and currently, *Die Mennonitische Post*) as a source for families and communities to stay in touch across the continents. Letters written for the *Post* related a world that was familiar but distant, and was used to create a shared "village among nations."

Another core issue raised by the book is the relationships of Mennonite groups to state authorities. The book gives numerous examples of how Mennonites have historically seen themselves in direct relationship with individual leaders (whether the Czar, the British monarchy, or a Latin American president), benefitting from the (arbitrary) power of supreme authority. They have been much less comfortable with the systematic and systemic power structure of the bureaucratic state. The *Privelegium*, the granted privileges bestowed to Mennonites by benevolent leaders, lives large in ideas about Mennonite history and group identity.

A few questions are raised by the book that could lead to further study. Between the 1920s and the 1990s there was

a clear shift away from land ownership and towards wage labour. Land ownership was a cornerstone of identity (for both individual and household) for centuries of Mennonite life. By the 1990s many of the descendants of those 1920s settlers were landless and involved in difficult wage labour on farms and in factories. It would be most interesting to understand how these changes impacted notions of individual identity, and the dispositions awakened in these new identities. Also, it seems (from the book and also from anecdotal accounts) that Mennonite women had a very powerful role in decision making about the very act of migration. Knowing to what degree this is true, and why it is the case in a clearly patriarchal society, would also make an illuminating study.

Traditionalist Mennonites have been studied by scholars and scrutinized by the media, but they have rarely received an authoritative account of their twentieth century society or history. Loewen provides this through both his central notion of transnationalism and his ability to relay the stories of individuals who constructed and experienced the transnational village.

Roland Sawatzky
The Manitoba Museum

Letter to the Editors

Ernest Braun

The last issue of Manitoba History *(No. 75, page 19) included this arresting photograph of Katharina Braun (1890–1927) in a casket surrounded by her grieving family. It prompted reader Ernest Braun, one of her descendants, to write with additional information.*

My grandmother died from complications of pregnancy in early 1927 and was buried at Puerto Casado, Paraguay, leaving a husband and six little children, the oldest 13, including my father. In our extended family, she was the motivating spirit behind the trek from Manitoba to South America, dragging her husband along against his will, and then dying within three months of getting there. Grandpa Braun chafed at the situation but could not bring his family home, for his parents and all his siblings and their families were there too, and he could not abandon them. They eventually returned here, in August 1929. When the family had left Manitoba in 1926, they were reasonably well-to-do, but the three-year adventure left only enough money to buy the poorest land in the same area they had left. They started over, living in the kind of huts that Mennonites in southern Manitoba had not used for a generation, on land that nobody wanted. The district was then derisively called the "Chaco," a term one can still hear occasionally when old-timers talk about the area about five miles east of St. Malo. My father, instead of inheriting a solid family farm and threshing business at the age of 18 as he had every right to expect, spent those years as a migrant farm labourer, walking to farming areas in southern Manitoba, and working at anything as long as he would get something to eat at the end of the day. In later years, when he was a young married man, he worked as a hired man for the very Mennonites who had purchased the farms that his family had sold as they left. The huge barn of my father's grandfather in Gnadenfeld survived until about 1999, but my father never talked about that to my mother, even though they socialized regularly with my mother's sister, who lived a few hundred yards east of it. My mother did not know anything about that background, I suspect because my father never told her. Ironically, my mother worked as a housemaid on that farmyard, never realizing that this would have been part of the inheritance of the man who became her husband, an inheritance lost in the ill-fated migration to South America. And of course the moment they disembarked here in 1929 was also the moment that the stock market crashed and the Great Depression made any immediate progress impossible. But please do not hear me saying that this is "sour grapes." It is what it is. Decisions were made with the highest ideals and great sacrifices were made in that cause, and so I believe my background is extraordinarily rich in experience and colour, though laced also with tragedy and loss. I choose to see my family's history as fascinating, admirable, and poignant.

Cool Things in the Collection:

For Home and Country: Reflections of the Great War on a Women's Society

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

Within the collections of the S. J. McKee Archives at Brandon University are the minutes of the Minnedosa Home Economics Society for 1914 to 1918.[1] The minutes are well preserved and detailed, and the handwriting is legible. They are handwritten on paper that was once part of a small school scribbler. The record for each meeting ranges from one page to a page and a half. The run from January 1914 to June 1918 is almost complete with only a few missing months.

The Minnedosa Home Economics Society (HES) formed on 11 November 1910 as one of 17 chapters that resulted from a drive sponsored by the Manitoba Department of Agriculture in the latter part of that year. Charter members were primarily women of British descent. The Society's motto, "For Home and Country," reflected its core concerns: domestic science, improvement of the community, and participation in provincial and national concerns.

HES meetings had a business portion followed by an educational program. The minutes record a topic of discussion in a terse sentence; no context is given. These few words have the power to pique curiosity, potentially leading the curious to consult other historical records. An example of this is found in the last sentence of the 23 March 1916 minutes: "Meeting closed by singing the National Anthem and the additional verse now beginning during the war of God Save our Splendid Men."

At the 25 May 1917 meeting, the guest speaker noted that "… now that we had the franchise to cast our ballot carefully and vote for the right irrespective of party." Additional Women's Institute records may illuminate the attitude of first-wave feminists to the arrival of suffrage in rural Manitoba. Besides votes for women, there are numerous other references throughout the minutes that reflect the major societal changes of that period: to the Dowager Act and custody of children, to the temperance movement, and to difficult economic times.

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In the early years of the war, the program focussed on domestic or community concerns: starting bedding plants, cleaning the house in spring, improving the local school yard. As the war continued, the topics included providing meals without meat or flour, nursing at home, and learning about war-related causes.

In 1916, the theme of the educational program was home nursing with sessions led by the Minnedosa Hospital's nurse. On 24 August 1916, Nurse Masters gave a lesson "on bandaging, showing how to apply bandages on various parts of the head, neck, shoulder, arm, heel, fingers, and toes."

The fonds also contains a local history scrapbook entitled *Minnedosa: A Village History, 1878–1956* written and assembled by the Minnedosa Women's Institute. This excellent example of vernacular history is extensive, typewritten on sturdy paper, and illustrated with numerous high-quality photographs. Its opening pages describe activities in Minnedosa during the Great War and frequently provide more information about a reference in the HES minutes. One example relates to the Minnedosa branch of the Red Cross Society. During the First World War, Canadians wholeheartedly supported the Red Cross as the vehicle to provide humanitarian relief for Allied combatants and non-combatants. At the first meeting of the HES after war was declared, the minutes record that the members "spoke for a few minutes on how to carry on a Red Cross Society" (24 September 1914).

The scrapbook gives more detail in the section relating to the Red Cross, noting that the Minnedosa branch officially began on 12 May 1915 and that the women did a prodigious amount of sewing, knitting, bandage rolling, and fundraising. The scrapbook records that the "final report for the Red Cross in February 1919 showed a total of $17,261 has been raised" for Red Cross Belgian relief,

Gordon Goldsborough

The richly illustrated Minnedosa Women's Institute scrapbooks contain a wealth of information on social and economic conditions in rural Manitoba.

Hospital Ship, Soldier's Aid Fund, the Women's Tribute, etc.

At the 24 February 1916 meeting, "the President offered the use of the Rest Room in the evenings to the Soldier Boys as a place to read, play games and enjoy themselves and to be under the supervision of the Red Cross." In Manitoba, Rest Rooms were initiated, supported and run by members of the Women's Institute as a place where farm women (and their children) who came into town could rest, have refreshment, read, and visit.[2] The scrapbook records that this space (intended for women only) was opened to recruits and an evening lunch was served to them.

The 1918 minutes repeatedly reference concerns about food production and food shortage. Part of the problem can be inferred from the minutes of 23 March 1918 where it is reported that a committee of two was formed "to assist in looking after the boys who might engage in farm work." Later in the same meeting, we learn that the women "find a difficulty in getting [land for victory gardens] plowed and cultivated" and will approach the Town Council to "procure the service of some competent person with a team and outfit to undertake this work."

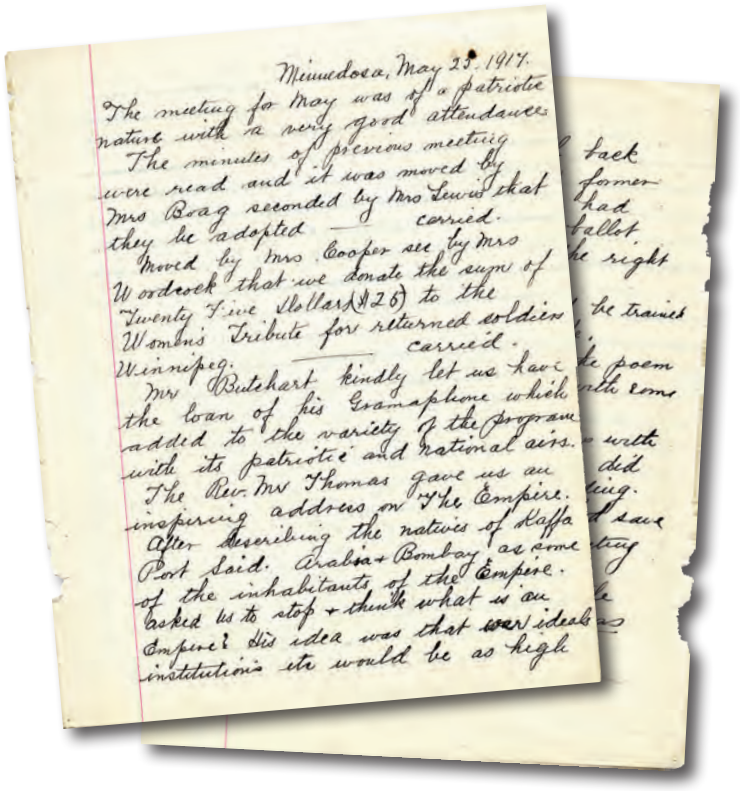
These references to a shortage of men to do farm work and to work the land are further supported by the scrapbook which records that the Minnedosa Honour Roll for the Great War has the names of approximately 300 men (and four women who worked as nursing sisters) who served overseas and that the Minnedosa War Memorial has the names of 100 men. The population of the village was 1,500 people. Discovering that one-fifth of the town went overseas could explain why the women had difficulty finding a competent person to plough and cultivate land.

The minutes of the Minnedosa HES and the opening pages of the local history scrapbook are excellent primary source material on the years of the Great War, particularly on the activities and concerns of women in a small rural village in Manitoba. When considered together, we get a clear sense how the war overseas affected the women and their homes and farms. Their response to the war is summed up in the enduring motto of the Home Economics Society/ Women's Institute: "For Home and Country." ∞

Notes

This article is dedicated in memory of the author's paternal grandparents, Stan and Maggie Reid. David Stanley Reid (1897–1970) was a young farmer from Boissevain, Manitoba who volunteered to serve in the First World War in 1917 and volunteered again for the Second World War. Margaret Letitia Kerr (1896–1978) was a young woman from Alexander, Manitoba who waited for her betrothed to return from the Great War in France. Sadly for her, he did not come back. She married Stan Reid in 1927. Their life story is that of many people born in Canada near the turn of the twentieth century.

1. The Home Economics Societies in Manitoba changed their name to Women's Institute in 1919.
2. For further information on Rest Rooms, see the *Manitoba History* article by Donna Norell at www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/mb_history/11/womensrestrooms.shtml


Minnedosa, May 25. 1917.
The meeting for May was of a patriotic nature with a very good attendance
The minutes of previous meeting were read and it was moved by Mrs Brag seconded by Mrs Lewis that they be adopted — carried.
Moved by Mrs Cooper see by Mrs Woodcock that we donate the sum of Twenty Five Dollars ($25) to the Womens Tribute for returned soldiers Winnipeg. — carried.
Mrs Butchart kindly let us have the loan of his Gramaphone which added to the variety of the program with its patriotic and national airs.
The Rev. Mr Thomas gave us an inspiring address on The Empire. After describing the natives of Joppa Port Said. Arabia + Bombay as some of the inhabitants of the Empire. asked us to stop + think what is an Empire? His idea was that our ideals institutions etc would be as high

S. J. McKee Archives, Minnedosa WI Fonds

"Of a patriotic nature." The minutes for the Minnedosa Home Economics Society meeting on 25 May 1917 note that a local cleric gave the group "an inspiring address on the Empire."