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Manitoba History

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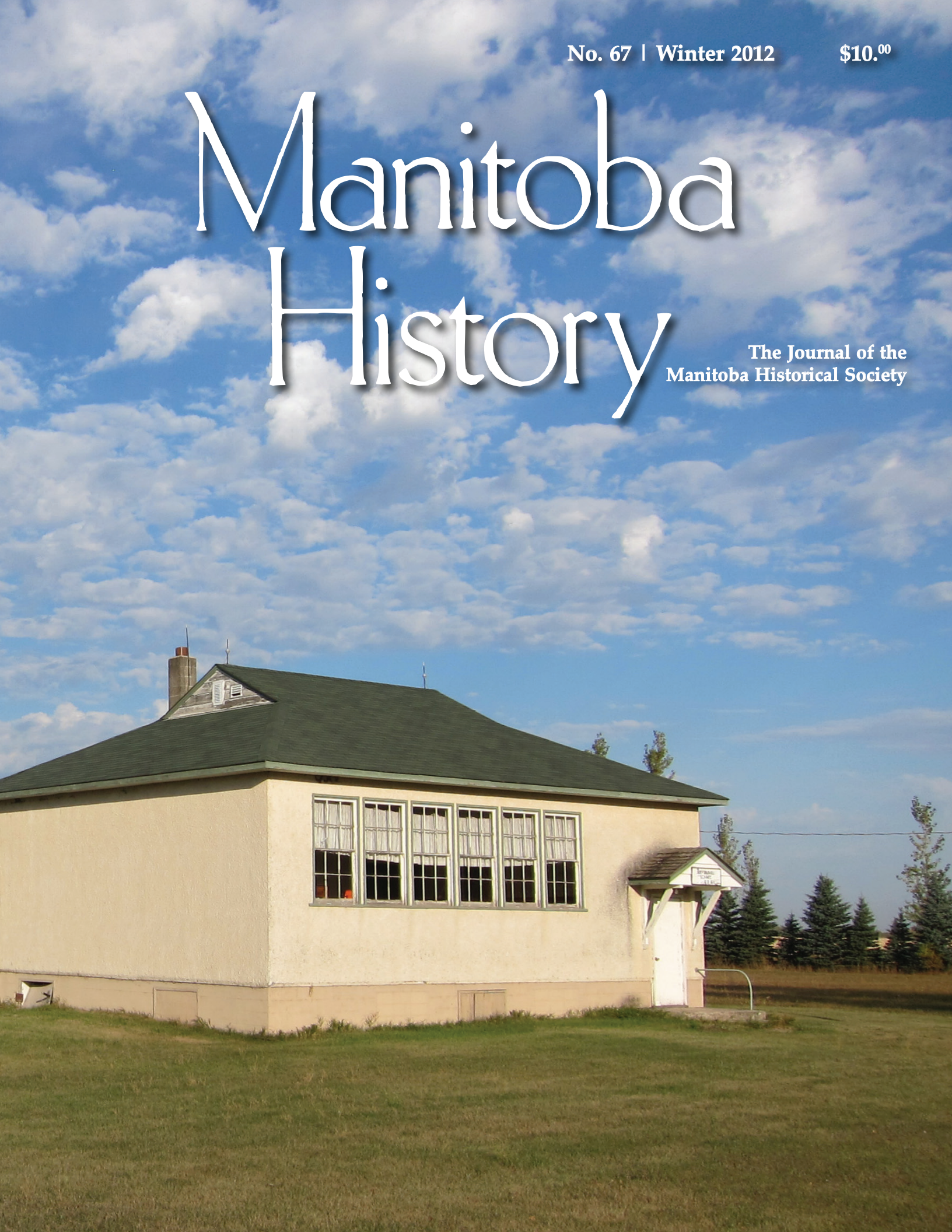

Manitoba History

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61 Carlton Street
Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada R3C 1N7
Telephone: 204-947-0559
Email: info@mhs.mb.ca
Web: www.mhs.mb.ca

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The building for St. Daniel School District No. 811, a fine example of the once-ubiquitous one-room schoolhouses of rural Manitoba, is located northwest of Carman, near the former Metis settlement at Rivière aux Îlets-de-Bois. The district operated before 1894 to 1968 and the building (which dates from 1952) is now used as a community hall.

Source: Gordon Goldsborough

www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/mb_history/67

Gazette

Reviews

"Radical history should not ask for any privilege of any kind .... Radical history must be good history. It must be as good as history can be."

British historian E. P. Thompson,
from *Making History: Writings on History and Culture*, 1994

The Confrontations at Rivière aux Îlets-de-Bois[1]

by Alan B. McCullough
Ottawa, Ontario

On 14 June 1871, Duncan Urquhart Campbell, formerly of Chatham, Ontario, and a number of companions, staked out land claims on a river which they called the Boyne in south-central Manitoba. Over the next few days they began to build houses and to plant potatoes.

On 18 June, 1871, Campbell wrote in his diary "Very fine day. The Horses went away this morning could not find them all day. Did not spend Sabbath so well as we ought. Warned to leave that section of country by three French Half Breeds to which we paid no attention."[2]

Campbell's diary entry recorded the first in a series of incidents known as the confrontations at the Rivière aux Îlets-de-Bois. The Rivière aux Îlets-de-Bois (RIB) was known to the Metis before 1871; they had used the area on a seasonal basis for many years and they hoped to have it reserved as part of their land allotment after Manitoba joined Confederation. In the spring of 1871 settlers from Ontario claimed land along the river which they renamed the Boyne. The Metis protested and there were several confrontations between them and the new settlers. The dispute exacerbated the already tense relations between the Metis and the new settlers in Manitoba and threatened to boil over into violence. In the end, the Metis abandoned their claims along the river and settled in a parish, known first as Rivière aux Îlets-de-Bois and subsequently as St. Daniel, to the north of the river. The Boyne Settlement continued to attract settlers from Ontario and by 1881 the settlement was an overwhelmingly Protestant, English-speaking, agricultural community.

The confrontations have been referred to briefly by numerous historians, but only Allen Ronaghan has studied them in detail. Ronaghan attributed the confrontations to the federal government's "duplicitous policy" and credited Lieutenant-Governor Archibald with defusing a dangerous situation. He praised the Metis for their discipline in avoiding bloodshed while being "… dispossessed of land they rightly owned."[3] The confrontations also played a part in the larger history of Metis land grants under the Manitoba Act. The history of the land grants has been the focus of extensive historical research leading to a major court challenge by the Manitoba Metis Federation in 2007. Douglas Sprague, who provided research support for the Metis Federation, argued that "… through a process of formal and informal discouragement, the Metis were the victims of a deliberate conspiracy in which John A. Macdonald and the Canadian government successfully kept them from obtaining title to the land they were to receive under the terms of the Manitoba Act of 1870." Thomas Flanagan, a consultant for the Department of Justice, found that "… the federal government fulfilled the land provision of the Manitoba Act."[4] He admitted that there was considerable confusion and delay in making the grants and that this "… allowed some potential reserve land to be claimed by immigrants to Manitoba under the order-in-council of 26 May …"; this remark may well have been a reference to the lands at RIB. Referring specifically to the confrontations at RIB, Flanagan commented that they "made the Metis suspicious of the government's good faith."[5] In this re-examination of the confrontations I will suggest that all participants in the events—the federal government, Lieutenant-Governor Archibald, the incoming settlers, and the Metis—had some responsibility for the way they played out.

The RIB flowed east from the Pembina Hills into the Red River Valley until it lost itself in the Great Marsh to the northeast of the future Carman, Manitoba. The river was known to the inhabitants of Red River from at least 1800; there are several mentions of it in Alexander Henry's journals.[6] The Hunters' Trail crossed the river about two miles east of present-day Carman. The oak, elm, poplar, and basswood at the crossing provided shelter, fuel, and building materials and the Metis used the crossing as a campsite and a place to repair carts. Some came to the woods in the spring to make maple sugar.[7] The parish register for St. François Xavier records a baptism at RIB in 1837 and the oral tradition of the community of St. Daniel suggests that some Metis established homes along the river or at St. Daniel as early as the 1830s. A history of the St. Daniel District indicates that a school was established in 1866 about seven miles northwest of the present town of Carman and that, about 1869–1870, Father F.-X. Kavanagh of the parish of St. François Xavier established a mission chapel, Rivière aux Îlets-de-Bois, later St. Daniel, about seven miles northwest of Carman.[8]

John F. Grant was the first identifiable settler on the river. Born at Edmonton in 1831, he became a successful trader and rancher in Montana. He was a nephew of Pascal Breland and in 1867 he moved to Manitoba where he built at home and store in St. Charles Parish. He and his family were enumerated in St. Charles in 1870 but he also had property at RIB. He and three of his followers had taken up land along the river in 1867. Over the next decade he

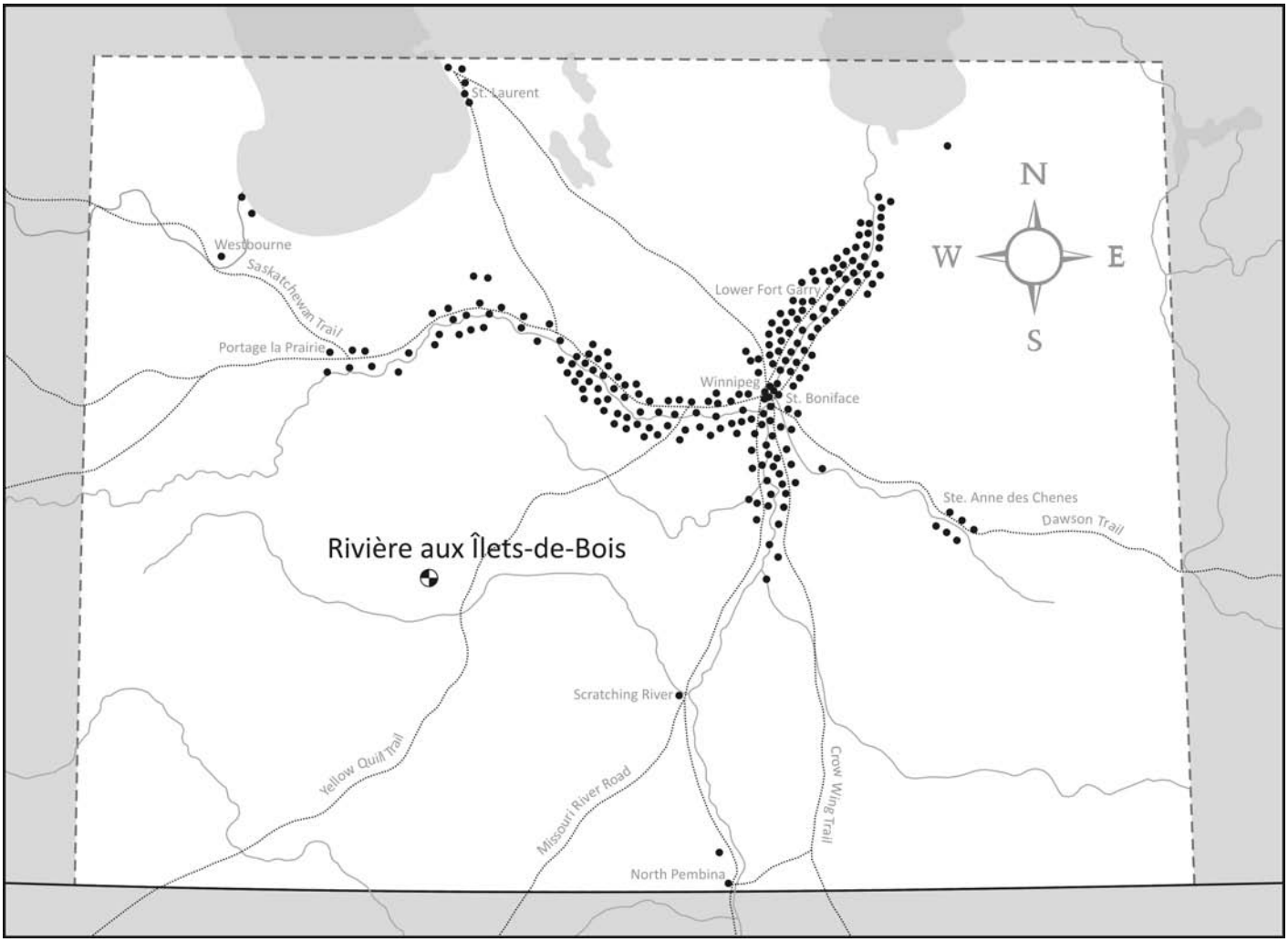
Alan McCullough grew up on a farm which included the cemetery of the original St. Daniel parish; his great-grandfather settled in the Carman area in 1874. From 1973 until 1998 Alan worked as an historian with Parks Canada. For the past decade he has intemittently researched the history of the Carman area.

built a large house and a sawmill on his land and broke and cultivated 65 acres of land; in his memoirs he referred to this property as "the Ranch."[9]

Although local tradition holds that some Metis had settled in the area by 1860 or earlier,[10] the 1870 census of Manitoba made no mention of a settlement at the RIB and there is limited contemporary evidence that there were permanent residents at the river in 1870 other than some of Grant's extended family. Lieutenant-Governor Archibald, in a memorandum dealing with the Fenian invasion of October 1871, noted that a body of French Metis had "… made a selection of a tract of land at Rivière aux Îlets-de-Bois; some of them had made farms, or at all events enclosures, at that place."[11] Archibald was not clear when these claims had been made, or who had made the enclosures but some of them may have been made in 1870. In 1872 Pierre Falcon published a claim, dated to 15 July 1870, to two lots of 12 chains each, located three miles apart on the RIB.[12] An account by Ontario settlers of the founding of the Boyne Settlement in 1871 acknowledges that the Metis had "… staked out the land along the Boyne in lots of twelve chains frontage in the name of St. Charles parish …" but they made no mention of actual settlement except that associated with John F. Grant.[13] When two townships along the river were surveyed in 1871 the surveyors identified only one claim by a Metis, John F. Grant, although there were several by recent immigrants from Ontario.[14] When the township in which the RIB or St. Daniel school and chapel were built, reportedly in 1866 and 1869–1870, was surveyed in 1872, the surveyor made no mention of settlers, land claims, a school, or of a chapel.[15]

The dispute exacerbated the already tense relations between the Metis and the new settlers in Manitoba and threatened to boil over into violence.

In 1869 Canada bought the Hudson's Bay Company's interest in Rupertsland and arranged to have the entire area



Modified from *Economic Atlas of Manitoba*, 1960, page 332

Map of land settlement patterns in the "postage stamp" Manitoba, circa 1870, showing the location of Rivière aux Îlets-de-Bois and other settlements, as well as major trails used at the time. A circle represents 50 people.

transferred to Canada. The population was not consulted and, at Red River, the majority of the population viewed the transfer with apprehension. In particular, the French-speaking, Roman Catholic, Metis feared that annexation would jeopardize their political position in the settlement, threaten their title to land, and undermine their culture. When, before the transfer had been completed, Canada sent a party to begin surveying lands in Red River, the Metis under Louis Riel stopped the survey, denied entry to Manitoba's representative, and then formed a provisional government. Over the winter of 1869–1870 representatives of the provisional government negotiated better terms for the entry into Confederation including provincial status for Manitoba, bilingual status for the new province, denominational schools, guarantees of existing land titles, and a promise that 1,400,000 acres of land would be set aside for the children of Metis inhabitants of Manitoba.

The Canadian party in Red River and some of the population of Ontario were enraged by the provisional government's execution of Thomas Scott in March of 1870. They resented the terms which the provisional government negotiated for Manitoba's entry into Confederation. Their position was most clearly expressed in the columns of the Toronto *Globe* which viewed the agreement, especially the plan to reserve 1,400,000 acres for the Metis, as a conspiracy to forestall immigration from Ontario and to make Manitoba a French province. In March of 1871 the *Globe* editorialized: "The people of Ontario don't mean to be so snubbed and so put off by any Government. They have a right to look to that land as a home for their sons and daughters, and they don't mean to stand quietly by and see it made a Lower Canadian preserve." The paper called for a large and speedy immigration to "… counteract the objectionable arrangements of the constitution …" given Manitoba and to secure access to Manitoba for Ontario settlers.[16] The paranoia and animosity which the *Globe* columns both expressed and fomented was carried westward by some members of the Red River Expeditionary Force (RREF) which arrived in Manitoba in 1870. The tensions between the new settlers and the Metis inhabitants of Manitoba formed the background of the confrontations at RIB in 1871.

An account by Ontario settlers of the founding of the Boyne Settlement in 1871 acknowledges that the Metis had "… staked out the land along the Boyne [Rivière aux Îlets-de-Bois] in lots of twelve chains frontage in the name of St. Charles parish …"

The Manitoba Act promised 1,400,000 acres of land for the children of Metis families in Manitoba. The land grant was intended to smooth the transfer and to satisfy Metis claims to aboriginal title. The Metis leadership hoped that the land would be granted in large blocks which would provide a permanent land base for cohesive Metis communities. The Metis also hoped that the land would be allocated before a large influx of new settlers complicated the selection. The government view was that no action could be taken until the population entitled to the grant had been identified and the land had been surveyed. A census of the Metis was completed in December 1870 but detailed surveys were not begun until the late summer of 1871 by which time new settlers were arriving from Ontario. Moreover, the government did not formally establish its policy on land grants until April and May of 1871, after settlers had begun to arrive in Manitoba.

In December 1870, Lieutenant-Governor Archibald prepared two long despatches on land policy and surveys. In the first he argued for 160 acres as the basic homestead grant with a low price charged for pre-empted lands. He wrote approvingly of the American practice of allowing squatters to obtain title to land which they had improved and occupied for five years. He wrote that the government should have a policy in place and be ready to begin surveys in the spring; however, he recognized that detailed surveys should not begin until the Indian title had been surrendered. In his second despatch Archibald dealt with the question of the land reserved for the Metis. His recommendation for a rectangular survey system did not apply to the land along the Red and Assiniboine rivers for which the aboriginal title had already been ceded. He argued that aboriginal title in Manitoba was held either by the Cree or Saulteaux; the Metis, in his view, had settled in the area at the beginning of the 19th century and their Indian ancestors were mostly from groups with no links to Manitoba. If the feelings of the Metis were to be met, he believed that the grant should be made as two blocks of land, one for the French Metis and one for the English, as there was a strong "disposition" to keep the French and Catholic communities and the English and Protestant communities separate. He believed that granting the land in a block would lower its commercial value but accepted that such a course was the desire of the French Metis and of their leaders. He recognized that the "… French, or their leaders …" wished the land to be inalienable for at least a generation but recommended against granting this wish because it would "lock up" a large portion of the grant for many years and might prove a hindrance to the development of the country.[17]

Early in 1871, M. St. John sent Archibald a report on the nature of land titles in Manitoba. His report highlighted a growing concern among both new and old settlers as to how land was to be allocated. Many would-be settlers were awaiting the promulgation of regulations and the selection of the Metis grant of 1,400,000 acres prior to making their own selections. Much of the best farm land in the province was already taken up or claimed either by old settlers or new settlers. Some riverfront land on the southern portion of the Red River remained unclaimed, but it was alleged

Archives of Manitoba, Personalities A22-2, N12595

Manitoba's Lieutenant Governor Adams G. Archibald (1814–1893) corresponded actively on matters relating to land titles in Manitoba, especially as it related to Metis communities.

that existing settlers objected to English-speaking settlers taking any of it up. It was asserted that if any buildings were put up in the area, they were "… in danger of being burnt by the French Half Breeds in the vicinity." St. John questioned the existence of such a danger but believed that it would disappear once regulations were published. He also suggested that if the boundaries of Manitoba were extended it would enlarge the amount of available land.[18]

On 1 March 1871, *Le Nouveau Monde* (Montréal) reported that the Metis were waiting "… non sans quelque appréhension …" for news as to how the reserved land would be allocated. The paper's Red River correspondent reported that Manitoba was without wood except for the fringes along the rivers. Given the need for winter fuel, this source of wood would be soon exhausted and the Metis were anxious to know if their reserved lands would be on the wooded river land or on the prairie where there was neither water nor wood.[19] The column raised an important issue; much of the open prairie land in the Red River Valley was not suitable for settlement given the agricultural technology and attitudes prevalent in both Manitoba and Ontario in 1870. It was not until the arrival of Mennonites from southern Russia in 1874 that serious attempts were made to settle the open land in the Red River Valley.

The allocation of the reserve lands became more urgent in April and May of 1871 as volunteers from the RREF were discharged in Manitoba and began to claim lands and as potential settlers from Ontario arrived in the Province. Early in April the Legislative Assembly urged Archibald to press the Dominion government to "define the limits of the land occupied" by a great number of settlers on the Red and Assiniboine rivers who were outside the area already surveyed. The Assembly urged that, in the meantime, measures be taken to secure these settlers in the "peaceable possession" of their claims. Archibald referred the address to Ottawa. On 31 May the Secretary of State for Canada replied that an order-in-council which would "meet the case of squatters who intend to become settlers" had been approved on 26 May. He enclosed an extract from the order-in-council (which is discussed below) and suggested that it be published in Manitoba.[20]

On 25 April 1871, the federal government approved an order-in-council authorizing a procedure for allocating the lands for the Metis reserves. All Metis, resident in Manitoba as of 15 July 1870, were to be eligible for an equal portion of the grant of 1,400,000 acres. No conditions of settlement were imposed. The Lieutenant-Governor was authorized to reserve townships or parts of townships for distribution, and individual allocations would be decided by lot. The order-in-council did not require that land be surveyed before it was selected for Metis reserves although this might have been implicit in the reference to townships and parts of townships. The order-in-council also provided for the settlement of other crown lands once they had been surveyed. Any head of family, or male over 21 years of age, who had made or "… shall hereafter make in person a settlement on the public lands …" and who resided on and improved his claim, could make an entry for up to 160 acres of the land which he occupied. Officers and men of the first Ontario and second Quebec battalions "now serving" in Manitoba who chose to settle in Manitoba were entitled to a "free grant without actual residence thereon, of one quarter section." When two or more persons settled the same land, the right of pre-emption went to the first settler. The order-in-council included a list of lands which were reserved from settlement—Hudson's Bay Company land, certain woodlands, mill sites, town sites, school lands, mineral lands and lands to be designated as railway lands. It did not identify the 1,400,000-acre Metis reserve lands as being reserved from settlement.[21]

It soon became clear that the surveys would not be completed in time to accommodate settlement by immigrants who were already arriving in Manitoba. On 26 May an order-in-council was approved providing that "… parties found upon the land at the time of survey …" who had settled and made improvements in good faith would be protected in the enjoyment of the land they had claimed. As would become clear, there was a potential for conflict between the right of pre-emption prior to survey, and the right of the Metis to block grants set out in the order-in-council of 25 April. However, the order-in-council of 26 May was not published in Manitoba until about the third week of June by which time the crisis over the lands at RIB was well underway.[22]

G. Goldsborough

The St. Daniel church steeple and bell is all that remains of the structure built around 1895, adjacent to the cemetery at 24-7-5, about 2½ miles west of the first church site.

The text of the order-in-council of 25 April 1871 was published in *The Manitoban* of 13 May 1871 and within a week the Metis of the French-speaking parishes, acting on the approval of block grants of land, met to establish claims to the areas they hoped to occupy. Descriptions of the various claims were published in *Le Métis* of 8 June 1871.[23] The parishes to the east of St. Charles on the Assiniboine and on the Red River claimed a broad strip of land on either side of Red River between St. Boniface and the International Boundary as well as a two-mile strip on either side of the Rivière Sale. The French-speaking parishes to the west of St. Charles claimed a strip of land running southerly from the Assiniboine River along the Pembina Hills to the International Boundary. The claim extended east from the Hills to include the wooded lands along the various streams with the exception of the land claimed by St. Charles Parish on the RIB. At a meeting chaired by John Grant on 14 May 1871, the residents of St. Charles Parish claimed two miles on either side of the RIB from the eastern extremity of wooded land on the river to a point 18 miles west; they also claimed a similar strip of land on the upper reaches of the Rivière Sale. The St. Laurent community on Lake Manitoba claimed a 100-square-mile block between Lake Manitoba and Shoal Lake.

Le Nouveau Monde estimated that the French Metis had claimed 1,300,000 acres, "presque toute la meilleure terre à bois et la meillure prairie dans celle partie." Given that the English-speaking Metis of Manitoba were entitled to about 40 per cent of the 1,400,000-acre grant, the claims were excessive and the cause of "beaucoup de mécontment." The Metis claims were apparently made to forestall occupation by immigrants from eastern Canada and to some extent they were successful, for *Le Nouveau Monde* wrote that some Canadian immigrants, on learning of the claims, had left Manitoba and settled in the Dakota Territory.[24]

Some of the immigrants had abandoned Manitoba but not all. On Easter Sunday (9 April) 1871 Samuel Kennedy and a small party of men with links to the RREF arrived at the RIB.[25] Kennedy, born in Ireland, had emigrated as a child to Ontario where his family settled in Hastings County. An Orangeman, he married in the 1840s and by 1871 had eight children; in 1870 he came to Manitoba as a "volunteer" with the RREF. Kennedy, and at least one other man in his party, Ryer Olsen, took up land claims along the river, building houses and clearing land. Kennedy's family joined him later in the summer.[26] Kennedy and his little party were soon joined by other Ontario immigrants. The *Globe* reported that before the confrontation broke out there had been 80 families at RIB; in early July *Le Métis* reported that about 100 settlers had gone to the RIB.[27]

Most of the settlers' names have been lost but among those who can be identified there was a mix of long-term settlers and speculators. Samuel Kennedy, his half-brother George Sexsmith, and the Campbell brothers, were among the first settlers to claim land on the Boyne (the name which they gave to the RIB) and became long-term residents of the area.[28] In July and August of 1871, twenty-seven individuals published claims to land on the Boyne in the *Manitoba Liberal*; most of the claimants were serving or former members of the RREF and made their claims on the basis of the military bounty.[29] Some had links to the Canadian Party and to John Christian Schultz, one of the leaders of the Canadian Party.[30] One of the claimants, Stewart Mulvey, was the editor of the *Manitoba Liberal* and a master of the first Orange Lodge in Manitoba. He was notorious for his opposition to Riel and Lieutenant-Governor Archibald.[31] When the RIB area was surveyed in 1872, none of the 27 was identified as having claims on the river although two did eventually take out a patent on land along the Boyne. Most of the 27 might reasonably be described as speculators.[32]

Why Kennedy and the other settlers chose to settle on the Boyne, rather than join the existing Ontario settlement in the Portage la Prairie-Lake Manitoba area, is not known. Perhaps the choice was made simply on the merits of the land as an area for settlement. It was as close to Fort Garry as the Portage Settlement; the land was as good as any in the province, and it had the first good wood and water on the trail southwest from Fort Garry. At the time of Kennedy's arrival it was well beyond the established Metis settlements and with the exception of John F. Grant's holdings there is room for doubt that the Metis had permanent settlements

in the area. There is evidence that the area was promoted by Schultz's *Manitoba News-Letter* as early as April of 1871. In a letter dated 17 June 1871, J. Allard informed Bishop Taché that many immigrants were being directed to RIB and it may have been identified as a settlement site by the Northwest Emigration Aid Society.[33] As settlers arrived they encouraged others to come; in June of 1871 an immigrant wrote to the *London Advertiser*, describing his trip west and stating that members of his party, who had visited the RIB area the previous fall, had been favourably impressed with it.[34] Given their background with the RREF and their links to Schultz, it is possible that some of speculative settlers took up their claims as a way of supporting their fellow Ontario settlers in defying the Metis; by the time they published notices of their claims in July and August, they should have known that the Metis of St. Charles also claimed the land. As well, by the time the 27 published their claims, many of the Ontario settlers at RIB had already abandoned their claims.

Most of the settlers' names have been lost but among those who can be identified there was a mix of long-term settlers and speculators.

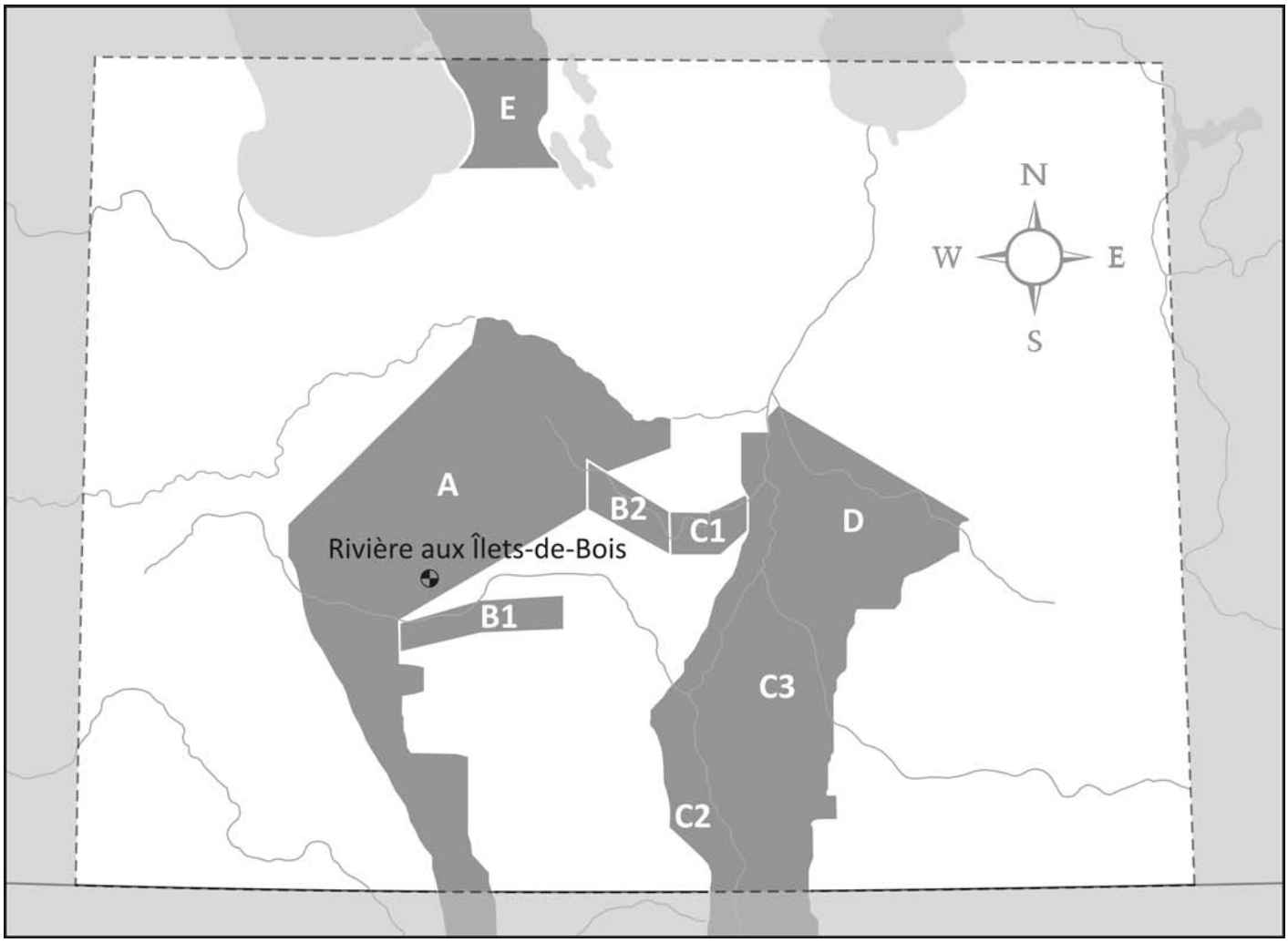
On 24 May, Joseph Royal and five other members of the Manitoba Legislature asked Lieutenant-Governor Archibald, "… with a view to tranquillize the public mind …," to indicate how he intended to proceed in assuring the Metis of the possession of the land guaranteed them under the Manitoba Act. The petitioners noted that the arrival of immigrants made the matter more pressing than ever.[35] Archibald replied at length on 30 May 1871. He began by reminding them that the matter did not come within his jurisdiction and that "… the disposal of public lands is reserved to Dominion Government." He assured them that the policy intended by the government, as declared "on the floor of Parliament" would be "liberal and generous." He noted that both Metis and volunteers had an unconditional right to land grants for which they need not pay and on which they need not settle. He also identified a third class of settlers which might acquire land by taking possession of it and improving it; the rights of this third class of land claimants were not absolute. He suggested that applicants for land were entitled to their claims on the basis of priority of application. A claimant should "take care of course that his selection does not interfere with any person who has a previous right." He suggested that applicants who were entitled to land without condition, the Metis and the volunteers, should make their selection known through some form of public notification. He saw no objection to the Metis or the volunteers making their initial selection in a block. He believed that, for the third class of claimant, the cultivation and improvement of lands and the erection of buildings served as a notification of their intent to claim lands. He accepted that claims might be made in advance of surveying and that once surveys were completed the claims would have to be adjusted. He noted that all selections were subject to the need to allocate school lands, other lands for public purposes, and Hudson's Bay Company lands. As well, it was desirable to prevent a monopoly of the forested areas. He concluded by writing that "all of this is my private opinion only" but that the government would do the "people justice".[36]

Archibald's initial response does not appear to have been made public although Bishop Taché, the senior defender of Metis interests in Manitoba, was aware of it; the only known copy is in his papers. Taché's views on Archibald's response may have been the occasion of several cryptic letters from Archibald to Bishop Taché. In the first, dated 2 June, Archibald wrote:

> I must confess I am astonished at the contents of your note. You must have entirely misunderstood the substance of my reply. I have since seen Mr. Royal and read him the Reply. He says you must be labouring under some misapprehension, as the letter contains the precise view which I mentioned to him before and which you had also mentioned. I have in the mean time ordered the printers not to

Archives of Manitoba, Personalities, N3959

Archbishop Alexandre-Antonin Taché (1823–1894) was the preeminent defender of Metis land claims in Manitoba, including those at Rivière aux Îlets-de-Bois.



Based on descriptions published in *Le Métis*, 8 June 1871

Land claims of the French-speaking Metis parishes in May 1871. A. St. François Xavier and Baie St. Paul. B. St. Charles (B1. RIB, B2. Riviere Sale). C. French Metis on Red River and others meeting at St. Norbert (C1. Riviere Sale, C2. West side of Red River, C3. East side of Red River). D. Pointe de Chene. E. French Metis on Lake Manitoba.

> publish it and asked Mr. Royal to see you and talk it over with you. I confess I am greatly disappointed. If I had [expected] censure, it would not have been for this question.[37]

In a letter of 5 June, Archibald wrote that he had done "what I had no right to do—to meet wishes and allay the anxieties of yourself and your friends." He asked that Taché return the letter and he would refer the matter to the Governor General. Finally, in an undated letter, Archibald wrote that he had written an answer to the question about lands and had told Mr. Coldwell to print a copy in his paper, *The Manitoban.* He suggested that Royal publish a copy of the reply in *Le Métis.*[38]

On 9 June, Archibald prepared a second response to the letter from Royal *et al*. which was published in *Le Métis* of 15 June and *The Manitoban* of 17 June. This response was briefer than the letter of 30 May and limited itself to the question of the selection of the Metis reserve. It noted that the order-in-council of 25 April 1871 had established rules for the disposal of crown lands in Manitoba:

> By these rules, I perceive that it will be left to the Lieutenant-Governor of this Province to designate the townships, or part of townships, in which the allotments of the Half-breeds shall be made.
>
> Should I be called upon to act under this rule, I shall consider that the fairest mode of proceeding will be to adopt, as far as possible, the selections made by the Half-breeds themselves.
>
> Whenever, therefore any Parish of Half-breeds, or any body of Half-breeds, shall have made a choice of a particular locality, and shall have publicly notified the same in such manner as to give notoriety to the fact of their having made such a selection and having defined the limits thereof, so as to prevent settlers entering upon the tract in

> ignorance of the selection, I shall if the duty should fall upon me of acting under the rule laid down by the Governor-General be guided by the principle I have mentioned, and confirm the selections so made, so far as this can be done without doing violence to the township or sectional series.[39]

Archibald's reply narrowed what he had written on 30 May by omitting reference to the rights of parties other than the Metis. The wording of the reply was conditional—"Should I be called upon to act under this rule …"—and omitted his earlier interpretation that both volunteers and Metis had unconditional rights to land grants. Despite its cautious wording, Archibald's letter was taken by the Metis as a confirmation of their right to select blocks of land. The opinion was reinforced by a leading column in *The Manitoban* (inserted at Archibald's direction) which editorialized, "Once the Half-breeds have chosen their lands, and notified publicly their choice, there can be no excuse for intruding within their lines, and any immigrant who does so, acts at his own risk."[40] The column went on to assure settlers who claimed and improved land, outside the areas claimed by the Metis, that they would have their claims recognized when the survey was made.

Lieutenant-Governor Archibald … noted that since the arrival of the immigrants there had been much uneasiness, particularly among the French Metis over the land reserve provided for under the Manitoba Act. The Metis took the view that their claims, being based on statute, were superior to those of the immigrants.

The Metis published descriptions of their claims on 8 June; the settlers were "warned off" verbally as early as 12 June and by 20 June it was reported that John F. Grant had put up notices at RIB stating the Métis claims.[41] Many of the potential settlers abandoned the RIB; the *Globe*'s correspondent reported that, by 24 June, only 20 of 80 immigrant families remained at RIB. However, the *Globe*'s correspondent wrote, those who remained were "… determined to hold their ground against all such intruders." *Le Métis* reported that after the Metis had warned the settlers off their claim, "… tous les gens honnêtes …" had left immediately but that 40 or 50 had declared that they would remain. The Metis then appealed to the Lieutenant-Governor to remove the settlers.[42] Some Metis considered direct action. A correspondent of *Le Métis* wrote of the "… mécontentement générale de ce qu'un très grand nombre d'émigrés se dirigeaient vers la rivière aux Ilets de Bois, au coeur de la réserve au Métis …." He blamed the problem in part on the delay in conducting the surveys but also on "… des personnes peu amies des Métis …" who directed the immigrants to the lands claimed by the Metis while feigning ignorance of Metis claims and of the Lieutenant-Governor's letter. He concluded, "On parle déjá d'aller chasser ces audacieux si les autorités ne veulent ou ne peuvent le fair."[43]

James Scott, an intending settler who had abandoned his plans to settle in Manitoba, told how a group of about 70 families who had been travelling to "the Assiniboine" had turned back after they met Metis "… scouring the country armed, demanding the destination of travellers, and informing them that they (the half-breeds) had first to be satisfied."[44] The settlers were equally belligerent—a correspondent of the Montreal *Daily Witness* reported that "… many of the newcomers are dissatisfied and threaten to go on parts of the half-breed claims and take armed possession, if necessary."[45]

When representatives of the immigrants, including at least one settler from the RIB, met with the Lieutenant-Governor, he told them that it was probable that settlers within the limits of the Metis claims would be expelled. The *Globe*'s correspondent took the view that the Lieutenant-Governor's support of the Metis position was injudicious, unwarrantable, and "contrary to the spirit of the law." Moreover, "Supported by the Lieut.-Governor, the innovations of the half-breeds already made upon the legal rights of the settlers have excited the indignation of the Canadians to a point but one remove from a state that would plunge the entire country into troubles with which those of the days of Riel would not be comparable."[46]

On 17 June 1871, Lieutenant-Governor Archibald wrote a long despatch setting out his view of the dispute. He noted that since the arrival of the immigrants there had been much uneasiness, particularly among the French Metis over the land reserve provided for under the Manitoba Act. The Metis took the view that their claims, being based on statute, were superior to those of the immigrants. They cited a letter, dated 23 June 1870, from Sir George Cartier stating that the rules "… concernant cette réserve seront de nature à rencontrer les désires des métis résidents." Archibald went on to say that the immigrants did not accept this position and instead took the view that "… the right to a preference is with them [the immigrants] …" At the moment when the excitement over land had reached a stage where Archibald "had reason to dread some outbreak …", he had received a letter from representatives of five Metis parishes asking for information on how the land question was to be settled. Given the situation, he felt he had no choice but to give some answer although he realized that he might not be "sustained" by the government. He took the view that the Metis "were to be regarded …" in the same category "… as purchasers who had paid their money into the Crown Land Office, and were asking their grants." In such cases "… priority of application gave priority of right …" and the Metis "… from the time of their application, would be entitled to the lands they selected, if there were no prior rights existing." In Archibald's view, whether they chose as individuals or as a group made no difference. Using

this rationale, Archibald wrote the reply to the Metis representatives, dated 9 June, which is quoted above. (Archibald made no mention of his reply of 30 May.) In seeking the government's approval of his action Archibald wrote that he was "… convinced that it is the only course that would not have led to serious trouble." It was, he wrote, in the interests of both the Metis and the immigrants, it avoided the problems caused by the delays in the surveys, and "… it prevents (which is the most important result of it), dangerous collisions, which would have arisen, from throwing suddenly among the French Half breeds, a body of newcomers differing from them so widely as they do in language and race, in habits and Faith."[47]

In a private letter to Sir John A. Macdonald, dated 7 October 1871, Archibald wrote that the crisis over land had been a "matter of life and death" and he had felt it absolutely necessary to reassure the Metis about their land in order to ensure their continued support of the government. He noted that, when on 9 June he had agreed to be guided by the Metis in selecting their reserved land, he had not received the order-in-council of 26 May which recognized pre-emption rights. He remarked that this order "might have crippled the freedom of my action, it certainly would not have changed my conviction of its policy."[48]

Although there does not appear to have been an official reply to Archibald's despatch, J. C. Aikin, the Secretary of State for Canada, expressed regret, in a private note, that Archibald had not received the order-in-council of 26 May at the time he made his reply.[49] Two letters to Archibald from Joseph Howe, the Secretary of State for the Provinces, both marked "Private", expressed regret over his course of action. On 4 November 1871, Howe wrote "As I understand the matter, all the lands not in actual occupation are open to everybody, Halfbreeds, Volunteers and Emigrants.[50] In a subsequent letter, dated 26 December 1871, Howe set out his, and J. C. Aikin's, understanding of government policy. One-point-five million (*sic*) acres of land were to be set aside for the Metis but until the Metis land had been surveyed and set apart, "… Emigrants and Volunteers, going into the country, had a right to occupy and pre-empt vacant lands anywhere." Men already in the country had the same rights but no class of persons had a right to stake off and claim land en bloc. The policy had been established by order-in-council and, in Howe's opinion, Archibald had no authority to change it without authorization from the Secretary of State.[51]

Howe's interpretation does not differ substantially from Archibald's initial interpretation of government policy as expressed in his letter to Royal *et al*. on 30 May. It is possible that Howe's understanding of government policy was influenced by hindsight and the events of the summer of 1871. When he wrote to Archibald, the government was under heavy criticism as a result Archibald's action in supporting Metis land claims over the claims of immigrant settlers and even heavier criticism for his meeting with Riel following the Fenian raid in October of 1871.[52] Archibald's policy was portrayed in the Ontario opposition press as pro-Metis, designed to discourage immigration from Ontario and to maintain Manitoba as a French province.[53] It had stirred up a wave of outrage which threatened to topple the government. Although the government did not publicly repudiate Archibald's policy statement, it delayed giving him instructions to select Metis lands until 1872 by which time the surveys were well advanced.

The dispute reached its climax in June and July of 1871 and, although there was at least one more incident at RIB at about the time of the Fenian raid,[54] the settlers remained in effective control of the Boyne Settlement. John F. Grant retained most of the land he had occupied along the river but the Metis, as a group, established their settlement to the north of the river at St. Daniel.

Early in November 1871, Archibald wrote a memorandum which summarized his views on the confrontations at RIB:

> When the volunteers came to be disbanded, and were thus freed from all restraint the hatred of the two classes exhibited itself more and more. Some of the immigrants from Ontario shared the feelings of the disbanded volunteers, and acted in concert with them. A body of French half-breeds

G. Goldsborough

A couple of stone grave markers and a pair of rugged metal crosses mark the site of the first church and cemetery at Rivière aux Îlets-de-Bois, established around 1872 on 16-7-5.

> had made a selection of a tract of land at Rivière aux Islets de Bois; some of them had made farms, or at all events enclosures, at that place. There was abundance of land elsewhere equally good, but the new-comers preferred this spot. The[y] entered on the ground and staked it off; put up huts, and declared they would hold it against all comers. To give character to their occupation, they discarded the name by which the river had been known and called it the *Boyne*. Of course the half-breeds were enraged, they thought it bad enough to lose land they believed to be theirs, but to the new name they saw something worse - an insult to their religion. They seemed to think that property, race, and creed were all to be trodden under foot unless they took care of themselves. They met in their parishes on the Assiniboine and Red River, and determined to march to the settlement to drive off the intruders. Fortunately I heard of their intentions. I sent for some leading men among them, and warned them that if they lifted a hand or struck a blow it was all over with them. The collision was arrested but not without great risk. Had blood been shed on that occasion we would have had a civil war….[55]

As Archibald wrote, the Metis and the newcomers differed "… in language and race, in habits and Faith."[56] These differences certainly contributed to the confrontations. John F. Grant wrote of the settlers on RIB that "… most of them were orangemen for they did not like the Catholics." Lieutenant-Governor Archibald believed that some of the settlers at RIB shared the violent anti-French, anti-Catholic, sentiments expressed by some of the militia volunteers and that their behaviour at RIB had contributed to the Metis' disaffection during the Fenian raid.[57] Following the Fenian raid in October of 1871, Gilbert McMicken wrote, "I cannot go far in blaming the half breeds for they have been made the objects of some contumely & contempt and many of our Canadians are most unreasonable, exacting and disagreeable", and "Orange and other extreme people inveigh violently against the Governor. Are most troublesome element—turbulent and unreasonable."[58]

Although differences in race, language and religion were important factors in the conflict in Manitoba, the Metis fared badly even where they shared religion and language with the new settlers. In her study of the established Metis community of Pointe à Grouette (now Ste. Agathe), Nicole St. Onge found that between 1870 and 1900 the Metis were almost entirely displaced by French-speaking, Roman Catholic immigrants from Québec. She writes that the Metis "… sold, abandoned or were swindled out of their claims for very small amounts of money. Very few of the claim buyers were farmers: the majority seem to have been speculators, both Metis and French." She attributes the community's dispersal primarily to changes in the Manitoba Act which made it more difficult to obtain title to their lands and to the activity of speculators. In a study of the communities of St. Claude and Notre Dame de Lourdes, Audrey Pyée found that the pre-existing Metis community near St. Claude was largely marginalized by Catholic immigrants from France.[59]

Differing views on the ownership of the land and on property rights also played a role in the confrontations. Some Metis believed that they collectively possessed the land in Manitoba by virtue of aboriginal rights. There is disagreement as to how strongly Louis Riel and Father Ritchot pressed this concept in their negotiations with the Canadian government but the Metis land grant of 1,400,000 acres which was described as a provision "… towards the extinguishment of the Indian Title to the Lands in the Province …"[60] indicates that the Canadian government considered it at least possible that the Metis shared in aboriginal title. This sense of their sharing in aboriginal title dated to the early 19th century and was linked to the Battle of Seven Oaks and to subsequent defence of Metis interests against interests as varied as the Sioux, the Hudson's Bay Company and the Canadian government.[61] A column in *Le Métis* on 15 June 1871 expressed the Metis claim largely in terms of occupation—"Le droit des Metis au sol de ce pays qu'ils ont habité, défendu et gardé depuis cinquante ans contre toute espèce d'ennemis, ce droit, disons-nous, est antérieur à tout autre et est aussi sacré qu'il peut l'être.[62] In his memoir, John F. Grant wrote that while he opposed Riel, he agreed that the country "belonged" to the Metis "… for was it not their forefathers although they had come in the country as employees of the H.B.Co. but were they not the ones who settled the country with their children, protected it from the savages and made it what it was, they and the missionaries."[63] After 1870 the Metis believed that their claims had a priority over all other claims because they had been negotiated by the provisional government and embodied in the Manitoba Act.[64]

The Metis also recognized individual ownership of river lots along the Red and Assiniboine. Some of these lots were held under titles from the Hudson's Bay Company and others were held by simple occupation; both sorts of title were recognized by the Manitoba Act. There is evidence that the Metis had staked claims, probably in 1870 or 1871, to river lots on the RIB; there is less evidence that they had settled on these claims. It is less clear how the Metis regarded specific locations or resources—hivernant camps, sugar bushes or hay lands—which were used on a seasonal basis. In the case of hay, it seems that choice locations were secured on an annual basis. Generally the population respected these claims to hay lands, but inordinately large claims might be ignored.[65]

There is little record of the views of the incoming new settlers on property ownership but they would have been familiar with the private property law of Ontario and of Britain. Those who came from Ontario may have had an awareness of the concept of aboriginal title but it seems equally likely that they viewed Canada's acquisition of Rupertsland as clearing the way for their settlement. In his letter of 30 May, Archibald had given, as his

understanding of government policy, the opinion that both Metis and volunteers had an equal and unconditional right to land grants while settlers had a conditional right. This interpretation of government policy was confirmed by Joseph Howe. If this was Archibald's and Howe's understanding it is reasonable to assume that some of the volunteers and settlers had the same understanding. As was noted earlier, the Toronto *Globe* was a vociferous and intemperate supporter of the settlers in Manitoba and of those at RIB and may have expressed and moulded their views. For more than 20 years the *Globe* had advocated the acquisition of Rupertsland as an outlet for Ontario's products and as a source of land for Ontario's farmers.[66] It seems probable that some of the settlers shared these views and felt that they were fulfilling Ontario's destiny.

The confrontations at RIB were not the only instance in which Metis and immigrants claimed the same or overlapping lands. The Metis population of Poplar Point and of High Bluff published a claim in August of 1871 to a block of land, comprising about four townships, lying between the Assiniboine River and Lake Manitoba. They were granted only about one township in the area, primarily because incoming settlers had made claims in the area and because Archibald believed that the railway would be built through the district.[67] In another instance the Metis were apparently successful in holding a claim to land east of the Red River which they had used although they did not live on it.[68]

Through its delay in establishing land regulations and carrying out surveys, the federal government set the scene for disagreements between incoming settlers and the Metis. In an attempt to defuse a volatile situation, Lieutenant-Governor Archibald abandoned his own understanding of government land policy and supported the Metis claim to priority. This outraged the incoming settlers and, when Archibald was unable to fulfill the expectations he had raised, the Metis were also alienated. Some of the incoming settlers insisted on what they considered to be their rights to the point of being "… exacting and disagreeable …" but their claims were not unreasonable under the existing land policy. The French-speaking Metis, in pressing for their legitimate claim under the Manitoba Act, claimed more than their share of the 1,400,000 acre grant. In the end the Metis, with the exception of John F. Grant, abandoned their claims to land along the RIB. The river, renamed the Boyne, became the centre of a Protestant, English-speaking community. The Metis occupied a small parish, subsequently named St. Daniel, a few miles north of the river. ☙

Notes

1. In 1871 the spelling "Islets de Bois" was commonly used; today the accepted usage is "Îlets-de-Bois." On the monument at the old St. Daniel cemetery, the name is given as "Isles de Bois."
2. Archives of Manitoba (AM), MG3, B28, Vol. 4, Duncan Urquhart Campbell Diary, 14 to 18 June 1871.
3. Allen Ronaghan, "Confrontation at Rivière aux Ilets de Bois", Prairie Forum, Spring 1989, Vol. 14, No. 1, p.1. The confrontations are mentioned in Gerald Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies: a History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984, p. 203; George F. G. Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada: A History of the Riel Rebellions*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963, pp. 165-166; W. L. Morton, *Manitoba: A History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967, pp. 153-154; and J. E. Rea, "The Roots of Prairie Society," in David P. Gagan, ed., *Prairie Perspectives*. Toronto: Holt, Rhinehart, and Winston, 1970, p. 48.
4. Brad Milne, "The Historiography of Métis Land Dispersal, 1870–1890", *Manitoba History*, No. 30, Autumn 1995, p. 30.
5. Thomas Flanagan, *Metis Lands in Manitoba.* Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1991, pp. 225-226, 269.
6. Alexander Henry, *New light on the early history of the greater Northwest: the manuscript journals of Alexander Henry, fur trader of the Northwest Company and of David Thompson, official geographer of the same company 1799–1814: exploration and adventure among the Indians on the Red, Saskatchewan, Missouri and Columbia Rivers*, ed. Elliott Coues. New York: F.P. Harper, 1897, pp. 66, 211, 213.
7. R. Louis Gentilcore, ed. *Historical Atlas of Canada. Vol. II, The Land Transformed, 1800–1891*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993, Plate 18, "Seasonal Activities of the Red River Métis, 1870.
8. Société Historique de Saint-Boniface (SHSB), Parish Register, Saint François Xavier, Vol. 1834–1844; Carman Centennial Book Committee, *Up to Now: A Story of Dufferin and Carman*. Altona, Manitoba: Carman Centennial Book Committee, 1967, p. 6; St. Daniel Book Committee, *St. Daniel* (np: np, 1992), p. 1; Antoine Gaborieau, *Ilets-de-Bois (St. Daniel)* (Np: np, June 2002).
9. June Watson, *The Rural Municipality of Dufferin, 1880–1980.* Carman, Manitoba: The Rural Municipality of Dufferin, 1982, pp. 477-484; John F. Grant, *A Son of The Fur Trade: The Memoirs of John Francis Grant*, ed. Gerhard J. Ens. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2008, p. 181; Library and Archives Canada (LAC), RG15, Vol. 143, File 493, Affidavit, John F. Grant, 3 May 1881; LAC, RG31, C-1, Manitoba Census, 1870, p. 300, Reel C-2170.
10. SHSB, L'abbé J.-M. Gagné, "Conférences Données à la Radio D.K.S.B., mars 1947 - La Paroisse de Saint-Daniel de Haywood, Manitoba"; p. 2.
11. Canada. House of Commons. *Journals of the House of Commons, 1874*, App. 6, "Report of the Select Committee on the Causes of the Difficulties in the North-West Territory in 1869–70," p. 140.
12. *Le Métis*, 10 February 1872, p. 3, "Réserve des Metis".
13. Watson, *The Rural Municipality of Dufferin, 1880–1980*, p. 32.
14. AM, Township 6, Ranges 4 and 5, Surveyor's Notebook, No.157 and No.95. The "Manual of Instructions for the Survey of Dominion Lands, 1871" stated that the Field Notes were to give "The distances at which the line intersects, and also where it leaves settlers' claims or improvements, lakes and ponds, rivers…". (p. 25).
15. AM, Surveyor's Notebook No. 84.
16. *Globe* (Toronto), 20 July 1870, p. 2, "Red River Country"; *Globe,* 10 March 1871, p. 2, "The Future of Canada and the Present Elections"; *Globe*, 7 August 1871, p. 2, "Lands in Manitoba".
17. LAC, RG15, Vol. 228, File 787, Archibald to the Secretary of State for the Provinces, 20 December 1870; *Ibid.,* File 796, Archibald to the Secretary of State for the Provinces, 27 December 1870.
18. LAC, MG27-IC10, Reel M5537, number 164a, M. St. John to Archibald, 3 January 1871.
19. *Le Nouveau Monde* (Montréal), 1 March 1871, p. 1, "Nouvelles de la Rivière-Rouge".
20. LAC, RG6, A-1, Vol. 10, File 742, Archibald to Secretary of State, 5 April 1871; *Ibid.,* Aikin to Archibald, 31 May 1871.
21. *The Canada Gazette*, 29 April 1871, pp. 1009-1013.
22. LAC, RG2, Series, 1, Vol. 47, Order in Council No.1036, 26 May 1871, C-3297. The order-in-council of 26 May was referred to in *Le Métis*, 22 June 1871, p.2 "Les émigrés" and *The Manitoban*, 24 June 1871, p. 2, "Crown Lands".

23. *Le Métis*, 8 June 1871, p. 3.
24. *Le Métis*, 8 June 1871; *Le Nouveau Monde*, 24 July 1871, p. 3, "Nouvelles de Manitoba". My calculation of the total area, based on the descriptions published in *Le Métis*, agrees with the estimate published in *Le Nouveau Monde.* The Metis of St. Charles, with about 4% of the Metis population in Manitoba, claimed about 71,000 acres, 5% of the 1,400,000-acre allotment.
25. *The Dufferin Leader*, (Carman), 28 April 1898, "The Town of Carman".
26. Watson, *The Rural Municipality of Dufferin,* pp. 2, 532-533. Kennedy was not a member of the militia force.
27. *Le Métis*, 6 July 1871, p.2; *Globe*, 14 July 1871, p. 2, "Manitoba Affairs".
28. Fred J. Shore, *The Canadians and the Métis: The Re-Creation of Manitoba, 1858–1872*. (PhD Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1991), p. 256; Watson, *The Rural Municipality of Dufferin*, pp. 367, 532, 762.
29. *Manitoba Liberal*, 19 July to 30 August 1871, Notices; Shore, *The Canadians and the Métis:*, p. 256.
30. George Miller, Walter F. Hyman, and Duncan U. Campbell had been among those besieged in Schultz's house in 1869 and subsequently imprisoned by the provisional government. Campbell, the diarist quoted at the beginning of this paper was an employee of Schultz. Alexander Begg, *The Creation of Manitoba or a History of the Red River Troubles*, pp. 164-165. AM, MG3, B28, Vol. 4, Duncan U. Campbell Diary, 8 to 20 June 1871
31. R. Cook and J. Hamelin, eds., *Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Volume XIII, 1901 to 1910* . Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994, "Mulvey, Stewart", pp. 746-747.
32. AM, GR126, Twp. Plan T6, R5, p. 69; *Ibid*., Twp. Plan T6, R4, p. 53; *Ibid*., Twp. Plan T5, R4, p. 54. Surveyors identified 13 claims including that of John F. Grant. Information on patents received is from the website at the National Archives of Canada, Western Land Grants (1870–1930), http://www.archives.ca/02/020111_e.html.
33. *Manitoba Liberal*, 19 January 1872, "Hints to Immigrants"; SHSB, Fonds Archiépiscopale Catholique Romaine de Saint-Boniface, Série Alexandre Taché, (Taché Papers), pp. T-8973-75, Allard to Taché, 17 June 1871; Neil E. Allen Ronaghan, *The Archibald Administration in Manitoba, 1870–1872*. PhD Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1987, pp. 620-621.
34. *London Advertiser*, 14 July 1871, "On to Fort Garry;" *Ibid*., 4 August 1871, "Manitoba. Our Correspondent has a chat with Governor Archibald"; *Globe*, 15 July 1871, p. 4, "Manitoba Matters".
35. *The Manitoban*, 17 June 1871, p. 2; *Le Métis*, 15 June 1871, p. 2.
36. SHSB, Taché papers, pp.T8888-8901, Archibald to Royal *et al*., 30 May 1871.
37. *Ibid.,* pp. T8908-8910. Archibald to Bishop of St. Boniface, 2 June 1871.
38. *Ibid.,* pp. T8919-8931, Archibald to Bishop of Saint Boniface, 5 June 1871; *Ibid*., pp. T9029-9031, Archibald to Bishop of Saint Boniface, 5 June 1871.
39. *The Manitoban*, 17 June 1871, p. 2; *Le Métis*, 15 June 1871, p. 2.
40. *The Manitoban*, 17 June 1871, p. 2, "Crown Lands"; LAC, MG26A, Vol. 187, pp. 77972-77976, Archibald to Macdonald, 7 October 1871, C-1587.
41. *Le Métis,* 8 June 1871, p. 3. The claims were published before Archibald's response of 9 June was published; they may have been based on his letter of 30 May. Ronaghan, *The Archibald Administration in Manitoba, 1870–1872*, p. 628, citing Charles Napier Bell's diary entry for 20 June.
42. *Globe*, 14 July 1871, p. 2, "Manitoba Affairs"; *Le Métis*, 6 July 1871, p. 2. There is a first-hand account by Peter Campbell of one of these "warnings" in Watson, *The Rural Municipality of Dufferin, 1880-1980*, p. 2.
43. *Le Métis*, 29 June 1871, p. 2, "Correspondence", dated St. Boniface, 21 June 1871.
44. Sarnia *Observer,* 28 July 1871, p. 1, "A Returned Emigrant".
45. Montreal *Daily Witness*, 3 July 1871, p. 4. "Manitoba….Land Grab"
46. *Globe*, 14 July 1871, p. 2, "Manitoba Affairs"; *London Advertiser*, 4 August 1871, p. 1, "Manitoba: Our Correspondent has a chat with Governor Archibald"; AM, MG3, B28, Vol. 4, Duncan Urquhart Campbell Diary, 23 June 1871.
47. LAC, RG15, D-II-1, Vol.230, File 167(1873), Archibald to the Secretary of State for Canada, 17 June 1871.
48. LAC, MG26A, Vol.187, pp. 77972-77976, Archibald to Macdonald, 7 October 1871, C-1587.
49. The receipt of the despatch was acknowledged without comment on 7 August. LAC, MG27, IC-10, No.427, Under Secretary of State to Archibald, 7 August 1871. Aikin's comment is referred to in LAC, MG26A, Vol. 187, pp. 77972-77976, Archibald to Macdonald, 7 October 1871, C-1587.
50. LAC, MG24, B29, Vol. 9, Howe to Archibald, 4 November 1871, pp. 729-745.
51. LAC, MG24, B29, Vol.9, Howe to Archibald, 26 December 1871, pp. 746-766.
52. *Ibid*., pp.746-766.
53. See for example the *Globe*, 10 March 1871, p. 2, "The Future of Canada and the Present Elections"; *Globe*, 27 July 1871, p. 2, "The Manitoba Land Commissioner"; *Globe*, 2 August 1871, p. 2, "Manitoba"; *Globe*, 7 August 1871, p. 2, "Lands in Manitoba".
54. Watson, *The Rural Municipality of Dufferin*, pp. 2, 32; George Young, *Manitoba Memories, Leaves from my life in the Prairie Province, 1868–1884,* Toronto: W. Briggs, 1897, p. 225.
55. Canada. *Journals of the House of Commons, 1874*. No. 8, App.6, p.140.
56. LAC, RG15, D-II-1, Vol.230, File 167(1873), Archibald to the Secretary of State for Canada, 17 June 1871.
57. Grant, *A Son of The Fur Trade:,* p. 264; LAC, MG26-A, Vol. 61, pp. 24960-24967, Archibald to Macdonald, 9 Oct. 1871; *ibid*., pp. 25021-25038, Archibald to Macdonald, 13 October 1871; Canada. *Journals of the House of Commons, 1874*, p.140.
58. LAC, MG26-A, Vol. 61, pp. 24934-24941, McMicken to Macdonald, 5 Oct. 1871; *ibid*., pp. 24982-24985.
59. N. J. M. St. Onge, "The Dissolution of a Metis Community: Pointe à Grouette, 1860–1885", *Studies in Political Economy, No. 18, Autumn 1985,* pp. 149-150,162; Audrey Pyée, *La terre promise: migration de France vers Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes et Saint-Claude, Manitoba, 1890–1914.* Toronto: PhD. Thesis, York University, 2005, pp. 310-314.
60. Gerhard J. Ens, "Prologue to the Red River Resistance: Pre-liminal Politics and the Triumph of Riel", *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association*, 1994, pp. 111-124; Darren O'Toole, "Métis Claims to Indian Title in Manitoba, 1860–1870", *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 2, 2008, pp. 241-271; Manitoba Act, 1870, 33 Vic., Cap.3, Section 31.
61. O'Toole, "Metis Claims to 'Indian' Title…", pp. 246-247.
62. *Le Métis,*15 June 1871, p. 2, "La Réserve de Metis".
63. Grant, *A Son of the Fur Trade…*, pp. 211-212.
64. LAC, RG15, D-11-1, Vol.230, File 167, Archibald to Secretary of State, 17 June 1871.
65. Shannon Stunden Bower, "The Great Transformation? Wetlands and Land Use in Manitoba During the Late Nineteenth Century, *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* Vol. 15, No.1, 2004, pp. 33-34. In the settlement of Metis claims under Section 32 of the Manitoba Act, hay lots were linked to adjoining river lots.
66. Douglas Owram, *Promise of Eden: the Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West, 1856–1900.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992.
67. *Manitoban and Northwest Herald*, 26 August 1871; LAC, MG27, IC10, M5539, Desp. Bk. No. 4, Archibald to Secretary of State, 12 August 1872; *Ibid*., No.740, Aikin to Archibald, 6 September 1872.
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The Remarkable Career of David A. Golden*

by Hugh Grant
Department of Economics, University of Winnipeg

David A. Golden is a member of two extraordinary, albeit informal, clubs. He is part of an outstanding generation of individuals that emerged out of the unique culture of north end Winnipeg and went on to accomplished careers in a variety of fields. Golden's tastes ran not to journalism (as they did for Larry Zolf and Max Freedman), science (Maurice Victor and Louis Slotin), ice cream entrepreneurship (Irvine Robbins), television entertainment (Maurice Halperin, better known as Monty Hall), opera (Morley Meredith, born Morley Margolis) or literature (Jack Ludwig, Miriam Waddington and Adele Wiseman). He did flirt with a career in law (*à la* Max Cohen, Allan Gotlieb and Samuel Freedman) but, as with Gotlieb and Sylvia (Knelman) Ostry and Bernard Ostry, he would enter public service.[1]

Arriving in Ottawa in 1951, he joined the second remarkable group, the Canadian civil service, at the height of its well won reputation for excellence. As Deputy Minister of the Department of Defence Production (1954–1962) he would serve under the iconic C. D. Howe and then persevere through the turbulent years of the Diefenbaker Government. Returning briefly as Deputy Minister of the Department of Industry (1963–1964), he left the civil service to become President of Air Industries Association of Canada (1962–1963, 1964–1969), and then the first President of Telesat Canada (1969–1980). For this later role, he is rightfully considered to be among the founders of the Canadian space program.

His passage from one club to the other was anything but easy.

Golden family

David A. Golden, at the time of his 1941 graduation with a law degree from the University of Manitoba

Growing Up In Winnipeg's North End

David Golden was born in 1920 to Russian immigrants who had fled the pogroms for the Canadian prairies. Sholem Wilfrid Golden (1885–1970), grew up in southern Russia where his father was the manager of a nobleman's estate. He left to train as a dental technician in Europe before coming to Winnipeg in 1905. Rose Pearlman (1890–1987) was born in what is now Belarus, and arrived in Winnipeg in 1906 where she found immediate employment in a pickle factory. Sholem and Rose married in 1914 and would raise four children—Don, Esther, David and Frances.

Sholem—a Yiddishist, a charmer, a teller of tales, a speaker of five languages, and a self-educated intellectual—had an abundance of virtues but none that prepared him very well for earning a living. Rose's brother-in-law, Shimon Stoffman, a successful businessman, set Sholem up in various ventures, mostly small stores in rural areas. All of them failed. The most successful undertaking was in Vancouver where he ran an insurance agency, but this was abandoned on the grounds that it was too parochial. When the Depression struck, the family was living in Montreal and soon destitute. Rescued by relatives once again, they returned to Winnipeg in 1931. Sholem would not work much afterwards, leaving Rose to hold the family together.[2]

David Golden's youth was thus spent in various parts of the country. Born in Sinclair (in the extreme southwest corner of Manitoba), then raised in Vancouver and Montreal, he landed back in Winnipeg at the age of eleven. Despite the family's extreme financial hardship, education was highly valued and like many of the children in the neighbourhood, Golden was sent to a Jewish parochial school. He attended the famous I. L. Peretz Folk School for an hour each day after public school ended, where he would study Yiddish language, culture and history.[3] The school reflected the secular, left-wing culture of the Jewish community in the north end—this was, after all, the neighbourhood that elected Bill Ross (Cecil Zuken) to the local school board, Jacob Penner and Joseph Zuken to Winnipeg City Council, and James Litterick and W. A. Kardash to the Manitoba Legislature—all members of the Communist Party of Canada.[4]

To pay for Grade 12 (then the equivalent of first-year university Arts), Golden had a paper route, worked at the race track and sold the *Daily Racing Form* to local punters. From this he saved the $50 tuition to attend a private school

Hugh Grant is Professor of Economics at the University of Winnipeg. He received his PhD in Economics from the University of Toronto. His interest in Canadian economic history includes the fur trade and the petroleum industry. He is currently working on a biography of Canadian economist W. A. Mackintosh.

in a rented second floor of a house in the north end run by two women who were unable to get jobs in the public school system. In order to meet the greater cost of university, he borrowed $200 from his uncle, Samuel Perlman, a legendary figure in the north end. Perlman was a gifted athlete and talented writer who sought a career as a sports journalist. In 1923 he approached the *Winnipeg Free Press* to offer his services as a reporter on the New York Yankees-New York Giants World Series in return for a press pass to the Polo Grounds. This led to a regular job as a sports writer for the *Free Press* until he decided to start the *Winnipeg Sports and Turf Digest*. When the *Daily Racing Form* noticed the decline in its Winnipeg sales figures, it offered Perlman a job and he would in short order become its editor and a leading figure in the North American thoroughbred racing industry.[5]

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With his uncle's financial support, Golden enrolled in Law School at the University of Manitoba which, unlike the Medical School, had no quota on the number of Jewish students.[6] He graduated in 1941—claiming a Rhodes Scholarship to go along with his law degree—at the precocious age of twenty-one.

The Long Road to Ottawa

Due to the war, attending Oxford was out of the question; but rather than embarking on a career as a lawyer, Golden enlisted in the Canadian army. He was sent to Brockville to train, then back to Winnipeg to join the Winnipeg Grenadiers as "intelligence officer" (a term he politely describes as an oxymoron where the army was concerned) and eventually rose to the rank of Captain. After another brief training stint in Jamaica, he expected to be sent to England as part of the Fourth Canadian Expeditionary Force, but ended up in the ill-conceived and ill-fated mission to Hong Kong designed to "bluff" the Japanese into not invading. Larry Zolf recalls the day in December 1941 when the entire Winnipeg regiment was captured and "my father in tears when he learned that his prized pupil at the Peretz School … had become a Japanese prisoner of war in Hong Kong." After surviving three years and eight months in a Japanese prisoner-of-war camp, "a starved, skeletal David Golden finally returned to Winnipeg [and] my father told me to never forget David Golden's suffering."[7]

Golden wasted no time in putting his future in order. He immediately arranged to be admitted to the bar and received a flattering offer from Samuel Freedman to enter into a partnership. (Freedman, also a Rhodes Scholar, had been practising since 1933. He would be appointed to the Manitoba Court of Queen's Bench in 1942, the Court of Appeal in 1960 and would serve as its Chief Justice from 1971 until his retirement in 1983.) Golden accepted the offer on the condition that he first take up his scholarship at Oxford. Then he met and wooed Molly Berger, and the two were married in July 1946. The firm of Freedman and Golden would prove to be short-lived, but the partnership of Golden and Berger has endured for nearly 65 years.

Deciding to take up the scholarship at Oxford, the newlyweds eventually settled into a cottage in a new A. A. Milne-inspired housing development near Botley. Located on the small laneway of "Third Acre Rise", to their amusement the cottage was named "Winnipeg" after the owner's two daughters, Winnie and Peg. Golden "went through the motions" at Queen's College but, as a practising lawyer, felt somewhat out of place as a student. At the suggestion of Dick Hunter, he decided to sit the Canadian civil service examination for External Affairs in London. Posting top of the class, he drew the attention and praise of Norman Robertson and Douglas LePan and promptly received a telegram directing him to report for duty forthwith to London as a Foreign Service Officer, Grade 3. He deferred but never declined the appointment, thus allowing him to later boast to his colleagues in Ottawa that he was the senior ranking official in External Affairs.

After eight months in England, Golden grew impatient and the couple returned to Winnipeg in 1947. They bought a house on Queenston Street and Molly gave birth to their first child, Mark. Two other children would follow, Peter born in 1952 and Sari in 1954. Golden settled into what he expected to be a long and fruitful career as a lawyer, practising with Freedman and teaching at the University of Manitoba Law School.

University of Winnipeg Archives, Western Canada Pictorial Index, A0592, 18620.

Officers of the Winnipeg Grenadiers are photographed aboard a ship returning them to Canada after their release after 3½ years in Japanese prison camps. Front row (L- R): Major E. Hodkinson; Lt.-Col. G. Trist, Major J. A. Bailie. Back Row (L- R): Capt. R. W. Philip, Lt. L. B. Corrigan, Captain D. A. Golden, Captain T. A. Blackwood, YMCA Supervisor George Porteous.

In 1951, however, a friend of Freedman dropped by the office and asked if Golden would be interested in joining the newly-formed Department of Defence Production (DDP) as the head of a small legal branch. Golden deemed the idea of disrupting his family in order to move to Ottawa as "ridiculous" but was surprised when upon consulting Molly, she said, "Why not?" Invited to Ottawa to discuss the matter he was told by C. D. Howe that young men who worked for him "do pretty well" and Golden was persuaded to try things for a year. Howe was not wrong, and Golden would extend his stay in Ottawa for 55 years.

Civil Servant

The 1950s were busy times in the Canadian defence industry with the large procurements for re-armament in the climate of the Cold War and in the wake of the formation of NATO and later NORAD. The DDP was charged with inspecting and building defence projects, buying supplies on behalf of the Department of National Defence, coordinating all economic and industrial facilities necessary for military and civil defence, and assuming responsibility for five Crown Corporations (including Eldorado Mining and Refining and Polymer Corporation). Its mandate also extended to the supervision of the production and sale of essential commodities, such as steel and uranium. Golden learned on the job, meeting daily with Howe to draft defence contracts, to issue certificates for accelerated depreciation to private firms, and to approve the use of controlled materials for the construction of everything from a warehouse to a railway line. He found himself rapidly promoted from Director of the Legal Branch to General Counsel, and to Assistant Deputy Minister. Then, in September 1954, just three years after arriving in Ottawa and at the age of 34, he became the youngest Deputy Minister in Ottawa.[8]

The senior civil service in Ottawa at the time was dominated by Anglophone, Oxbridge- or Harvard-educated, Protestant men.[9] Golden qualified on the basis of language, education and gender; however, knowledge of Yiddish was hardly a common attribute. Indeed, he was only the second Jew to be appointed a Deputy Minister in Canada (preceded by Charles Gavsie in 1951). It proved not to be an important barrier, either in work or in social life, but it is notable that institutions such as the Rideau Club still had a restricted membership. It was not until 1964 that Golden, Louis Rasminsky (Governor of the Bank of Canada), Bernard Alexander (a prominent lawyer), and Lawrence Freiman (head of Ottawa's largest department store and patron of the arts) were asked to apply for membership.[10]

After the defeat of the Liberal Government in 1957, C. D. Howe was succeeded by two weak ministers. The first was Howard Green, who Golden found to be remarkably ill-informed about the defence industry, often seeking to place contracts with British suppliers when technical expertise in the field had long since passed to the United States. Despite their strained relations, Green was astute enough to follow the advice received and boasted to a Cabinet colleague that he had the ideal man in place: "He shouts and screams and rants and bangs the table and tells me exactly what to do. And after I've made a decision, he says 'Yes sir,' and goes out and does exactly what I asked him to do." Golden deserves much credit for what Peter C. Newman describes as Green's "remarkably good record" in DDP, "particularly in fending off backbenchers seeking pork-barrel contracts."[11]

Green was followed after a year by the amiable but ill-equipped J. Raymond O'Hurley. Picked by Duplessis to run in the Federal Quebec riding of Lotbinière, O'Hurley was the mayor of a small town and the woods manager for an absentee seigneury owner. By his own admission, "There is a vast difference between the outdoor life I knew and my job now which forces me to remain long hours cooped up in an office."[12] But with few francophone ministers from whom to choose, Prime Minister Diefenbaker appointed him as Minister of DDP. Richard Bell, a Cabinet minister from Ontario, recalls that Diefenbaker's appointments from Quebec were "disastrous … O'Hurley was one of the most genial, delightful men I have ever known in my life, but way out of his depth in Defence Production trying to deal with the business community."[13]

This was the source of some amusement and much frustration for his Deputy Minister. Because O'Hurley's former employer was a military officer, he would salute everyone in Ottawa above the rank of Major; and when taken on a trip to France, it took the distinguished Parisian woman seated beside him at a formal dinner several minutes to realize that he was conversing with her in his own version of French. The frustration came from the fact that, according to Golden, his knowledge of the defence industry was even less than Green's: "He knew nothing!"

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With O'Hurley expecting to award contracts purely on the basis of political patronage, Golden was obliged to school him on the nature of the tendering process and, on a few occasions, to save him from awarding contracts to obvious crooks and charlatans who happened to hold the correct party affiliation. When Golden resigned his post, O'Hurley, with tears in his eyes, spoke in a heart-felt manner as to how his Deputy Minister had kept him out of trouble.

Despite the trials and tribulations, Golden contributed to many important accomplishments, including the Defence Production Sharing Agreement signed in 1956. Canadian

industry was at a clear disadvantage in competing for North American military contracts: Canada relied upon American firms for most end products, but the reverse was untrue. With significant effort, he convinced the Americans that a special arrangement was necessary to allow Canadian primary contractors, but more frequently sub-contractors, to gain access to US military contracts under the veiled threat that if the US did not do so, it might risk losing an important ally to the north. After undertaking this initiative, Golden politely asked the Cabinet secretary to relay to the Cabinet what he was up to.

It was the cancellation of the contract for the Avro Arrow, however, that generated the most controversy during his tenure at the DDP. Many of the myths, misrepresentations and obfuscations surrounding the event still perplex him to this day. Golden applauds the "gutsy" decision of the Canadian armed forces to "go it alone" in seeking to create its own manned interceptor that entailed a new aircraft, a new engine, and a new weapons system. But according to technical advice in the military, despite the good engineering that went into the effort, A. V. Roe could not meet the design requirements. The aircraft was heavier than planned and thus did not have the necessary range for northern Canada where there was limited ground control; the new engine was not operational; and the fire-control system had yet to be built. It was on these grounds that Golden uttered his famous statement to a CBC reporter: "As a fighting instrument of war, which must include an aircraft, an engine and a sophisticated fire-control system, then of course there never was an Arrow."[14]

The more compelling argument against the Arrow was that even if the design problems were overcome, it would simply cost too much: to build and deploy several would have, within existing budget appropriations, left virtually no money for the army and navy. Crawford Gordon's last-minute offer to sell the Arrow at a fixed price was, according to Golden, "not worth the paper it was written on."

It was left to Robert Bryce (Clerk of the Privy Council and Cabinet Secretary) and Golden (since the DDP was the contracting agency) to draft Diefenbaker's speech in the House of Commons cancelling the contract. Diefenbaker delivered it in his inimitable style—getting several pages mixed up but thinking quickly on his feet in order to get across the gist of the argument that the age of the manned interceptor was over. When DDP informed A. V. Roe that the contract was cancelled, the company immediately fired some 11,800 workers at its Malton plant in order to extract the greatest political punishment. The Conservatives elected no members from the greater Toronto area in the next election, even though Golden suggests the previous Liberal Government would also have abandoned the project.

The confusion and chaos that reigned within the Diefenbaker Cabinet at times reached extraordinary proportions. In cancelling the Arrow project, Diefenbaker announced that Canada would accept the installation of American Bomarc ground-to-air missiles at two locations to defend against possible Soviet aggression, but he deferred the decision on whether or not to accept nuclear warheads. In the early stages of the critical debate on whether or not to allow nuclear weapons on Canadian soil, many ministers were not speaking to each other. The rift between External Affairs (where Green, having taken over after the sudden death of Sidney Smith, was opposed to nuclear warheads) and National Defence (where George Pearkes and then Douglas Harkness insisted that they were necessary to meet Canada's NATO and NORAD commitments) was particularly deep. In a private conversation with E. Davie Fulton, Minister of Justice, it became apparent to Golden that Fulton and other Cabinet members were debating the issue without understanding that the Bomarc missile was of no use unless equipped with a nuclear payload.

Golden credits Bryce with holding the Conservative government together during its darkest days. Bryce epitomized the dedicated civil servant. Sylvia Ostry recounts a representative story: One day when he received a telephone call from a minister complaining of his threadbare carpet, Bryce simply directed his secretary to roll up his own carpet and deliver it to the Minister's office. During normal times, it was commonplace for Deputy Ministers to seek Bryce's advice on how to proceed on a particular matter; Bryce would respond by suggesting the appropriate course of action, whether it be for the minister to place the issue before Cabinet or carrying the message himself. Golden and Bryce developed a close friendship, often spending the last hour of the workday sharing a drink of Scotch and solving their problems in Bryce's office. With Diefenbaker's growing paranoia leading him to inveigh against "those people" hatching plots against him and ministers not speaking to each other, Bryce was, more than ever before, the critical conduit through which important decisions were relayed.

After eight years as Deputy Minister, Golden was looking for a change but it had been intimated to him that he was not likely to be moved to another portfolio because a weak minister in a department required a strong and experienced Deputy. In 1961, therefore, Golden informed his minister of his intention to resign and arranged a five-minute appointment with the Prime Minister. "I'm glad you came in," Diefenbaker greeted him. "I've been meaning to call you and tell you what good work you were doing. Now what did you want to see me about?" When told of his intention to resign, Diefenbaker expressed his disappointment and then stated: "Dave, there is nothing political about you leaving. You know that, I know that, but …" Golden quickly sensed the predicament and interrupted. "Prime Minister, would you rather that I withdraw my resignation and bring it back after the election?" Diefenbaker was extremely grateful for this suggestion and, when the resignation was re-tendered after the election, he spent several minutes in Cabinet praising the work of his departing Deputy Minister.

Two weeks after his departure from the civil service, Golden received a tempting, but belated, offer from

Walter Gordon. Upon entering the Cabinet, Gordon had to relinquish the presidency of Canadian Corporate Management, the company he formed in 1948 to purchase controlling interest in a range of Canadian firms. He suggested that Golden join the management team but, having already committed himself to assume the presidency of the Air Industries Association of Canada (AIAC), Golden "waved goodbye to his chances to become a tycoon."

After one year at AIAC, Golden would return temporarily to the civil service upon Bud Drury's personal appeal to have him serve as Deputy Minister in the newly-created Department of Industry. Golden agreed to do so for one year (at a hefty pay cut) and put in place the machinery for a new department designed to encourage secondary manufacturing in Canada. Unable to convince Drury that he was leaving after his year was up, Golden hastily scribbled out a resignation letter and again arranged a five-minute appointment with the Prime Minister. This time it was Lester Pearson who expressed his gratitude for services rendered. In response, it was playfully suggested that if the Prime Minister was so grateful an appointment to the Senate might be in order.

When Simon Reisman took over as Deputy Minister of Industry, the *Globe and Mail* declared the passing of the guard to a "new generation" of civil servants.[15] Curiously, Reisman was 45 years of age, while Golden was only 44. But there was an important sense in which the civil service had changed. As Golden would argue five years later, it no longer offered enough salary, challenge or excitement to attract the same level of talent (Reisman proving the exception).[16] Golden, indeed, was looking for new challenges.

Industry Advocate

Golden was appointed the first President of the AIAC on 1 July 1962 and, after his year with the Department of Industry, returned as its President for another six years. The AIAC was formed when the Air Industries and Transportation Association of Canada was split into two separate organizations. Its objective was to provide assistance to manufacturing firms in the aerospace and aviation industries in the areas of research, development, engineering, production and service. The Canadian industry had experienced many ups—highlighted by the production of some 16,000 aircraft during the Second World War—but was in the midst of one of the downs following the "traumatic" demise of the Arrow. Ironically, one of the first public meetings of the AIAC with industry representatives was held in the cafeteria of the old Avro plant in Malton.[17]

Golden's move to the private sector was a logical progression in his efforts to enhance Canada's technological capacity. Although he had complained during his tenure with the Department of Industry that the management of research and development in Canada is in "shocking condition"—with no coordination of Government research agencies, such as NRC, Defence Research Board and the research branches of mines and agriculture—there were areas in which government policy had opened up opportunities for private firms. The industry in Canada was depicted by one observer as "a shrewd mixture of realism and native ingenuity": the former an acknowledgement of the dominance of larger British- and American-owned firms, and the latter due to the niche carved out by firms such as de Havilland with its short take-off and landing (STOL) designed aircraft. Golden's efforts on behalf of the industry reflected his own combination of realism and native ingenuity. He recognized that the industry relied heavily on maintaining the goodwill of the American military in order to gain sub-contract work under the Defence Planning Sharing Agreement, while new opportunities were to be found in greater exports to Europe. Freed from the strictures imposed on civil servants, Golden advocated freer trade based on bilateral or multilateral agreements, but rejected the auto pact model of managed trade as inappropriate for the aviation industry.[18] He was convinced that only by relaxing trade barriers would the Canadian industry achieve the economies of scale necessary to compete internationally. To one observer, he was to be counted among Canada's "foot soldiers of multilateralism" in the post-Second World War period.[19]

Golden was equally outspoken on Canadian defence policy. In front of the House of Commons External Affairs committee he had the temerity to argue that Canada should, at times, bow to American pressures in terms of joint defence planning. With European reconstruction and re-armament, Canada needed to place less priority on its NATO commitments in favour of NORAD and this implied acknowledging American leadership. "Canada should play a role in defensive measures considered important by the U.S., even if our assessment of the necessity of such measures should be at variance with rather than made by the U.S. I do not mean by this that Canada should surrender her right to make an objective appraisal of each situation as it comes up—what I mean is that Canada, in making such an appraisal, should consider the role played and the responsibility borne by the U.S. … No power the size of the United States and exercising its leadership and responsibility will ordinarily be prepared to permit its security to be adversely affected by the action or inaction of a close neighbour." He added, however, that "In many cases, it would be unthinkable of us to yield."[20]

Under Golden's watch, the industry enjoyed robust expansion. By 1967, employment had risen to 50,000 and production reached over $800 million, with exports accounting for over two-thirds of the total.[21] He could boast that the Canadian aircraft industry was "one of the six in the world having a broad-based competence in all fields of aerospace."[22]

Space Man

In 1969, a new opportunity presented itself when the Liberal Government decided to create the first domestic space communications satellite system in the world.

Golden family

Pierre Trudeau with D. A. Golden (left), circa 1970.

After considering the possibility of a Crown Corporation with responsibility for it placed under the Department of Communication or, alternatively, of subsidizing the private and public telephone companies, the Government opted to form Telesat Canada as a joint venture between the Federal Government and a consortium of telephone and broadcast firms.[23] With his mix of public- and private-sector experience, Golden was the obvious choice—first suggested to Pearson by Allan Gotlieb who was Deputy Minister of Communications at the time—to head the new venture and he was ready for a new challenge. His appointment by Pierre Trudeau was announced by the *Globe and Mail* under the headline "Old Pro Named to Head Telesat." Golden had reached the ripe age of 49.

It is hard to overstate the importance attached to satellite communication in 1969. The launch of Canada's first satellites was expected to bring television and modern electronic communications to the north as well as to extend French language broadcasting throughout Canada. Indeed, one newspaper account described Golden as a latter day Lord Strathcona, doing through telecommunications what the railway had done a century earlier in contributing to national unity. But when asked in the parlance of the day if he would be the overseer of a new "cool" medium of communication, he responded in his inimitable style. "I'm not sure that the medium is the message, because I'm not sure I understand McLuhan. But we have nothing to do with any message carried on Telesat. We will have nothing to do with the origination of ideas; rather we will operate a different way of carrying the message. We may turn on the tap, but we don't fill the reservoir."[24]

Cognizant of the unique corporate structure of Telesat Canada, Golden told the *Globe and Mail* that "I am a pragmatist who thinks most things are workable. There is nothing to say in past experience that this isn't workable." But he could not have anticipated just how challenging the job would be. With a mandate to develop Telesat Canada as a for-profit commercial venture, he found himself continually fending off the government's efforts to use it as a short-term policy tool to incubate Canadian technology firms. Most notable, when the primary contract to build the first three satellites was awarded to Hughes Aircraft of California rather than RCA's Montreal subsidiary, there was intense political pressure to favour the Canadian-based firm. As Eric Kierans, the Minister of Communications, stated, "RCA had 27 friends in a Cabinet of 28." Newspaper columnists, such as Jeffrey Simpson (who laboured under the misimpression that Telesat was a Crown Corporation), also entered the fray on behalf of RCA. As Golden recalls the situation, "Kierans wanted RCA; we wanted RCA. The problem was that RCA couldn't give us a firm price or a firm delivery." Kierans thus supported the Hughes proposal on the grounds that the overriding public interest was to get Telesat's satellites into operation as quickly, reliably and cheaply as possible. He was not prepared to favour the more expensive RCA bid on the grounds that it would create jobs in Canada immediately, especially given Hughes' willingness to transfer technology to Canadian sub-contractors.[25] It was only by intervening directly with Prime Minister Trudeau that Kierans and Golden were able to convince the Cabinet that the long-term interest of both Telesat Canada and the Canadian aerospace industry was best served by relying upon the best available technology.

Golden also encountered difficulty with the private consortium. Even before Telesat Canada was formed, the telephone and broadcast companies threatened to withdraw from the agreement unless granted exclusive rental rights to its satellite services. This issue was resolved only by effectively requiring Telesat to be a "carrier's carrier" since non-carrier customers were prevented from sub-leasing or sharing capacity.[26] This left Golden in the unenviable position of having to negotiate rental agreements when Telesat's ultimate customers were the very telephone companies and broadcasters whose representatives sat on its Board of Directors.

The launch of the Anik A1 satellite, by NASA at Cape Kennedy, went off without a hitch in November 1972, although a $30-million insurance policy was purchased just in case. Golden would receive the first long-distance telephone call carried by satellite in Canada, from Resolute to Ottawa. With the successful launch of Anik A2 in April 1973, Anik A3 in May 1975, and the completion of 24 ground stations, the initial program was complete. By 1975, Telesat was generating enough cash flow to meet its ambitious

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capital expenditure program for replacement satellites without relying upon the previously planned issue of public shares. But with its existing capacity underutilized and the telephone companies showing little desire to expand its use of satellites to compete with their own land-based transmission systems, Telesat faced an uncertain future. Its only remedy was to join the Trans-Canada Telephone System—the association of major telephone companies—that assured it of a profitable future at the expense of limiting its independence in leasing capacity to customers outside the TCTS. When the CRTC ruled the move to be contrary to the public interest, Cabinet acted to overturn the CRTC decision.[27]

Dealing with the government, the most powerful private firms in the country, Crown Corporations such as the CBC, as well as the CRTC and public opinion to boot, Golden would steer Telesat Canada onto a profitable path. Golden stepped down as President in 1981, but remained as Chairman of the Board and a full-time employee until he reached the age of 65. He then served as part-time Chairman of the Board until Telesat Canada was sold to Bell Canada in 1990.[28] History would vindicate his vigorous defence of Telesat's mandate as a commercial venture. Not only did it become a highly-successful firm that, without government subsidy, developed pioneering technology in satellite communications, it also contributed to the growth of a vibrant Canadian industry that was able to compete and benefit from secondary supply contracts. Eventually, SPAR Aerospace (which Golden likened to a junior Crown Corporation by virtue of its dependence on government contracts) would develop the technical and commercial capability to build a satellite on Canadian soil.

An Astute Ottawa Player

Throughout his tenure in Ottawa, Golden was engaged in a range of community service. He was the Chairman of the Parliamentary Centre for Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade,[29] President of the Canadian Institute for International Affairs (succeeded by former Governor General Roland Michener in 1974), Chairman of the Board of Governors of Carleton University, and served on the board of the United Jewish Appeal, the Ottawa General Hospital, the Elizabeth Bruyère Health Centre, and the National Arts Centre. The latter organization was a pet project, as he was a driving force in obtaining the initial federal funding commitment and a "feisty" board member. Joining the NAC board in 1971, at a time when he was overseeing a $90-million-dollar satellite program during his day job, he was equally attentive to the affairs of the NAC, from worrying over cost overruns by the opera to registering his dismay with "how much money you could lose running a restaurant."[30]

Legacy

Why Winnipeg's north end was such fertile ground for the emergence of a generation of overachievers is open to speculation. Whether it was a desire to escape from the extreme poverty of the Depression, or the value placed on education and "high culture," many individuals were determined to make a difference and they did so in a variety of pursuits.

In Golden's case it led to several careers—as a soldier, lawyer, civil servant and corporate executive—in which his commitment to public service remained paramount. He found himself at the fulcrum of important national and international issues, whether it be Canada's re-armament in the Cold War period, the integration of North American defence planning, debates over the Avro Arrow and the acceptance of nuclear weapons on Canadian soil, the growth of Canadian secondary industry, or Canada's entry into the world of satellite communications. To each he brought to bear the same pragmatic approach, and it was of secondary importance if national objectives were achieved through the public or private sector.

Why Winnipeg's north end was such fertile ground for the emergence of a generation of overachievers is open to speculation. Whether it was a desire to escape from the extreme poverty of the Depression, or the value placed on education and "high culture," many individuals were determined to make a difference and they did so in a variety of pursuits.

In the various roles that Golden played, his personal integrity was beyond reproach. In an article in the *Globe and Mail* entitled "The Danger of Conflicting Loyalties", Vaughan Lyon drew attention to Golden's rapid movement between the civil service and the private sector: "During the 1960s people meeting Mr. Golden in Ottawa could justifiably have been confused about what 'hat' he was wearing at a particular time." But he hastened to point out that "The bureaucratic career of David Golden is an unusual one. It is a tribute to his personal reputation that his shifts between government and private industry, heavily dependent on government support, have not been attacked."[31]

David Golden has been duly honoured with the Testimonial Award from the Public Policy Forum, the C. D. Howe Award from the Canadian Aeronautics and Space Institute, the University of Manitoba Distinguished Alumni Award, an appointment as an Officer of the Order of Canada, honorary degrees from the University of Manitoba and Carleton University and, most recently, the Canadian Space Agency's John H. Chapman Award of Excellence. Yet he remains a self-effacing, modest man. Looking back on his life, he simply states that "I didn't plan it that way, it just happened." Perhaps so, but happenstance tends to befall individuals whose talents are widely recognized and whose wise counsel is highly prized.

Notes

This paper draws upon a series of four interviews with David Golden conducted by Charlotte Bell, Mark Golden and Darcy Golden in Vancouver in December 2009.

1. The reflections of Zolf and Ludwig on growing up in Winnipeg are captured in John Parr. ed., *Speaking of Winnipeg*. Winnipeg: Queenston House, 1974. Engaging portraits of Hall, Ludwig, Waddington, Wiseman, Cohen, Samuel Freedman, Sylvia Ostry and Bernard Ostry are provided in Harry Gutkin, *The Worst of Times, the Best of Times*. Toronto: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1987. A semi-fictional account of life in the north end is provided in Sondra Gotlieb, *True Confections, Or How My Family Arranged My Marriage*. Toronto: Musson, 1978.
2. Sholem was listed as an insurance agent as late as 1947. He would lose his legs to a circulatory disorder and die in 1970.
3. On the Peretz school, see Harvey Herstein, "The Evolution of Jewish Schools in Winnipeg," *Jewish Life and Times*, 1983, 1:7-21, and Allan Levine, *Coming of Age: A History of the Jewish People of Manitoba*. Winnipeg: Jewish Heritage Centre of Western Canada and Heartland Associates, 2009.
4. For an account of Jewish radicalism in the north end, see Henry Trachtenberg, "The Winnipeg Jewish Community and Politics: the Inter-War Years, 1919–1939," *Transactions of the Manitoba Historical Society*, series 3, no. 35, 1978–1979. Doug Smith, *Joe Zuken: Citizen and Socialist*. Toronto: Lorimer, 1990; and Daniel Stone, ed., *Jewish Radicalism in Winnipeg, 1905–1960*. Winnipeg: Jewish Heritage Centre of Western Canada, 2003.
5. Among his early athletic feats, Perlman captained the all-Jewish YMCA basketball team that captured the city championship in 1919 (the YMHA was not created until 1919), and was the much vaunted catcher on the Transcona baseball team, see Leible Hershfield, "The Contribution of Jews to Sports in Winnipeg and Western Canada", *Jewish Life and Times*, 1983, 1:84-89.
6 On the Manitoba Medical College's quota on women, Jews and other ethnic groups between 1932 and 1944, see Percy Barsky, "How 'Numerus Clausus' was ended in the Manitoba Medical School", *Jewish Life and Times*, 1983, 1:123-27.
7 Larry Zolf, "Casualties of War" and "My September 11th Loss", CBC News Viewpoint, (11 September 2001, 12 September 2002). Without diminishing the significance of his reminiscences, Zolf gets the date of the surrender of the Canadian troops wrong: it was on 25 December not 7 December 1941. www.cbc.ca/news/viewpoint/vp_zolf/archive/zolf010917.html; zolf/20020912.html.
8 "Former War Prisoner Deputy Minister at 34," *Globe and Mail*, 15 September 1954, p. 3. For good measure, two years later he added to his resume the position of President of the Crown-owned Northern Ontario Pipeline Corporation.
9. Jack Granatstein, *Ottawa Men: The Civil Service Mandarins, 1935–1957*. Toronto: Oxford, University Press, 1982.
10. "Rideau Club to Vote on Jewish Nominees", *Globe and Mail*, 24 July, 1964, p. 43. Although the Rideau Club had no formal rules barring Jews, admission was decided by secret ballot and required a 90% "yes" vote. To circumvent nominees being "blackballed" by a few members, a special admissions committee was established. The change was initiated by Arnold Davidson "Davy" Dunton, President of Carleton University, after Freiman had been declined membership on two previous occasions.
11. Peter C. Newman, *Renegade in Power: The Diefenbaker Years*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1963, p. 253.
12. Cited in Newman, *Renegade in Power*, p. 286.
13. Cited in Peter Stursberg, *Diefenbaker: Leadership Gained, 1956–62*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975, pp. 197-198. Pierre Sevigny echoed these sentiments: "Ray O'Hurley was a good man but he was a man who, because of his education and background, was limited." (198). According to another account, when the Cabinet appointments were announced in 1958, "strong men in the Conservative Party in Quebec broke down in tears, as they analyzed ruefully what Diefenbaker had done to their province" Patrick Nicholson, *Vision and Indecision*. Toronto: Longmans, 1968, p. 101.
14. CBC, "Dateline – There Never was an Arrow", 1980.
15. *Globe and Mail*, 31 July 1964, p. B05.
16. *Globe and Mail*, 22 February 1967, p. B06.
17. *Globe and Mail*, 4 October 1962, p. 45.
18. *Globe and Mail*, 26 March 1965, p. B01.
19. Dimitry Anastakis, "Multilateralism, Nationalism, and Bilateral Free Trade: Competing Visions of Canadian Economic and Trade Policy, 1945–70", in Magdalena Fahrni, ed., *Creating Postwar Canada: Community, Diversity, and Dissent, 1945–75*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007.
20. *Globe and Mail*, 21 February 1969, p. B03.
21. Humphrey Winn, "Canada's Aviation Industry: A Study in Realistic Independence", *Flight International*, 3 April 1969, pp. 517-524.
22. *Flight International* 18 January 1968, p. 74.
23. On the evolution of Canadian space policy, see Andrew B. Godefroy, "Canada's early space policy development 1958–1974", *Space Policy*, 2003 19:137–41.
24. *Globe and Mail*, 13 August 1969, p. B01.
25. John N. McDougall, *The Politics and Economics of Eric Kierans: A Man for All Canadas*. Kingston-Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993, ch. 7.
26. Robert E. Babe, *Telecommunications in Canada*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990, pp. 224-225.
27. Bade, *Telecommunications*, p. 228.
28. After retiring from Telesat, Golden served on the Board of Directors of several companies, including Atomic Energy of Canada, MITEL, Pratt & Whitney Aircraft of Canada, Provigo, and the Conference Board of Canada.
29 The Parliamentary Centre for Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade was established in 1968 to enhance the level of professional advice and staff support to members of parliament, senators and parliamentary committees dealing with foreign policy issues. Jane Boulden, "Independent Policy Research and the Canadian Foreign Policy Community", *International Journal*, 1999, 54: 625-647.
30 Sarah Jennings, *Art and Politics: The History of the National Arts Centre*. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1989, pp. 22, 23, 126-127.
31 *Globe and Mail*, 2 July 1970, p. 7. Lyon cautioned that "there is a real danger that a precedent created for a good man may become a practice which will allow more questionable appointments to be made later."

Winnipeg's "Quiet" Man:
The Early Public Life of Film Star Victor McLaglen

by C. Nathan Hatton
Department of History, University of Waterloo

Victor McLaglen was one of Hollywood's great leading men and character performers, winning the 1935 Best Actor Academy Award for his portrayal of Gypo Nolan in *The Informer*, and receiving a Best Supporting Actor nomination for his depiction of Squire "Red" Will Danaher in John Ford's 1952 classic, *The Quiet Man*. With a career spanning four decades, McLaglen was able to transition successfully from the silent to the "talkie" film eras, a feat that was not readily duplicated by all screen actors of his generation. McLaglen often portrayed bombastic, rough-and-tumble characters that bawled and brawled their way through some of the most memorable scenes in celluloid history. Unquestionably, his unforgettable performances were inspired by his own exploits during his tenure as a policeman, wrestler, and boxer in pre-First World War Winnipeg. McLaglen achieved local fame—and a measure of notoriety—for his exploits in and out of the ring in Manitoba's capital.

Victor McLaglen was born in London, England in 1886, the son of Londoner Lily Marion Adcock and native South African Andrew Charles McLaglen, a clergyman with the Free Protestant Episcopal Church of England. The third of nine children (eight boys and one girl), he grew up in London's East End, a traditionally working-class region of the city.[1] During his adolescent and early adult years, wrestling, which already had a long and storied history in the British Isles, experienced a remarkable surge in popularity. Increased free time, brought about by a reduction in the work day, allowed a larger proportion of the population access to leisure pursuits. Once associated primarily with rural life in various regions in the country, wrestling became one of many commercial sporting enterprises offered to paying customers in growing urban centres. Although spectators appreciated wrestling for many reasons, part of its appeal derived from its perceived merit as a spectacle that exemplified specific virtues such as strength, physical

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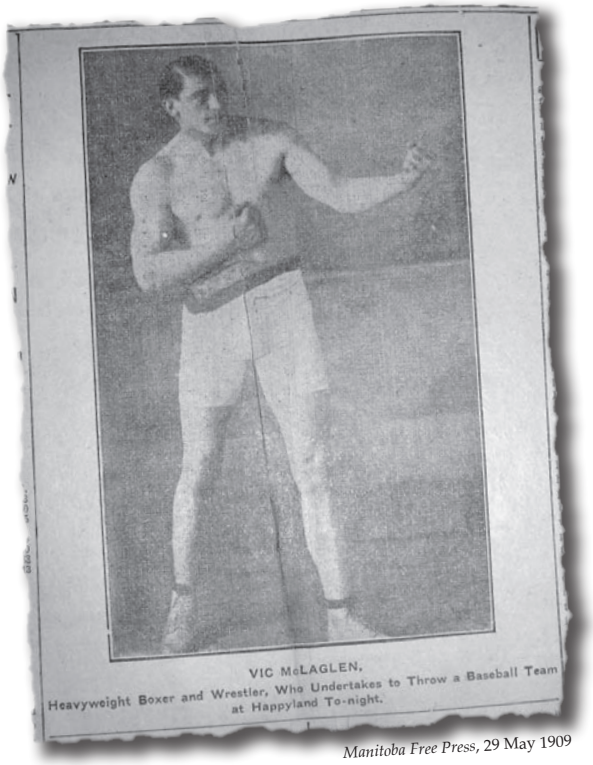
English-born Victor McLaglen (1886-1959) acted in scores of Hollywood films, often portraying drunks, toughs, or Irishmen. He won an Academy Award for Best Actor for his work in the 1935 film *The Informer*.



Manitoba Free Press, 29 May 1909

Early pugilist. McLaglen was a well-known Winnipeg boxer and wrestler in the early 20th century.

C. Nathan Hatton was raised in the communities of Prairie River, Saskatchewan and White River, Ontario. He completed his BA at Wilfrid Laurier University and his MA at Lakehead University. Most recently, he defended his doctoral dissertation in History at the University of Waterloo, where his research focused on the social significance of wrestling in Manitoba from the pre-Confederation period to the beginning of the Great Depression.

endurance, and heightened muscular development. Wrestlers and those who promoted the sport were able to capitalize on widespread concerns, particularly among the middle class, that modern comforts and a sedentary work life were producing a weak, physically feeble male population.[2] Through their well-developed musculature and demonstrable physical prowess, wrestlers represented a celebration of a more robust model of masculinity than what was feared to be the growing norm. The very social and economic conditions producing the modern malaise were, therefore, the same ones that allowed wrestling to emerge as a viable commercial enterprise by the beginning of the twentieth century.

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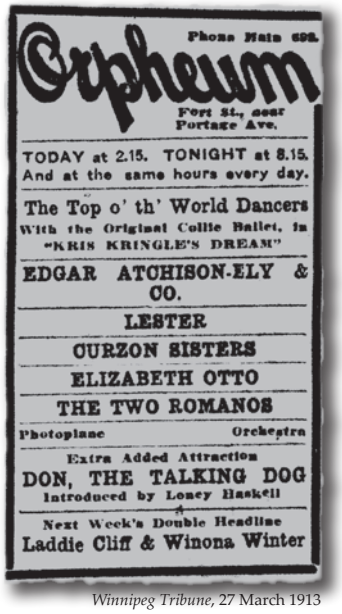
The foremost exemplar of this physical ideal in Great Britain was Estonian-born "Russian Lion" George Hackenschmidt, a Graeco-Roman champion who performed exhibitions in some of the country's most prestigious public venues, including London's Royal Albert Hall. Hackenschmidt's considerable grappling expertise (under the tutelage of Manchester's Jack Smith he adapted readily to the English catch-as-catch-can style) was complemented by remarkable strength and a heavily-muscled physique which made him reminiscent of a reincarnated Heracles. Thanks to a growing market for sports journalism, he was already well-known by the time he first arrived in England in 1902, and his matches attracted thousands of spectators.[3] In the context of heightened public interest in male muscularity, Victor McLaglen could not have helped but to be buoyed by his own physical development. Standing well over six feet tall and weighing in excess of 200 pounds by adulthood, he epitomized the muscular ideal then coming into vogue. Although it is unknown if he engaged actively in competitive wrestling while in England, it was later claimed that he had lasted 45 minutes in a match against the redoubtable Russian Lion.[4] It is certain, however, that, like so many of his contemporary Britons, the young McLaglen developed a keen affinity for the sport. He also took an early interest in boxing, and in 1902, reportedly participated in a novice amateur competition open to athletes from England, Scotland, and Ireland.[5]

From an early age, the future film star exhibited a penchant toward travel. In 1901, he sought to follow his brother Fred to South Africa, where the elder McLaglen was stationed during the Boer War. His large size allowed him to pass for an older man when enlisting, although being assigned to His Majesty's First Life Guards prevented deployment overseas.[6] Similar to many of his generation, economic necessity, in this instance his father's decision to declare bankruptcy in January 1903, likely nurtured a desire to seek opportunity beyond Great Britain's borders.[7] McLaglen emigrated to Canada in 1905, and worked variously as a silver prospector in Cobalt and as a stevedore in Owen Sound before being hired as a policeman with the Grand Trunk Railway.[8] By early 1907, he had ventured westward, part of a larger Canadian settlement movement which saw a massive increase in Prairie population before the First World War. The immigration boom enhanced the region's ethnic diversity which, until then, was overwhelmingly Anglo-Protestant in character.[9] However, as was the case with McLaglen, the largest proportion of new arrivals continued to come from Great Britain.[10] Winnipeg served as the nexus through which all new arrivals from the East passed, and although many left the city to pursue homesteading, its population more than tripled between 1901 and 1911.[11] In particular, British immigrants who arrived in the region during the period were typically drawn from urban, non-agrarian populations, and lacked both the inclination and skill for farming.[12] As a result, many resettled in urban centres such as Winnipeg.[13] Although his early activities in Canada demonstrate that he was not altogether averse to rural life, similar to many of his fellow countrymen, McLaglen's urban background and lack of agricultural experience made city living a more palatable prospect than homesteading.

The East Londoner's arrival in Winnipeg not only occurred within the context of a rapid population expansion, but also a correspondingly dramatic increase in public interest surrounding sport.[14] The growing concentration of sporting enthusiasts provided the opportunity for commercial athletic enterprises, including professional wrestling, to prosper. As in Great Britain, from which Canada derived many of its sporting traditions, early twentieth-century professional wrestling was typically conducted according to catch-as-catch-can rules. Cards were commonly staged in community halls and theatres throughout Winnipeg and, by 1909; even large indoor venues such as the Walker Theatre were hosting wrestling in addition to their regular stage attractions.[15] Although containing an element of showmanship, matches during the period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Introduced by Loney Haskell
Next Week's Double Headline
Laddie Cliff & Winona Winter

Winnipeg Tribune, 27 March 1913

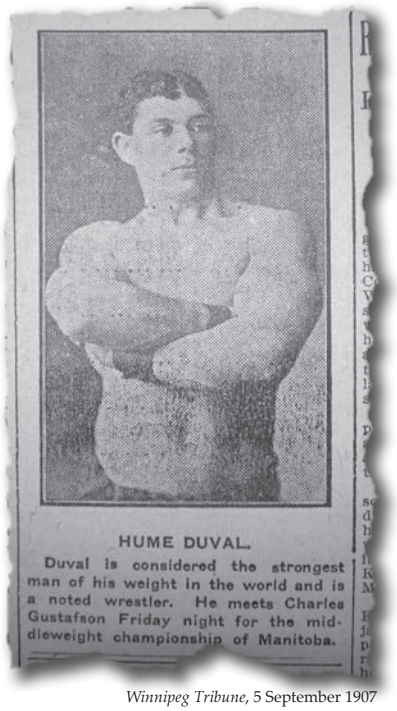
The McLaglen brothers sometimes performed in Winnipeg as "The Two Romanos".

lacked much of the in-ring histrionics that would later become emblematic of the sport. Instead, the focus was on mat-based grappling and the application of pinning techniques and submission holds. Wagering on the outcome, both between the athletes and the spectators, was very common. Winnipeg audiences, similar to those throughout the English-speaking world, also appreciated wrestling as both a competitive (or ostensibly competitive) pursuit and a celebration of vigorous manhood. With his massively muscled frame, McLaglen was undoubtedly cognizant that his physical attributes represented a potentially saleable commodity. His first foray into local athletics, however, was tentative, and perhaps even serendipitous.

On 20 February 1907, McLaglen attended a professional wrestling match between W. Priem and Thomas Dixon, staged at the German Hall on Heaton Avenue.[16] During the event, Dixon, who would later become the Winnipeg YMCA's first wrestling coach, injured a rib three minutes into the contest, rendering him unable to continue. In order to provide some entertainment for the spectators, McLaglen offered to put on a ten-minute exhibition with the much smaller (145-pound) Priem, who agreed to last the prescribed time limit without being pinned. Priem succeeded in his task, although their impromptu conflict failed to meet public expectations for aggressive displays of athleticism, the *Manitoba Free Press* describing the event as "rather a tame one."[17] Nonetheless, McLaglen's imposing physical presence earned universal notice.[18]

Despite his initial unspectacular venture onto the Winnipeg athletic scene, the Londoner attracted considerably more attention when he accepted an open challenge being offered by professional wrestler and strongman Hume Duval. During late May and early June of 1907, Duval was giving wrestling, jiu jitsu, and muscular posing exhibitions at Winnipeg's Happyland Amusement Park in the city's West End. As part of his act, Duval was offering $20 to any person who could remain on the mat with him for fifteen minutes without being defeated.[19] Challenges of this nature were a common way for wrestlers to attract publicity and remained a staple with travelling carnival athletic shows until as late as the 1950s, giving local athletes and aspiring "tough guys" a chance to prove their manly mettle.[20] Duval's declaration proved to be an attractive drawing card at Happyland, and under the moniker "Young Tom Sharkey" (a name borrowed from former heavyweight boxing contender "Sailor" Tom Sharkey), McLaglen agreed to meet Duval on the evening of 8 June. Appearing before what the *Winnipeg Telegram* described as "a tremendous crowd", McLaglen held off his more skilled (although considerably smaller) opponent for the prescribed time limit, earning the $20 prize.[21] In contrast to his previous mat venture, McLaglen's performance generated considerable excitement among those in attendance.[22]

Although he had garnered a sizeable sum for his efforts at Happyland, professional wrestling did not offer an opportunity for steady income in Winnipeg. Indeed, there were few professional athletes during this period in Canada who could rely on sports for a comfortable living. Accordingly, McLaglen sought employment with the city police force, where he was hired on 11 June, just three days after his match against Duval.[23] George Smith, who joined the Winnipeg City Police in February 1905, and later served as Chief Constable from 1937 to 1947, recalled that the doctor who conducted McLaglen's physical examination declared him, "the best developed man he'd ever examined."[24] Employment with the local police did not, however, compel McLaglen to limit his professional activities to law enforcement.


HUME DUVAL.

Duval is considered the strongest man of his weight in the world and is a noted wrestler. He meets Charles Gustafson Friday night for the middleweight championship of Manitoba.

Winnipeg Tribune, 5 September 1907

Local strongman and wrestler Hume Duval was one of the opponents taken on by "Young Tom Sharkey" during his time in Winnipeg.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, Winnipeg newspapers were actively catering to public demand for sport by publishing pages dedicated exclusively to the subject. Newspaper challenges were a common feature in sports pages, and proved beneficial both for the publication and the athlete. The addition of drama and excitement to the daily columns potentially boosted circulation figures while fostering interest in a prospective wrestling match. On 20 June, Hume Duval issued a declaration to McLaglen in the *Free Press* to meet him again, without time limit constraints, in a match for a $200 side bet.[25] The following day, under the Sharkey pseudonym, McLaglen replied, stating, "I will accept his challenge if he places $200 in the hands of the Sporting Editor of the Free Press, myself to do likewise, and the winner taking the whole."[26] On 19 July, they met for a second time at the Auditorium Rink, located on the corner of York Avenue and Garry Street. Both men gave a "fast and strenuous contest", but at the end of one hour's wrestling, referee Dr. Joseph Mullally declared the match a draw. Although frequently enthusiastic in their support for behaviour that they deemed meritorious, early twentieth-century spectators to wrestling bouts in Manitoba proved equally willing to voice their indignation when the situation warranted it. Matches at the time typically were conducted on a best two-out-of-three-falls basis, meaning that a contestant had to pin or successfully

apply a submission hold (both termed "falls") on his opponent twice to secure victory. McLaglen and Duval, in consultation with the referee, had agreed beforehand to declare the match a draw if neither man secured a fall within sixty minutes. The audience, however, some of whom likely had wagers pending on the outcome, was not informed of the arrangement. Considerable outcry followed the bout's premature termination, although the dissatisfaction evidently did not erupt into violence.[27] Although not a popular decision, McLaglen's performance suggests a growing ability to generate impassioned reactions from members of the public who were coming to see his matches.

Any resentment directed toward McLaglen for his part in the abbreviated wrestling contest evidently did not last long, and certainly did not impede his ability to gain additional bookings. During the first week of September, while still employed as a constable with the Winnipeg city police, he was contracted to appear on the stage at Happyland, wrestling all comers. Using the same publicity stunt employed earlier by Duval, he offered $20 to anyone he could not defeat in fifteen minutes. At least two men, William Keast and Jack Dewett, accepted the challenge but failed.[28] It was during his tenure at Happyland that McLaglen began to hone the loud, bombastic, and larger-than-life public persona which immortalized such roles as Sergeant Quincannon in John Ford's *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon*. *Winnipeg Tribune* reporter Jack Whittall later recalled:

> When in a playful mood he would tip over a hot dog stand and then hold the loudly protesting vendor at arm's length until he also laughed out loud from the very infectiousness of the big scamp's mirth. Then he would help the proprietor retrieve the fallen dainties and by the sheer power of his rough eloquence he would sell the whole stock of salvaged [hot dogs] to the laughing onlookers.[29]

McLaglen's final wrestling exhibition at Happyland during 1907 was on 6 September against his frequent competitive rival, Hume Duval. Evidently much improved, he defeated Duval in twelve minutes. Their rather rough encounter was declared, "perhaps one of the most interesting features of the Happyland season."[30] While in Port Arthur later that fall, Duval protested that the referee had given him a "raw deal," but the incident did not appear to impact his relationship with McLaglen, as the two became good friends.[31] After the wrestling match with Hume Duval, Happyland closed for the season. Just three days later, McLaglen resigned his position with the Winnipeg city police, having served on the force for less than three months.[32]

Buoyed by his early sporting success in Manitoba's capital, the former Londoner sought out new markets to ply his fledgling skills. Despite being the largest city in the Canadian West, Winnipeg's relative isolation from other major urban centres posed a challenge for wrestlers looking to earn a steady income in the sport. Exacerbating the situation was the dearth of talented heavyweight athletes in the region. Although many good wrestlers were beginning to frequent Winnipeg by 1907, McLaglen's early contests bear testimony to the fact that, purely on the basis of size, few men represented appealing matchups for the public. Accordingly, he relocated to the American west coast, where he continued his wrestling career under the ring name Sharkey McLaglen before finally competing under his given name. Matched against skilled heavyweights such as Seattle physician Benjamin Franklin Roller, his lack of technical prowess became apparent.[33] Increasingly, however, McLaglen turned his attention toward boxing.

Professional boxing was a highly popular, albeit contentious, activity throughout the English-speaking world at the beginning of the twentieth century. The sport's ultimate prize was the heavyweight championship of the world. Until 1908, swayed by widespread racist sentiments, heavyweight champions had, as a rule, drawn a "colour barrier" against fighters of African descent. However, in December 1908, Canadian-born champion Tommy Burns broke with the longstanding practice when he fought, and was defeated by, African-American pugilist Jack Johnson at Sydney, Australia's Rushcutters Bay. Johnson's victory, as well as his controversial lifestyle, sparked racial indignation among many segments of white society, ultimately culminating in the search for a "Great White Hope" to unthrone him.[34] In his first ring appearance since winning the heavyweight title, Johnson fought McLaglen in a six-round exhibition match, staged in Vancouver on 10 March 1909. Although outclassed, the former Winnipeg police officer's ability to last the time limit against the new champion further bolstered his growing fame.[35]

Even after he moved to the United States in 1907, McLaglen continued to visit Winnipeg, drawn there both by his older brother Fred's residence in the city and his appeal as an internationally known athlete with established connections to the local professional sports market. In May 1909, he performed a six-round sparring exhibition with his brother as part of a benefit event staged for Hume Duval at the Winnipeg School of Physical Culture, a commercial gymnasium which offered "Health, Strength, Longevity" to its urban clientele.[36] The younger McLaglen received good reviews for his performance, the *Free Press* stating, "As a fighter, the young Vic McLaglen sure looks the goods … he is an impressive figure and, with experience, might go far."[37] Biddy Bishop, a Tacoma, Washington, newspaper editor who managed the aspiring pugilist, later recalled in the January 1932 edition of *The Ring* magazine, "[I]n my thirty-five years of managing and promoting fights, I have never had a finer heavyweight prospect than McLaglen."[38]

Despite his growing pugilistic reputation, McLaglen did not altogether abandon his mat activities, and during his visit to Winnipeg in the spring of 1909, he returned to Happyland. McLaglen's flair for self-publicity was in full bloom by this time, and at the end of May he proposed the novel idea of meeting an entire football team and

defeating them, one after another, in the span of one hour. He had originally conceived of the idea in 1908 while in Tacoma, challenging the Whitworth football club to a match.[39] Although the plan never came to fruition in Tacoma, on 29 May a North End Winnipeg team accepted the proposition. The spectacle occurred at Happyland on 4 June. Out of eleven players on the team, only eight appeared: still a daunting undertaking in light of the fact that McLaglen offered $5 to each man he could not defeat in the allotted period. His first opponent, Edwin Quist, was a local resident of Swedish heritage who later wrestled periodically in the city. Audience members took an active role in the spectacle, and McLaglen drew their ire when he appeared to choke Quist with his right arm, bloodying the Swede's mouth in the process. Hume Duval, who refereed the event, was criticised for not admonishing the former city policeman, since choke holds were typically disallowed under catch-as-catch-can rules. The next six opponents were easily disposed of, although the final football player, Jasper Franklin, offered considerably more resistance.[40] As impressive as McLaglen's stunt may have been, however, wrestling a comparatively untrained team of football players did not place him within the top tier of grapplers on the continent. A February 1910 bout in Spokane, Washington, against Iowa's Frank Gotch, the world's champion who had defeated George Hackenschmidt for the title two years earlier, cemented the impossibility of McLaglen's ever being considered a serious contender in the sport. The champion, who would remain undefeated for the remainder of his career, conquered McLaglen with cavalier ease.[41] Nevertheless, by opposing Gotch, Victor McLaglen earned the unique distinction of being the only man in history to have fought the world's heavyweight boxing champion, wrestled the world's heavyweight wrestling champion, and won an Academy Award for Best Actor.

Although many good wrestlers were beginning to frequent Winnipeg by 1907, McLaglen's early contests bear testimony to the fact that, purely on the basis of size, few men represented appealing matchups for the public. Accordingly, he relocated to the American west coast, where he continued his wrestling career under the ring name Sharkey McLaglen before finally competing under his given name.

Wrestling and boxing had proven to be fertile pursuits for the young athlete, but their inherently sporadic nature did not guarantee a steady income. Newspaper reports from the period often commented more positively on McLaglen's tremendous physique than his athletic skills, and it was on this basis that he began touring as a vaudeville strongman. He also took to the stage with his younger brother Arthur.[42] Their act drew heavily on a widespread interest in classical culture that developed during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Those fascinated with muscular development garnered considerable inspiration from antiquity, becoming, as fitness impresario and *Physical Culture* magazine publisher Bernarr Macfadden termed it, "re-born in the wisdom of the ancients."[43] Billed as the Romano Brothers or the Two Romanos, the impressively-muscled duo of Victor and Arthur McLaglen performed on the vaudeville circuit, appearing at Winnipeg's Dominion and Orpheum theatres in March of 1911 and 1913, respectively, as "Living Greek Statuary," a visual art form, also known as *poses plastiques*, whose origins dated back to 1818.[44] Coated in white stage paint which gave the appearance of marble, they assumed various poses derived from ancient Greek and Roman sculpture. Borrowing from their own athletic backgrounds, they also enacted boxing and wrestling scenes, which, specifically regarding the former, the *Winnipeg Telegram* praised as "a realistic exhibition of the manly art of self-defence through a practical and scientific application as to its uses by champions of the pugilistic profession."[45]Although classically inspired, the Romano act included distinctly modern elements, including scenes from contemporary sports such as football.[46] Local theatre critics gave the Romano act favourable reviews, the *Manitoba Free Press* noting that "the pair was excellent," and the *Winnipeg Telegram* stating, both in regards to the entire show and more specifically, the living statuary act, "The whole show is a treat in every sense… The two Romanos posing is an attraction which should not be missed."[47] With an active vaudeville career by the spring of 1911, Victor McLaglen was slowly inching toward a career in "show business" with ventures into the ring evidently becoming a secondary priority.


READY FOR CAPONI TO-NIGHT

Art McLaglen, Who Will See Tony Caponi at the Auditorium Rink To-night.

Manitoba Free Press, 8 August 1910

In the blood. Art McLaglen (1888–1972), Victor's younger brother, was also an active member of Winnipeg's boxing community. He also became an actor.

McLaglen's appearance at the Orpheum Theatre marked the last of what had been many trips to Manitoba's capital. The former Winnipeg policeman later returned

to Great Britain, where he saw service in the Great War with the Princess of Wales Royal Regiment. Although he made a few ring appearances as a boxer after the War, in 1920 he retired from the pugilistic profession and began a career in silent film. McLaglen returned to North America in 1924, making his Hollywood debut in director J. Stuart Blackton's *The Beloved Brute*. Fittingly, he played the

With an active vaudeville career by the spring of 1911, Victor McLaglen was slowly inching toward a career in "show business" with ventures into the ring evidently becoming a secondary priority.

role of a wrestler. In a review published in the *New York Times*, McLaglen, in particular, was singled out for his performance, critic Mordaunt Hall stating, "Without Mr. McLaglen's impersonation … 'The Beloved Brute,' might be nothing unusual as a motion picture of the 'Western type.'" Hall concluded that, "This is a most interesting film of its type, the playing of Mr. McLaglen being singularly natural and convincing."[49]

After 1924, McLaglen became a cinematic fixture and one of the best-known film actors of his generation.[50] However, the door to Hollywood fame had been opened by the skills he cultivated on the Happyland stage in Winnipeg's West End. Through his mat performances and antics at the popular amusement park, McLaglen was given a forum which allowed him to both hone his physical talents and develop a public persona that could alternatively inspire cheers and anger from those who witnessed his performances. His inaugural success in Winnipeg undoubtedly provided encouragement to continue with ventures that put him in the public eye. It was good formative training for a future career that would span almost 130 films and earn him an Academy Award for Best Actor and a nomination for Best Supporting Actor.

Notes

1. In 1891, the McLaglen family was living at 250 Burdett Road, but by 1901 had relocated to 23 East India Road, both in London's East End. Many later sources list Victor McLaglen as having been born in Tunbridge Wells, Kent. However, census records indicate that he was born in Stepney, London, and that only his eldest brother Frederick, was born in Kent. See Public Record Office, 1891 British Census, RG12, Piece 298, Folio 59, p. 39; and Public Record Office, 1901 British Census, RG13, Piece 323, Folio 6, p. 3.
2. Colin D. Howell, *Northern Sandlots: A Social History of Maritime Baseball*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995, pp. 103-104; Clifford Putney, *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880–1920*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001, p. 4.
3. Originating in Lancashire, catch-as-catch-can wrestling allowed opponents to apply holds and execute techniques on the entire body, in contrast to Graeco-Roman wrestling, which only permitted grips to be taken from the waist up. Hackenschmidt's popularity was in full evidence when, for example, he appeared before 20,000 spectators in October 1905 at Glasgow's Ibrox Park in a match against the Scot, Alex Munro, billed as for the "catch-as-catch-can championship of the world." Revered by the British public, Hackenschmidt took up permanent residence in England, where he died in 1968 at the age of 89. For an overview of his significant public appearances on the mat, see his autobiography, *The Way to Live* 1908. Reprint, Farmington, MI: William F. Hinbern, 1998, pp. 144-170. Concerning his match against Munro, see *Lloyd's Weekly News*, 29 October 1905.
4. *Manitoba Free Press* (hereafter *MFP*), 28 June 1907. As the "Russian Lion" typically disposed of opponents in his British music hall engagements rather more quickly, it is conceivable that the claim is apocryphal. Additionally, research from the period has, to date, failed to uncover such a match.
5. *MFP*, 28 June 1907.
6. *Ibid*.
7. *London Daily Mail*, 10 January 1903.
8. *Winnipeg Free Press*, 7 November 1959.
9. Specifically with regard to Manitoba, Ken Coates and Fred McGuinness note, in *Manitoba: The Province and the People*. Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1987, p. 32, that despite extensive settlement during the 1870s by Mennonites and Icelanders, by 1881 Anglo-Protestants "had all but swamped other member[s] of Manitoba society."
10. Concerning ethnicity and migration on the Canadian Prairies during the period, see Marvin McInnis, "Migration," in Donald Kerr and Deryck W. Holdsworth, eds.,. *Historical Atlas of Canada Volume III: Addressing the Twentieth Century, 1891–1961*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990, Plate 27.
11. Population tables, by decade, are provided for Winnipeg in Alan Artibise, *Winnipeg: An Illustrated History*. Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1977, p. 202.
12. Ruben Bellan, *Winnipeg First Century: An Economic History*. Winnipeg: Queenston House Printing, 1978, pp. 62-63.
13. Between 1901 and 1911, the proportion of foreign-born residents living in Winnipeg increased from 37.8 to 55.9 percent of the total population. As evidence of the trend during the early twentieth century for British immigrants to settle in urban centres, the overall percentage of Winnipeg's British-born population increased from 19.4 to 29.4 percent during the same period. See Artibise, *Winnipeg: An Illustrated History*, p. 203.
14. For a discussion on the increase in sports activities in Winnipeg during the decade and a half before the First World War, see Morris Mott, "Manly Sports and Manitobans: Settlement Days to World War One," PhD thesis, Queen's University, 1980, pp. 173-225.
15. See, for example, the *MFP*, 27 November 1909.
16. Located at 61 Heaton Avenue, Winnipeg's German Hall was the headquarters for the city's German Club, a benevolent society whose primary goals were the advancement of German-Canadians and the maintenance of a fund to care for sick members, widows and orphans. Construction on the hall began on 22 October 1904. Many professional wrestling matches were staged on the second floor of the two-storey building in a large lecture hall containing a raised platform and dressing rooms. See the 1908 Winnipeg *Henderson's Directory*, 112; and *MFP*, 24 October 1904.
17. *MFP*, 21 February 1907.
18. Winnipeg's three local daily newspapers all reported on the event in their 21 February 1907 editions and noted McLaglen's large size. They were not, however, consistent with their spelling, the *MFP* giving his name as "McLaughlin," the *Telegram* as "Laglan," and the *Tribune* as "McClellan," suggesting that he was not a "known" athlete in the city at that time.
19. *MFP*, 29 May 1907.
20. For further insight into carnival wrestling and its associated conventions, see Dick Cardinal, interview by Scott Teal and Dean

Silverstone, in *Whatever Happened to…?* (36), pp. 12-18; and Billy Wicks, interview by Scott Teal, *Whatever Happened to…?* (38), pp. 3-15.

21. *Winnipeg Telegram*, 10 June 1907.
22. *MFP*, 10 June 1907; *Winnipeg Telegram*, 10 June 1907.
23. See the Winnipeg Police Museum, *Police Commission Books*.
24. George Smith, quoted in *MFP*, 7 November 1959. See also Archives of Manitoba, Paterson Collection, P3361, file 16. Concerning Chief Constable George Smith's career with the Winnipeg City Police, see Robert Hutcheson, *A Century of Service: A History of the Winnipeg Police Force*. Winnipeg: City of Winnipeg Police Force, 1974, pp. 75-91.
25. *MFP*, 20 June 1907.
26. Young Tom Sharkey, quoted in the *MFP*, 21 June 1907.
27. *MFP*, 20 July 1907; *Winnipeg Tribune*, 20 July 1907. Although audiences at professional wrestling matches were frequently vocal, umbrage over a dissatisfactory show could sometimes escalate into violence as well. One such instance occurred on 28 April 1908 at the Walker Theatre when spectators reacted angrily to the moving picture film of the heavyweight title match between champion George Hackenschmidt and challenger Frank Gotch, staged three weeks earlier in Chicago. Paying between $0.25 and $0.75 for a ticket, those in attendance were promised an "exact reproduction," of the contest, excluding some editing to eliminate extended moments of inactivity. The match, which lasted over two hours, resulted in only a fifteen-minute show for Winnipeg residents. Frequent interruptions marred the already brief film, extending the entire affair to approximately 45 minutes. The *MFP* noted of the production that, "About the time the wrestlers showed any signs of inactivity out would go the light." During the numerous pauses in the film, those in the galleries began to show their impatience with coughs, hoots, barks, and various other verbal remonstrations. When the show terminated, the crowd became so angry that police were called to restore calm and escort them away from the premises. One spectator, Dennis Dever, was charged with wilful damage and fined $5 plus $14 and court costs for kicking in a glass door at the front of the theatre. The *Free Press* described it as the worst theatrical disturbance in eight years. See the *MFP*, 29 April 1908; *Winnipeg Tribune*, 28 April 1908; 29 April 1908; *Winnipeg Telegram*, 29 April 1908; and Archives of Manitoba, Police Court Winnipeg, GR651, M1219, Roll 10, p. 29 April 1908, no. 18239.
28. McLaglen defeated William Keast, a regular on Winnipeg mats, who had also taken on Duval earlier in the season in nine minutes on 3 September. Jack Dewett, who faced McLaglen the next day, was beaten in eight minutes. See the *MFP*, 4 September 1907; 5 September 1907. Concerning Duval's match with Keast, see the *Winnipeg Telegram,* 3 June 1907.
29. Jack Whittall, *Winnipeg Tribune*, 25 November 1936.
30. *MFP*, 7 September 1907.
31. *MFP*, 30 September 1907.
32. Winnipeg Police Museum, *Police Commission Books*.
33. Roller was among the top heavyweight catch-as-catch-can wrestlers in North America before the First World War and took to the mat against virtually every well-known grappler on the continent. The "famous heavyweight wrestler," as the *MFP* described him, appeared once before Winnipeg audiences at the Walker Theatre on 25 June 1910. Victor McLaglen wrestled Roller twice. Their first bout, staged in Tacoma, Washington, on 4 November 1907, was won by Roller in two straight falls, the *Tacoma Ledger* noting on the next day that the former Winnipeg police officer "displayed wonderful strength but little skill." The following April, the men met on the mat again in Portland, Oregon, where the physician defeated him with ease, the *Oregon Daily Journal,* 16 April 1908, opining that, "It was hardly good practice for Roller—he was so much superior to McLaglen."
34. In addition to defeating the best white pugilists in the world, Jack Johnson's activities outside the ring, which included lavish spending and marrying white women, often generated anger within white society. For more on public views surrounding Jack Johnson as well as the search for a "Great White Hope," see Al-Tony Gilmore, *Bad Nigger! The National Impact of Jack Johnson*, Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1975. The most detailed examination of Tommy Burns' career can be found in Dan McCaffery, *Tommy Burns: Canada's Unknown World Heavyweight Champion*. Toronto: Lorimer, 2000.
35. McLaglen took the fight with Johnson on short notice when the champion's original opponent, "Denver" Ed Martin, cancelled. Press reports noted that McLaglen was "game as a pebble," despite posing little challenge to the champion. See the Winnipeg *Saturday Post,* 20 March 1909.
36. Originally styled the Western School of Curative Physical Culture, Duval's gymnasium (which he operated under his given name, Hume MacDonald), was located at 273½ Portage Avenue, Room 9 in the Hample Block. It commenced operation on 14 January 1908. The facility was open to men and women of all ages and specialized in teaching jiu jitsu-based self-defence. Although many clubs preceding it offered lessons in boxing and wrestling, Duval's school was perhaps the first in Manitoba to specialize in an Asian martial art. See the *MFP*, 8 January 1908; 9 January 1908; *Winnipeg Tribune*, 15 January 1908; and 1909 Winnipeg *Henderson's Directory*, 1364.
37. *MFP*, 12 May 1909.
38. Biddy Bishop, "What Price Movies?" in *The Ring*, January 1932, p. 21.
39. *MFP*, 20 April 1908.
40. *MFP*, 5 June 1909. The individual identified as Jasper Franklin may have been Casper Franklin, a boxer who appeared several times in the city.
41. According to a report of the match from the *Spokane Spokesman-Review,* which was reprinted in the *MFP* on 10 February 1910, "[Frank Gotch] simply toyed with the young Hercules. He flopped him around by an arm or a leg like a child with a rag doll, picked him up and pulled him around at will and finally simply laid down on top of McLaglen and smothered him to the mat."
42. Arthur McLaglen likewise pursued a career as a prizefighter, albeit with minimal success. Two bouts in Winnipeg illustrate his limited potential as a pugilist. On 8 August 1910, he boxed Chicago fighter Tony Caponi at the Auditorium Rink. Although McLaglen outweighed his opponent by nearly thirty pounds, the referee stopped the fight in Caponi's favour in the sixth round. On 17 October 1910, in a match which capitalized on the racial tensions surrounding the recent heavyweight title fight between African-American fighter Jack Johnson and former champion Jim Jeffries, Arthur was knocked out by "Coloured Boxer" Charlie Robinson in two rounds. The *MFP* commented that, "It wasn't really a fight and it wasn't an exhibition: it was simply a display of bag punching. McLaglen hadn't a chance from the start." See the *MFP*, 9 August 1910 and 18 October 1910.
43. Mark Moss, *Manliness and Militarism: Educating Young Boys in Ontario for War*. Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2001, p. 57; Bernarr Macfadden, *Muscular Power and Beauty*. New York: Physical Culture Publishing Co., 1906, p. 13.
44. Nicole Anae, "Poses Plastiques: The Art and Style of 'Statuary' in Victorian Visual Theatre," *Australasian Drama Studies* 52 (April 2008), p. 113.
45. *Winnipeg Tribune*, 28 March 1911.
46. *Winnipeg Tribune*, 25 March 1913.
47. *MFP*, 25 March 1913; *Winnipeg Telegram*, 25 March 1913. See also *Winnipeg Town Topics*, 29 March 1913.
48. Mordaunt Hall, *New York Times*, 10 November 1924.
49. For an overview of McLaglen's significant film roles, see David Shipman, *The Great Movie Stars: The Golden Years*. London: Hamlyn, 1970, pp. 387-391.

All Within My Power: The Life of William Forbes Alloway

by Tim Higgins
Winnipeg, Manitoba

William Forbes Alloway, banker and philanthropist, was convinced that the city he helped create was as much responsible for his success, as he for its. So, near the end of a long and productive life, he decided to give his gratitude concrete form. The result was the Winnipeg Foundation.

William Alloway's grandfather, William Johnson Alloway, (d. 1829) built The Derries, the family estate in Ballybrittas, Queen's County (now County Laois) in the Irish province of Leinster.[1] Among William Johnson's six children was his second son, Arthur William Alloway, for whom an Ensign's commission was purchased in 1824.[2] Given the turmoil caused by the Irish potato famine, and that fact that, as second son, he would not inherit The Derries, it was not surprising that Arthur decided to emigrate. So, in 1855 the now Captain Alloway, his bride Mary and their two young sons—William Forbes (1852) and Charles Valentine (1854) joined the Irish diaspora, settling first in Hamilton and later moving to Montréal. Captain Alloway joined the Queen's Own Rifles, a Canadian Militia Regiment, when it was formed in 1860, and served as a veterinary surgeon.

The Winnipeg Foundation

William Forbes Alloway (1852–1930), initial benefactor of The Winnipeg Foundation.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the British Empire was approaching its zenith. William and Charles grew up on tales of the Black Hole of Calcutta, the relief of Lucknow[3] and the Charge of the Light Brigade[4]. So it is little wonder that, when they were presented with the chance at Imperial glory, both boys were quick to enlist in the Wolseley expedition, sent by John A. Macdonald to establish Dominion rule over the former Rupertsland. After the resolution of the conflict with Riel and the Métis, Lt.-Colonel Garnet Wolseley departed Red River, but the Alloway brothers stayed.

In the fall of 1870, Fort Garry and the little village of Winnipeg to its north, was still frontier. Although the HBC had been responsible for administration in the colony, it had had no effective way of enforcing its rule. Riel's Métis buffalo brigades had military discipline, which had allowed them to take the fort and hold it, but now they were gone, as were Wolseley and his regulars. The militias he left as garrison troops were, for the most part, English-speaking Protestants who shared an intense dislike for the Métis and French-speaking Catholics. The new Lt.-Governor, Adams Archibald, had only just arrived and had to organize an election in the new province of Manitoba before the end of the year.

What Archibald needed was a police force to begin to impose some order. For a young man with military training who had already decided to seek his fortune in this new country, policing seemed an obvious entrée. By the time the election was held on 27 December, Private William Alloway had become Constable Alloway,[5] assigned to guard a polling station and ensure the ballot box actually made it to the returning officer.

Being a policeman was certainly a way to gain respect and recognition, but it was hardly going to make Alloway wealthy. He sought other opportunities. On 8 May 1871, an advertisement appeared in the *Manitoba Free Press*

Tim Higgins has lived in Winnipeg since 1952. His BSc in zoology and graduate work in human genetics naturally led him to a career in acting, directing and writing for television. He has written and directed four plays about Manitoba history and written four books. His latest book Just Common Sense: The Life and Times of George Taylor Richardson *was published in the fall of 2010.*

announcing that William Alloway had opened a tobacco shop on Main Street. The *Manitoban and Northwest Herald* on 16 September 1871 advertised the services of William Alloway, Veterinary Surgeon. "Of course, I wasn't a veterinary surgeon," he told a friend years later, "but I'll admit I loved the horses so much that it flattered me to have someone ask me to relieve the sufferings of a sick animal."[6] Alloway did, however, allow the initials "V.S." to appear after his name in Winnipeg's first business directory.

It was Alloway's expertise regarding horses, as well as his entrepreneurial spirit, that finally allowed to him make, as he put it, his "first real chunk of money"; that is, funds not achieved through "the sweat of his brow."[7] In August 1874, an announcement appeared in the *Manitoba Free Press*:

> W. W. (sic) Alloway has returned from Montréal, bringing with him a magnificent carriage and pair for Mr. Mulligan. The carriage is extremely handsome and well got up, and has all the latest improvements and appliances, and is decidedly ahead of anything in the Province.

Mr. Mulligan was James Mulligan, a wealthy landowner who had commissioned William to obtain the coach and pair. Mulligan lived in Armstrong's Point and had bought up much of the nearby land. To pay the $1400 bill, Mulligan offered a parcel of land that ran from Portage Avenue south to the Assiniboine River, between what is now Maryland Street and Walnut Street. Guessing even then that Winnipeg would be expanding west, Alloway accepted. When his guess eventually proved correct, he was able to sell the acreage for $30,000, which, in the late nineteenth century, made him a gentleman of means.

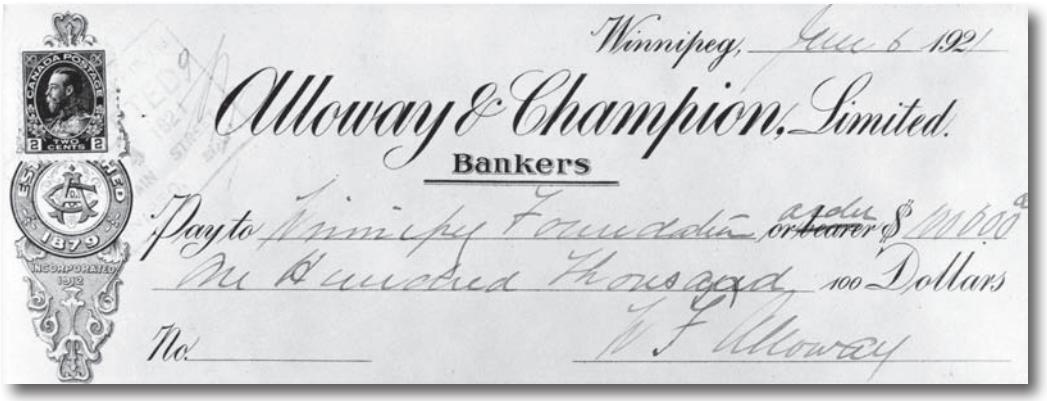
As a property owner, male and over twenty-one, William Alloway was now eligible to vote and run for public office, which he decided to do in 1875. The main requirement to be on city council at the time was that the aspirant should have real estate holdings worth $2,000 or more. Opponents of his candidacy were quick to point out his shortcoming in this area—despite the fact that he was now running a freighting business with firm North West Mounted Police and Canadian Pacific Railroad contracts and an inventory of rolling stock approaching 6,000 Red River carts, he controlled only $1450 worth of real estate.[8] Nonetheless, Alloway seems to have convinced the authorities his net worth was more than adequate to meet the property requirement. He was duly elected a councillor for South Ward in 1876.

Alloway served four terms as a city alderman, 1876–1877 and 1879–1880. Although still in his 20s when elected, it was immediately clear to Council that he was not a man to be trifled with. Council minutes repeatedly record his animated "discussions," particularly with Francis Cornish, a future mayor. A friend, interviewed years later, gives some insight into what Cornish was up against.

> I remember how Mr. Alloway—Bill as he was called by his friends—used to get up and express his views. He was a frank fellow. I was attracted to him by the fact that he always came right out and said what was on his mind without any mincing. He was no diplomat and did not try to be. He never adopted any devious course. He was not studying to please this man or that man, this element or that element. He had been trained in a bluff, honest school. He thought outspokenness was the best policy to pursue; and when he was too warmed up to think, he followed it instinctively.[9]

Winnipeg was now a small city of 5,000 people and over 900 buildings, growing steadily as its isolation receded. With the appearance of steamboats on the Red River, Winnipeg now had a direct link to the American transcontinental railway system. Imports became cheaper, and travel to and from Manitoba a much less daunting proposition. The Dawson Road was now complete, giving access east to Lake of the Woods and allowing Winnipeg merchants to begin eyeing opportunities in farming, forestry and mining that were getting underway north of the Rainy River.

The city had developed an ascendant Anglo-Ontarian culture. Winnipeg saw its first "opera" house in 1872, its first indoor skating rink in 1874 and a local Turf Club in 1875, with William Alloway the first President of the club.[10] Alloway also rode "Cataract" (undoubtedly named with a particularly exciting episode from the Wolseley Expedition in mind) to victory in the steeplechase at the Club's inaugural event.[11]



Archives of Manitoba, Foote Collection #1982.

The cheque that laid a foundation. W. F. Alloway's initial gift of $100,000 in 1921—roughly equal to $1.2 million in today's currency—provided the endowment that enabled The Winnipeg Foundation to begin its philanthropic work.

The Other Alloway

Elizabeth McLaren was born in Buckingham, Québec, one of thirteen children of James McLaren and Ann Sully. Her father was one of the leading citizens of the Ottawa Valley, having made his fortune in lumber and banking. By the time of his death in 1892, he was one of Canada's richest men.

Her brothers were also well known in Québec, though for less desirable reasons. During a 1906 strike at the lumber operation they had inherited from their father, an attempt by employees to unionize resulted in the shooting deaths of two organizers. Largely due to the family's influence, the shooters were acquitted and all 242 workers were blacklisted for decades.

Elizabeth most likely met William Alloway while he was visiting his own family in Montréal. The couple was married in September 1878 in Buckingham, and moved to Winnipeg immediately thereafter, taking up residence at The Derries on Assiniboine Avenue, where they lived for the rest of her lives.

One of Elizabeth's first official duties as Mrs. Alloway was to accompany William south to Penza, Minnesota, for the completion ceremony of Winnipeg's initial rail link with the outside world. On 3 December, along with eighteen other spouses of prominent citizens, she was invited to help drive the last spike. As reported in the *Free Press* the following day, after several attempts to swing a sledgehammer that would have typically have weighed between 10 and 20 pounds, she and the other ladies deferred to "a good-natured Italian named Paddy."

The Winnipeg Foundation

Elizabeth McLaren Alloway (1858–1926)

Elizabeth's career as a doyenne of charitable activities was much more successful. The McLarens were devout Presbyterians and once in Winnipeg, Elizabeth joined Augustine Church, which was built across the Assiniboine River from The Derries in 1887 and whose congregation had a strong call to mission.

Her first minister at Augustine, Dr. Andrew Baird, described her early childhood as having been "spent in the environment of a deeply religious home, and all her life she tried to live up to the traditions of that home. She was devoted to the religious services of the church and what they stood for: faithful in attendance at worship and to the precepts of Christian teaching."

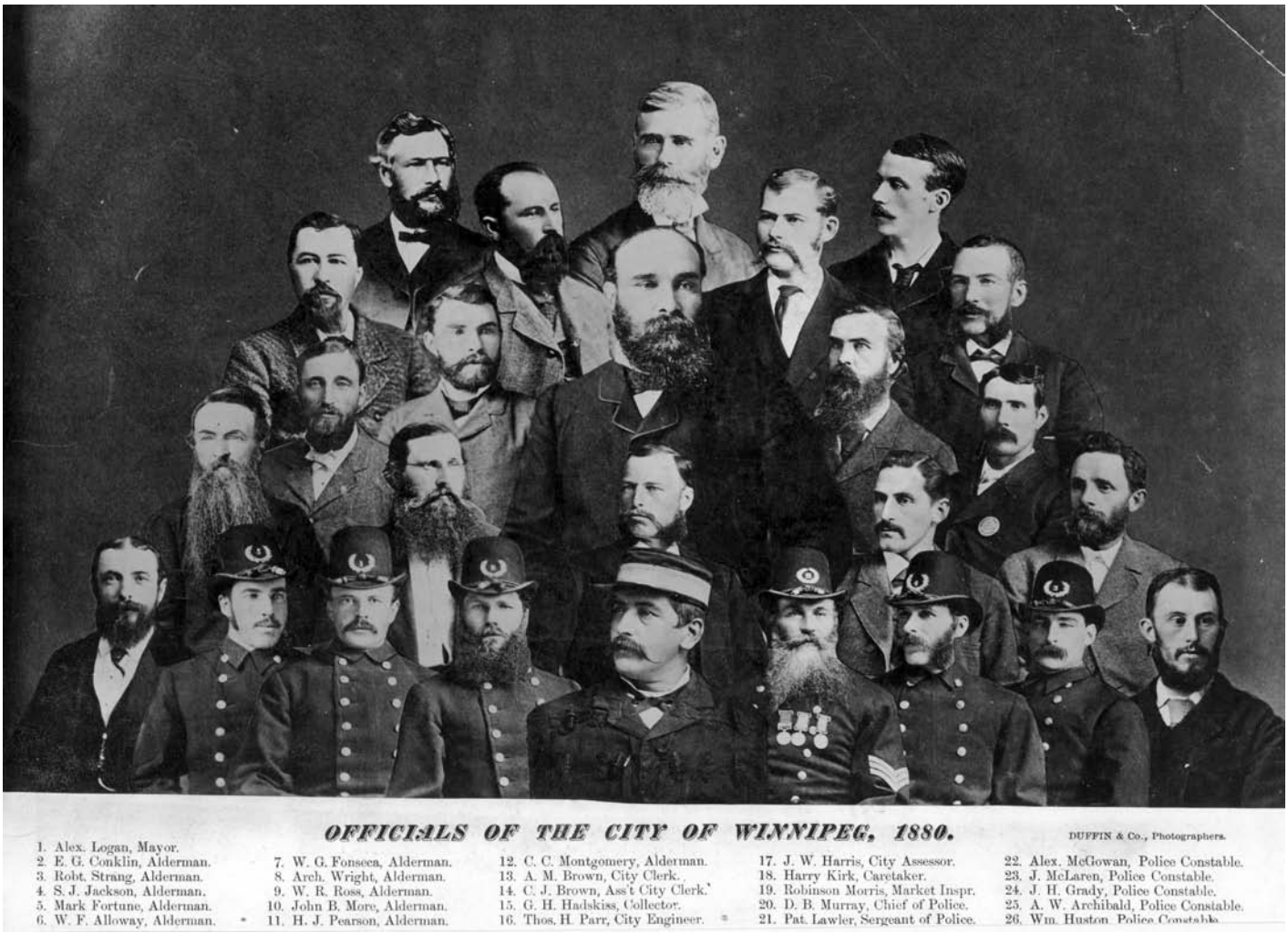
Elizabeth lived out her faith through her charitable work. She was an early supporter of the Children's Home, personally maintaining a fourteen-bed ward there. She gave generously to further the work of the Margaret Scott Nursing Mission. And when the Victorian Order of Nurses received its Royal Charter in 1897, she took the Winnipeg chapter under her wing.

Unlike most married women at this time, Elizabeth had her own money outside her marriage, inherited from her father's estate and completely under her control. In this sense, the Alloway charitable endeavours were a partnership in the truest sense of the word. It is clear that the decision to create a community trust named for the city they loved rather than after themselves and then fund it with the total equity of their individual estates was a joint one.

It was also completely in keeping with Elizabeth's adherence to those Christian precepts referred to by Dr. Baird—do justice, love mercy, and walk humbly with your God.

In a sure sign that an elite had already formed in Winnipeg, western Canada's first private gentlemen's club was organized in the city on 16 July 1874. The Manitoba Club was established as a refuge for men of means, a place where they could enjoy the company of their peers and, mimicking the tradition of the British gentry, escape the presence of women. The first permanent clubhouse was erected on Garry St. in 1881; Earl Grey opened the present establishment at Broadway and Fort in 1905. William Alloway was an early member.

Eighteen seventy-eight marked a turning point in William Alloway's life, both commercially and personally. He had been making a very good living from the freighting business since 1873, but he could see the era of the Red River cart in transportation was rapidly coming to an end. For a man of Alloway's acumen and drive, the opportunities



Archives of Manitoba, Stovel Advocate Collection 148

Early movers and shakers. William Alloway was among city officials shown in this collage of photographs from 1880. He served two terms on the Winnipeg city council, from 1876 to 1877 and again from 1879 to 1880, giving him intimate knowledge of how government worked.

presented by the arrival of the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad were staggering. He had already been exploring other avenues of livelihood, dabbling in business loans and real estate. So by the time he was invited south to take part in the railway's last-spike ceremony, he had already made his decision.

Accompanying him on this trip was his new bride, Elizabeth Maclaren Alloway (see sidebar). Elizabeth was the daughter of James Maclaren, an Ottawa valley lumber magnate and, in 1874, a co-founder of the Bank of Ottawa. William and Elizabeth had been married in September, after which he brought her back to Winnipeg to live in the house he had built for her. He called it "The Derries" after the family seat in Ireland. In another act of prescience, Alloway built the house at 407 Assiniboine Avenue, in the heart of the as yet undeveloped Hudson's Bay reserve.[12]

Up until this time, Winnipeg's elite neighbourhood had been Point Douglas, but when it became apparent in 1883 that the CPR mainline was going to run through the middle of that district, the area became much less desirable. The year before, the HBC had begun its demolition of Upper Fort Garry in anticipation of developing the reserve.[13] Their plan was for a genteel, upper-class district—everything that brawling, rowdy Winnipeg was not. This neighbourhood would be centred on a wide, tree-lined boulevard designed in the grand European style—the street we know today as Broadway.

The HBC sales pitch clearly worked. William and Elizabeth were soon joined by the Ashdowns, the Galts, the Schultzes, and the McDonalds; in other words, the wealthiest members of Winnipeg society.

The Derries, which means "place of the oak trees" in Gaelic, sat on a large river lot that provided sufficient room for a tennis court and other sports. Saturday afternoons became a sort of levee, as friends and acquaintances dropped round for entertainment and tea, which was served to all comers.[14] Due to the couple's unfailing hospitality and their position as neighbourhood pioneers, The Derries soon became the early social centre of Winnipeg, a position it held until the core of wealth moved again, this time across the Assiniboine to Crescentwood, around the turn of the century.

Exactly how William Alloway became a banker is unclear, but it is not unreasonable to assume that Elizabeth had a significant role in the decision to do so. The Bank of Ottawa had significantly increased her father's already substantial fortune, and she may have felt the business could do the same for her new husband. Whatever the reason, in that seminal year of 1878, Alloway opened Western Canada's first private bank, located on the east side of Main Street near the present site of the Bank of Montreal's Winnipeg headquarters.

Although Alloway was very confident in his own abilities, he was never loath to take advantage of experience. Therefore, just as he had partnered with James MacKay[15] when he had gone into the freighting business, he now sought out Henry Champion, an old comrade from the Wolseley expedition. Champion had gone into banking directly out of the military, and had risen to the position of accountant for the Merchants' Bank, the first chartered bank in western Canada. In 1879, they entered into an equal partnership, with William's brother Charles, who had also stayed in the west, becoming a junior partner (20%) in 1885.

Alloway and Champion was a success from the beginning. As immigration increased rapidly in the 1880s, the firm was active in real estate and took financial advantage of the availability of Métis scrip[16]. Their refusal to become involved in the speculative land bubble that arose as the CPR approached Manitoba in 1881–1882, helped them avoid the subsequent collapse. It also left them in possession of a large inventory of "well selected farm lands" in every township in the province as well as in the North-West Territories, which were subsequently sold "at reasonable prices and on easy terms."[17]

As operators of a private bank, Alloway and Champion were free to invest their capital as they wished. Among other endeavours, they acted as stockbrokers and became involved in currency trading. This latter activity became so lucrative during the great immigration years of the early twentieth century, that they opened a branch at 667 Main Street, near the CPR station, specifically to handle immigrants fresh off the trains. Staffed with linguists from Eastern Europe, this branch helped new arrivals convert their funds into Canadian dollars and send money to relatives in the old country. Eventually, the branch housed a steamship booking agency that helped bring in the families of immigrant pioneers.

As business expanded, the main branch moved—first to the West side of Main Street near the HBC's new flagship department store in 1884, and then in 1905 to 362 Main Street.[18] This building, known citywide as the "bank with the golden doors" after its refurbishment in 1911, was everything the discerning customer expected a bank to be. Costing $116,000 to renovate, it was a building that "was all marble and granite, brass and bronze, and lined from floor to ceiling on all walls with pure Sienna marble, placed there by workmen brought from Italy."[19]

By 1912, when Alloway and Champion was incorporated, it had an authorized capital stock of $3,000,000 and a reserve of $125,000.[20] Alloway and Champion Limited had become the largest private bank in Canada, and William Forbes Alloway a millionaire.

The fortunes of Alloway and the city that his bank helped to build rose in tandem. The small village of Fort Garry which he had first seen as a young soldier four decades earlier, was now a modern metropolis of 185,000 and the Dominion's third largest city. As a member of the new bourgeoisie, Alloway took part in the activities expected of a British gentleman.

He maintained his interest in rowing, honed during the Wolseley Expedition. He served as President of the Winnipeg Rowing Club from 1891–1898 and he and Elizabeth accompanied the Club team to the Henley Regatta in London during the Jubilee year of 1897. Alloway was Master of the Hounds for the Winnipeg Riding Club, which hunted on land west of the present site of Mulvey School, part of which he had once owned.[21] He drove one of the first automobiles seen in Manitoba, and was a charter member of the Winnipeg Automobile Club.

The Alloways' son, William Maclaren, was born in October 1880 and died in August 1881 at nine months of age.[22] The couple had no more children. They travelled extensively throughout the United States, the Caribbean and Europe. They often stayed with Elizabeth's family in Québec and visited the original Derries in Ireland. They capped their travels with an around-the-world trip before the First World War broke out in 1914.

Like other men and women of their social class, the Alloways engaged in philanthropy and contributed to the growth of numerous social institutions. Alloway was an early supporter of the Federated Budget, the period's

The Winnipeg Foundation

The Derries. The Alloway residence at 407 Assiniboine Avenue was the setting for many an informal meeting through the years, including the one in February 1921 that launched The Winnipeg Foundation. After their deaths, it became part of the Foundation's assets and was rented out for a time. Like many of the houses in the downtown area, it was eventually demolished to make way for an apartment block.

equivalent of today's United Way. He gave $5,000 a year, and made a habit of presenting his cheque in person early on the opening day of each annual fund drive.[23] Like most of his contemporaries, he had supported the General Hospital from its earliest days—he was a board member for over a quarter-century and served a term as President in the 1890s. His gifts to the institution are estimated to have been in the neighbourhood of $100,000.[24]

However, more than his contemporaries, William Alloway tended to take the long view. Even after war, disease and class warfare seemed to have ended Winnipeg's dreams of Empire leadership, he remained profoundly optimistic in the 1920s, predicting:

> There is another boom coming, and sometimes I think it is not far away. Having seen the development of this city since 1870—developments that have far surpassed every idea I had—I can have no doubt whatever regarding the future. The west must fill up with people through the coming years, and as the west fills up, Winnipeg must grow in importance, size, wealth and civic prestige. A great many values we have known in the past will come back—and be surpassed. Business in all lines will be brisk, and larger fortunes will be made in Winnipeg than were made by any of the old-timers in the past.[25]

This attitude also led him to a consideration of the future of municipal charity. Both he and Elizabeth were well aware of the social problems two decades of rapid growth had engendered in pre-war Winnipeg. On the one hand, even the Federated Budget depended to a large extent on the yearly decisions—and financial health—of people like him. On the other, bequest money set aside to address specific issues over the long term often remained unused when conditions changed—the so–called "dead hand" of estate planning. Surely, he thought, there must be a way to use the financial system that had made him rich to provide a permanent pool of wealth that could be dedicated to addressing social need.

It was during these deliberations that a new idea was drawn to his attention—a community trust, the first of which had been established in Cleveland in 1914 by an estate lawyer named Frederick Goff. As Goff later wrote in *Collier's Magazine*:

Archives of Manitoba, Events 125, N12132

The wilds of Lake Winnipeg. William and Elizabeth Alloway were among a group of adventurous Winnipeggers who, in early September 1885, boarded the steamboat *Princess* for a two-week excursion on Lake Winnipeg, during which they visited Grand Rapids, Norway House and other points around the lake.

> How fine it would be if a man about to make a will could go to a permanently enduring organization—what Chief Justice Marshall called an "artificial immortal being"—and say: "Here is a large sum of money. I want to leave it to be used for the good of the community, but I have no way of knowing what will be the greatest need of the community 50 years from now, or even 10 years from now. Therefore, I place it in your hands, because you will be here, you and your successors, through the years, to determine what should be done with this sum to make it most useful for people of each succeeding generation." It is the rankest hubris for anyone to suggest they can see/predict the future.[26]

Alloway was immediately struck by the elegance of the solution, and contacted his friend, lawyer C. P. Wilson, KC, to draw up a proposal that would suit Canadian regulations. The proposed trust would also require statutory changes in Manitoba; so, they asked Edith Rogers, Manitoba's first female MLA, to introduce the bill in the legislature. It passed, and on 4 June 1921, William Forbes Alloway was able to confirm the establishment of the Winnipeg Foundation—the first community trust in Canada and only the second in North America.

William and Elizabeth Alloway contributed generously to the Winnipeg Foundation's creation. William commented in the *Manitoba Free Press*:

> Winnipeg has been my home and has done more for me than it ever may be in my power to repay. I owe everything to this community and I feel that it should derive some benefit from what I have been able to accumulate. It therefore gives me much pleasure to enclose my cheque for $100,000 "as a starter" for the Foundation.[27]

In 1921, this was an enormous gift. However, it was only the beginning. When Elizabeth died in 1926, she left her entire estate to the Foundation—over $800,000. Moreover, when William passed away in 1930, the Foundation received everything he had amassed over sixty fruitful years. In total, the Alloway bequest to the Winnipeg Foundation came to almost $2.2 million.

W. F. Alloway was a fortunate man. Not many have the opportunity to be present at the birth of a new city; even fewer, the occasion to play a leading role in its building. Right time, right place? Of course. But in William Alloway, fate also delivered the right person—a fact for which all Winnipeggers should be forever grateful. ☙

Notes

1. Queen's County was one of sites of the Stuart Plantations, established in the seventeenth century to replace the Gaelic Catholic elite with English and Scottish landholders. The Plantations were one of many fruitless attempts to Anglicize Ireland.
2. *The Connaught Journal*, Galway, 22 July 1824.
3. Events occurring during the Indian Mutiny, 1857–1858.
4. 5 October 1854. Cavalry action during the Crimean War (1853–1856), made famous in a poem by Alfred, Lord Tennyson.
5. Alexander Begg, *Ten Years in Winnipeg: A Narration of the Principal Events in the History of the City of Winnipeg, 1870–1879*. Winnipeg: Times Printing & Publishing House, 1879.
6. *Winnipeg Tribune* (hereafter, *WT*), 12 March 1938.
7. Peter Lowe, "All Western Dollars", *Manitoba Historical Society Transactions*, Series 3 (1945–1946).
8. *Manitoba Free Press* (hereafter, *MFP*), 1 January 1876.
9. *Ibid*., 3 February 1930.
10. Begg, *op. cit*.
11. *MFP*, 29 May 1875.
12. The HBC had retained the land around Fort Garry south of Portage Avenue when it sold Rupertsland to Canada in 1869.
13. Gordon Goldsborough, *Historic Sites of Manitoba: Upper Fort Garry*. Winnipeg: Manitoba Historical Society, 2010. http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/sites/upperfortgarry.shtml
14. Lowe, *op. cit*.
15. James McKay (1828–1879) was an HBC servant, guide, member of the Manitoba Legislature, and a founder of the Winnipeg Board of Trade.
16. Land scrip or money scrip was offered to the Métis inhabitants of Red River under the *Manitoba Act* in compensation for extinguishment of their Aboriginal title. Many Métis chose to sell their scrip, often for amounts well below its genuine value.
17. P. Hanlon, "William Forbes Alloway," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2000; Lowe, *op. cit*. Lowe points out that, in addition to acquiring land through buying and selling scrip, Alloway and Champion also profited from purchases at tax sales and real estate investments inside Winnipeg.
18. This address is the site of the present Winnipeg Commodity Exchange, popularly known as the Trizec Building.
19. George Waight, in conversation with Vince Leah. *WT*, 19 January 1980.
20. Hanlon, *op. cit*.
21. *Daily Nor'Wester*, 5 June 1894.
22. *Manitoba Daily Free Press*, 25 Oct. 1880, birth announcement; 24 Aug. 1881, obituary of William MacLaren Alloway, age 9 mos., 28 days.
23. *MFP*, 3 February 1930.
24. *Ibid*.
25. *The Financial Post of Canada*, 23 October 1924.
26. Frederick Goff, taken from the article, "Who Shall Spend Your Money?" by Fred Kelly, *Collier's Magazine*, 2 February 1924.
27. *MFP*, 5 June 1921.

The Trembowla Cross of Freedom

by Cheryl Girard
Winnipeg, Manitoba

Over the past two years, the MHS has been compiling an inventory of historic sites around Manitoba as an encouragement to tourism and management of our rich historic resources. In each issue of Manitoba History, *we will feature sites in that inventory. Eds.*

A barefoot apostle, a tiny church and a wooden cross—without these and a determined group of Ukrainian pioneers—the Trembowla historic site would not exist.

Located about 27 kilometres northwest of Dauphin, the Trembowla Cross of Freedom is, today, a testament not only to the abiding faith of the first Ukrainian settlers in that area, but also to the perseverance they displayed in the face of many early hardships and struggles. For many Ukrainians, their story here can be traced back to the settlers of the Dauphin area and to Trembowla, one of the oldest colonies in Manitoba.

Wasyl Ksionzyk – Pioneer Leader

Although some Ukrainians arrived in Manitoba in 1891, the first few groups of immigrants to the Dauphin area arrived in August 1896. A group of families of about five persons each, under the leadership of Wasyl Ksionzyk, traveled by train and then by wagon to establish a colony on the north side of the Drifting River in the Dauphin area. They named their new village Terebowla (also known as Trembowla) after the region in Western Ukraine from which many of them had come.

According to a letter sent by Ksionzyk to the Ukrainian newspaper *Svoboda* in the United States, Ksionzyk says he was initially advised by Dr. Joseph Oleskiw, a professor from Lviv, to settle in the Lake Dauphin vicinity. Oleskiw had earlier traveled across Canada and then returned to Ukraine praising the freedom and "free lands" to be found in Western Canada.

Ksionzyk and two other men set out from Winnipeg to inspect the region for themselves. Disappointed, at first, in seeing no good grain fields on the way there, they traveled three and a half days to reach their destination. Finally, nearing Dauphin, they were relieved to see that there the crops and vegetation looked much better.

In the same letter, Ksionzyk wrote that about fifteen families settled in the area but some of them came little prepared and had so little money that they could not even afford food for their families. A ten-dollar homestead entry

K. Slobodzian

The Cross of Freedom at the Trembowla Cross of Freedom Historical Site and Museum, along with plaques erected by the Historic Sites Advisory Board of Manitoba.

fee was required from each family for their farm land but the settlers had to wait for spring before they could begin their planting and before they could pay the necessary fees. In the meantime, Ksionzyk wrote in his letter that they hoped to earn some money by selling wood off their land for $2.50 per load.

Having left their homeland to escape persecution and starvation, the Ukrainians were eager to embrace the political and religious freedom promised in Canada. Their first years in their new home, however, were still difficult ones for various reasons.

The lack of financial resources was a major problem. Also the farm lands available to these immigrants in the bush country to the north of the Valley River were nowhere near rail lines or, according to historian Paul Yuzyk, they were of poorer quality than those given to earlier settlers.

Further hardships followed because the immigrants did not understand English and were given a cool reception by earlier immigrants, according to author, Michael Ewanchuk, in his *Pioneer Settlers: Ukrainians in the Dauphin Area, 1896–1926.*

Cheryl Girard graduated from the University of Winnipeg with a BA in English and Philosophy as well as a major in Developmental Studies. She has worked in the past as a journalist and has more recently renewed her passion for writing by exploring the stories behind some of Manitoba's oldest churches and other historic people and places.

K. Slobodzian

St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Church, grotto and bell tower at the Trembowla Cross of Freedom site.

Also for a culture with very strong ties to its religion, there were no churches, and no priests to turn to for support. Ksionzyk wrote frequent letters to *Svoboda* almost pleading for a Ukrainian priest to be sent out to the settlement.

In the meantime, the settlers had only each other, and a will and a determination to survive and to work. They had land, wood and pastures and the promise of freedom and from these humble beginnings they set to work and struggled to build a future for themselves and their families.

Oxen were lost the first winter in Canada as the settlers did not have enough food to feed them. The settlers looked for work in the town of Dauphin until they were able to farm. Meat came from elk and deer in the nearby woods. A few cows provided them with milk. They worked harder than they had worked in their homeland but in Canada they had freedom and the hopes of a better tomorrow to keep them going.

Ewanchuk relates the story of the eldest daughter of Wasyl Ksionzyk. The Ksionzyks had arrived in Canada with five children. Interviewed by a Winnipeg Tribune writer in 1976 Ksionzyk's daughter said that she was fourteen years old when she first arrived in Canada and that their first house was but a simple log cabin thatched with reeds from the nearby Drifting River.

The Barefoot Apostle

It was in this house in Trembowla, in the spring of 1897, that Rev. Nestor Dmytriw, a Ukrainian priest from the United States, gave the first Ukrainian Catholic Mass in Canada. Dmytriw, according to historian Michael Marunchak, in his 1977 article for *The Ukrainian Weekly*, was the first Ukrainian priest to set foot on Canadian soil.

Newly appointed as an immigration officer to help with the incoming Ukrainian immigrants and also the editor of *Svoboda* (Liberty), Rev. Dmytriw set out from the United States in April of 1897 to visit the new colony of Trembowla due to the repeated appeals from the settlers and in particular, Ksionzyk.

Dmytriw traveled in a smoke filled train to Dauphin with a French priest cloaked in a long black robe, Ukrainian immigrants wearing sheepskin coats and an assortment of immigrants of other nationalities. He stayed overnight at Dauphin, as did other immigrants, in a crowded and noisy one-room immigration hall.

As the train did not travel past Dauphin at that time, the priest had to make his way by wagon from Dauphin. Passing open fields with poplars and little white houses dotted here and there, Rev. Dmytriw came to a river and had to then make his way on foot to the colony which was another six miles. As it grew dark in the heavily wooded area he became lost.

Wandering through bushes, snow and water in the darkness, the priest traveled on foot until finally he found his way and arrived late at night, wet and cold, at the home of a Ukrainian settler in Trembowla. In later weeks he was often seen traveling barefoot to various villages having to struggle to make his way through swampy and difficult terrain.

The next morning, Rev. Dmytriw woke to find almost the whole colony of fifteen families (about 78 people) gathered around and waiting to meet him in front of the house. Pleased for the settlers at the sheer abundance of land available to them, he realized also, however, that they were not likely to survive, unless they had some money as well as a "good head."

The following day, the first Ukrainian Catholic Mass was held on Canadian soil. It started to snow and so the Mass was held indoors with the settlers packing the small room of the tiny log hut owned by Wasyl Ksionzyk.

The strong and determined settlers who had endured so much just to get to Canada and who had survived their first winter in the woods with virtually nothing broke down and cried at the first words uttered by the priest, "Blessed is the kingdom." The priest also struggled to control his tears when he began to speak of the hardships and difficulties that drove the Ukrainians across the seas to Canada and to the plains of Dauphin to carve out a better life for their families.

K. Slobodzian

Bishop Nykyta Budka—Canada's first Ukrainian Catholic Bishop who arrived in 1912—is commemorated by a monument.

A Wooden Cross

A tiny Ukrainian Canadian was baptized next. Then the first Ukrainian cross, the Cross of Freedom, which had been erected on Canadian soil on the banks of the Drifting River, was blessed. It was blessed that day in honour of the freedom attained by these settlers in their new land. Many such crosses were erected in western Ukraine when serfdom was abolished in 1848 in Galicia. According to Marunchak, Dmytriw wrote in his memoirs that in order to cross over the other side of the river to bless the cross the priest had to ride an ox because the settlers had not yet acquired horses. There, where this simple wooden cross was erected, the people cried even harder than they did during the Divine Liturgy, Dmytriw wrote. He moved on from one community to the next, often on foot and again often barefoot having to struggle through marshes and swamps and densely wooded areas. At each stop he ministered, helped to organize church parishes and gave what comfort he could to the settlers who, lacking any Ukrainian priests at all, desperately sought his help.

The Tiny Church with a Huge Legacy

One of the communities Dmytriw visited that same year was Mink River formerly called Volkivtsi after a village in Ukraine. It was in Mink River that Dmytriw advised a church be built as he often did in other communities he visited. And so, it was here, in 1898, that St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Church, the oldest remaining Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada, was built.

Small but hardly insignificant, this tiny structure has a huge legacy. The small log chapel soon became the religious centre for the settlers in and around Trembowla. The church was blessed by Rev. Wasyl Zholdak in 1901 when it was given the name of St. Michael's.

Because the Ukrainian settlers did not have any priests available to them in the early years the parishioners of this church often had to conduct their own services. They later built a small addition to the church. The building served the area until about 1960. By then most of the settlers had passed away and their children had moved on.

In 1967 the little church was moved to the Cross of Freedom site and restored so that it could be situated as close as possible to the site where the first Ukrainian Catholic Divine Liturgy was celebrated.

Though simple in its exterior design, its interior, nevertheless, features some beautiful examples of Byzantine-style icon paintings, a handmade tabernacle on the main altar crafted by a pioneer settler of the area, and side altars with table covers of authentic Ukrainian cross-stitch design.

It was declared a provincial heritage site in 1999.

Preserving History

By 1964 the wooden Cross of Freedom had been rotting for years, knocked over by a wagon in the 40's, and largely forgotten according to Marunchak who had begun researching the history of the area.

At Marunchak's urging and with the help of Michael Szewczyk, then Secretary Treasurer of the Rural Municipality of Dauphin, the cross was re-erected and a large seven foot tall granite Cross of Freedom was unveiled and blessed on July 31, 1966, the last day of the first Ukrainian Festival of Dauphin.

Wasyl Ksionzyk's log house where the first Ukrainian Catholic Mass had been held in Canada in 1897 had been abandoned and also mostly forgotten until its historical significance became better known. With a grant from the Manitoba Heritage Foundation Inc. the home was successfully moved closer to the Cross of Freedom site in 1987 and restored to the pioneering era of its time.

The Trembowla schoolhouse was also moved to the site in 1968 for preservation and serves as an example of a one-room rural school.

A replica of a pioneer home built in 1967 was donated to the site by Mary Demchuk of Sifton whose ancestry can be traced back to the Trembowla settlement.

In 1977 the Ukrainian National Association of New Jersey erected a bronze bust of Rev. Dmytriw which was designed by the internationally known Ukrainian Canadian sculptor Leo Mol. It was unveiled that year at the Trembowla Cross of Freedom site.

Today, Dmytriw is known not only for his work as editor of the *Svoboda*, his spiritual help to the Ukrainian settlers, and his creation of early parishes, he is also highly regarded for his writings in which he recorded in great detail, the life of the early pioneers in Canada. In so doing, he left behind a rich and valuable history of their early struggles.

A grotto constructed of specially chosen field rocks and containing a statue of the Blessed Mother holding baby Jesus was built on the site in 1998 to commemorate the 100th anniversary of St. Michael's Church and is also a tribute by the site's committee to the early pioneers.

More recently, a large granite monument was erected on the site in 2002 as a tribute to the first Ukrainian Catholic Bishop who arrived in Canada in 1912. Bishop Budka was beatified by His Holiness Pope John Paul II in June of 2001 in Lviv, Ukraine.

The historic site's committee consists of local volunteers and was set up to continue the preservation of the site. The non-profit charitable organization became incorporated in 1978 as The Cross of Freedom Inc.

According to committee Secretary Kay Slobodzian, every year on the Sunday of Canada's National Ukrainian Festival held near Dauphin, people gather around a small, modestly built church at the Cross of Freedom site. There, they pay tribute to the determination, faith and endurance of the early Ukrainian pioneers of Canada. ☙

For more information on this Historic Site of Manitoba:

www.mhs.mb.ca/rd/trembowla

Plate #53: The Rescue of a Brother Firefighter

by Rick Northwood #1216 (Ret.)
Fernie, British Columbia

In November of 2007, my wife and I walked into an antique shop on Corydon Avenue in Winnipeg with no intensions of buying anything. We had just sold our home and were downsizing, getting ready for retirement. Had you told me I would later walk out with an antique Manitoba license plate from 1912, I would have said you were crazy. (The fact that I paid $100 for it is also … well, never mind.) I am not sure what attracted me to it, but when I saw it, I *knew* that I had to have it. It is a little smaller than today's license and being made of iron and coated with porcelain, a lot heavier. It has a black background with white lettering and numbering. It also sports a white buffalo. It is #53.

When we got home I did an Internet search on it, not expecting to find anything. I typed "Manitoba license plate 1912" and was surprised to find a website devoted to this subject. According to the person responsible for the website, one Gordon Goldsborough, the records for the other years had been destroyed in a fire, all except 1912. He was doing some research on who owned them and where they lived. His website stated that if you give him the license number, he would tell you who owned the plate, where they lived, their occupation, etc.

Goldsborough told me that plate #53 was the third-lowest number of those he had heard about. It was carried on a Ford vehicle registered to Donald MacDonald, a firefighter at Fire Hall #2 at the northwest corner of Smith and York. In 1912, MacDonald was 55 years of age, single, born in Ontario (as were many 1912 car owners) and Presbyterian, not surprising given his Scottish heritage.

Before continuing, I should state that I have been a firefighter with the City of Winnipeg for 27 years and was, at the time, living just a few blocks from where this Fire Hall was located. I decided to head over to the Firefighters Museum of Winnipeg to see if I could get any more information for Goldsborough, possibly a picture of MacDonald. Little did I know that this simple inquiry would lead me on a quest to find as much information as I could on a "brother firefighter", thereby rescuing him from obscurity. With the help of Bill Mitchell, a veteran fireman who spent many hours creating the museum, and who has since passed away, this is what I found.

Fireman Donald MacDonald, from a photo at the Firefighters Museum of Winnipeg.

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Donald MacDonald was born on 9 January 1857. His parents were Daniel MacDonald (1835–1918) and Isabella Marshall (1837–1893). He had one sister, Elizabeth, and two brothers, Ben and John. Born at Hanover, Ontario on the border of Bruce and Gray counties, like many young men of his time, Donald grew up reading and hearing about the great adventures in the Canadian North West. When he was 13 years old, and Manitoba joined Confederation, the population of Winnipeg was only 241. By 1881, now aged 24, Donald decided to head west to take up farming. Near Grenfell, North West Territories (now Saskatchewan), he bought a half-section of land and endured six years of drought. He gave up in 1887 and came to Winnipeg. His father, Daniel MacDonald, had moved his family to Winnipeg and Donald joined them. The population of Winnipeg was growing rapidly, now at approximately 21,000. With the CPR tracks now laid all the way to the Pacific, it was expected that Winnipeg would become a boomtown. On 15 October 1887, Donald joined the Winnipeg Fire Department. The Fire Chief, W. O. McRobie, made him one of its engineers—the men who operated the steam-powered fire engines.

In 2011, Rick Northwood retired as the Lieutenant of Rescue 5, #5 Station, after over 27 years with the Winnipeg Fire Department. Rick attended his first fire as a rookie while working at the Fire Hall at 56 Maple Street, where Donald MacDonald spent most of his career.

McRobie was a 25-year veteran of the Montreal Fire Department when, in 1882, he was hired by the City of Winnipeg to create a professional department. McRobie decided that, though most blue-collar workers of the day could neither read nor write, firefighters would be required to be literate. While most chiefs of this period would ride to fires in a buggy pulled by a horse, McRobie would ride to the fire on a horse—bareback because putting on a saddle wasted valuable time. He also felt it very important that the Chief arrive at the scene of a fire as quickly as possible, conduct a size-up, and be able to task his men as they arrived. McRobie's faithful dog would run beside him. It was also well-known that after the fire, he would ride into a local bar, order a whiskey for himself and a beer for his horse.

The life of a firefighter in the 1880s was different than it is today. Firefighters back then spent almost all of their time in the fire halls. They worked seven days a week and were given only ten days off a year. A firefighter was allowed to leave the hall for five hours once a week during the day and five hours once a week at night. If they did leave the hall to, say, go to church, they would have to go to one nearby and sit at the back so they could hear the gong and respond to an alarm. They also had to be able to respond to a fire call within 15 seconds of receiving the gong. Insurance companies would time the response. On 26 November 1888, married men of the department boldly petitioned the city, asking for one whole night a week to be with their families. They conceded that no two firefighters could be home at the same time and they would still respond to fire calls from home. Permission was granted.

In the early years there were only three fire halls in Winnipeg. Donald started at the Central Hall, ended his career at the South Hall, but spent the vast majority of his

Firefighters Museum of Winnipeg, AL1907.1.1

Urban conflagration. In late morning of 6 April 1907, fire broke out on the second floor of a warehouse on Pacific Avenue belonging to the Montreal firm of the James Robertson Hardware Company. Pile of tar paper and oakum caught fire, and billowing clouds of black smoke made it impossible for firefighters to enter the building. So they were forced to stand outside, playing a stream of water on the blaze in hopes of bringing it under control. Donald MacDonald was probably among the firemen from the North Hall at the scene, calmly standing beside his engine (right) that belched smoke as it pumped water through the hoses held by the men at the centre of this view. A newspaper reporter at the scene estimated that some 5,000 people watched the firemen in their futile efforts. In the end, the building was a total loss, and the business manager estimated his losses at between $100,000 and $150,000.

Firefighters Museum of Winnipeg, AL1905.1.1

The gear worn by firefighters in this postcard scene from March 1905 was primitive compared to what we firefighters use today: just rubber boots, a full-length rubber coat, and a hat. It would be years before respirators and fire-retardant clothing would become standard issue.

career—18 years—at the North Hall at 56 Maple Street. Today, this hall is the home of The Firefighters Museum of Winnipeg. On its walls are many pictures of fires that MacDonald would have attended. The "Alex Logan", one of the steamers that Donald would have been operated, is on display.

Over the course of his firefighting career, Donald would have borne witness to many changes to this country, from the opening of the west by the CPR in 1882 to the first airplanes flying over Winnipeg in the early 1900s. By 1912, Winnipeg was home to 13 fire halls and had a population of over 166,000 residents. Winnipeg received its first motorized fire apparatus in 1910, one year ahead of the New York Fire department. This was the beginning of the end for the horses at the Department.

In September 1911, Donald started feeling sick. That fall he decided to head home to Hanover, Ontario. There, he started feeling better so he returned to Winnipeg and back to work at the Fire Department. In January 1912, he was sent home, too sick to work. He was therefore unable to attend a fire that occurred on 9 March 1912, where an arsonist named James Dodds set fire to the Radford-Wright building on the west side of Main Street, just north of the CPR underpass. The men from the North Hall were the first to arrive. An explosion from vats of naphtha inside the building killed two firefighters, Charles McPherson and Edmond Molyneux, along with five civilians. The incident must have been devastating for Donald as firefighters become very close to each other, sometimes closer than family. It was perhaps experiences such as this one that caused Donald to be one of the key men responsible for making viable the Firefighters Benevolent Fund in support of the families of injured or killed firefighters.

In mid-July 1912, Donald went to see Dr. H. H. Chown, who promptly admitted him to the hospital where he was soon diagnosed with terminal cancer. On 20 July, Donald wrote out his will, giving all his earthly possessions to his sister, Elizabeth. On 8 August, at 9:45 AM, Donald died at his home at 45 Lily Street. In the eulogies that followed his death, fellow firefighters described him as "cheery and energetic, both efficient as an engineer and popular as a man". William Code stated in the local paper that "he was a good engineer and a good fellow … one of the best". Donald was buried in the St. James Cemetery.

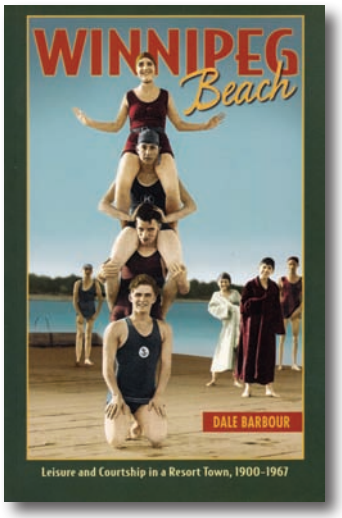
Today, Donald's residence at 45 Lily Street is known as the Daniel McDonald House—at some point, the family changed the spelling of their surname. The building stands virtually unchanged since Winnipeg's early years. I have no idea how Donald's 1912 license plate came to be in that antique shop in 2007, but I am so glad that, through it, I came to learn about him and his life in the occupation that we shared. ☙

R. Northwood

Plate #53. I did not know until later that this simple license plate, once belonging to Winnipeg firefighter Donald MacDonald on his Ford car, and bought nearly a century later at a local antique shop, would lead me to learn about the hard life of early firefighters.

Reviews

Dale Barbour, *Winnipeg Beach: Leisure and Courtship in a Resort Town, 1900–1967*
Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2011, 226 pages
ISBN 978-0-88755-722-4, $24.95 (paperback)



Canadian history has often depended upon confident and energetic journalists such as Pierre Berton and Peter C. Newman to popularise Canadian history for the broader Canadian audience. In *Winnipeg Beach*, a very accessible and scholarly portrait of Manitoba's popular resort, we are introduced to Dale Barbour, who represents a new generation of trained young journalists who have turned to academe to refine their research skills. In the process, Barbour has used his reporting and story-telling skills to transform the thesis for his Master of Arts into a very illuminating and provocative contribution to Manitoba's historic scholarship.

Dale Barbour's book is representative of a growing body of international research which places resorts and summer communities in a broader context. Who would have thought Coney Island in New York would generate such extraordinary interest from a range of disciplines? Building upon this solid historiographical base, Barbour takes advantage of an impressive number of historic resources ranging from fictional retelling of life at the beach, to news reports and photographs, and most importantly, to oral interviews with participants in whose lives the Winnipeg Beach community and experience held an important place. What makes this such an innovative treatment of this resort area, however, is Barbour's conscientious effort to document and analyse how leisure and courtship evolved over time at Manitoba's most culturally diverse resort area. Equally important, the author did not shy away from integrating new sources such as interviews from the Gay and Lesbian Historical Project into the subject.

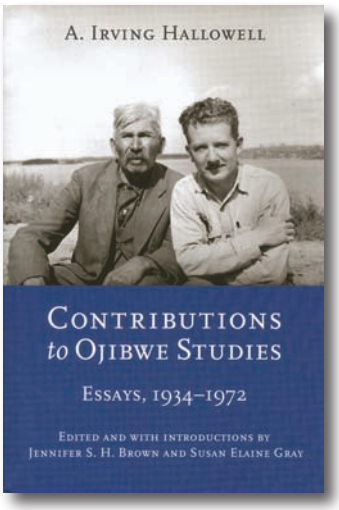
Instead of treating Winnipeg Beach in a purely thematic and chronological context, Barbour has chosen to visualise the resort community as a living cultural landscape brought together by the personal reminiscences of people from the different eras. To define this cultural landscape and its socio-economic evolution, the author sets the stage through separate chapters examining the transportation corridor, the tourism infrastructure, and the leisure zone. While this may sound overly academic, this construct is a very successful and often entertaining means to portray the evolution of local courtship and dating practices. Readers will come away with a different perspective on the CPR's "Moonlight Specials," the development of the elaborate amusement promenade that encouraged public dating, and the eventual demise of the boardwalk and dance hall, which was linked in no small way to the sexual revolution emerging in the 1960s.

The history of a resort area such as Winnipeg Beach calls out for a visual display and interpretation of its photographic record. While this handsomely produced edition from the University of Manitoba Press is liberally sprinkled with historic photographs and aerial shots throughout the text, the cultural landscape or zones developed by Barbour would have benefited by the more generous use of a series of maps. However, that is a minor criticism of what is a very impressive piece of social history. Barbour is a talented journalist whose future work will be eagerly anticipated by a potentially broad audience of readers.

Greg Thomas
Parks Canada, Winnipeg

A. Irving Hallowell, *Contributions to Ojibwe Studies: Essays 1934–1972* Edited and with Introductions by Jennifer S. H. Brown and Susan Elaine Gray

Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010, 664 pages, ISBN 978-0-8032-2391-2, $50.00 (paperback)



This volume might usefully be seen as part of an unofficial set of works about anthropologist A. I. Hallowell, Chief William Berens, and the Ojibwe of the Berens River area. Hallowell and Berens worked together from 1930–1940, and Hallowell drew on the material he collected during those years until his death in 1974. The present volume comprises a most interesting group of Hallowell's essays, all on Berens River and the Ojibwe. It follows a 2009 volume, also edited by Brown and Gray, *Memories, Myths, and Dreams of an Ojibwe Leader: William Berens, as told to A. Irving Hallowell*, which focused on William Berens and the stories and information he provided Hallowell. Introductory and editorial material in both the 2009 volume and the present one place Hallowell, Berens, and their work together within the context of the regional history of the Berens River Ojibwe, and of anthropological interests and Hallowell's career.

Hallowell's writings on the Ojibwe range from detailed observations to much broader analyses, from notes on material culture to interpretations of Ojibwe religion, and to the occasional topic we might now regard as a scholarly red herring. This volume includes essays on Rorschach tests and psychosexual pathology; the now-dated Freudian and clinical terminology of these articles seems both inappropriate and a barrier to understanding in a way that the language and thinking in the important essays on Ojibwe religion and worldview do not. It is certainly worth considering Hallowell's entire oeuvre through the lens of his work on the Ojibwe, though; many of his ideas remain foundational for Ojibwe studies and for aspects of anthropology more widely.

Jennifer S. H. Brown and Susan Elaine Gray have done careful and sensitive work in editing this volume. Their notes, interspersed with Hallowell's original endnotes, and their section introductions provide excellent contextual material to understand the essays and the development of Hallowell's interests. The editors have included a thoughtful Ojibwe glossary and an index to Ojibwe names which adds considerable information on the people Hallowell mentions. The editing supports Hallowell's essays and works with them to make this an important reference work for the region and for the history of anthropology.

Brown and Gray's editing highlights a fascinating aspect of Hallowell's work: the intersection of Berens' contributions with Hallowell's anthropological interpretation. Their notes relate particular points in Hallowell's essays to stories told him by William Berens, for instance. That there is a book focused on Berens and another focused on Hallowell says much about the history of anthropology, and the intellectual ties—and distance—between such scholars. It would be especially interesting to see more of Berens' Ojibwe explications of certain topics juxtaposed with Hallowell's analyses of them.

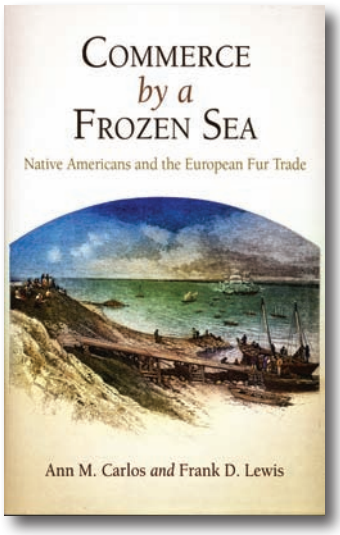
Percy Berens, William's son, recalled that "there was very high mutual respect" between his father and Hallowell, and that not only would Hallowell write Berens' stories down, "he would understand them" (2009: xxii). Certain definitions in the Ojibwe glossary suggest that there were concepts that Hallowell might not quite have understood, and I wonder if Berens would have understood some of Hallowell's interpretations of Ojibwe culture. Nevertheless, that there was an extraordinary and productive relationship between them is made very clear in both Hallowell's writing, and in the editorial content of this volume.

Laura Peers
University of Oxford

Thanks ...

The Editors thank the following people who assisted in the preparation of this issue of *Manitoba History*: Monica Ball (Manitoba Legislative Library), Greg Forster (St. Daniel), and Kerry Ryan (The Winnipeg Foundation).

Ann M. Carlos and Frank D. Lewis, *Commerce by a Frozen Sea: Native Americans and the European Fur Trade* **Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010, 260 pages. ISBN 978-0-8122-4231-7, $49.95 (cloth)**



By way of proactive disclosure, I should confess at once that I have been waiting nearly 20 years for Ann Carlos to write this book. She has been one of the relatively few scholars of the last 30 years to study the early Hudson's Bay Company as a business entity, and her work has frequently overlapped with my own. After reading several of her articles, I have been anxious to see what she could do if she had a chance to really sink her teeth into the original documents and make the most of them in a book-length monograph.

Carlos and her collaborator Frank Lewis have tackled the much-neglected 18th century on Hudson Bay. They set out to examine how the commercial relationships between various First Nations and their European trading partners were influenced by economic, institutional, political, and environmental factors. They bring economic theory to bear on the subarctic fur trade and analyse patterns of Aboriginal trade and consumption.

Chapter 1 sets the European background with a discussion of felt-making and hat-making in Britain. Chapter 2 brings readers to North America and looks at the Hudson's Bay Company's organization of the fur trade. Here they get some of the details wrong, but the overall picture is sound. Chapter 3, "Indians as Consumers," is very much in the tradition of Arthur J. Ray. Carlos and Lewis have certainly mined the HBC's account books and correspondence, but the trade goods and the Company men feature more prominently in this chapter than the Aboriginal consumers. Chapter 4 examines the declining beaver population, but does so based on an unimaginative grasp of possible Aboriginal motivations, and on the assumption of a predictable relationship between the numbers of furs being traded to the HBC and the numbers of animals actually being trapped.

Aboriginal traders in this book appear as economic creatures. Carlos and Lewis reject the image of First Nations as "indolent" people who responded to rising fur prices by lowering their output. Instead, they describe Aboriginal behaviour as "characteristic of the industrious workers emerging in Europe, who too were increasing their work effort in response to greater market opportunities" (p. 11) – a statement that sounds somewhat naive on both sides of the Atlantic. They tackle this issue head-on in Chapter 5 by estimating the "labour input" of First Nations trappers and traders. They suggest that Aboriginal consumption of "necessities" (producer goods like firearms, and household goods like kettles and blankets) remained constant, while consumption of "luxury" goods increased with rising fur prices. However, these conclusions are based on a series of estimates: the volume and share of trade taken by French traders, the declining beaver population, and the time and labour needed to trap beaver.

Chapter 6 is the most subtle and nuanced in the book. The authors explain the over-exploitation of fur-bearing animals like beaver by examining Aboriginal property rights and the long-term goal which those rights sought to protect, namely the survival of the band through conservation of big-game food animals. Chapter 7 compares the living standards of Aboriginal trapper-traders and English working-class families. Although they admit that "any conclusions about relative living standards depend on how one weights food, clothing, housing, and luxuries," one cannot escape the feeling that apples are being compared to oranges here — and using an incomplete (even biased) data set in the process.

The authors exert a great deal of analytical energy and statistical effort in this book: it contains more mathematical equations than most fur trade scholars are used to seeing in a month of Sundays, and that might just do us a bit of good. Carlos and Lewis "show their work" in appendices and footnotes, but some previous knowledge of statistics is very useful in approaching this book. How readers respond to the numbers will depend on how comfortable they are with mathematical and economic modelling in general, and on how confident they are that sufficient data exist for such modelling to accurately reflect reality.

The authors are very comfortable handling the raw data of trade numbers, but are less adept at handling textual sources like correspondence. Aboriginal trapper-traders emerge only as an aggregate, with little differentiation according to ethnicity, gender, or other factors; their motivations are limited, and their lives outside the fur trade are too much in the background. In chapter after chapter, the authors embark on valuable and interesting avenues of inquiry only to leave the reader (this reader, anyway) unsatisfied. The book is littered with minor details which are wrong, or at least not quite right: names, dates, occupations. Lewis' past work has dealt more with the trans-Atlantic slave trade than with the fur trade, but Carlos has been working with HBC material long enough not to make these trifling mistakes. More important, their

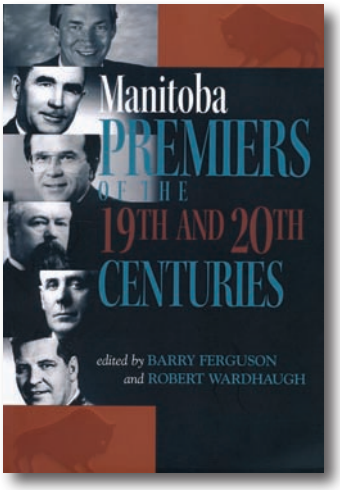
editor, proof-reader, and peer reviewers have manifestly failed in their supporting roles.

This book injects a healthy dose of American commercial history into the discourse on the HBC's trade, but there are gaping holes in the bibliography. For instance, Elizabeth Mancke's work on the early HBC and Victor Lytwyn's work on the Muskego Cree of the Hudson Bay Lowlands are conspicuous by their absence. In fact, this book makes a lot more "sense" if we read it from an American perspective: although in many ways it seems to be behind the curve of Canadian fur trade studies, south of the border it injects a useful northern perspective into the scholarly discourse. At the end of the day this may be where the real value of this book is to be found: it does not tell us very much that is new, but both its strengths and its weaknesses get us talking about a time and place that deserves more attention than it gets. Let us hope that it can also succeed in getting Canadian and American students of cross-cultural trade reading each other more often.

Scott P. Stephen
Parks Canada, Winnipeg

Barry Ferguson and Robert Wardhaugh, *Manitoba Premiers of the 19th and 20th Centuries.* **Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre Press, 2010, 449 pages**

ISBN: 978-0-88977-216-8, $29.95 (paperback)



Now the collection is complete. With similarly named, edited books published on the Premiers of Alberta and Saskatchewan six years earlier, the Canadian Plains Research Centre has provided yet another valuable source for scholars and citizens of the prairies. It is a fine idea, skilfully executed. Every serious Manitoban should have this in their collection. Yet, how can one judge this rather new form, since there have been precious few efforts of such scope and scholarly involvement? To be certain, there have been single-author efforts like S. W. Jackman's *Portraits of the Premiers: An Informal History of British Columbia* (1969) and a similar effort funded by the Alberta Government. But these have been just that: informal. This is a new, multi-authored, apparently disciplined form.

So one is compelled to ask some serious questions of the material. Several approaches suggest themselves. Is there consistency of purpose or approaches in the coverage of the various premiers? (Are most meant to be reviews of existing biographies of the premiers? Or to complete previously incomplete histories? Or explorations of lives lived in the context of larger theories of the era or place?) If different disciplines are present among the authors, is there consistency or disparity in the approaches to premiers' lives? Do they review what intellectual forces shaped the premier in question? What can they be said to exemplify about political culture of the place, or even the region? Are aspects of scholarship on the provinces overlooked? If scholarship is overlooked, are there replacement theories that can take their place as superior interpretations? Are authors left out who could have contributed? What is the collection in its entirety supposed to tell us about the place?

Collections these days tend to be uneven, and such is the fate of this book. However, this is meant to be, and should be, an important book. It is not every day that one sets out to review the leadership of the entire history of a province as seen through the lens of its political leaders. Much is to be expected. Therefore the many shortfalls are disappointing. But where it is good, it is very good.

First of all, in terms of consistency of approach, not much is expected of the book, one might conclude, from the introductory chapter. Instead, it is an exercise based in typical Manitoban angst about being bland, average, derivative in culture, and therefore being overlooked. So the aim is to show that Manitoba exhibits distinctiveness, that "conflict rather than consensus, passion rather than blandness, and battles based upon both principle and venality" (xviii) are its markers for the last 140 years. Certainly that is the nature of some aspects of the province's history. However, someone forgot to tell the contributors that if you are distinctive, you are distinctive *from* something. There is no other "something" in the chapters. There are few if any external comparisons.

It would have been better if there had been a series of interpretive propositions of the province, to be proved or disproved. Or a commitment to plumb the contents of the book to derive some new interpretations of the history. ("Distinctiveness" is a slim reed to build on: every snowflake is distinct from others, but what does that tell us?) Or a conclusion that took the evidence offered by the different authors and synthesized it into such propositions. Instead there is no conclusion and there are no propositions to be explored (except by a few authors rising to the occasion).

Part of the problem is the nature of the editorship. Here one has two historians dealing with a province where most of the interesting insights on it—at least recently—have been provided by political scientists. Missing is the exploration of such propositions as these: that the fragment thesis, which deals with the importance of initial immigration patterns, is relevant to Manitoba (Nelson Wiseman is dismissed with one line on the first page of the Introduction); or, as John Wilson would say, that provincial politics and the party system reflect the relative stage of economic development, with "pre-industrials" emphasizing linguistic and ethnic politics, industrialized provinces reflecting class politics; or that Manitoba, like its counterparts, has been engaged in a pattern of what Cairns and others called "province-building" that altered its self-image and its relationship with the federal government; or that, much as S. J. R. Noel had suggested, some societies (Manitoba included) exhibited various stages of patron-client relationships. There are others. It might be retorted that this was a study of premiers, not patterns. Yet the editors themselves link the successes of the premiers to their accommodation or ignoring of predominant socio-economic-geographic divisions (p. xvii), so there is some social theorization implied, just not made explicit.

It is often said that "history is just one damned thing after another." Too many of the articles fit this stereotype, unfortunately. One can contrast the chapters on Campbell and Doer which do, with those on Roblin and Schreyer which take pains by contrast to offer context, background and significance of the premier in question.

Premiers' backgrounds are not accorded much importance. This could be a mistake. Thomas Greenway, part of the Ontario fragment transported to Manitoba, represents its triumphal Protestantism and ends French language and Roman Catholic institutional status. It is no accident that it is an "Ontarian" Norris who ends French privileges in 1916, or a Campbell with Ontarian parents who reappears on the political scene in 1983 to join the forces aligned against the expansion of French rights. However, occasionally background is accorded an important role, as in the Norquay chapter.

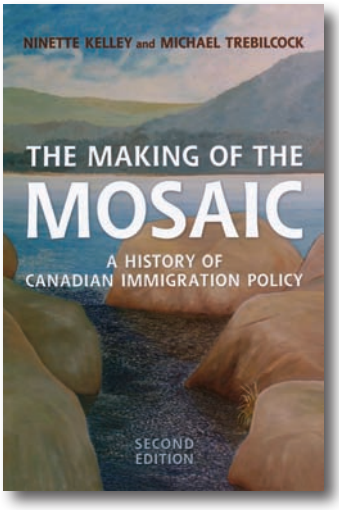
Emphasis on background could also lead to thinking in terms of what Neustadt and May in *Thinking in Time* refer to as "placement." Instead of "undifferentiated rationality," or the projection onto others of the meanings of things in their own heads, analysts should use "placement," i.e., placing the historical figure against large historical events that may have moulded current views, and determining where the figure "sat" (experienced or thought) before undertaking their major tests of their time in office. The context, nationally and internationally, could be accorded more importance. Thus we can see Rodmond Roblin as Manitoba's Teddy Roosevelt, or T. C. Norris as the province's Woodrow Wilson.

There are some surprising gaps. The author of the Norris chapter has almost nothing to say about the watershed event of 20th-century Manitoba, the Winnipeg General Strike, or for that matter, the rise of labour radicalism. Also overlooked by him and several others, is the changing demographic face of the province, and its effects. The Bracken chapter says little about the long-term effects of the coalition system on political parties, democratic discourse or public services, all of which were deeply affected for a quarter of the province's history. The toll of the Depression makes little appearance. The Roblin period stresses "modernization" but underplays the degree to which it was a modernization mitigated by conservative forces; the Metro Winnipeg reform, for example, was watered down from the original vision that Roblin and planners had for it, so that little change in the municipal status quo was evident. Little effort is given to sussing out the ideological contours of each premier's thought. Often the long-term impact of the premier is not explored.

Yet these are the quibbles of an academic. They will not outlast the effect of the book, which will be profound, as with the others in this series. At last there exists a book which is readable and accessible to high school, university and lay readers. A province with a history that is deep and dramatic finally has coverage that is modern and complete. The material resources needed for further research on Manitoba history are assembled in one project. Long-forgotten premiers finally live again on the printed page. A noble effort, worthy of emulation in other provinces.

Christopher Dunn
Memorial University, Newfoundland

Ninette Kelley and Michael Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy (2nd edition).* **Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010, 672 pages. ISBN 978-0-8020-9536-7, $39.95 (paperback)**



Who is and who is not permitted to come to Canada to stay has always been a question for Canadians. In the post-9/11 era and in the context of an aging population the question has again become pressing. Authors Ninette Kelley, a legal and policy analyst for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and Michael Trebilcock, a University of Toronto law professor, give us distinctly legal and policy answers to this question in a large book of almost 700 pages. *The Making of the Mosaic* is a synthesis of Canadian immigration policy from the beginnings of the French Colony at Quebec in the 17th century to 2002. This edition follows a 1998 edition, adding revisions and a chapter updating the analysis to the immigration policy situation of a post-9/11 world.

The authors' approach seeks to examine "how ideas, interests, and institutions interacted" in the creation and execution of Canada's immigration policies over the span of some 400 years, although the emphasis is on the period after Confederation. In the introductory chapter the authors set out their project in a clear, easily read format. Each of the themes that inform the work is outlined, setting out a framework for the analysis that follows.

The book's organization is essentially chronological. The introductory chapter is followed by an overview of the two centuries of migrants and migrations that culminated in the creation of the Canadian nation in 1867. The next chapters follow the accepted periodization of Canadian immigration history. A chapter on the period of relatively unsuccessful immigration up to 1896 is followed by the subsequent settlement of the Canadian West until the First World War. Here Kelley and Trebilcock suggest that the government responded primarily to entrepreneurial interests, and argue that during this time the principle was established that being admitted to Canada was a privilege. The next three chapters examine themes relating to the subsequent period of low immigration during the wars and the Great Depression. These years mark the height of immigrant deportations and restrictions on admission.

Following Chapter 8, which examines the postwar immigration boom, successive chapters deal with the relaxation of racist policies beginning in 1962, the challenge of refugee migration after the 1976 Immigration Act, and the return to executive discretion in immigration policy from 1995 to 2008. The conclusion revisits the themes of ideas, interests and institutions. Kelley and Trebilcock conclude that economic interests have dominated Canadian immigration history and that the interests of capital have eclipsed those of labour. Although not as consistently, the authors acknowledge that ideas have also contributed to the formation of immigration policy. Before the First World War, nativist and eugenic sentiments resulted in exclusionary admission policies and periods of harsh deportations. After the Second World War, liberal values produced more racially neutral policies. Kelley and Trebilcock suggest that in recent years the trend seems to have shifted to a less tolerant immigration climate, spurred on in large part by the threat of international terrorism. In the area of institutions, the authors conclude that immigration policies have emanated from the executive branch of government and, as required by the British North America Act, have been influenced by provincial sensibilities. The opposition to Asian immigrants in British Columbia is given as an example.

Although the title suggests more, the authors are careful to note that their study focuses on "immigration policy, not the social or cultural histories of various immigrant groups who have settled Canada." Throughout the study the authors engage questions of citizenship, and the subjects of race, nativism, and ethnocentrism are never far from their analysis. The focus, however, is not specifically on race and ethnic relations, or the viability of a multicultural society. Their analysis also only touches on how immigrants integrated or on the challenges of minority rights in a diverse society. Moreover, the scope of the book is too broad for any region, or immigrant group to be featured. More controversial immigrants, such as the Chinese in British Columbia, overshadow the groups that came and settled without as great a struggle. In spite of this understandable imbalance, Mennonites, Ukrainians and Icelanders, central to the history of immigration to Manitoba, are not ignored. They figure prominently in the analysis of group settlement schemes, exclusionary policies after the First World War, and the aversion of Canadians to the "strangeness" of foreigners.

The Making of the Mosaic is a highly readable explanation of the complex subject of immigration policy. It is particularly rich in its analysis of the legal and policy framework that has shaped the Canadian population and our national character. For the reader seeking a comprehensive discussion of immigration policy and the legal history of that policy, the study will prove to be indispensable.

Hans Werner
University of Winnipeg

Cool Things in the Collection:

HBC Films Return to Canada

by Maureen Dolyniuk
Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Winnipeg

Kevin Nikkel

The British Film Institute's warehouse where the HBC films were stored prior to shipment. Inset: Unpacking one of the nitrate films at the Archives of Manitoba

It has been nearly forty years since the dramatic move of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives (HBCA) from London to Winnipeg. Six twenty-ton containers of records were loaded on two separate ships—a precaution to avoid a total loss if one of the ships should meet with disaster. The shipments arrived safely in the fall of 1974, the records were unpacked, and the archives were opened for public research a few months later. The rest, as they say, is history![1]

An eerily similar move of records took place this past summer from London to Winnipeg, albeit on a fraction of the scale of the original move. Rather than parchment and paper, some 500 pounds of rarely seen Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) silent motion picture films were shipped to the HBCA. The original films, many of them composed of highly flammable nitrate, were packed carefully in five steel drums and sent in one shipment, the acetate films and safety copies of the nitrate films sent in a second shipment and six hard drives containing newly scanned copies of the films were sent in a third shipment. Digital master copies were prepared in London so that viewing copies of the films could be available for researchers, filmmakers, and anyone interested in accessing the film footage. The fragile and unstable originals are carefully stored in a specifically-designed cold vault at the Archives of Manitoba.

The films consist of thirteen titles. Some are complete films while others are splices or portions. The films portray northern Inuit and First Nations communities and the HBC's operations across northern Canada from 1919 to 1939. Some of the earlier film segments were produced by the HBC for their 250th anniversary celebrations in 1920 and form an integral part of the documentation of HBC's promotional campaign to mark this important milestone.

These films include segments shot from the HBC supply ship, the *Nascopie*, on its journey from Montreal to the Eastern Arctic and Hudson Bay where scenes portray the voyage and stops at Port Burwell, Lake Harbour, Cape Wolstenholme, Charlton Island and Moose Factory. At each port of call, footage was taken of HBC personnel and buildings, indigenous peoples, and activities associated with HBC operations. Also included in the early footage are sequences of travel to and from Fort McMurray, Athabasca Landing, and Fort Chipewyan; scenes of buffalo in Wainwright, Alberta; and pageants and parades in Winnipeg, Calgary, Victoria and Vancouver. Of particular interest in the later footage is a native brass band featured as part of a reception at the village Kitwanga along the Skeena River (1933), filmed text of a message from King George V to the Inuit in Inuktituk syllabics (1934) and scenes of a rent paying ceremony involving King George VI and Queen Elizabeth at the Upper Fort Garry Gate Park, Winnipeg, in 1939.[2]

In 1956, the films, once part of the company's archives in London, were donated to the British Film Institute (BFI) in London, England, to ensure their preservation. At the time, HBC did not have the facilities to properly preserve them. This far predates the transfer of the HBC's archives to Winnipeg in 1974 and their formal donation to the Province of Manitoba, in 1994.

The survival of these films is in itself astonishing. Many of the films from that era have fallen victim to nitrate fires or deterioration due to the fragile nature of the film base. A significant amount of Canada's silent film heritage burned in a nitrate fire at the National Film Board facility in Quebec in 1967.

The BFI, in agreeing to release the films from their holdings, recognized the strong link of the records to both the history of Britain and Canada. Permanently removing the films from their collection was a rare move on their part and is done only in exceptional cases. In agreeing to transfer the films, the BFI indicated did so with mixed emotions:

> We were mindful that this particular case is a good illustration of how AV collections can relate to more than one national film heritage simultaneously (in that HBC did have London offices, and some of the films presumably had some distribution here), especially where the two nations are related by prior colonial history.

However, the BFI agreed that HBCA's collections provide a wider context of the production of these films along with other complimentary textual and film based collections documenting the north. These resources, now together for the first time in more than 50 years, are of unlimited value to researchers from a number of academic disciplines as well as to filmmakers, writers and all those interested in interpreting and presenting Canadian history to a wider audience. The collection may even be more important as it provides Aboriginal and northern communities in Canada with a window into their past.

The HBCA is presently completing the series and inventory descriptions of this new resource, which will soon be added to the archives Keystone online database. The creation of digital viewing copies of the films is in process.

There are plans to promote awareness of this new resource. Two projects are already underway for one of the major film titles, *Romance of the Far Fur Country*. Local filmmakers, Kevin and Chris Nikkel of Five Door Films with the assistance of Dr. Peter Geller and the cooperation of the HBCA are preparing a re-release of the original 1920 HBC feature documentary. Through recreation of the original film sequences, the spectacular title will be brought back to Canadian audiences. The original film was screened in local theatres in Canada around 1920, but all mention of the film had disappeared from view since that time. No known copy of *Romance of the Far Fur Country* exists in Canada. A second documentary by Five Door Films, *Return of the Far Fur Country*, drawing on the intrigue of early northern films such as *Nanook of North*, will use *Romance of the Far Fur Country,* to explore themes about the HBC fur trade operations and northern development, while highlighting Aboriginal culture and tradition in communities spanning the country—from Baffin Bay to the Pacific Coast—the same way that *Romance* did back in 1919.[3]

Acknowledgements

This project to return the HBC films from London was made possible by the cooperation of the BFI in releasing the films and their extraordinary efforts in preparing them for shipment. It was also made possible by generous financial support from the Hudson's Bay Company History Foundation and the HBCA Trust Fund.

Significant support has also come from two archives clients anxious to access the films and whose strong encouragement tipped the scales in favour of pursuing their return at this time.

Visit the website of the Archives of Manitoba and search the Keystone database HBCA films:

http://pam.minisisinc.com/pam/search.htm

HBCA

Still image of a video cameraman, created from the newly acquired films at the HBCA.

Dr. Peter Geller had researched the films and prepared a detailed report for the HBCA when he viewed them in London in 1996. His report and inventory has helped us to understand the collection, its value to the holdings, and its research value. Geller's research led to his book *Northern Exposures, Photographing and Filming the Canadian North, 1920–45* where a whole chapter is dedicated to these films.

Winnipeg filmmaker Kevin Nikkel, after learning about the collection in London, began exploring the potential for creating a documentary about their return and the repatriation of the footage to the northern communities represented in them. Kevin has been documenting the whole return process. This has involved trips to London in November 2010 to consult the viewing copies of the films and, in June 2011, to film the preparations for scanning and shipment to Winnipeg. Along the way, there have been a host of technical requirements for creating, storing, and transporting digital files and creating playable video copies. In the absence of technical standards for this work, Kevin has helped us navigate through some uncharted territory. His expertise and assistance has been an extraordinary benefit.

Notes

1. Deidre Simmons, *Keepers of the Record*. Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007, p. 283.
2. Peter Geller, *Hudson's Bay Company Film Collection at the National Film and Television Archives (London), Inventory and Report on the Collection*, University of Winnipeg, 30 July 1996; Peter Geller, *Northern Exposures, Photographing and Filming the Canadian North, 1920–45*, UBC Press, 2004, pp. 85-134.
3. Five Door Films, http://returnfarfurcountry.ca/about_the_film.html