

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

WINNIPEG, IMPERIALISM, AND THE QUEEN VICTORIA
DIAMOND JUBILEE CELEBRATION, 1897

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MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

WINNIPEG, MANITOBA

AUGUST 1982

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

I am greatly indebted to Professor John Kendle, my advisor, who enthusiastically supported this project from day one. His expert and scholarly advice, as well as his very accomodating manner, made my task so much easier. I also owe my warm thanks to Professor G. Friesen for kindly reading the whole manuscript. Finally, my deepest appreciation is reserved for my wife, Rita, who patiently put up with me and understood that this project was a challenge that had to be met.

INTRODUCTION

On the 22nd June, 1897, Queen Victoria reached the sixtieth year of her reign. Throughout the British empire that day, the majority of her subjects in the settlement colonies "jubilated" by celebrating the event in various ways. Winnipeg, in many ways a microcosm of the empire itself, celebrated in much the same way as elsewhere in the empire that day. Although certain sections of the population did respond indifferently and unenthusiastically to the idea of celebrating the event, by jubilee day the organizers of the loyal pageant had achieved their aim, outwardly at least, of a consensual demonstration - a kind of family reunion under the Union Jack.

The jubilee organizers were obsessed with using the jubilee as a means of upholding and reaffirming their traditional cultural sentiments and ideas, centred in the British nation, the monarchy, and the empire. This was the imperial, ephemeral pageant which they had planned in order to produce the desired effect. However, simultaneously, and perhaps more fundamentally, the jubilee and late nineteenth century local imperialism are quite instructive. In general, what is revealed is an impelling propaganda¹ on behalf of the existing social, political, and economic system which the ruling class-avowed imperialists all-sought to maintain.

This thesis also examines the nature of the imperialist component of the conventional cultural sentiments and ideas prevalent in Winnipeg in the late nineteenth century, culminating in 1897.

In the course of this study the following questions are raised about the nature of local imperialism: What was the content of Winnipeg imperialism? Which social groups embraced imperialism? Who were the

main proponents of imperialism? Which institutions embraced and espoused imperialist ideals?

The study is divided into two parts, viz., Part I: Winnipeg and the Imperial Idea, 1870-1897, and Part II: Winnipeg and the Diamond Jubilee. Part I comprises three chapters. Chapter I examines the general content of local imperialist thought. Chapter II looks at five prominent Winnipeg imperialists. Chapter III looks at the Winnipeg public school system and its total commitment to the imperialist cause. Part II also comprises three chapters. Chapter IV of this study sets the stage by outlining the socio-economic and cultural background of Winnipeg in jubilee year. Chapter V focuses on the preparations and planning leading up to the jubilee, as well as on the actual jubilee celebration itself. Chapter VI reflects on the jubilee in the context of the social tensions and anxieties caused by racial, national, religious, and class divisions existing in Winnipeg at the time.

FOOTNOTE

¹Following Leonard W. Doob's authoritative analysis of the phenomenon of Propaganda, what is meant here is the principle of "Revealed Propaganda" where the propagandists and their cause are in good repute, and where the propagandists enable people to perceive their aim through direct suggestion. Leonard W. Doob describes propaganda as "a systematic attempt by an interested individual (or individuals) to control the attitudes of groups of individuals through the use of suggestions and, consequently, to control their actions". See L. W. Doob, Propaganda. Its Psychology and Technique (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1935), pp. 75-76. See also pp. 106-107 for his treatment of the principle of "Revealed Propaganda".

CHAPTER I

WINNIPEG IMPERIALISM

I

A Winnipeg imperialist can be defined as one who had a positive attitude toward the British empire, and who actively campaigned for its preservation, expansion, and unity. Like his counterparts elsewhere in Canada, a local adherent, for the most part, had no difficulty being a Canadian nationalist as well. He believed that Canada could only achieve its national destiny as a distinct part of the empire. When Winnipeg adorned herself for the jubilee celebrations, amidst the traditional imperial symbols, flags and buntings, Canadian symbols proudly stood alongside the British ones.¹ Winnipeegers, and Canadians generally, welcomed and revelled in the pride of place that Canadians took in the London celebrations. The local press saw this fact as a justifiable one. Dr. Bryce, who wrote profusely on the British connection, advocating greater unity, was adamant that Canada was the greatest jewel in the British crown,² while C.A. Boulton believed that the Canadian nation was forged for the purpose of initiating Imperial federation which would bring the American Anglo-Saxons back into the fold.³

But it should not be assumed that Winnipeg imperialists were completely like-minded. They showed a wide range of attitudes bearing on the empire. There were those - many of them associated with the Winnipeg public school system⁴ - who espoused greater unity of the British empire, while the militarists openly advocated a brand of jingoism, and

repeatedly and arrogantly announced their ever-readiness to defend and extend the empire. A large sector of the business community saw their contribution to the empire as one of facilitating the process whereby Winnipeg's hinterland would become the granary of the empire. The leadership of the local protestant churches also espoused the imperialist message. They were grateful that God had allowed Great Britain the privilege of "extending the Kingdom of Christ and the case of humanity throughout the earth" by extending the frontiers of the divinely-created empire.⁵

To the non-elite, one way of rationalizing their home-sickness was to bear the flame of empire in their hearts. The relationship to empire was one of sheer sentiment. To the average "educated" Winnipegger, kith and kin across the globe was a good reason for the preservation of the empire. The controversial exploitative part of the empire, as well as the political and moral facts of imperialism, were not commonly known to the average resident. To the average citizen, the empire comprised a number of free self-governing states, closely tied by trade relations, a concerned sovereign, and guarantees of individual and racial freedom. Christianity, and the "high and noble"⁶ moral ideals of the race, were winning the day amongst the "lower races" who welcomed the superior ideas and the benefits they received from Pax Britannica. These vague and unsubstantiated notions were articles of faith for local residents of British stock. All of these beliefs were constantly being disseminated by the local press, current popular literature, school curricula, social organizations and clubs, and, common at that time, friends and relatives "on the spot".

Many, especially the working class, were not imperialist by conviction

or understanding. Winnipeg social organizations, including the church, reflected the personal influence and social ties of the city elite, many of whom were imperialists, and this precluded any independent position on the matter of empire that the general membership might have taken. By 1897 class consciousness and solidarities were just emerging, and although doubts were being raised about the imperial idea by the official organ of local labour, as a class, due to a number of factors, labour did not solidly oppose imperialism.⁷ Yet, by the same token, not a single imperialist of any significance emerged from its ranks.

There is no doubt that some of the imperialists' loyalty was extremely transparent, on the other hand, the Nantons, Boultons and Bakers, et al, breathed and lived empire, and were inextricably imperialist. The motivations of some local imperialists could be linked to economic interests insofar as the empire afforded them opportunities for expanded markets for their commercial undertakings. The Christian imperial motive was a factor in Winnipeg, where the missionary tradition developed simultaneously as the city expanded its vast hinterland in the North-west.

Many of the city's elite, because of their dominant economic and social position, loved the authoritarian aspect of imperialism. From the earliest day of the settlement, through the birth of the city and up to the time of the diamond jubilee, military and militia life was an integral part of its history. Militia life and local imperialism went hand in hand, and the number of local imperialists who were active militiamen, or who were descendants of military careerists, was astounding.

Out of this militarism there flowed a glib espousal of the rule of law, and equal rights for all British subjects regardless of race, colour, culture, and creed. In reality they eschewed the love of law, and used

their dominant political power to fashion the kind of society that they valued. The rule of law meant nothing more than maintaining the status quo.

There is no way of determining whether the imperialists' motives were altruistic at all times. Regardless of the motives, tensions and stresses that underlie late nineteenth century Winnipeg, there was a bombastic message of imperialism being espoused in the city, in all walks of life. Those who spread the message were wealthy, powerful and influential. They totally disregarded earnest social reform beyond the pleasant and conscience-easing local charities. Their victimization of the indigenous peoples, and cultural suppression of the non-British settlers, leads one to the conclusion that the ritualistic outpouring of loyalty to the empire, and the well-planned organization of the diamond jubilee itself as a consensual demonstration, served another function as well. In essence, it can be seen as propaganda on behalf of the existing value system.

In support of the above assessment, the myths that local imperialists upheld about the Red River Settlement, the Hudson's Bay Company, and the Red River Expedition, as well as of the rights of Englishmen, must be seen for what they are worth. The force with which they were propounded and sanctified fits Bronislaw Malinowski's empirical observation that a myth is not an idle tale but a powerful cultural force, serving to legitimate the existing property relationships in society.⁸ He argued that myths taught acceptance of the prevailing property arrangements to the benefit of the property owners. Earlier, Freud, in The Future of an Illusion, made the same point, stating that not only do they aim at "establishing a certain distribution of property, but also at maintaining it".⁹

Winnipeg imperialists upheld the interpretation of the link between the founding fathers of Red River and the imperialist cause. Descendants

of the pioneers were revered by custom, and this was reinforced by local historians.¹⁰ They were seen to have delivered the vast North-west to Canada and the empire¹¹ thus having laid the foundations for Britain's civilizing mission in the area. Similarly, the Red River Expedition tradition was glorified in the same way that the loyalist tradition loomed so large in the thinking of Canadian imperialists in general.¹² To local imperialists the expedition brought "law and order and the symbol of British power into the country",¹³ and, to add to the mystique, it was believed that it "accomplished a march which was the longest ever made by a force".¹⁴ The militarist component of Winnipeg's imperialism was to be fuelled by this myth. The basis of admission to the city's social elite, would be membership of the Red River Expedition Association, or indirect affiliation to inter-locking friendly and fraternal societies, endorsed and run by former members of the expedition. Influential Winnipeggers - and professed imperialists - such as Hugh John Macdonald, Captain Sam Steele, Dr. C.N. Bell, Lieutenant-Colonel Jack Allen, Private William Alloway, Sir Danial MacMillan, Stewart Mulvey, W.A. Sheppard, C.A. Boulton, and W.N. Kennedy had been on the expedition.¹⁵ Carpetbaggers to some critics, they were valiant patriots to the majority.

These men and their associates were the effective aristocracy of the city. Their families, and professional and business colleagues, ran the city and its hinterland. From that select group came Winnipeg's banking fraternity, financiers, senior military careerists, lawyers, city and provincial politicians, school trustees and administrators, business managers, grain exchange officers and insurance company executives. Thus a 'Vestigial family compact' system was established in Winnipeg and "was for a time a little more than vestigial", wielding power right down to the 1930s.¹⁶

Through a host of societies, as well as militia units, where they were able to maintain their leadership roles, they were able to exert influence on working class members of the various associations. In the absence of government social security, these benevolent societies were indispensable for the average citizen of the day. These organizations were so structured that obedience to authority, and respect for ritual and the official positions were fundamental observances for membership. At regular meetings in their permanent halls, and at social gatherings, commemorative marches, and summer picnics, all with "implicit social objectives",¹⁷ the British connection was lauded and the empire was sanctified. Allegiance to authority culminating in the sovereign was another basic pre-requisite. Winnipeggers like their urban counterparts throughout the country during the late Victorian period, were "perhaps the greatest joiners in the world".¹⁸

Predictably Winnipeg imperialists held the monarchy in great esteem. It symbolized the principle of order, "thus presenting the community with an idealized version of itself and the mechanics of order".¹⁹ In Winnipeg's case, with its historical polyglot community divisions,²⁰ the sovereign served to maintain integration and the societal bonds, "while at the same time striving to maintain the hierarchical structure of authority on which the social order depends".²¹

Other concomitant and socially desirable values could be drawn from the Queen's example: the sanctity of family life, the epitome of Christian morality, indomitable courage, and selfless charity, and most important for a British city like Winnipeg, the principle of capability and reassurance. In addition, she was a lesson to all women, because despite her position, she was still a mother. General Griesbach has written:

Her recipes for raspberry wine, pickles and jam, were faithfully followed by thousands of Canadian women. Her methods for dealing with croup, convulsions and other infantile complaints were followed by all mothers.²²

The Queen was revered, feted, toasted and idolized. Local school history, reading, and literature courses put heavy emphasis on the Queen.²³ Manufacturing companies and current magazines made special offers of "Her most recent photo, full cabinet size", to subscribers or those who sent in 25 cents.²⁴ A local resident in his memoirs of that day recalled how he would salute Victoria's statue whenever he passed the spot because he admired the Queen so much.²⁵ Winnipeg also honoured the Queen by naming one of its main roads leading into its hinterland Queen's Road.²⁶ Even labour, although expressing doubts about the meaning of the jubilee and the empire, was concerned about the Queen as a person, especially the heavy burden that duty imposed on her, "a lady of eighty".²⁷

II

Not only did Winnipeg imperialists naturally and religiously believe in the inevitability of progress, they often outshone their counterparts elsewhere in Canada. Many entrepreneurs and energetic Britishers, mostly Ontarian-born, with little money, but with tremendous confidence and financial acumen, had come west to exploit the untapped resources of what that arch-imperialist, Cecil John Rhodes, would refer to as "a fruitful wasteland",²⁸ under the British flag. The fact that they had migrated to settle in wilderness in order to extend the empire for Ontario and for Britain, generally, meant that they were highly motivated people, prepared to work hard, and more often than not, fairly ruthless individuals. Their coming was seen as a "deliverance".²⁹ "The march of progress", the

Winnipeg Tribune wrote, "was commenced. . . when. . . the 60th Rifles entered Fort Garry".³⁰

Thus emerged in Winnipeg the urban middle and upper-middle classes with a bourgeois ethos predominant. Paul Rutherford has described this late nineteenth century Victorian ethos which was part and parcel of the thinking of most Canadian imperialists:

Implicit in the ethos was the notion of a social hierarchy in which status was determined by individual effort, a hierarchy in which the most energetic and the most worthy would naturally rise to the top.³¹

This class, in Winnipeg, was a de facto upper class, and as such committed to the cause of imperialism.³²

Nothing was to stand in the way of progress. The empire meant progress. Pax Britannica was under-written by progress. Supreme confidence in their ability as Anglo-Saxons, and "with a good share of the best of Canadian blood",³³ they set about their task.

This philosophy of progress reached fetish proportions with regard to the promotion of the city. "Boosterism", as this local variant of imperial progress was to be known, characterized the city. It combined all the philosophical arguments of race, morality, and religion as far as this British led ~~charter~~ group was concerned. The Winnipeg Tribune reviewed Winnipeg's twelve years of existence in 1892 and concluded:

No city in America of equal size and age can equal Winnipeg. In percentage of growth in the last 12 years. In number of churches per thousand of population. In number of wholesale houses and jobbing business. In number of retail establishments. . .³⁴

The founding of Winnipeg and the march of progress were one and the same to the founding fathers.³⁵

Except for a three year period between 1882 and 1885, when pessimism "cloaked Winnipeg following the collapse of the real estate boom in 1882",³⁶ most of the claims of Winnipeg boosters, who were also advocates of imperialism, were based on natural advantages which the city enjoyed.^{37.}

III

Professor J.E. Rea's claim that Manitoba was re-born in the image of Ontario,³⁸ does not apply accurately to one particular current of imperialist thought in Winnipeg. By coming west, in spite of their cultural baggage, this western fragment soon had economic interests which conflicted with those of the manufacturing east. Soon after 1882 Winnipeg imperialists and businessmen - often one and the same - began to interpret imperial relationships and destinies somewhat differently because of the specific nature of the local mode of production. Winnipeg's brand of imperialism was partly fashioned by the fact that its hinterland farmers were less enthusiastic about imperialism than their urban counterparts. This was a national tendency that both Carman Miller and Carl Berger have noted.³⁹ Because of Winnipeg's great dependency on its hinterland, it tended to have a different perspective on imperial relations. Therefore, the national policy, imperial federation, commercial union, and even annexation were to be understood differently in the city.

Winnipeg imperialists, although traditionally strong Canadian nationalists, were not, and could not afford to be, economic nationalists and supporters of the national policy, which to many was nothing more than a scheme by eastern manufacturers to protect their economic interests at the expense of other sectors of the economy. As Michael Bliss has asserted, vis-a-vis the national policy:

There were lingering pockets of free-trade sentiment among a few dissident manufacturers, some importers, and western merchants allied with the agrarian community.⁴⁰

Of the major national business papers only two declared against the national policy, of which one, The Commercial, was a Winnipeg paper.⁴¹

Most Winnipeg imperialists, either as businessmen or as professionals serving Winnipeg as "a distribution centre"⁴² took the western line. Even the "old man's son", Sir Hugh John Macdonald, who proclaimed immediately after his election victory that he would follow his father's platform "as a chip off the old block"⁴³:

. . .retained his western perspective on issues of national import, and described preferential trade with Great Britain as a boon to the west because that section produced raw material for export.⁴⁴

Winnipeg imperialists, such as Dr. G. Bryce and C.A. Boulton, who had broken with the Conservative party on the issue, were aware of the selfishness of the eastern manufacturing establishment, so deeply rooted in the Conservative party, which had deceived Canadians into believing "that to press for their legitimate interests was to be disloyal".⁴⁵ Eastern imperialists in the tory party had traditionally justified the national policy on a premise of loyalty as a ruse to safeguard their minority interests. The Winnipeg Tribune deprecated this kind of imperialism as "simply an appeal to sacrifice practical advantages".⁴⁶ Dr. Bryce, lauding the local agricultural tradition, suggested that "the independent life of the farmer" should be "the basis of our Canadian life".⁴⁷

Winnipeg's brand of imperialism, therefore, demanded a relaxation of the restrictive protectionist policies of their eastern counterparts.

At the Third Congress of the Chambers of Commerce, held in 1896, Donald A. Smith, representing the Winnipeg Board of Trade, moved that the congress:

. . .records its belief in the advisability and practicality of a customs arrangement between Great Britain and her colonies and India on the basis of preferential treatment. . .⁴⁸

The Winnipeg delegation was also given the mandate, in view of the "great quantity of agricultural produce that can be supplied by Western Canada",⁴⁹ to work for the "freest trade relations" in the empire".⁵⁰

To Winnipeggers, preferential tariff arrangements between Britain and Canada was, according to a Manitoba Free Press editorial, "an actual, living issue",⁵¹ which, more than anything else, would "make the Empire a united solid whole".⁵² The Winnipeg Tribune echoed its rival's viewpoint by suggesting that imperial unity could best be served by preferential trade, and in this respect, the Liberal party was on the right track.⁵³ This same paper had declared earlier that the "sweeping victory" given to Liberal candidate R.W. Jameson in the 1897 federal by-election in Winnipeg "showed how determined" the people were to give preferential trade "a free hand".⁵⁴ The Liberal preferential tariff to Great Britain was heralded as a "decision between the people and the protected class interests in favour of the people".⁵⁵ The Winnipeg Daily Tribune claimed:

The policy inaugurated by the Liberal government makes plain to Great Britain that Canada means to remain British and will provide a market for British industry.⁵⁶

Winnipeg imperialists also differed on the question of commercial union with the United States. Again sectional interests determined different reactions to the question. Commercial union was an old idea, but only became an issue for a brief period from 1887 onwards.⁵⁷ Interest in the scheme peaked in 1892, although there was "a slight resurgence in June of 1893".⁵⁸ The depression, coupled with a fall in immigration, and

a spurt of emigration to the United States, were the concerns which sparked a national debate on the issue of commercial union.⁵⁹ The national debate raged, but Winnipeg imperialists and other local interest groups did not display the hysteria which marked the eastern debate.⁶⁰ The Manitoba Free Press recognized that "the cry against commercial union is distinctly a vested interest cry".⁶¹ To this paper, millions of Canadians were "being kept back for the benefit of the score or hundreds"⁶² of eastern manufacturers.

The business community took a solemn and studied look at the question. In fact, the prestigious Winnipeg Board of Trade in 1887 invited Hezekiah Butterworth, the United States congressman advocate, and the enigmatic Erastus Wiman, who believed that continentalism and imperialism were compatible,⁶³ to come and speak in Winnipeg on the subject.⁶⁴ Earlier that year, the movement's greatest proponent, Goldwin Smith, had addressed a well-attended and attentive public meeting on commercial union.⁶⁵ The Board of Trade was emphatic about its position:

. . .no action has been taken by this Board to place on record any endorsement or rejection of the commercial union movement, which has been the cause of much discussion in the Eastern Provinces, and especially with Boards of Trade.⁶⁶

Following Mr. Wiman's speaking engagement in Winnipeg, the board was careful to point out that although it "did not commit itself to endorse his theories", it had invited him to lecture under its auspices.⁶⁷

This studied examination of the issue, because of its complete absence of condemnation, tended to favour some sort of commercial union at that time, but did not reflect disavowal of loyalty to the empire. Being realistic about their economic interests, local imperialists were not given to anti-American diatribes. Weaknesses in United States society were

acknowledged in their thinking, but local critiques did not contain that element which Carl Berger has termed "the paranoid character".⁶⁸

Commercial union or unrestricted reciprocity would expand north-south trade, a fact which had always been a part of Winnipeg's economic history. This the Manitoba Free Press pointed out, by publishing the text of a lecture by T.W. Taylor in which he quoted the old Nor'Wester in the 1860s:

We are indebted to Americans for the only route that there is to and from this country. Home industry is being stimulated, and all this brought about by the Americans.⁶⁹

The paper furthermore added that the United States is a "great country from which we are receiving and will ever receive such practical benefits".⁷⁰

Against the common charge that commercial union would result in annexation, local history could deal with that question. The people of Red River, even the Metis, in spite of close commercial ties with the United States and their agents, had rejected United States manifest destiny. Free trade, commercial union, and unrestricted reciprocity would benefit the local economy; annexation, however, was "an impossibility from many different standpoints", because, amongst other things, it would mean "the extinction of our hereditary sentiments".⁷¹ "No! the question of annexation", said Dr. Bryce, "is hardly practical enough to enjoy the attention of a juvenile debating society".⁷² In fact, as a Toronto journalist writing in the Winnipeg Daily Times reported, this "over-sanguine" people believe "that the North-west. . .country is too big to be swallowed up by the United States".⁷³

A similar local attitude was revealed on the question of imperial federation. No imperial federation league was founded in Winnipeg, and although C.A. Boulton had published his scheme for imperial federation,⁷⁴ and had initiated the debate for Canadian representation in the British

House of Commons by moving the motion in the Canadian Senate,⁷⁵ generally Winnipeg imperialists feared its contrived nature, as well as its aimlessness. Moreover, imperial federation was further suspect because it brought into question the loyalty of those who preferred a "more pacific and more Christian loyalty,"⁷⁶ "based on a natural love of Britain and the British connection."⁷⁷ Burke's description of the British connection as being, "though light as air, . . . as strong as links of iron"⁷⁸ was more to the liking of Winnipeg's imperialists. Dr. Bryce argued the point forcibly:

No! We need no change of system. We are not cramped, dwarfed or checked in our highest and truest development by our British connection . . . Our highest Canadian aspiration may be gratified under our present condition.⁷⁹

In resisting imperial federation, it seems that Winnipeg imperialists hoped to forge a strong and united empire by creating a self-sufficient Canada devoted to British ideals.

IV

Winnipeg imperialists shared the typical imperialist attitude to race. Professor J.E. Rea has put it succinctly:

On the part of the dominant English group there was an implicit assumption of racial superiority - racial, that is in the popular sense.⁸⁰

Christine Bolt's explanation for Victorian racism as originating from "unfamiliarity, among the mass of the British people"⁸¹ with the non-White peoples of the empire accounts partly for it. Yet, in the case of Winnipeg, there was familiarity. Inter-marriage and co-habitation was a feature in the life of the early settlement.⁸² What then does account for the local attitudes?

Besides that sense of racial superiority common to the Anglo-Saxon at that time, which was a part of his cultural baggage, local conditions added another dimension to his thinking. Winnipeg imperialists, and the public whose attitudes they shaped, or for whom they claimed to speak, inspired by the Gothic myth of racial superiority, argued and believed that the indigenous Indian and Metis people were inferior simply because it was in their economic interests to do so. It was a case of economic needs determining attitudes. With the signing of the Indian treaties, even the laws reflected the needs. G.F. Stanley described it as "prairie vs plough".⁸³ It was a commonplace imperial theme the world over, whenever the "Anglo-Saxon race with its energy and pluck has laid hold of the land".⁸⁴ The local press did a lot towards inculcating the spirit of racism in the local population.⁸⁵

These local attitudes were part of the wider contemporary racial prejudice that imperial supremacists had conveniently gleaned from Darwin's scientific theory of human evolution. Colonial conquest and preservation had to be rationalized by categorizing the indigenous peoples as inferior and "uncivilized". Even the local churches were involved, albeit on an ambivalent basis. On the one hand they preached the brotherhood of man as part of their civilizing mission, on the other hand they praised the superiority of British blood.⁸⁶ Dr. Bryce the moderator of the Presbyterian church, while praising the United Empire Loyalists, viewed the Black United Empire loyalists as a "turbulent and discontented element of the population",⁸⁷ and concluded, like so many imperialists in his day that the climate of Canada "was not suitable to the negroes".⁸⁸ This attitude was common in the social studies and reading materials used in Winnipeg schools at the time,⁸⁹ and consequently helped to formulate and perpetuate the local racial attitudes.

This racism or, to use Arthur Lower's term, "Britishism",⁹⁰ could also be seen as a necessary ingredient in this outpost of empire to sustain that confidence, and to nourish the belief in progress in order to tame the wilderness, and impose new cultural values on the indigenous people. At the same time this Britishism could make it clear to non-Anglo-Saxon residents that Winnipeg was fundamentally a British city.

It was this attitude of racial superiority and affinity that kept alive the desire to preserve the empire because British colonists the world over were all kith and kin. To Winnipeg imperialists, these relationships, more than any other element, was the stuff that the British Empire was made of. Robert Reid's description of this attitude sums up similar local attitudes:

Come of a right good stock to start with,
Best of the world's blood in each vein,
Lord of ourselves and slaves to no one,⁹¹
For us or from us, you'll find we're men.

FOOTNOTES

¹See chapter 5 for the section on jubilee decorations.

²G. Bryce, A Short History of the Canadian People (London: Sampson Low Co., 1914), p. 430.

³C. A. Boulton, Reminiscences of the North-West Rebellion (Toronto: Davis and Henderson, 1886), p. 432.

⁴See chapter 3 for profiles on Daniel MacIntyre and Stewart Mulvey.

⁵M. F. P., 26 May 1897.

⁶G. Bryce, The Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910), p. 481.

⁷See chapter 6 for an analysis of the question.

⁸Michael Parenti, "We Hold These Myths to Be Self-Evident," The Nation, 11 April 1981, p. 426.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Most of G. Bryce's general histories, as well as his special works such as, op. cit. (1910), Life of Lord Selkirk (Toronto: The Musson Co., 1912) promote this myth. See also C. N. Bell, The Selkirk Settlement and the Settlers (Winnipeg: The Commercial, 1887).

¹¹G. Bryce, A History of Manitoba (Toronto: The Canada History Co., 1906), p. 147. See also G. Bryce, op. cit. (1912), p. 91.

¹²Carl Berger, The Sense of Power. Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), pp. 78-108.

¹³J. F. Tenant, Rough Times, 1870-1920 (Winnipeg: A Souvenir of the Red River Expedition, 1920), p. 118.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵G. Bryce Papers. MG14, C15, No. 156. A list of members of the Expedition Association with occupations. See also J. Tenant, op. cit., for a full list of participants of the expedition, as well as, their careers and later achievements in the city.

¹⁶A. R. M. Lower, Canadians in the Making: A Social History of Canada (Toronto: Longmans, 1958), p. 366.

¹⁷G. R. Stevens, The Incomplete Canadian - An Approach to Social History (Toronto: McLaren, 1956), p. 149.

¹⁸Ibid.

- ¹⁹L. Cleveland, "Royalty as Symbolic Drama: 1970 New Zealand," Journal of Commonwealth Political Studies, Vol. XI (1973), p. 30.
- ²⁰Reverend John West. Quoted in G. Bryce, "The Old Settlers of Red River," MHSS Transactions, No. 19 (1885-1886), p. 8
- ²¹L. Cleveland, op. cit., p. 30.
- ²²G. R. Stevens, op. cit., p. 160.
- ²³See chapter 3 for the section dealing with the school curricula.
- ²⁴M. F. P., 1 April 1896.
- ²⁵G. Shanks, "Old Winnipeg As I Knew It." MG9, A61-2, p. 24.
- ²⁶This legendary road was later renamed Portage Avenue.
- ²⁷The Voice, 19 June 1897.
- ²⁸"A Touch of Churchill, A Touch of Hitler. The Life Cecil John Rhodes," B. B. C., P. B. S. T. V. Winnipeg, July 1981. Written and narrated by Kenneth Griffiths.
- ²⁹G. Bryce, op. cit. (1912), p. 91.
- ³⁰W. D. T., 8 October 1892.
- ³¹P. F. Rutherford, "The People's Press: The Emergence of the New Journalism in Canada, 1869-1899," CHR., Vol. LXI, No. 2 (June 1975), p. 170.
- ³²A. R. M. Lower, op. cit. (1958), p. 220.
- ³³G. Bryce, "A Modern University," President's Inaugural Address. Manitoba College Literary Society. 24 October 1890, p. 4.
- ³⁴W. D. T., 8 October 1892.
- ³⁵See A. Artibise, "Boosterism and the Development of Prairie Cities," for a definitive analysis of this less than "precise ideology" in A. Artibise, ed., Town and City, Aspects of Western Canadian Urban Development (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1981), pp. 209-235.
- ³⁶R. C. Bellan, Winnipeg First Century. A Winnipeg Economic History (Winnipeg: Queenston House, 1978), p. 48.
- ³⁷Ibid.
- ³⁸J. E. Rea, "The Roots of Prairie Society," in D. Gagan, ed., Prairie Perspectives (Toronto: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1970), p. 47.
- ³⁹Carman Miller, "English-Canadian Opposition to the South African War," C. H. R., Vol. LV, No. 4 (December 1974), p. 438. See also Carl Berger, op. cit. (1970), p. 5, and R. Page, "Carl Berger and the Intellectual Origin of Canadian Imperial Thought, 1867-1914," Journal of Canadian Studies (August 1970), p. 41.

⁴⁰M. Bliss, A Living Profit. Studies in the Social History of Canadian Business, 1883-1911 (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1974) p. 96.

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²M. F. P., 24 April 1896.

⁴³Ibid., 23 February 1891.

⁴⁴H. J. Guest, "The Old Man's Son, Sir Hugh John Macdonald," HSSM Transactions, Series 111, No. 29 (1972-1973), p. 55. See also House of Commons Debates, 1891, pp. 1400-1403, 4300-4305, 5281-5282.

⁴⁵Ian Grant, "Erastus Wiman: A Continentalist Replies to Canadian Imperialism," CHR., Vol. LVII, No. 1 (March 1972), p. 10.

⁴⁶W. D. T., 12 November 1892.

⁴⁷G. Bryce, "A New Nation," President's inaugural address. Manitoba College Literary Society, 3 November 1893, p. 4.

⁴⁸Winnipeg Board of Trade Annual Report, 1897, p. 2

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 30.

⁵⁰Ibid. See also M. F. P., 18 April 1896.

⁵¹M. F. P., 8 May 1896. See also M. F. P., 12 May 1896.

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³W. D. T., 4 June 1897.

⁵⁴Ibid., 28 April 1897. Note that a Conservative paper was endorsing free trade policies.

⁵⁵Ibid., 1 May 1897.

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷P. Glazebrook, A History of Canadian External Relations (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, Ltd. 1966), p. 148.

⁵⁸R. C. Brown, Canada's National Policy, 1883-1900. A Study in Canadian American Relations (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1964), p. 250.

⁵⁹G. P. Glazebrook, op. cit., p. 150.

⁶⁰M. F. P., 5 September 1887.

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²Ibid.

- ⁶³ Ian Grant, op. cit., p. 2
- ⁶⁴ Winnipeg Board of Trade, Annual Report, 1888, p. 26.
- ⁶⁵ Ibid.
- ⁶⁶ Ibid.
- ⁶⁷ Ibid.
- ⁶⁸ Carl Berger, Imperialism and Nationalism, 1884-1914: A Conflict in Canadian Thought (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1969), p. 11.
- ⁶⁹ M. F. P., 15 January 1887.
- ⁷⁰ Ibid.
- ⁷¹ G. Bryce, op. cit. (1893), p. 2.
- ⁷² Ibid.
- ⁷³ Winnipeg Daily Times, 2 October 1882.
- ⁷⁴ C. A. Boulton, op. cit. (1886).
- ⁷⁵ Canadian Senate Debates, 1890, p. 256.
- ⁷⁶ G. Bryce, op. cit. (1914), p. 400.
- ⁷⁷ Ibid.
- ⁷⁸ W. H. Heick, ed., History and Myth. Arthur Lower and the Making of Canadian Nationalism (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1975, p. 293.
- ⁷⁹ G. Bryce, op. cit. (1893), p. 3.
- ⁸⁰ J. E. Rea, op. cit., pp. 46-55.
- ⁸¹ C. Bolt, Victorian Attitudes to Race (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), p. 5.
- ⁸² G. Bryce in his essay, "The Old Settlers of Red River," op. cit. (1885-1886), lists prominent Metis citizens such as the Inksters, Fobis' et al, led by such "outstanding" individuals as A. Isbister and John Norquay, p. 7.
- ⁸³ G. F. Stanley, "Louis Riel, Patriot or Rebel," CHA, Historical Booklet No. 2, Ottawa, 1964, p. 4.
- ⁸⁴ G. Bryce, "The Dominion History of Canada for Schools," Manuscript, n.d., p. 306. R. B. R., Dafoe Library, University of Manitoba.
- ⁸⁵ See chapter 3 for the section dealing with the attitude of the local press to non-Anglo-Saxon immigration.

⁸⁶G. Bryce, op. cit. (1910), p. 470.

⁸⁷G. Bryce, "The Dominion History of Canada for Schools," op. cit., p. 125.

⁸⁸Ibid.

⁸⁹See chapter 3 for the section dealing with school curricula.

⁹⁰W. H. Heick, op. cit., p. 16.

⁹¹J. Morris, op. cit. (1975), p. 215.

CHAPTER II

WINNIPEG IMPERIALISTS

I

Amongst all the many local imperialists that were active in the city, five leading proponents of the idea are worthy of closer examination: G.W. Baker, C.A. Boulton, Thomas Robinson, W.N. Kennedy, and Dr. G. Bryce. None was native to the city or the original settlement; all had come during that decade of Ontarian migration to Winnipeg and its immediate hinterland.

Each was known unequivocally in his day as an imperialist. C.A. Boulton and Dr. Bryce wrote on the subject. All were engaging speakers on the theme, and made many a loyal address, espousing the views on the empire. Lieutenant-Colonel Kennedy and Senator Boulton had actively defended and extended the frontiers of the empire. Their social and class position was upper-middle class. Each was a protestant, and besides Dr. Bryce, who was presbyterian, the rest were all members of the Anglican church.

Besides being deeply committed to the preservation and indeed, the advancement of the empire, albeit by different means, they were all recognized as leading and influential members of the community. Indeed, most had won national fame for their respective services to social, political and educational spheres.

George W. Baker was one of the greatest proponents of the Imperial idea in Winnipeg, as well as being "one of the best known and most esteemed citizens" in the city.¹ He was born in Ottawa, 4 August, 1854, and was educated at Ottawa Classical School, Ottawa College, and Picton Grammar School. After qualifying as a barrister in Ontario, he came to

Winnipeg in 1881, on the eve of the great Ontarian influx into Manitoba. He was called to the bar in 1883, and soon became "one of Winnipeg's prominent lawyers".²

He was first elected to the Winnipeg City Council in 1888, and served again in 1897, and in 1898. A solid Anglican, he was first associated with Christ Church, and later attended All Saints Church, where he became a warden, and eventually became a member of the Diocesan and Provincial Synod of the Church of England. He was also a member of the University Council, the board of directors of both the Y.M.C.A., and the Winnipeg General Hospital.

He was a noted participant in fraternal affairs, as most imperialists were, and reached the position of Grand Master of the Masonic Northern Light Lodge of Manitoba. However, he was most active in the affairs of the influential Sons of England, which, at that time, was perhaps the staunchest organization fostering imperial unity in the city. He, alongside five other prominent Manitobans, was a member of the provincial executive, which included such local imperialist stalwarts as the Reverend Canon G.F. Coombes, and its Manitoba founder, S.G. Kempling.³

He was the driving force in city council in organizing the jubilee celebrations. A number of important proposals promoting the celebrations were introduced by councillor Baker, including the initial one that committed the city to celebrating the event. In addition, it was he who spearheaded the negotiations with the Hudson's Bay Company for the jubilee park, as well as being a member of the council committee that drafted Winnipeg's loyal address, and the civic organizational committee, where he played an active and influential role. But most important, he was the unanimous choice to represent Winnipeg officially in London at the jubilee

celebration. It is also quite conceivable that the grandiose, but abortive proposal put forward by the Sons of England for celebrating the event had his stamp on it.⁴

As a prestigious Winnipegger, and member of the city's upper middle-class, he exerted considerable influence on the promotion and preservation of the imperial idea through his executive position in the Sons of England Benefit Society which, at the time, was a working class organization in so far as its general membership was concerned.

The Sons of England, which was "flourishing" in the 1890's,⁵ was determined "to keep alive and cherish the memories and great principles of the grand old Motherland".⁶ In addition, the organization stressed allegiance to the sovereign and "the maintenance of the British connection".⁷ These aims, based on the "good old rule of 'Fear God and Honour the King'"⁸ were the motivating principles in the life of G.W. Baker. Throughout his life he worked for their fulfilment.

His imperialist thought was well-known because part of his local fame rested on his speech-making. He was a well-sought after speaker at fraternal and national society functions outside his own organizations, and addressed Winnipeg high school graduates as well.⁹

He differed from many Canadian imperialists in that his standpoint, in keeping with the Sons of England's position, played down the Canadian nationalist element in favour of British nationalism.¹⁰ He emphasized the British connection based on English kinship, and abhorred all other national distinctions.¹¹ To him England was still a place that many living in Canada "were still glad to call home".¹² It "behooved Englishmen", he demanded of delegates to a Sons of England Convention in Winnipeg, "to stand together and prove that this country was going to remain British".¹³

Repeadtly, he would advocate the strengthening of imperial unity based

on the responsibilities of the teutonic race. In a public address, he once declared:

. . .the real imperial spirit is not one of vain glory, but of just pride in the extension of our language, and literature, of our people and our commerce on land and sea, and a deep sense of the great responsibility thus imposed on us.¹⁴

If Englishmen stood together, if they "were true to themselves",¹⁵ no European power would dare twist "the lion's tail"¹⁶ as a "pleasant pastime"¹⁷ because "those who were wont to play had better look out".¹⁸ The British, as offsprings of the Teutonic race, were a chosen people:

Her work was to be colonization; her settlers were to dispute Kaffir and the Hottentot; they were to build up in the Pacific colonies as great as those which she had lost in America, and to the nations she had founded she was to give not only her blood and her speech, but the freedom she had won.¹⁹

The British Empire differed from all other empires in that the "energy and industry" of the Anglo-Saxon race set it apart from the rest.²⁰ All Anglo-Saxon descendants were duty-bound to hand down "this great Empire"²¹ to their children, "not merely unimpaired, but strengthened and improved".²²

Because of his belief in the responsibility of the English race to improve the empire, his promotion of imperial defence followed naturally. His ideas always implied this fact. Anglo-Saxons in Canada had to maintain the supremacy of the British Empire against imperial rivals,²³ as well as against African resistance to empire.²⁴ Imperial glory was due to Britain's supremacy at sea, which depended upon imperialist co-operation for its preservation.²⁵ Historically, the English had always displayed "bravery, courage and endurance",²⁶ which was exemplified in her patron saint, St. George, who had defended the virtues consonant with the imperialist cause.²⁷

Besides his many patriotic addresses, there was also a lighter side to his public participation. He often gave public recitals of humorous poems at appropriate occasions. His favourite poet, nevertheless, was Rudyard Kipling,²⁸ 'the unofficial poet laureate', with whom he shared common ideas on the empire. Kipling's view of imperial moral responsibility, as well as an awareness of imperial grandeur and achievement, was also close to Baker's heart. He once exhorted Winnipeg's young to rise above the "mad rush for material wealth"²⁹ as they were losing sight of that greater wealth, patriotism and discipline for service, which he termed "self-culture".³⁰

When W.G. Baker was made K.C. in 1914, the Winnipeg Telegram wrote that that was but "another in the long list of distinctions conferred for public service".³¹ An inextricable part of his public service was the preservation of the British connection, and the promotion of the Imperial idea.

II

Whereas W.G. Baker's public service was mostly confined to local affairs, Senator Boulton, through his active participation in defending the empire, and his public service at the federal level, had a larger audience for espousing his ideas on the empire. Significantly, both of these local imperialists were in London at the jubilee celebrations, Baker representing his city, while Senator Boulton, alongside Laurier, representing his country.

Charles Arkell Boulton, although not a resident of Winnipeg, was "so deeply involved in the history of Manitoba and the west, it is impossible to ignore him".³² His involvement in British imperial expansion

at the time of the Riel resistance in the Red River colony, and the time spent in early Winnipeg either visiting or on business,³³ fully justifies his inclusion here.

His Anglo-Irish roots were strong. C.A. Boulton was born in Cobourg, Ontario, to Lieutenant-Colonel D'Arcy Boulton and Emily Heath, daughter of Brigadier-General Charles Heath. He attended Upper Canada College, and upon graduating in 1858, he followed in the family tradition and entered the military. He was commissioned to serve in the 100th Prince of Wales Royal Canadian Regiment when the "Indian empire was at stake",³⁴ and when, for the first time in British imperial history, England came to one of her great colonies to assist her in recruiting an army".³⁵ It was with the 100th Regiment that he saw service in various parts of the British empire. After ten years of imperial military service, he returned to Canada as Major in the East Durham Regiment of Militia, 46th Battalion.

In 1869 he came to the Red River colony as part of the "military survey party"³⁶ under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel J.S. Dennis. The ensuing conflict is legend, and Major Boulton with his vast military experience began to recruit and drill the English anti-Riel forces into an organized opposition to the Metis resistance. It was also at this time that "he had been sent to convince a Sioux tribe to remain at peace and be loyal to the Queen",³⁷ and not join Riel's Metis.

Throughout the Riel affair, Boulton was less strident and obnoxious than most in the Canadian Party. After being captured and sentenced to death by the National Committee, Riel revoked his sentence, and, in fact, offered him, on account of his "ability" and leadership qualities, a position of leader of the English faction in the Riel government.³⁸ Following his release, he returned to Ontario where he engaged in a not too

prosperous lumbering business for the next ten years. Consequently, he returned to Manitoba in 1880, but this time as a settler in the Shell River District.

Between 1881 and 1887, he had mixed fortunes in political life. He served successfully in local rural politics, but failed to be elected to provincial and federal seats. However, besides earlier leanings toward the Conservative Party,³⁹ he became a strong advocate of the Patrons of Industry during the 1890's, which as a farmers' movement was dedicated to co-operation and education. However, in spite of his new sedentary and pastoral lifestyle, his militarism and imperialism remained intact:

Underneath the farmer, the politician and the active citizen, however, there lay a very military heart, and in the North-West Rebellion of 1885, C.A. Boulton once again had the opportunity to demonstrate his military qualities while proving his loyalty to the Queen.⁴⁰

With the second Riel resistance to western British-Canadian imperial expansion in 1885, Boulton offered "to raise a force of mounted men" to put at the disposal of General Middleton".⁴¹ The Minister of Militia accepted, and the "Boulton Scouts" which "proved their worth in the battles of Fish Creek and Batoche",⁴² came into being.

In 1889, Major Boulton was appointed to the Canadian Senate where he made his mark as a spokesman for western interests as opposed to the legacy of the National policy still pursued by the Conservative Government.

His unwavering devotion to his country, sovereign and empire, which he had demonstrated on so many occasions, was rewarded in jubilee year when he accompanied Laurier to London as part of the Canadian military contingent sent to represent Canada at the Queen's Diamond Jubilee.

His brand of imperialism was not of the one-dimensional type, so typical

of most of the Victorian military establishment. Although he was a military man first and foremost, in later years he became more reflective about the political and social issues of the day. His jingoism, always reluctant, gave way to broader concerns about the empire, and consequently, he began to advocate the commercial unity of the empire on a free trade basis.

His public school education at Upper Canada College stood him in good stead. In 1886, his Reminiscences of the North-West Rebellions⁴³ was published. This was followed by a number of pamphlets which he wrote on his pet theme of Free Trade. In addition, he carefully wrote some major speeches and letters on the same theme,⁴⁴ often from the standpoint of a Canadian nationalist whose feet were firmly planted on British imperial grounds.

In the first instance he recognized the value of army life, which "had been of no unimportant service in fostering the military spirit of the country, and in maintaining loyalty to the British Crown".⁴⁵ In fact, as he was to argue repeatedly, Canadians could be of better service to the empire by being allowed to follow "in the footsteps of their fathers were the opportunity offered of taking service in Her Majesty's Army. . .to uphold the honour of the British Crown".⁴⁶ There were countless Canadians who would "do honour to their country in their honourable position of a British soldier"⁴⁷ in order "to maintain the right, extend the world's civilization by subduing uncivilized nations and to guard the commerce of the British Empire".⁴⁸ He believed that trade and flag actually penetrated new territories together for the single purpose of extending the advantages of civilization.⁴⁹

Throughout his political career he maintained this interest in military matters from an imperial standpoint. In a jubilee speech in the Senate, he

lauded the imperial naval and military forces as the backbone of Britain's "political influence and physical power"⁵⁰ that has gained her "respect throughout the world".⁵¹ He was also responsible for forcing the issue about the lack of Winnipeg representation on the Jubilee Commemoration Corps that was to go to London for the jubilee. He won the inclusion of an officer and six men from Manitoba in the two hundred-man corp. On another occasion he was forced to defend the Canadian Jubilee Commemoration Corps from attack in the Senate for its "crazy-quilt patch-work appearance"⁵² just prior to embarkation. To him there was "no reason for Canada to be ashamed of any of her sons".⁵³

Scholars of Canadian imperialism have found that the mainstream of Canadian imperialism has always followed a strong Canadian nationalist course; imperialism and nationalism were two sides of the same Canadian coin.⁵⁴ In this sense, then, C.A. Boulton was typical of his counterparts elsewhere in Canada in that Canadian aspirations, he believed, would be fulfilled through a form of closer imperial unity, viz., Imperial Federation, which alone could "make Canada a brighter jewel in the British Crown".⁵⁵

To Boulton, Imperial Federation would be a natural outcome of the agitation "by those who aspire to. . .greater power and greater prestige for the British race".⁵⁶ In any case, Imperial Federation was inevitable because it was impossible to "repress the loyal and patriotic feelings"⁵⁷ that Canadians have for British institutions, progress and civilization.

He felt that the time was ripe to raise the question of Imperial Federation. The pressing Irish question which had to be settled could bring about the accomodation of legislative concessions not only to Ireland, but could also improve relations between England and her colonies.

Whereas scholars have disagreed as to the merits of free trade in possibly promoting imperialism or anti-imperialism,⁵⁸ there was no doubt

in Boulton's mind that imperialism and free trade easily complemented each other. However, a total imperial commitment was necessary if benefits were to be shared by all. Boulton, an avowed free trader, who consistently advocated "a commercial unity of the British Empire upon a free trade basis",⁵⁹ believed that Canadian protectionism was forced upon her by Britain's framing of "her trade policy for the benefit of the world at large".⁶⁰ Some of these policies, he would argue, as he did in the Senate in May, 1897, favoured Britain's larger trading partners to the detriment of Canada.⁶¹

He was not averse to Britain's world trade policy if the British empire were "strengthened by unity" because:

. . .the benefits conferred on the world at large by Great Britain's power will increase as long as the British people continue to be the embodiment of christianity, civilization and commerce.⁶²

Imperial Federation would make Canada the "most powerful arm"⁶³ of the empire. Far from losing any sovereign rights, colonies in a closer union, stood to gain:

It would increase their rights and privileges, for it would give them the power of voting upon any question that affects the interests of the empire. . .⁶⁴

Similarly did Britain stand to gain. Colonial talent and human resources would strengthen the hands of her talented statesmen. Imperial Federation would unite imperialists to better withstand the coming challenge of "socialism and infidelity" so that christianity and civilization, those motivating principles of the "Anglo-Saxon race", could be maintained.⁶⁵

Commercially the empire would be strengthened. Just as the U.S.A. has grown in "wealth and prestige, under a protective policy", but from internal trade, so could the British Empire reach even greater heights from results obtained "within the limits of a confederated British Empire".⁶⁶

The ensuing larger markets and populations would strengthen the empire financially and morally. He could never understand how one member of the empire could favour a "foreign nation from which any nation owing allegiance to the Empire is excluded".⁶⁷

Unlike those Imperial Federatists whom Dr. G. Bryce deplored for not having a "feasible scheme"⁶⁸ for putting it into effect, Boulton had certain concrete proposals to that end. The political structure that he put forward as a first step to Imperial Federation would rest in a council, consisting of representatives from Canada, "the leading colony of the empire, both in extent and in importance",⁶⁹ from Australia, and New Zealand, and from South Africa, all "representing the great colonial centres of the empire".⁷⁰ This council's function was to "discuss the practicability of uniting the empire upon some basis which would be acceptable to all".⁷¹ Meeting first in Canada, Australia and the Cape, the final meeting would deliberate in England to "sum up the results of their labours".⁷² These meetings would gauge public opinion and would inevitably bring about that "closer union of all British subjects".⁷³

He never wavered from his view that the Canadian political experience of confederation was a ready-made model for Imperial Federation, which was merely "an enlargement of the scheme of confederation".⁷⁴

The third part of his imperialism, the one which provided the common ground for all imperialists, was his abiding belief in the greatness of his sovereign. Britain's civilizing mission, based on "Christian love and Christian charity",⁷⁵ emanated from the example set by Queen Victoria. Her life epitomized:

. . . the highest state of Christianity, of experience, of political knowledge and of everything that goes to make a great and fine character.⁷⁶

Although he had been a conservative in politics originally, at the

height of his career, and when his imperialism was at its strongest, he supported the liberals. Political affiliation, contrary to conventional Tory wisdom, he believed, had nothing to do with one's loyalty. He wrote: "No matter what political party or what class he belongs to, the same principles of loyalty influence him".⁷⁷ In spite of his Irish Protestant roots, his position on Ireland was almost radical. He felt that the British Parliament should meet the demands of the Irish for local autonomy.⁷⁸ He saw no reason why Ireland should not possess the same constitutional liberties that Canada enjoyed.⁷⁹ Of course, Imperial Federation would facilitate its eventuality. He was proud of Laurier for being the "political head"⁸⁰ of the leading colony of the empire, "which though cosmopolitan in its character, is loyal in its sentiments. . .".⁸¹

In that fiery election year of 1891 he summed up his ideals:

I hope that a government will come to life that will have patriotism as its lodestar, rectitude as its watchword, progress as its standard and loyalty to the Empire imprinted on its head.⁸²

III

One of the greatest "doers" of the British Empire, and one who had on a number of occasions been actively engaged in expanding and rectifying its borders, was Winnipeg resident William Nassau Kennedy.

W.N. Kennedy was born in 1839, in Darlington, Ontario. Early in his life, through his family, education, and the current events of his day, his imperialism was nurtured to the point where he achieved popular fame for his imperialist attitudes.

The basic standpoint of his imperialism was his militarism, in which he was steeped. His father, a native of Ireland, was Colonel John Kennedy, of the imperial army, while his brother, Captain John W. Kennedy, like W.N. Kennedy himself, had been a military man from his youth.⁸³

His military career started at age seventeen. He attended Infantry and Cavalry Schools in Toronto, after which he joined the local volunteers in his area. He earned his spurs with the 57th Battalion during the "anti-British, anti-Canadian"⁸⁴ Fenian raids in 1866. He came to Winnipeg with Sir Garnet Wolsley's Red River Expedition, serving as lieutenant alongside "experienced officers from the Imperial troops".⁸⁵ He commanded the Winnipeg Field Battery, and the famous 90th Winnipeg Rifles which he had raised himself.⁸⁶

His participation in the Red River Expedition stood him in good stead to play a leading role in early Winnipeg history. The privileged status that membership of that expeditionary force afforded, facilitated their mastery of economic and political power in the settlement. Thus W.N. Kennedy became Registrar of Winnipeg, a post he held up to the time of his death. He was also promoter of the Manitoba and Northwestern Railroad, as well as the vice-president of the Manitoba and Hudson's Bay Railroad. His other affiliations all reveal a reaffirmation to his abiding imperialism. He was an Orangeman, and a grand master of the Masonic Order in Manitoba, as well as a member of the Masonic Knights Templar in England and Wales, and the Independent Order of Forresters, Robin Hood Court.

In true Canadian imperialist fashion, he frowned upon public office. However, this "quiet man",⁸⁷ whose "rule was marked by much dignity", was implored by petition, signed by A.G. Bannerman and James Ashdown, amongst others of the local plutocracy, to run for mayor in 1875.⁸⁹ He reluctantly accepted, and went on to become the first mayor of the city to hold office for two consecutive terms.

His posthumous fame was to rest almost exclusively on his participation, alongside other Winnipeggers, in one of the high-points of British imperialist history, viz., the Nile Expedition. His reputation was further

enhanced in that he served under the arch-military imperialist of his day, that "dapper, ambitious Anglo-Irish officer, Colonel Garnet Joseph Wolseley",⁹⁰ and alongside "the most formidable" of the military imperialist, Lord Kitchener.⁹¹

The Nile campaign of 1883-1884 was undertaken for the relief of General Gordon at Khartoum. Canada, under Sir John A. Macdonald refused to participate officially. Wolseley, mindful of the Red River Expedition's boatmen, requested that Canada provide voyageurs to navigate the Nile in the attempted relief of Gordon.⁹² The military-secretary of the Governor-General was permitted "to raise a force of voyageurs to be used as pilots on the Nile".⁹³ Volunteers enlisted into four companies from Ottawa, the Richelieu, the St. Lawrence, and from the Red River. Lord Lansdowne personally requested that W.N. Kennedy go to Egypt with the "far-famed" Canadian voyageurs and, at the request of the Imperial government he organized the Red River contingent of the voyageurs, of whom everyone "was a Jingo at heart".⁹⁴

The Winnipeg contingent of voyageurs was comprised almost entirely of Red River Expedition veterans. The party headed by Lieutenant-Colonel W.N. Kennedy received a hearty send-off from the city when it "marched along Main Street to the C.P.R. station and took the eastbound train".⁹⁵

It was Kennedy's greatest pride that he served directly under Wolseley, whom he regarded "as the greatest soldier not only in Europe, but in the world".⁹⁶ The Canadian Voyageurs displayed great skill and facilitated the capture of Khartoum, although they were too late to rescue Gordon. A fellow Winnipegger in that campaign, quite famous in his own right as an imperialist, Captain William Robinson, recalled the words of Kennedy addressed to the Red River contingent on the "last night on the Nile":

Well my lads, we will return with the purest
pride than any man can have - a consciousness
of duty well done. Good Night!⁹⁷

His loyalty was such that as soon as news of the Second Riel Resistance reached him, "he started to join his own regiment which he had raised only the previous year, and made all haste to return to Canada".⁹⁸

Unfortunately, W.N. Kennedy died of small pox at the end of the campaign, en route to England. Just prior to his untimely death at age 46, Queen Victoria "had intended to receive him at Windsor Castle"⁹⁹ to thank him personally for his services to the empire. He was buried with full military honours in London, and, by order of the Queen, the Prince of Wales represented the royal family. In addition, "the nobility of Britain, and the highest in command of the army, were all represented on that occasion".¹⁰⁰

At his memorial service at Grace Church, 6th May, 1885, his service to Queen and empire epitomized the eulogy. For this the Queen was grateful:

It is quite enough that she considered him great enough, that in honouring and recognizing him, she was honouring and recognizing Canada.¹⁰¹

An article on W.N. Kennedy in the Kingston News, dated 21st January, 1890, described him as "one who went out to show what Canada could do for England".¹⁰² Fellow imperialist, C.A. Boulton wrote:

Colonel Kennedy left behind him a name honoured and respected not only among the people of his own Province and the Dominion, but by all who had followed his career and noted the brilliant services he rendered the Mother Country during the Soudan campaign.¹⁰³

This in a sense summed up his rather monolithic position on imperialism.

He believed essentially that it was Canada's duty at all times to serve and defend the empire militarily. Even if Canada were not actively involved in doing that, then at least it must applaud and show its appreciation by rejoicing with the people of the British Isles, "because we are part of the great empire".¹⁰⁴

It was the need to rejoice in victory that led W.N. Kennedy to move

the following resolution at a civic mass meeting in Winnipeg in September, 1882, called to celebrate Wolseley's victory in Egypt:

That his worship the Mayor be requested to telegraph General Sir Garnet Wolseley, through the Colonial office as follows:

We the citizens of Winnipeg in mass meeting assembled, congratulate Sir Garnet Wolseley and the forces under his command upon their gallantry, and the glorious victories which they have achieved. ¹⁰⁵

His jingiosm¹⁰⁶ shone through his speech. He emphasized the readiness of Manitobans. As British subjects, proud of their imperial connection, "should the necessity ever arise we would show our loyalty by taking up arms for its defence".¹⁰⁷ He continued in this vein, expressing that at all times they were "ready and willing" to serve.¹⁰⁸ However, because they were far from the theatre of war, the next best thing was to honour "those brave heroes who have, under their noble general once again carried the old flag to victory".¹⁰⁹ He praised Wolseley profusely. He said that he took great pride in Wolseley's success because of his association with "the distinguished soldier",¹¹⁰ who had frequently referred to the members of the Red River Expedition as being "among the best troops he ever commanded".¹¹¹

This preoccupation with praise for Wolseley, as well as the latter's request that W.N. Kennedy join him in the Nile expedition, gives some insight into Kennedy's character. As a member of the celebrated 'Wolseley Ring',¹¹² which started with professional friendships Wolseley made during the Red River Expedition, one can assume that Kennedy, like others in the Ring, emulated the style and attitudes of Sir Garnet.

A late Victorian soldier par excellence, itching for a good battle, W.N. Kennedy was imbued with a sense of dedication, which his untimely death prevented from being fulfilled. There was a deep sense of irony in his death from small-pox, outside the arena of war. Wolseley would

have wanted him, according to Wolseley's maxim for ambitious officers, "to try and get himself killed".¹¹³

IV

Thomas Robinson was typical of the type of imperialist whom Henri Bourassa categorized as a newcomer from Britain who cannot decide "whether they belong to Canada rather than the Empire, and whether the United Kingdom is not just as much their homeland as the Canadian confederation".¹¹⁴

Thomas Robinson, the "enthusiastic imperialist",¹¹⁵ was born in Royston, England, on the 21st of May, 1854. His father, the Reverend Thomas Robinson, was an Anglican clergyman. He was educated at a local grammar school, and also received private tuition. He studied law in England, and when he emigrated to Canada he joined the law firm of the Honourable Edward Blake of Toronto.

As part of the general influx of Ontarian settlers to the west, he arrived in the city in 1883, and entered into a law partnership with Bain and Perdue. He built up a large practice and achieved local fame for his litigation in "the famous Winnipeg Grain Exchange" case.¹¹⁶ In respect to his legal talents it was said:

His mind was comprehensive in its scope, keen in its intelligence, incisive and analytic in quality, and his developing powers carried him forward into important relations with the professional life of Winnipeg, his many notable victories forming a portion of the legal history of the city.¹¹⁷

In 1888 he married Evelyn Salter of Halifax, "a representative of an old United Empire Loyalist family".¹¹⁸

Like so many other imperialists, he was attracted to Masonry, in which he rose to the office, in 1895, of grand master of the grand lodge,

A.F. and A.M., as well as past grand superintendent of the grand chapter of Canada.

He was a staunch Anglican, being first a member of Holy Trinity parish where he served as people's warden, and later, a member of St. Luke's parish where that "muscular christian", Reverend C.C. Owen was the rector. He was a continual delegate to the diocesan synod of Rupert's Land, and eventually became an executive member of the body.

With regard to his imperialism, F. Schofield had this to say:

Always a firm believer and an intelligent upholder of the principles of imperialism, Mr. Robinson took a marked interest in projects and measures for the expansion and upbuilding of the British Empire, . . . and did a great deal by his support and intelligent argument to prove the imperialist cause in Canada.¹¹⁹

Robinson's imperialism was of a monolithic nature. His version of imperialism "exhibited a marked interest in all that pertained to the strengthening and upbuilding of the empire".¹²⁰ His main argument rested on the fact that Canada was "the eldest daughter of the mother country".¹²¹ Because of this fact, and her vast resources, Canada, he believed, should take the lead in promoting Imperial Federation. In fact, he felt confident that "Canada would afford an important link in solidifying the Empire as its development progressed".¹²² He believed, too, that Laurier, who "although not of the same nationality"¹²³ had set the right tone by attempting to preserve the empire "by proffering assistance in time of trouble".¹²⁴

He played one of the leading roles in planning the arrangements for celebrating the jubilee in Winnipeg. Representing the Winnipeg Golf Club, and the St. George's Society at the jubilee organizational meetings, he

contributed decisively. The final form of the jubilee procession was first proposed in tentative form by him at the May 1st meeting.¹²⁵ He was also appointed to the powerful "nominating committee to strike other committees" for celebrating the jubilee.¹²⁶ Consequently, he was appointed to serve on the special Finance Committee, where he acted as honorary secretary, and on the Sports Committee.¹²⁷

The ubiquitous Thomas Robinson must take credit for achieving the success that the planners were looking for in the jubilee celebrations, as well as for strengthening the imperial idea in Winnipeg. His attitude to empire was understandable. His father was an Anglican priest, his wife was a U.E.L. descendant, his brother was an admiral in the Royal Navy, and he emigrated to Canada at the time when the colonies were suddenly being sought after to become "props of England's imperial might".¹²⁸ His beliefs were further strengthened by his other affiliations as well. Besides the masonic ones, he was also a member of the Sons of England, where he often spoke on the imperial theme,¹²⁹ and a member of the St. George's Society.

Ironically, he died accidentally on a train journey en route to his beloved mother country.

V

Dr. George Bryce, writing about Canadian imperialist, G.M. Grant, whom he revered, said that "he was an ardent Canadian, as well as an imperialist".¹³⁰ These words could well have been written about the Reverend George Bryce himself.

A scholar and a theologian, he differed from many of his contemporary fellow imperialists in many ways, yet, there were remarkable similarities between him and G.M. Grant, whom he held in high esteem. Both men were

moderators of the Presbyterian church, Dr. Grant for the country as a whole, and Dr. Bryce for his province. Both were principals of universities, both were proud Canadians and rational imperialists, and both were prolific writers and enthusiastic lecturers on the imperial theme. Like Dr. Grant, George Bryce believed that the empire had a divine mission, and that Canada should take the logical step of assuming a place of responsibility in the imperial system.¹³¹ They were both members of the Royal Society, were suspicious of protectionism, and held similar philosophies of history, which deemed that a study of the past was essential for guiding a nation in the present.

However, they had one important point of difference. On the question of the Boer War, whereas Dr. Bryce supported the imperial view, Dr. Grant "instinctively sided with the God-fearing Boers"¹³² because he understood the nature of "economic imperialism"; a fact that seemed to escape Dr. Bryce, who generally saw very little untoward in things imperial, except, perhaps, the strains of arrogance in Englishmen on occasion.¹³³

Nevertheless, it was Dr. Bryce's opinion that Dr. Grant was one of the greatest men of his age, and that "he would have made a great premier for Canada had his line led in the direction of political service".¹³⁴

Dr. George Bryce was born in 1844 at Mount Pleasant, Canada West, and was raised in a home in which "the influences were as British as they would have been on the slope of Stirling Rock".¹³⁵ He was educated at the University of Toronto, ordained in the Presbyterian ministry in 1871, and was sent to Winnipeg to pursue his calling at the head of the church for Manitoba. In 1902 he became moderator for the Presbyterian church of Canada.

He was the founder and one of the first two professors of Manitoba College. In 1879 he was one of the founders of the Manitoba Historical

and Scientific Society. He was also elected to the Royal Society of Canada in 1901, becoming its president in 1909.

Besides his duties as a minister and a teacher, Dr. Bryce was also a historian, whose place in Manitoba and Winnipeg historiography as a skillful historian is assured. His basic philosophy always carried the "conviction that the achievements of the past justified a belief in the future of the country".¹³⁶

He was a prolific writer of histories, textbooks, essays, and pamphlets, wherein his contribution to Canadian imperialist thought was well expounded.

As a member of the Advisory Board of Education that prescribed curricula, textbooks and readers for the province,¹³⁷ and as a Winnipeg school inspector in the early 1870's, as well as a respected university professor, his influence in promoting the imperial idea in education was inordinately high. Then, too, in 1895, when the city created the Winnipeg Free Public Library, he, together with such notables as C.N. Bell, and Judge Taylor, served on the management board.

The pro-British imperialist tone of the Winnipeg school materials is in no small measure due to his commanding influence. On several occasions he took up the cudgels in journalistic debate on behalf of the English Protestant side in the Manitoba schools question.¹³⁸ Similarly with Manitoba College, where the tone set was a mere extension of that established in the schools. During the Boer War, Lord Strathcona personally congratulated Dr. Bryce for the fine war conduct displayed by his students serving under Colonel Sam Steele, for having "done good work for their Queen and country in South Africa".¹³⁹ As principal of the college, he urged that it be "adaptive and all-embracing"¹⁴⁰ as it had a

special role of assimilating and anglicizing the "foreigners", whom he desired "to be in sympathy with Canadian institutions".¹⁴¹

One of the contributions to Canadian imperialist thought made by Dr. Bryce was his attempt to make a psychological analysis of the origins and development of "the Canadian sentiment of loyalty to the Crown and Empire of Great Britain".¹⁴² He rejected the "unreasoning, dogged"¹⁴³ type of loyalty to the empire, and preferred, instead, the rational, studied approach. Those who promoted Imperial Federation, he felt, should put forward "feasible schemes. . . plans and specifications as to the goodly structure to be used, and not hints at veiled treason"¹⁴⁴ at those who did not wear their loyalty on their sleeves. Yet, in spite of his general scholarly approach, he was markedly blind to the inconsistencies and contradictions that he displayed in promoting certain concomitant elements of imperialism, notably in the myth-making aspects of Canadian history, and on the question of race and environment.

In the tradition of Canadian imperialists, he wrote that Canadian imperialism began with the United Empire Loyalists, "who sacrificed almost everything for the British connection".¹⁴⁵ Yet, "although we admire its intensity and honesty",¹⁴⁶ their loyalty "was an unreasoning, dogged loyalty to the very form and corpus of monarchy".¹⁴⁷ It was they who "threw their whole soul's devotion into building up this new monarchy on Canadian soil".¹⁴⁸

This type of loyalty, fortunately, was later re-inforced by "that of the British colonist of Canada" who, "like the picturesque redman",¹⁴⁹ was truly Canadian, belonging to his native land, "but he bore the same natural allegiance to the Crown, and Constitution of Great Britain as he did to his own family".¹⁵⁰ It was this native-born Canadian loyalty that was most deserving of praise, for there was:

. . .no thought of any other than the British connection, and love of Britain was as natural as the love for one's own family and its traditions.¹⁵¹

This "moderate, just, and rational sentiment"¹⁵² was not "so fierce, so dominating a loyalty as that of the United Empire Loyalist".¹⁵³ It was "more pacific and more Christian"¹⁵⁴ and, therefore, the best way of "inducing the hearts of the foreign and negative class in Canada to a love for the British name and fame".¹⁵⁵

The third type of loyalty that he discerned was that type held by over one half of the Canadian population, viz., "those of alien birth",¹⁵⁶ "as well as French-Canadians, and the Chartists,"¹⁵⁷ whose reasons for indifference was understandable, but whose attitude to the empire had changed due to the beneficence of the Canadian constitution given by the British parliament, and which put all subjects of the British crown "on an equal footing".¹⁵⁸ With the rights of Englishmen, the "bonds of affection binding us to Britain then began to thicken and strengthen".¹⁵⁹ This assimilation under British auspices had been so successful that when the Boer War broke out, Canadians could say:

Here are our young men of United Empire Loyalist, British, French-Canadian, German, and American - all Canadians - now ready to fight for the great Queen and her Empire.¹⁶⁰

In his psychological analysis of Canadian loyalty, he obviously opted for that version which existed in the context of a "British atmosphere",¹⁶¹ based on the true premise that "Canadians in heart and soul are loyal to the British Crown".¹⁶² This, he stressed, was "the real imperialism".¹⁶³

His "real imperialism" was based on Canadian historical experience, and that "seven-fold cord binding us to the old land. . .",¹⁶⁴ which consisted of "family connection, speech, constitution, laws, social customs, literature and church life".¹⁶⁵

One of the cords that strengthened unity of the empire, he believed, was the British system of government, "the greatest the world has ever seen".¹⁶⁶ The B.N.A. Act, which Bryce called "our British constitution"¹⁶⁷ had been responsible for Canadian freedoms and liberty. Its unifying and assimilative functions had given Canada the will to strengthen the empire. Laurier was a great statesman and Canadian because of his undoubted loyalty and love for the British Constitution.¹⁶⁸ The true worth of the British sponsored B.N.A. Act could only be appreciated "by studying our neighbours",¹⁶⁹ where "fratricidal war" and maladministration of justice, unknown under the British flag was the order of the day.¹⁷⁰

Imperialists often contradicted themselves when they espoused constitutional civil liberties. Many were die-hard militarists, whose only position on the empire were centered on the "form and corpus of the monarchy".¹⁷¹ These imperialists believed implicitly in a hierarchical social order, with its trappings of privileges and advantages for those social groups which national and local histories and conventional thought had mythologized.

Although Bryce's imperialist thought was "all-embracing", he nevertheless fell prone to an unwitting hypo-critical view. His lauding of British constitutional freedoms as putting all Canadians "on an equal footing"¹⁷² and his general "democratic predilections",¹⁷³ do not hold up against his infatuation for power and authority. Both Sir Alexander Mackenzie and Lord Selkirk, who was "like Ulysses on Ithaca",¹⁷⁴ were potentates in their own right and had that Scottish tenacity of purpose.¹⁷⁵ Their authoritarianism was overlooked because both were "patriotic and Imperialistic".¹⁷⁶ Similarly, Sir George Simpson's iron-fisted hold on Red River colony was mitigated by his knighthood, for he successfully served his country.¹⁷⁷ And in what amounts to a complete misunderstanding of the British way of

constitutional development, Dr. Bryce believed that both Governors Bond Head and Metcalfe "were good men":¹⁷⁸

The writer has never been able to justify Lyon Mackenzie and Papineau for taking up arms . . . the conditions did not justify it in 1837 and 1838.¹⁷⁹

However, his respect for authority and power was best illustrated in his relationship with Donald Smith, Lord Strathcona, whose "warm" friendship with Dr. Bryce went way back to the days when Smith was still a commissioner of the Hudson's Bay Company.¹⁸⁰ Dr. Bryce admired Lord Strathcona, so he said, for the "remarkable service he rendered to the Empire and to world civilization".¹⁸¹ They exchanged letters and consulted each other on a variety of subjects. In spite of "his great wealth acquired . . . and the many honours heaped upon him, . . . increased rather than weakened the friendship".¹⁸² In the Riel affair, Dr. Bryce wrote, "Mr. Smith acted with great wisdom and decision".¹⁸³ Time and again, Dr. Bryce's historical interpretation of the role of the mighty revealed more than he realized.

This close relationship with Lord Strathcona presumably accounted for some of Dr. Bryce's inconsistencies. Lord Strathcona's views on imperial defence were well-known,¹⁸⁴ and in this respect, Dr. Bryce's views were quite similar.

Dr. Bryce believed that the Canadian people generally, had a "military spirit".¹⁸⁵ This was evident in the "achievement of the Canadian Militia"¹⁸⁶ throughout Canadian history. In defence of empire both at home in 1812, 1866, and 1885, Canadians showed "willingness and pluck",¹⁸⁷ and abroad in 1899, "no part of the British forces in South Africa . . . showed greater bravery or military zeal than did the Canadians".¹⁸⁸ "Canada as the half-way house of the Empire" could render more to imperial defence. Her transcontinental railway, "on Empire soil", could "carry troops, war materials,

supplies, in the case of war".¹⁸⁹ It behooved Canadians to come to Britain's defence because Britain's prestige and glory were Canada's, too.¹⁹⁰ Britain's "flag, army, and navy . . . are ours - all our previous heritage", he proclaimed.¹⁹¹ Canadians volunteered for the Boer War in defence of her own honour as well, in addition to going to the aid of the "unjustly treated British settlers".¹⁹²

As one of the foremost creators of the local myths of the loyalty and pre-eminence of the Red River settlers, he endowed them with similar martial characteristics as they "sprang from ancestors who had fought Britain's battle".¹⁹³

Dr. Bryce implicitly believed that the Red River settlers had fulfilled the imperial mission by civilizing and christianizing the Indians:¹⁹⁴

. . . it gave the introduction from a barbarism and wandering life to habits of order and settled work . . . and if I read the story of its history right, it saved to Britain and Canada the vast Northwest which would otherwise not unlikely have met the fate of Oregon.¹⁹⁵

In this Red River settlement, "Britain's one utopia",¹⁹⁶ a unique community was created in which "a number of Canadians . . . who were free-born and were free men",¹⁹⁷ and who "led the elements for British freedom",¹⁹⁸ laid the foundation for a united British dominion. Their impetus was fortified by the later influx of Canadians who came in the form of a "Deliverance"¹⁹⁹ to create "a new Canada, with a dream of Empire".²⁰⁰

As one of his "seven-fold" ties forging the British connection, church life, he believed, strengthened the unity of the empire.²⁰¹ Anglicanism and Presbyterianism in Canada were essentially British in origin, traditions, forms and spirit.²⁰² These religious bonds, he argued, "are the strongest that can bind us together, for they go down deepest into our hearts".²⁰³ Thus, Canadian loyalty to the empire was a sentiment inspired by the "religious atmosphere of the whole family",²⁰⁴ as well. High and noble

religious aspirations, which characterized Canadian church life, produced heightened loyalty. A feature of this blend of patriotism and christianity was religious tolerance.²⁰⁵ Here, again, Dr. Bryce is found wanting. His racial intolerance has already been documented.²⁰⁶ A semblance of religious intolerance, inspite of his declarations to the contrary, was evident in his thinking. Amongst Roman Catholic priests, he discerned "a dangerous religious element"²⁰⁷ for being in "close association with the half-breeds".²⁰⁸ He spear-headed the attack on the pre-1890 dual school system in the province that gave educational rights to the Roman Catholic church as part of the Manitoba Act.

Like Dr. G.M. Grant, but not to the same extent, Dr. Bryce, through his promotion of missionary work in the west, and his administering to the "foreign element" immigrants, preached a form of practical christianity as part of his imperial idea. Yet, in that aspect of practical christianity, viz., the social gospel, to which his church subscribed, he was not as committed as his mentor, G.M. Grant,²⁰⁹ let alone the local Methodists led by Salem Bland, and later, J.S. Woodsworth. The Presbyterian church, in so far as the social gospel was concerned, especially under Dr. Bryce, fits Richard Allen's conservative typology, which he describes as being closest to traditional evangelicanism, stressing personal-ethical issues, and advocating legislative reforms.²¹⁰

Dr. Bryce's critique of capitalism, bearing in mind his admiration for Donald Smith, and Lord Selkirk, was remote from that categorical denunciation of it by the Wesley College-based group, led by Salem Bland.²¹¹ Dr. Bryce deprecated what he called the "grasping spirit of capital and money making",²¹² which he suggested "should be moderated",²¹³ and called for a higher spirit of political and social ideals that bring in "true economic principles".²¹⁴ Because of the "rising spirit of democracy"

implicit in the British connection, social justice would inevitably follow, in the empire, for all.²¹⁵

He admonished Canadian manufacturers for another reason as well. Acting out of self-interest, and undermining the consolidation of the empire, they were "unwilling to give a British preference in trade",²¹⁶ whereas their British counterparts, he believed, "expressing their views through Mr. Joseph Chamberlain"²¹⁷ were willing to tax themselves for the imperial cause. His position, here, was the typical western approach to the National Policy and protectionism.

Dr. Bryce's political thought was quite conventional in one aspect. He, too, like his eastern imperialist counterparts, decried the "vulgar machine politicians"²¹⁸ and believed that "the machine in politics should be dethroned".²¹⁹ Although a biographer has suggested that he had a natural "dislike of tories",²²⁰ his admiration for elitism is apparent in his writings. He felt, for example, that G.M. Grant had all the credentials for the highest office in Canada.²²¹

His suspicion of political party structures carried over to imperial ones that purported to enhance the unity of the empire. Therefore, he challenged the vague and indefinite nature of Imperial Federation talk for ignoring the real ties to empire. In any case, Canada already was "a part of the Greater Britain".²²² Therefore, such schemes or talk of schemes were irrelevant to the real ties binding Canada to the empire which needed only to be worked on. Instead of Imperial Federation, Canada should:

. . . pay devotion more and more largely to the
ancestral shrines whence came our religion,
language, and literature, and education.
While Canada is daughter in her own house,
may mother and daughter rise higher in world
influence together. This is the true Imperialism.²²³

In spite of his advocacy of greater devotion to the ancestral shrines, he, nevertheless, had certain misgivings about the British connection. He hoped that Britain would be encouraged to send "her surplus population"²²⁴ to Canada, a concern that many western imperialists had. Also, he felt that in Britain itself, there was insufficient appreciation of Canadian loyalty and identity. He desired for Canadians "a little special recognition as British subjects".²²⁵ It perturbed Canadians, he felt, that the British often identified Canada with the United States: "The British look upon us all as Americans".²²⁶

The striking thing about this Winnipeg imperialist was that he attempted to analyse the true nature of Canadian loyalty to the empire, looking beyond the narrow, but deep-outpouring of sentimental rhetoric so common in his day. Also, it is surprising that scholars of Canadian imperialism have almost totally ignored a man of this stature on the question.

However, Winnipeg honoured him in the jubilee parade, when he, with the local leaders of the Methodist and Anglican churches, rode among the dignitaries in the procession. His imperialism was an ongoing thing. He was a member of the committee that made the arrangements for the visit of the Duke and Duchess of York to Winnipeg in 1901, when part of the elaborate loyal demonstration was appropriately held on the grounds of his beloved university.²²⁷

VI

They were by no means the only prominent imperialists in the city. They were, however, fairly representative of those who fit the category. Virtually all of the city's aldermen in the late nineteenth century, except of course for labour's representative, C. Hislop, were enamoured of the idea.

Another leader in this regard was Alderman A.J. Andrews of the St. Andrew's society. Another civic father, and educationalist, whose imperialism and jingoism were well-known, was J.B. Mitchell. An admirer of Rudyard Kipling, whose visit to the city he helped to promote, J.B. Mitchell received national acclaim for barnstorming the country "delivering addresses to Canada, and other patriotic clubs . . . to the Queen's taste".²²⁸

Then there was Sir Augustus Nanton, a direct descendant of Sir Robert Nanton, the secretary of state to Queen Elizabeth and James I. He was one of Winnipeg's wealthiest businessmen, and became the chairman of the Canadian Committee, and a member of the London Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company. His imperialism reached its greatest heights during World War I when he organized the Winnipeg Patriotic Fund, the first of its kind in Canada.²²⁹ Leading the national fund later, he exhorted the country to contribute in defense of the empire which had always given Canada "the protection and privilege of British citizenship".²³⁰ His prestige was such that when the Duke of Connaught, Queen Victoria's youngest son, visited Winnipeg, he was a guest in the Nanton mansion.²³¹

Another prominent Winnipeg imperialist was Hon. Colin Campbell. A prominent lawyer, and provincial cabinet minister, he was also "well-known as a conservative leader and keen imperialist".²³² He represented the province at the Imperial Conference on Education in London in 1907, and was presented to the monarch on three separate occasions during his life-time, as well as being commanded to the coronation of King George V. He introduced the provincial legislation that compelled all Manitoba school classrooms to fly the Union Jack, which "was in due time adopted by other provinces in Canada, in Bermuda and other colonies of the empire".²³³ His ideas on imperial relations were firmly based on Christian rules. A devout presbyterian, he believed that the sole motive for the British empire

was the Christian mission. Whether Britain was "waging war in Africa . . . digging channels", or dictating to the Japanese emperor, he was convinced that she always did it from a Christian standpoint.²³⁴ He wrote: "Where Britain goes, she carries that bible that has been the secret of her greatness".²³⁵ Like other local imperialists he opposed imperial federation because it would "bring with it responsibilities which we are not prepared to assume".²³⁶

There were many other Winnipeg imperialists as well. They were all involved in promoting various imperialist causes in the city. Many, like D.W. McDermid, J.P. Robertson, D.W. Bole, Andrew Strong, J. Stuart, Colonel Holmes, E.F. Hutchings, Dr. King, Canon Coombs, Colonel Ruttan, Rev. C.C. Owen, Rev. G. Gordon, P.C. McIntyre, Daniel McIntyre, Stewart Mulvey, C.N. Bell, W. Hespeler, B.E. Chaffey, Rev. F. Drummond, and F. Heubach, could qualify as imperialists. They helped organize the diamond jubilee, they organized the visit of the Duke and Duchess of York to Winnipeg in 1901,²³⁷ they organized their fraternal, friendly and national society Queen Victoria Birthday celebrations, they made patriotic speeches and loyal addresses, they honoured and participated in war memorials, they preached sterling, martial sermons, and they all vowed, time and again, that Winnipeg and its hinterland was British to the core.

Although the evidence is certainly there that there were many imperialists in the city, the Winnipeg Tribune doubted their number and sincerity. It wrote that imperialism:

. . . is simply an appeal to sacrifice practical advantages in order to gratify a sentiment which does not exist in the case of a few individuals here and there.²³⁸

Regardless, no one can deny that the five particular imperialists treated above genuinely believed in their rectitude in promoting the cause of the British empire.

FOOTNOTES

- ¹Winnipeg Telegram, 19 June 1914.
- ²Ibid.
- ³Baker Papers, MG14, B2, Scrapbook, unidentified clipping, p. 57.
- ⁴See chapter 5 for organization of the jubilee.
- ⁵W. D. T., 23 May 1892.
- ⁶The Sons of England Benevolent Society Constitution (Bellville: The Society, 1897), p. 5.
- ⁷Ibid.
- ⁸Ibid.
- ⁹Baker Papers, MG14, B2, Scrapbook, pamphlet containing his speech.
- ¹⁰Ibid., clipping, n. d., p. 16.
- ¹¹Ibid.
- ¹²Ibid., clipping, speech delivered at the society's banquet held on the 18 October 1899, p. 207.
- ¹³Winnipeg Telegram, 12 August 1900.
- ¹⁴Baker Papers, MG14, B2, Scrapbook, unidentified clipping, p. 42.
- ¹⁵Ibid., p. 207.
- ¹⁶Ibid.
- ¹⁷Ibid.
- ¹⁸Ibid.
- ¹⁹Winnipeg Telegram, 19 May 1892.
- ²⁰Ibid.
- ²¹Ibid.
- ²²Ibid.
- ²³Baker Papers, MG14, B2, Scrapbook, unidentified clipping, p. 207.
- ²⁴Winnipeg Telegram, 19 May 1892.

²⁵"The Edinburgh Unity of the Empire Association." An unattached pamphlet found amongst the Baker Papers, MG14, B2, scrapbook. There is no evidence that he was a member of this group. However, one executive member's name is underlined, presumably a friend, or the person who sent him the pamphlet.

²⁶Winnipeg Telegram, 19 May 1892.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Baker Papers, MG14, B2, Scrapbook, unidentified clipping, p. 207.

²⁹Ibid., Address by G. W. Baker, Esquire, Before the Public School Boys and Girls," scrapbook, p. 106.

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Winnipeg Telegram, 19 June 1914.

³²Winnipeg Tribune 24 June 1972.

³³C. A. Boulton, op. cit., p. 1.

³⁴Winnipeg Tribune, 24 June 1972.

³⁵C. A. Boulton, op. cit., p. 14.

³⁶James Morris, Heaven's Command, An Imperial Progress (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1973), p. 350.

³⁷Manitoba Department of Cultural and Historical Resources, Historical Resources Branch, "Major C. A. Boulton, 1841-1899," 1981, p. 1.

³⁸F. Schofield, op. cit., Vol, 1, p. 272

³⁹MDCHR, op. cit., p. 3.

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹C. A. Boulton, op. cit., p. 202.

⁴²MDCHR, op. cit., p. 3.

⁴³C. A. Boulton, op. cit., p. 203.

⁴⁴Boulton Papers, MG14, B2.

⁴⁵C. A. Boulton, op. cit., p. 37.

⁴⁶Boulton Papers, MG14, Boulton to the Earl of Aberdeen, File No. 23.

⁴⁷Ibid., Boulton to the Ottawa Citizen, n.d. See also C. A. Boulton, op. cit., p. 431.

⁴⁸Ibid.

- ⁴⁹Ibid., Copy of Boulton's speech delivered 23 March 1896.
- ⁵⁰Senate Debates, 60 Victoria, 2nd Session, 31 March 1897, p. 53.
- ⁵¹Ibid.
- ⁵²Ibid., 2 June 1897, p. 427.
- ⁵³Ibid.
- ⁵⁴See Carl Berger, op. cit. (1970), p. 3. D. Cole, "The Problem of Nationalism and Imperialism in British Settlement Colonies," Journal of British Studies (May 1971), p. 162.
- ⁵⁵C. A. Boulton, op. cit., p. 429.
- ⁵⁶Ibid.
- ⁵⁷Ibid.
- ⁵⁸See John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson, "The Imperialism of Free Trade," Economic History Review, Vol, VI (1953), pp. 1-15.
- ⁵⁹MDCHR, op. cit., p. 3.
- ⁶⁰C. A. Boulton, op. cit., p. 431.
- ⁶¹Senate Debates, op. cit., 4 May 1897, p. 261. The debate was on the British Treaty of 1894 with Japan, which Canada adopted as its own. Boulton demanded that Canada withdraw from this "favoured-nation treaty" as long as she was protectionist.
- ⁶²C. A. Boulton, op. cit., p. 431.
- ⁶³Ibid.
- ⁶⁴Ibid.
- ⁶⁵Ibid., p. 432.
- ⁶⁶Ibid., p. 433.
- ⁶⁷Boulton Papers, MG14, File No. 23, manuscript: "To illustrate whether Commerical Policy of Canada differs with that of U. S." p. 5.
- ⁶⁸G. Bryce, op. cit. (1914), p. 503.
- ⁶⁹Senate Debates, 60 Victoria, 2nd Session, 31 March 1897, p. 53.
- ⁷⁰C. A. Boulton, op. cit., p. 434.
- ⁷¹Ibid., p. 435.
- ⁷²Ibid.
- ⁷³Ibid.

⁷⁴Ibid. See also Senate Debates, 31 March 1897, wherein he argued that Canada was "in advance of nearly all other portions of the British Empire," in that respect, p. 53.

⁷⁵Senate Debates, 60 Victoria, 2nd Session, 3 May 1897, p. 259.

⁷⁶Boulton Papers, MG14, File No. 23, manuscript of speech delivered 23 March 1896.

⁷⁷Senate Debates, 60 Victoria, 2nd Session, 3 May 1897, p. 259.

⁷⁸C. A. Boulton, op. cit., p. 434.

⁷⁹Ibid.

⁸⁰Senate Debates, 60 Victoria, 2nd Session, 31 March 1897, p. 53.

⁸¹Ibid.

⁸²Boulton Papers, MG14, File No. 23, clipping, 10 July 1891.

⁸³Captain J. Kennedy, at age nineteen, graduated from the Montreal Military school. "He rose through the ranks from bugler to captain of the 47th Battalion, which participated in the Fenian war of 1866." F. Schofield, op. cit., Vol. 11, p. 218.

⁸⁴G. Bryce, op. cit. (1914), p. 425.

⁸⁵J. Tenant, op. cit., p. 21.

⁸⁶C. A. Boulton, op. cit., p. 199.

⁸⁷W. N. Kennedy Papers, MG14, B59, clipping, Winnipeg Evening News.

⁸⁸Ibid.

⁸⁹Ibid., File 5: "Petition from Electors of the city of Winnipeg."

⁹⁰R. Stewart, Sam Steele: Lion of the Frontier (Toronto: Doubleday Ltd., 1979, p. 10.)

⁹¹James Morris, op. cit. (1968), p. 239.

⁹²J. Tenant, op. cit., p. 205.

⁹³W. N. Kennedy Papers, MG14, B59, File 6, No. 1, Clipping.

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⁹⁶W. N. Kennedy Papers, MG14, B59, File 6.

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¹⁸¹ Ibid., p. 11.

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¹⁸³ G. Bryce, op. cit. (1906), p. 157.

¹⁸⁴ A. Begg, History of the North-West (Toronto: Hunter, Rose and Company, 1894), Vol. 1, p. 513.

¹⁸⁵ G. Bryce, op. cit. (1914), p. 429.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 505.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 506.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., p. 465.

¹⁹² Ibid., p. 512.

¹⁹³ G. Bryce, op. cit. (1906), p. 147.

¹⁹⁴ G. Bryce, op. cit. (1885-1886), p. 2.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ G. Bryce, op. cit. (1912), p. 91.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ G. Bryce, op. cit. (1896), p. 2.

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ G. Bryce, op. cit. (1914), p. 460.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 465.

²⁰⁶G. Bryce in "The Dominion History of Canada for schools", (manuscripts, RBC Dafoe Library, University of Manitoba) describes the Black loyalists as "a turbulent and discontented element" who found the climate not suitable to the negroes." This attitude is juxtaposed against the "heroic loyalists." He continues in this vein: "It was with dismay that the people of Halifax, four years after the removal of the loyalist negroes (they were deported to Sierra Leone), saw a colony of maroons, 500 in number, thrown among them." These maroons, he declared, "had been living a wild life in Jamaica," p. 125.

²⁰⁷G. Bryce, op. cit. (1906), p. 152.

²⁰⁸Ibid.

²⁰⁹Carl Berger, op. cit. (1970), p. 31.

²¹⁰Richard Allen, The Social Passion (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), p. 17.

²¹¹From a graduate paper by the writer, "1890-1920: The Social Gospel and the Methodist Church," Course 11:735, Dr. V. Jensen, University of Manitoba, March 1977.

²¹²G. Bryce, op. cit. (1914), p. 565.

²¹³Ibid.

²¹⁴Ibid.

²¹⁵Ibid., p. 565.

²¹⁶Ibid., p. 504.

²¹⁷Ibid.

²¹⁸Carl Berger, op. cit. (1970), p. 207.

²¹⁹G. Bryce, op. cit. (1914), p. 565.

²²⁰N. Storey, op. cit., p. 113.

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²²³G. Bryce, op. cit. (1914), p. 506.

²²⁴Ibid.

²²⁵G. Bryce, op. cit. (1896), p. 6.

²²⁶Ibid.

²²⁷Minutes of Meetings held by the Reception Committee for the visit of Their Royal Highness, The Duke and Duchess of York to Winnipeg, 1901, MG14, A6, Minutes of September 11, 1901.

²²⁸J. B. Mitchell Papers, MG14, C89, Winnipeg Telegram, 25 March 1909.

²²⁹R. G. Macbeth, Sir Augustus Nanton (Toronto: Macmillans, 1931), p. 44.

²³⁰A. Nanton Papers MG14, C87, "Nanton Talks of the Fund."

²³¹G. Shanks, op. cit., p. 33.

²³²F. H. Schofield, op. cit., Vol. 11, p. 46.

²³³C. N. Campbell Papers, MG14, B21, Box 5: biographical.

²³⁴Ibid., untitled essay/speech, p. b.

²³⁵Ibid.

²³⁶Ibid., p. m.

²³⁷Minutes of the Royal Visit, 1901, Reception Committee, MG14, A6.

²³⁸W. D. T., 12 November 1892.

CHAPTER III

WINNIPEG PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND THE IMPERIAL IDEA

I

The system of education that existed in Winnipeg between 1870-1897 consciously formed the concept of empire in the minds of the young. As an instrument of social development, the educational system disseminated and inculcated ideas and outlooks that were directly related to the needs of maintaining, and even promoting the ideals of imperialism.

J.A. Hobson, in his seminal work, Imperialism, A Study,¹ showed that the instruments of education were accommodated to the service of imperialism. He recognized the attempt:

. . . to seize the school system for imperialism masquerading as patriotism. To capture the childhood of the country, . . . to poison its early understanding of history by false ideals and pseudo-heroes. . .²

Hobson's charge was echoed later by A.R.M. Lower, writing about the same period in Canada: "all little Canadian boys and girls have been subjected from the day on which they start school to an unending steeping in the liquid of imperialism".³

While the influence of imperialism was clearly evident in Winnipeg, the educational ideas and institutions were products of other factors as well in the life of the city: the character and traditions of its people; the personalities and vested interests of its leading citizens; and, finally, its recent history. Therefore, it is not surprising that 4,000 students marched in the Diamond Jubilee procession in 1897.⁴

Moreover, concomitant imperialist ideals, such as hard-work, obedience,

and discipline were social imperatives for British industrialization.⁵ Loyalty to the crown often implied loyalty to the status quo. These virtues were naturally accepted in Winnipeg because of the confidence which local educational and civic leaders had in the city's future.

II

If the powers that be have designs on an educational system so as to shape it to serve their interests, then they must have what Hobson has termed "safe teachers" to do their bidding in the classroom.⁶

The Red River settlement from its inception had people who served as teachers. The 1813 Selkirk party included Donald Gunn, for example, "who was a teacher for a time".⁷ After 1850, Mr. Gunn opened and taught at a special private school at St. Andrews "to train the sons and daughters of the H.B.Co. factors and traders to enter the service of the Co."⁸

The early settlers and the local Metis were eager to have their children educated. The Hudson's Bay Company, with certain grave reservations complied.⁹ In 1808, the company sent out "the first trinity of trained and experienced teachers" to serve in the settlement and at some of the posts.¹⁰

Before the transfer of Red River to the dominion of Canada, "the church had had a primary school wherever there was a clergyman".¹¹ Missionaries from most denominations contributed to the educational life of the settlement. This, in itself, was significant given the role which the missionaries have played in the expansion of the British empire. Initially, Anglican and Roman Catholic missionaries held sway, subject to the Hudson's Bay Company policy.¹² Anyone going beyond the bounds of company policy could be summarily dismissed and discredited.¹³

Inspector E.E. Best, one of the first school inspectors for the Board of Education, wrote about the early private schools that were run

by "kindly disposed persons in whom the love of learning was their chief and only incentive".¹⁴ Some of the teachers were French-speaking from Lower Canada, while the majority were of British origin and "constituted the English-speaking class".¹⁵

The Hudson's Bay Company made certain that these teachers:

. . . overlooked not the nobler ideals of their predecessors . . . traditions of parental life, home arts and manners' sports and games as known in the old country.¹⁶

In the pre-confederation period, British tradition certainly shaped the early school curricula and methodology; and many of the teachers, including such legendary ones as West, Harbridge, Gunn, and Elizabeth Bowden had been trained in Britain.¹⁷ One of the first schools in the settlement was the one established by the Rev. John West in 1822. Eventually it took on a secondary school character. After its revival in 1865 by Bishop Machray, the collegiate section was organized along the lines of the English public schools, with Bishop Machray, Arch-Deacon Mclean, and Mr. John Pritchard as the first teachers.¹⁸ Appropos to this study is the fact that military drill was included as extra-curricular work in the afternoons.¹⁹

In 1871, twelve Protestant and twelve Catholic schools entered the Public System of Education for Manitoba. The Winnipeg Public School District No. 10, which was later changed to the Winnipeg School Division No. 1, came into being to administer public education for the city of Winnipeg. The boundary of the district extended:

. . . from the north line of Neil McDonald's lot on the Red River to the eastern line of Thomas Franklin's lot on the Assiniboine (which was near St. James). The Red River formed the boundary in the east and the uninhabited prairie lay to the west.²⁰

Winnipeg immediately established its first public school under the

system, with one teacher and an enrollment of thirty-five. By 1896, there were eleven public schools with ninety-six teachers for an enrollment of seventy-five hundred students.²¹

In the early 1870's, according to Inspector A.A. Herriot, teachers were hard to find and ill-trained.²² However, Winnipeg's first public school teacher, W.F. Luxton, was recognized as an outstanding teacher. He must have been a "safe" teacher, too, as he was virtually handpicked by trustee, Major Stewart Mulvey, the local Imperialist.²³

W.F. Luxton was English born, and was educated at an English grammar school. After initially settling in Huron County, Ontario, he was sent out to the Northwest by the Toronto Globe as a special correspondent:

. . . to write up what was then a comparatively unknown land. His letters to that paper arrested considerable attention in the old parts of Canada.²⁴

He was considered the best in his field as a journalist of the Canadian West. His work is reminiscent of his British counterparts: G.A. Henry, Archibald Forbes, and Ernest Bennet and others, who as "Eyewitnesses to Empire" recorded imperial events. Luxton's role in British expansion in the Northwest by way of Ontario's manifest destiny, was revealed in his attitudes to the local indigenous population and in his buoyant view of the benefits of western expansion.

Luxton always held to the Imperialist's creed of progress. His writings, both as journalist and editor, especially through the Manitoba Free Press:

. . . held resolutely to the large buoyant optimistic view. His belief in the west, and his determination that it should have its chance

chairman and provincial board member; and from the "outside" as creator of public opinion, as newspaper founder and editor.

Among the earliest Winnipeg teachers there were many influential persons who held very strong views on maintaining and strengthening the Imperial tie. Those whose ideological convictions were strongest and who had the proper connections, went on to administrative and other official positions where they were better able to transmit the concomitant values of Imperialism into the school system. A case in point is F.H. Schofield, who came from Nova Scotia in the eighties to join the Winnipeg school staff. In 1888 he was appointed principal of the Winnipeg Collegiate. In 1913, his history of Manitoba was published in three volumes, viz., The Story of Manitoba.²⁶

His work is imbued with the imperialist spirit, especially the sentimental variety. In the introduction, Schofield has included Norman Cragg's poem, "The Pioneers". The last stanza reads:

O ancient Mother, dwelling alone,
 Silent, austere, and free,
 Flesh of thy flesh, and bone of thy bone
 We are, and are proud to be!
 And still, and forever, as of old,
 In spite of the sundering sea;
 What God has given to gain and hold
 We gain and hold for thee.²⁷

The poem sets the tone for the entire three volumes, which honours the events and people that created the "western empire".²⁸ To Schofield, the events were created by noble, spirited, and Christian pioneers, whose only motive was to raise the flag and serve the Queen.²⁹

His personalities were like Henty's one-dimensional heroes. They are energetic, adventurous, intrepid, and fiercely patriotic in their forward-looking policies. John Schultz is idealized for "the nobility of the principles which governed his life and . . . his high and lofty patriotism."³⁰

He is full of admiration for Schultz's "military spirit",³¹ and he meticulously traces the military careers of his subjects and his ancestors. Almost every member of the Red River Expedition who remained in Winnipeg is lionized. They all have a deep sense of mission and duty which the empire has imposed on them as patriots.

Schofield also had the conventional imperialist's attitude to race. Riel was a "usurper", and his people in the Red River Rebellion are deprecated for not accepting their subjugation "to that of a more progressive people".³² With their "hopeless anger", they resembled their counterparts in "India, (and) South Africa".³³

III

The officers of the Winnipeg School system were key people in the socialization of the pupils to the Imperial Idea. In 1871, under the School Act, a Board of Education was established. The act also provided for the election of school trustees, "but defined their duties somewhat vaguely".³⁴ However, in 1873, by an amendment to the act, the duties were clearly defined. They were empowered, among other things, to contract and employ teachers; to visit the schools once a month "for the purpose of seeing that it is conducted according to the authorized regulations";³⁵ to enforce school discipline.

The franchise for the school board elections were limited to British subjects by birth or by naturalization only; consequently, "the vast majority of the population was excluded from voting. Thus, the school board was in effect elected by the wealthiest sections of the population".³⁶

The Winnipeg School Board, as a public trusteeship, fits Burton Clark's model of authority in the control of schools.³⁷ Here a public trust is controlled through a lay body representing the state, community, religious or other interests.

The first three trustees were Messrs. Stewart Mulvey - the father of the school system³⁸ - W.G. Fonseca, and Archibald Wright. In Stewart Mulvey we have an imperialist, who, in many ways was Winnipeg's answer to Colonel Denison. He came west with the Red River Expedition and remained in the city after the force was disbanded: "He was offered a newspaper plant if he would remain".³⁹ For the entire period, 1871-1897, he occupied at least one of the important decision-making positions in education for the Winnipeg School Board. He served continuously as trustee from 1871-1887, having been chairman of the school board from 1881-1884.

In 1907, when he left Winnipeg to retire to the Pacific coast, the Winnipeg Free Press stated:

Mr. Mulvey was, in conjunction with W.H. Ross, brother of Donald A. Ross, appointed to the board of Education to draft the first Educational Act for cities and towns; and afterwards he was consulted in reference to all the school acts and amendments that were framed until very recently.⁴⁰

Stewart Mulvey believed implicitly in the Orange Lodge and virtually lived by its slogan. His election as first grand master almost coincided with his election to the school board. As an educationist, his tastes "inclined him to the preparing of young men and women for future citizenship"⁴¹ within the vision of the Orange Lodge's perception of Canada's role within the British Empire.

He served as a member of the Manitoba Legislature for three years between 1886-1889. Later, in 1896, at an Orange Lodge district meeting, the representatives passed a special vote of thanks for "Past-Grand Master Mulvey's manly and courageous stand - his loyal and patriotic utterances on the floor of the house".⁴²

When he finally left Winnipeg, he was convinced that there "was no place on the continent" where the people "are more loyal" to the British

Empire than Winnipeg.⁴³ He, as an educationist and trustee, had fulfilled his mission in helping to bring about that state of affairs.

Trustee W.G. Fonseca was described by imperialist historian F. Schofield as one of those pioneers:

. . . who braved the dangers and hardships of frontier life and . . . utilized the opportunities offered in a new country that had many natural advantages. The dream of western empire was theirs . . .⁴⁴

W.G. Fonseca's full name was Don Derigo Nojada Gomez da Fonseca. He was the first wholly assimilated non-Anglo-Saxon member of the Winnipeg elite. Born in the Danish West Indies of Spanish noble ancestry, he had no problem adjusting to living in Winnipeg where he soon became one of the largest property owners in the city. Although not an imperialist on record, he was associated with imperialists Stewart Mulvey and Sir John Schultz.

Like W.G. Fonseca, the third member of the board, Archibald Wright, was one of the founding businessmen in the city. His membership of the city's elite was assured as he was one of those, who together with J.C. Schultz "were besieged apparantly for no other reason than that they raised the British flag and preferred to serve the Queen rather than Riel".⁴⁵

Except for W.G. Fonseca, not a single other non-Anglo-Saxon served as a trustee up to 1897.⁴⁶ In the case of the chairmen of the board, not only were they all British, but quite a few were militarists and imperialists, while others through association had strong ties with the imperialists. Stewart Mulvey was board chairman for four years; W.F. Luxton served for three; P.C. McIntyre, the rugged individualist, served five terms.

Education, then, did not come from the community at large, but was imposed from above by those in positions of trust. The original three trustees, because "there was then no law to enable the trustees to levy a tax for support of schools",⁴⁷ raised private subscriptions from the

business community to pay a salary of \$600 to their first teacher, W.F. Luxton.⁴⁸

The trustees and board chairman represented the dominant views of the social and financial elite in the city, and were thus able to control the schools system in the interests of those who shaped state and community ideals. And foremost amongst these was the imperial idea.

Another powerful position of public trusteeship was the dual function of inspector and superintendent of Winnipeg public schools. Between 1871-1897, the positions were all held by Britishers, including such imperialists as Dr. George Bryce, J.B. Somerset, and the ubiquitous Daniel MacIntyre. The duties of the superintendent were far-reaching and virtually dictatorial.⁴⁹

One of the best-known superintendents in Winnipeg school history was Daniel MacIntyre. He came to the city in 1883, and taught at Carlton School until 1885 when he became superintendent. He was considered "the man under whose guidance the city's educational system grew to its present stature".⁵⁰ In 1935, "in recognition of his great work as an educator", he received the Order of the British Empire.⁵¹

He had no party affiliations, and did not care for active political participation, "preferring . . . to concentrate his energies upon his duties in connection with the educational field".⁵² He believed that a public school was an agency for the dissemination of the trusted ideals of the community.⁵³ Therefore, the aim of teaching history was to inculcate loyalty to the British heritage. The pillars of the community had benefitted from imperial expansion, and therefore imperial ideas were sacrosanct. He would leave nothing to chance. One of his methods of control was to "tour" the schools under his wing, thereby extending his personal influence into every city school.⁵⁴

In 1891 he argued for more secondary schools in the city in order to meet "the higher duties of citizenship",⁵⁵ because:

A serious menace to the stability of our institutions looms up in the distance through the approaching shock of hostile interests in our industrial system. And the high school is a powerful agency for producing that common sense of most, which is the chief safeguard against revolution and violence.⁵⁶

His idea of citizenship was really a supreme allegiance to an imperialist interest:

. . . which requires that men should be ready to subdue all other interests, particularly class interest, for the sake of a larger more comprehensive concern which unites in a supreme allegiance rich and poor. . .⁵⁷

Another brand of his imperialism was his version of the British Empire having been won on the playing fields of the public schools. He was aware of the benefits of:

. . . healthful and manly sport in the playground, under wise supervision that is not meddlesome and vexatious, but gently regulative and directive of one of the best fields for moral as well as physical training.⁵⁸

He was a great assimilationist. One of his many successes was his producing of a Rhodes scholar out of J.J. Thorson, from Iceland, whom he tutored and who later became the Exchequer Courts President. At Daniel MacIntyre's funeral in 1946, Dr. Howse, the officiating minister, said that in the days of great social change and immigration, he made Winnipeg schools "the best educational laboratory in Canada".⁵⁹

His jubilee year school report best summarized his ideals:

. . . the true measure of the school is the impression it leaves on character, the motives that it quickens into life . . . and the tastes that it cultivates in the children. . .⁶⁰

During the 1880's the successful campaign to anglicise the schools

system had been led by local Orange Lodges, and "all loyal British Protestants".⁶¹ They insisted that Manitoba be made British "and that a national school system should be the agent to accomplish it".⁶² This, Joseph Martin, the attorney-general, believed was a pre-requisite for Canadian nationalism within the British Empire.⁶³ The new Anglo majority idealized a homogeneous state with "an appreciation of British institutions, identification with the Empire, and pride in the so-called Anglo-Saxon race".⁶⁴ The passage of the Education Act of 1890 marked the political ascendancy of the Anglo-Saxon Ontarian settlers.⁶⁵

The act set up greater bureaucratic controls of Education, thereby facilitating the social objectives of its proponents. It established non-denominational schools administered by trustees and a Department of Education, led by a minister and an Advisory Board. The Advisory Board had far-reaching powers. Amongst other things, it made regulations for all schools and prescribed the curricula for the province.⁶⁶ It was clear that the board "exercised a controlling influence on all the educational functions of the public school system".⁶⁷

The idea of the 'interlocking directorate' of the business world prevailed in the composition of the board. The members all held key positions in other educational institutions. Furthermore, it was "controlled by businessmen or by members of the upper echelons of the middle class, such as professionals and senior administrators".⁶⁸

Daniel MacIntyre was a typical advisory board member. He was a superintendent, an inspector, the Winnipeg Teachers' Association president, and a committee member of the Winnipeg Industrial Bureau. He resided in Armstrong Point which "appealed to Winnipeg's upper crust",⁶⁹ and had connections with the commercial elite of the city, as well.

The concern for moral training and character, a preoccupation of

Victorian and Imperialist times, characterized local teacher training.

Intellect and methodology were secondary to "the power and will to influence the habits, tastes, and dispositions" of the pupils.⁷⁰ The entire teacher training course emphasized the memorization of hard facts so that teachers could disseminate information and transmit their cultural heritage.

Dr. J. Morrison, Inspector of Schools, reported in 1884 that the work of the Normal School had effected changes in the calibre of teaching. The old way "has given place to lessons in language, composition, loyalty, moral culture, manners, drawing, etc."⁷¹

The "safe" passivity of local teachers is exemplified in teacher-administrator relations. When cadet training was implemented, the principals unilaterally decided to run a class to instruct teachers on military drill.⁷² The school trustees lauded the teachers for the "readiness" with which they complied.⁷³ Similarly, when the Winnipeg Teachers Association formed a professional development branch, three principals - all imperialists - W.A. McIntyre, J.H. Mulvey, and F.H. Schofield, were appointed "to execute the recommendation".⁷⁴ Also, at teacher conventions, the principals totally dominated the proceedings. They read position papers on education and led the ensuing discussion, as the Manitoba Free Press reported: "After Daniel MacIntyre read his paper, a discussion followed led by J.H. Mulvey, F.H. Schofield, and W.A. McIntyre".⁷⁵

IV

J.A. Hobson wrote that the school system "masquerading as patriotism" persistently tried to channel the students' "free play into the routine of military drill, (and) to combat the savage survivals of combativeness".⁷⁶

One of the tenets of the imperialist was the belief in militarism. Most imperialists shared this conviction, although for different reasons.

The militarist aspect of the imperial idea was a part of Winnipeg schools from 1888 onwards. In fact, in the early days of Red River, military drill was a part of the extra-curricular program.⁷⁷ Also, the Winnipeg School Division officially adopted the policy of cadet training long before the Lord Strathcona Trust's endowment promoted a national scheme in 1909. Although similar programs were in existence in Toronto and Halifax, it is quite conceivable that Strathcona's connection with Winnipeg, and the success of the movement there, might have been a factor in his proposal.

The original idea of the school cadet movement preceeded Confederation, having been the policy of the Province of Canada from 1862. With Confederation, the idea was extended under the new federal Militia Department, which by 1888 had promoted the system, "under the supervision of the regular and militia units in several cities in Canada, among them, the city of Winnipeg".⁷⁸

The imperialists' obsession with moral instruction and character building, as reflected in the great outpouring of popular imperial literature, was re-echoed in the aims of the movement:

To develop the mental, moral, and physical education of boys and so to form their characters as to assist them to start well in life; to develop in them principles of leadership. . .⁷⁹

Foremost amongst the aims was that of the responsibilities of citizenship, which imperialists understood to be synonymous with patriotism.⁸⁰ There were other reasons for cadet training: national, industrial, ethical, social, as well as military.⁸¹ Close to each was the most obvious one, viz., the training of young men as "the foundation of the defence of the Empire".⁸²

A number of factors facilitated its implementation into the local

school system. Winnipeg, on the frontier of empire, had been the headquarters of a permanent military staff, as well as the training centre for the local militia. Then, too, Canada's growing nationalism "within the structure of the British Empire", demanded "the extension of military training to the youth of the city".⁸³ The role and influence in Winnipeg of the members of the Red River Expedition, who supported the cadet movement unequivocally, was a significant factor. They were all proud of the British Empire whose boundaries they had helped to expand "by bringing law and order and the symbol of British power"⁸⁴ into the west.

In 1888, the principal of the Winnipeg Collegiate appealed to the school board for the introduction of military drill, and that "time and place and extent of drill be made a matter of regulation".⁸⁵ Also, there was growing evidence "of a public movement favourable to implementing such a policy".⁸⁶

Consequently, the Winnipeg School Board by an overwhelming majority voted in favour of a two month trial period. At the end of the trial period, the board reported that "the exercises have been of great benefit to the boys - training them in the habit of attention and obedience to the several commands".⁸⁷

In December, 1889, the board authorized the formation of cadet companies in the Collegiate. Soon after that it was extended to the upper grades of the elementary schools. The program only got under way in 1892 when four companies were formed for each of the Central schools,⁸⁸ with Sergeant-Major Watson forming them into a battalion.⁸⁹ Within a month, twelve hundred were engaged under the instruction of the major.⁹⁰

Interest in military exercises had been "greatly stimulated" by Lieutenant-Governor J.S. Schultz who had donated trophies for competition.⁹¹ In that year, too, the cadets had been put through their paces at Garry

Park where Lord and Lady Aberdeen were in attendance and fully approved of the display.⁹²

In 1895, the School Board reported that it had extended the time allotment for the exercises, as well as the contract of Major Billman. It also reported that "in several schools instruction was given to teachers. . ."⁹³ It also compelled teachers "to find a place for this work on their daily program", and to prepare themselves so that they may conduct military exercises themselves in the future.⁹⁴

The cadets trained in school time on the playing fields, and went on regular "route marches" with real rifles if the school had won a Winnipeg school military drill competition, when "every school with any martial pride had a well-drilled company there, even two or three".⁹⁵ The rest of the students were nevertheless present, waving their Union Jacks on little bamboo sticks. "And every cadet, resplendent in his uniform, was proudly conscious of his role in this great boy-pageant, and gleefully conscious of the admiring throng of girls. . ."⁹⁶

The man who epitomized the cadet movement was Thomas Billman. He was appointed in 1895 to the Winnipeg School staff to command the movement. Colonel Billman had a "pronounced military bearing".⁹⁸ He began his military career in 1875 in Halifax and rose through the ranks. He had taught at Military Colleges in Canada and England. Thereafter he became Regimental Sergeant-Major of the School of Mounted Infantry at Winnipeg. He left the regulars in 1885, "but found the military spirit in him too strong",⁹⁹ and consequently joined the 90th Battalion, whose uniform he always wore as cadet instructor.¹⁰⁰

Colonel Billman was the recipient of numerous military awards, and was regarded as "one of the most capable officers in the Canadian Militia".¹⁰¹ Thousands of Winnipeg pupils passed through his hands with the full approval

of the educational authorities, who saw in cadet training the means of achieving military preparedness for defence of empire.¹⁰²

J.W. Chafe, in his history of the Winnipeg School Division, remembered the "famous" Colonel Billman:

What a striking figure the Colonel made in his dazzling uniform! He was the 'very model of a modern major-general' . . . And his stentorian commanding voice! On the parade ground his 'For-r-m Fou-ah-ahs!' made all the three thousand in his army positively vibrate as they clicked their heels in precision.¹⁰³

Besides Colonel Billman, there were other militarists on staff of the Winnipeg school system, as well. The principal of John Norquay School, Captain Jack Mulvey, was the very colourful son of imperialist Stewart Mulvey. He was "a huge man with a black moustache and a military bearing",¹⁰⁴ and was reputed to have had the best cadet corps in the city. According to his "worshipful alumni", the Norquay cadet corp was often invited to put on displays on special occasions. As a principal, he would often use mock-military commands and ritual in the running of his school.¹⁰⁵

W.J. Sisler, principal of Strathcona School, and well-known assimilationist at the turn of the century, recalled proudly that:

At one time we had three companies of cadets who knew their company and battalion drill much better than did most militia of that time.¹⁰⁶

Furthermore, W.J. Sisler, who had experience both as a cadet and as an instructor,¹⁰⁷ was convinced of the value of military drill as "it inculcates order, neatness, precision and co-operation to as great or greater extent than does any other training".¹⁰⁸ He could recall:

How proud these sons of peasants were in their brightly-coloured cadet uniforms . . . and they excelled here too. To their fathers the British Empire and its military might had been something awe-inspiring and now they themselves were outshining the sons of the Canadian British.¹⁰⁹

It is quite understandable, then, that when Britain declared war in 1914, it brought excitement to young Winnipeggers: "Canada would be at war too . . . What an adventure!"¹¹⁰

V

Dr. Sybil Shack, who studied, taught, and administered in the Winnipeg schools system, writes:

Our early textbooks taught us the unwavering rightness of the British Empire, the glory of carrying the white man's burden, and the virtues of courage in war.¹¹¹

Like the administrative structure, "the curriculum is also a political instrument in that it is intended to impart certain desired skills and a particular view of reality".¹¹²

The curricula used between 1871-1897, especially in the social studies, and reading, reveal the attempt to teach the history, the nature and the ideals of the empire as "the best legacy which the past has bequeathed".¹¹³ Papers read at the Imperial Studies Conference in England, in 1924, repeatedly referred to history, geography, and literature as the essentials of imperial studies.¹¹⁴ Daniel MacIntyre believed that Canadian history should instil into students an appreciation of their "birthright as British subjects".¹¹⁵

Underpinning the curricula was the aim of inculcating citizenship. History was to be the main vehicle for this purpose. In England, A. Conway, president of the National Union of Teachers, knew that it was "the history of our Empire", that alone could "enter into the bones and marrow of our young people".¹¹⁶ This "robust citizenship" was conventionally defined by W.H. Fitchett in Deeds that Won the Empire:

. . . of heroic fortitude, of loyalty to duty stronger than the love of life; . . . of the patriotism which makes love of the Fatherland a passion. These are the elements of robust citizenship.¹¹⁷

Winnipeg schools taught English, Canadian, and Roman history in that order of importance. Canadian history was English-centred in that the focus was generally Canada's evolution and position within the British Empire, from the standpoint of Ontario's Loyalist tradition. Roman history, which was confined to the senior grades, was to be enlightening to the future citizens of the empire.

To the local educators, Roman history was considered a "necessary part of a liberal education",¹¹⁸ and because of the importance of Christian precepts in character building, the connection between Ancient history and Christianity was deemed worthy of study. The Roman occupation of Britain was thought to be a pre-requisite for a background to English history. Finally, there was the question of Empire; students of the British Empire had to learn of that once-mighty empire that was Rome's.

The history curriculum was directly based on the authorized textbooks which the Advisory Board, or previous to that, the Board of Education prescribed.¹¹⁹ In fact, the preamble to the grade nine history course stated its aim thus: "To have a good general knowledge of the history as set forth in the authorized text".¹²⁰ On another occasion the aim of a senior history course was, "to develop a clear knowledge of the history of England as narrated by Green".¹²¹

Provincial grants to education were conditional upon the use of the prescribed textbooks. Social control was further ensured by the board examinations set by provincial inspectors, and later, by the Advisory Board. A typical example was the final board examination for 1887 set for the senior secondary level at the Winnipeg Collegiate: "Trace according to

Green, the influence of the Bible on the English people".¹²² The types of questions asked by the inspectors, and the directness of the board examinations, left no doubt in the teachers' minds of the type of answers that were required.

Social control through curriculum construction precluded teacher participation. D.W. Duncan, who taught history at Winnipeg Collegiate at the turn of the century, took issue with the system. He claimed that history teachers found the textbooks to be a :

. . . digest or indigest of another's theories, and that, too, duly authorized by the powers that be. Not only are the facts of history presented in detail, but likewise the conclusions drawn and the generalizations made. . . the history lesson becomes a recitation in which the words do honour to the author of a classic.¹²³

At the elementary level the school reader, which was used not only to develop reading ability but to inculcate patriotism, acted as the informal history text. From the grade seven level onwards, history texts began to be authorized: Collins' History of England, and Jeffers' History of Canada were prescribed. Grade eight studied Lord's Modern Europe. Grades eleven and twelve used J.R. Green's Short History of the English Peoples, L. Schmitz's History of Rome, and Jeffers' History of Canada.¹²⁴

At the senior levels, J.R. Green's Short History of the English Peoples¹²⁵ was the basic, and most popular text, as can be ascertained from various references to it in board examinations and superintendent's reports. Although Green's history textbook was not what he termed "drum and trumpet history",¹²⁶ his Whig interpretation complemented conventional imperialist ideals such as constitutional democracy, and the inevitability of British progress. Although Green denounced history that recorded "the butchery of men by their fellow men",¹²⁷ he did believe in the "right of conquest" under certain circumstances.¹²⁸

Furthermore, whereas Green claimed to have "devoted more space to Chaucer than to Cressy, to Caxton than to the petty strife of Yorkist and Lancastrian . . .",¹²⁹ the history curriculum emphasized the "drum and trumpet" bits. His "attention to the religious, intellectual, and industrial progress of the nation",¹³⁰ were virtually ignored by the curriculum committees. Instead, we have an array of kings, kingdoms, and wars in the first three chapters prescribed; and sections 6-10 in chapter ten, including the second Stuart Tyranny, William of Orange, Marlborough, etc.

One aspect of Canadian imperialism that was implicit in local history courses, and which complemented military drill in the schools, was the exaltation of martial virtues. These ideals were thought to be the essence of moral character. Thus the man of action was to be the focus of history courses. Contemporary educators believed justifiably that children loved "action better than abstraction".¹³¹ Agnes Cameron, who edited the Educational Journal of Western Canada, advised teachers that:

Every child is born a hero-worshipper,
 . . . Let us put our children under the
 magnetism of the fine and noble in history.
 It is mainly its exercise in biography and
 history that imagination builds the moral
 character.¹³²

Imperialist educators felt that the study of history taught pupils their duty. Military preparedness, as a sense of duty, was to underpin the curricula, and history students had to learn that wars most often had just cause, and that forbearance was not always a virtue. Pupils were to be taught: "IN SO FAR AS IT IS POSSIBLE WITH YOU, live at peace with all men".¹³³ Also:

Through a right conception of patriotism the
 pupil will be fitted with an intense eagerness
 to protect his country. . . History rightly
 presented must teach love of home, love of
 country. . .the unity and solidarity of the race.¹³⁴

The merging of patriotism and citizenship, which was often used interchangeably by imperialists, is most evident in her writings. Cameron's persuasive thoughts on citizenship and the means of attaining it, was merely another variation of Fitchett's "robust citizenship".

She believed that history held the key to the development of citizenship, for "Greek and Roman men were not men first and citizens afterwards. They were citizens first, last and for all time, and in this was their greatest glory".¹³⁵ She especially idolized the Spartans in whom "citizenship dominated all else".¹³⁶

What was to be done to emulate the ancient past-masters of citizenship? The answer lay in the study of history, mainly; and again the Romans and Greeks should be followed:

Greek and Roman youth learned first, the history and laws of their own country. So they found out that the nation had become great by the sacrifice and devotion of the individual, and theirs was a glorious heritage: secondly, from this deduced the great central idea of patriotism: thirdly, they were helped to the most perfect physical development, so that they might as soldiers be most effective guardians and conservers of their national greatness.¹³⁷

It is quite understandable, then, why Roman history was studied in the two senior grades of Winnipeg secondary schools.

No formal history was taught in the early years, although tales with a historical bent in the early readers served to instruct in history. Between grade four and the senior years, both English and Canadian history were studied. The English units, spread over the various grades, began with "Britain before the English Conquest", traversed through all the high points in British history, and ended with the two units, "Britain in the Modern World", and "The British Empire".¹³⁸

In 1894 the emphasis in English history changed with the introduction of new topics that reflected the realities of British society in the age of the New Imperialism. Two of these units were "The Development of Industry; the increasing power of the Industrial class", and "Winning and Losing an Empire". Even the aim of the new syllabus for grade eight reflected the heightening awareness of the imperial factor. It read: "To help pupils to develop a knowledge and understanding of their British heritage and Canadian inheritance".¹³⁹

In Canadian history, over half of the topics touched on British-Canadian imperial relations, including such units as "Imperial rivalries and the Seven Years' War", "Colonial Wars", and "Canada as a Crown Colony of England". Canada was shown to have had one heritage only. Canada was but an inextricable extension of British colonial development.

Roman history was studied in the two senior grades. The course was divided into three sections: "The Foundation of the Empire", "The Roman Empire in its Greatness", and "The Decline of the Roman Empire".¹⁴⁰ The course combined the glory of Roman imperialism with the nineteenth century whig interpretation of history. The authorized text, Leon Schmitz's The History of Rome,¹⁴¹ saw the rise of Roman power and prosperity as the outcome of political development embodying the principles of constitutional liberty. The social design was to re-inforce the imperialists' conception of history as being rooted in the idea of progress.

In this sense, therefore, Canadian history was like Roman history. For Canadian imperialists:

All Canadian history was ceaselessly moving toward one irrefragable conclusion - the acquisition of full national rights and freedom within an imperial federation.¹⁴²

Pax Romano is really Pax Britannica. Contemporary British imperialist

sentiments were attributed to Rome. The heroes of the Roman Empire have "personal valour and military talents".¹⁴³ Julius Caesar is the "Englishman of Empire": he is magnanimous,¹⁴⁴ grants citizenship, corrects injustices, and "secures order and tranquility"¹⁴⁵ to the empire, but when the need arises, is a decisive militarist, marching against all malcontents in the empire.

The Roman empire fell, so the students were told, because of the shameless excesses and moral degeneracy of Commodus's personal life. The lesson was clear to the future citizen of the empire: preservation of empire necessitates Christian right living and discipline. Here, too, in Schmitz, we have "drum and trumpet history" at its best; the adventure of empire with all its moralistic and sentimental trappings.

The first geography program of studies was introduced in 1876, although it had been taught vicariously before then. Canadian content was not a priority, but was studied alongside other countries. In the Canadian context, equal time was devoted to Manitoba and Ontario.

If anything, the British Empire through map work of Africa and Asia, and through political geography, dominated the content for the middle grades. When the syllabus was revised in 1896, still greater emphasis was put on the British Empire.¹⁴⁶

Imperial studies in geography were also being stressed in teacher-training. Aspirant geography teachers had to sit for a rigorous geography examination. In 1877, for example, for a third class teaching certificate, over half of the nine questions were devoted to the British Empire. For the first class teaching certificate that year, the main question simply read: "12. Name the colonies and dependencies of Great Britian".¹⁴⁷

The mode of teaching geography "was that of requiring the memorizing of facts",¹⁴⁸ ie., gazeteer-like facts of physical features of the empire.

This complemented the study of history, and the use of the prescribed readers, by providing the necessary geographical background to the study of empire.

Besides history and reading, and to a lesser degree geography, other subjects were also used for social control. Ken Osborne, in his paper, "Education and Social Control", writes:

. . . one cannot confine political learning
to the civics or social studies programme.
Rather, it occurs as a result of all the
experiences that children have in school. . . ¹⁴⁹

Invariably the built-in "bias by omission",¹⁵⁰ or the "transmission of culture" philosophy,¹⁵¹ was evident in other subjects taught in Winnipeg. Thus music was used for assimilating the non-Anglo-Saxon, for patriotic purposes, and for ameliorating the urban blight in the city.¹⁵² English composition could deal with topics related to the imperialist issues of the day. In 1897, for example, the Teacher Examinations in English composition asked candidates to write on one of the following topics: "The Study of History, The Poet as Historian", and "The Popular Doctrine of Race".¹⁵³

In the final analysis it was history that was the main agent of social control because it "is the political and ethical heart of any conscientious curriculum".¹⁵⁴ In the context of the educational ideology of imperialism as applied to Winnipeg schools, Inspector R.S. Thornton had the final say:

. . . history includes more than a mere record of
events and the study of the conditions of life.
The triumphs and disasters of nations inspire
various kinds of emotions. We all recognize
that history has a most powerful influence in
developing patriotism, which is the result
from a consideration of historical characters
and events.¹⁵⁵

These words come from an inspector's model answer - published in the

Educational Journal of Western Canada - to a question set to Normal School students on the "moral effect of a sound method of teaching".¹⁵⁶

VI

The readers were chosen specifically for use in Upper Canada, and ipso facto, in Manitoba for its "favourable attitude toward Britain, compared to the anti-British tone of the American texts".¹⁵⁷

Patriotism to Canada and, therefore, most importantly to Great Britain underlies most of the values stressed. Some of the readers stressed unabashed loyalty to Great Britain exclusively, and in the case of the Irish National Series,¹⁵⁸ had been used to heighten British patriotism in a sea of nationalist anti-British subversion.

Patriotic ideals were inculcated at an early age. Kipling's poem, "The Children's Song",¹⁵⁹ for example, instilled the martial and racial virtues that the colours of the Union Jack stood for.

The most vivid form of patriotic inculcation was centred around royalty.¹⁶⁰ Ancient kings and queens were revered. Cowper's poem, "Boadicia", "the British Warrior Queen",¹⁶¹ was typical. Students learn of the god-given origin of the British Empire, and the consequences of shedding "royal English blood".¹⁶² Another favourite was Sir Theodore Martin's "The Last Illness of the Prince Consort" which examines the last days of Albert's life.¹⁶³ The progress of the illness is recorded through the eyes of Queen Victoria, whose diary forms the basis of the piece. Excerpts emphasize the conventional beliefs of the close family relationships based on mutual love and respect. The emotional tones evoke great sympathy and respect for the royal family.

Victoria's daughter, Louise, pays tribute to French gallantry in her

poem "Quebec",¹⁶⁴ at the time of the British conquest, and when Quebec repells "the invasion which threatened to absorb Canada in the neighbouring Republic".¹⁶⁵ The strategy of the Battle of the Plains of Abraham was vividly described, including the "moment that Wolfe also fell, happier than his rival".¹⁶⁶

The justification for British supremacy in Canada was extensively covered in all the readers. The British conquest, and the heroism of General Wolfe, who perished "planting the Union Jack as the banner of our country",¹⁶⁷ abounds. Major Warburton's "The Capture of Quebec" presented Wolfe as one who "concealed his suffering, for his work was not yet accomplished". He fought on regardless, until he could say "Now, God be praised, I die happy".¹⁶⁸ The lessons were clear: selfless sacrifice, undaunted bravery, and dutiful service to beloved sovereign; ideals and traits found in heroes of Britain's glorious past. As Agnes B. Cameron advised teachers, "Let us early put our children under the magnetism of the fine and noble in history".¹⁶⁹

Racial supremacy of the Anglo-Saxon and its concomitant pride was consistently treated in the readers.¹⁷⁰ Yet the obligations and sense of mission of the race was dutifully expounded to the young. Resisters to British expansion were "the dreaded enemy", the "lawless savages" or "savage fanatics", who were inevitably punished for rejecting the warm hand of British civilization.¹⁷¹ The seeds of modern-day racism are well documented throughout as a part of the Imperial idea.

Preparations for taking their place as "men and women, With our race", started in the first grade of elementary school.¹⁷² Achievements of constitutional freedoms and democracy are lauded.¹⁷³ The progression of British political institutions as one of the inevitable consequences of

the imperial connection intertwined with the plea that "Canada must become a great nation . . . wisdom, and foresight, and energy shall make it the great treasury of British institutions upon this continent, and an honour to the British name".¹⁷⁴

The non-European part of the British Empire, with all its vastness and diversity, was given extensive treatment throughout. Selections implied African acceptance of the opening up of that continent for British imperialism.¹⁷⁵ The British explorers and missionaries were topics to excite the future adventurers of empire, with tales of tremendous courage in the course of their civilizing missions.¹⁷⁶

The Indian Raj was taught by using all the conventional areas. Macauley's "Lord Clive", entitled "The Black Hole of Calcutta",¹⁷⁷ and its inevitable consequence, "the victory of Plassey", which "laid the foundation of the English Empire in India", stand out. Besides the old patriotic gems, the trial of Warren Hastings also had lessons for the young. Students were also exposed to the crisis of "The Retreat from Cabul", which dealt with the pacification of Afghanistan.¹⁷⁸ Names of Afghan rulers, British officers, and physical features, including the legendary Khyber Pass were to be learned.

Canadian imperialists and their ideas were not neglected. Dr. Egerton Ryerson's "The Founders of Upper Canada" reinforce the Loyalist myth.¹⁷⁹ Students were reminded that Upper Canada had a noble parentage, the remembrance of which its citizens might well cherish with respect, affection, and pride.¹⁸⁰ A selection by Dr. G.M. Grant was also included for study.¹⁸¹

Canadian imperialist thought was also represented, amongst others, by works by W.J. Rattray and Joseph Howe. The former in "Memories of the Old Land",¹⁸² dealt with the true nature of Canadian nationalism as being

inextricably linked with imperialism. Loyalty to the mother country was a necessary condition for Canadian nationalism, for which Canada was not yet ready. Canadian nationalism was only "factious patriotism". Furthermore, Rattray asserted, "he will love Canada best who draws his love of country from the old fountain-head across the sea".¹⁸³

The ideas of one of Canada's earliest imperialists, Joseph Howe, were also studied. Children were exhorted to make Canada, the "great treasury of British institutions", an "honour to the British name".¹⁸⁴ In another selection, he praised the British connection, and denounced Canadian factionalism, advising the reader that the energy thus spent could be used "enlarging her empire and spreading her name".¹⁸⁵

Other themes, too, promoted the imperialist cause: the origins of the British parliamentary institutions,¹⁸⁶ poems on heroism, selections of famous battles, as well as aspects of early Anglo-Saxon life.

In addition, most of the readers had exercises and questions based on the readings in the text.¹⁸⁷ For example, at the end of the Royal Readers there were exercises for the students to do, aimed at reinforcing the main ideas of the selections. Related to the reading on Afghanistan, students were expected to "Draw a sketch map showing the country made famous by the Afghan War of 1838-1843".¹⁸⁸ The exercise on the "Battle of the Nile", demanded a "sketch map of the North African coast from Alexandra to the Isthmus of Suez". Students were also asked to "mark the places touched by the narrative. . .".¹⁸⁹

In essence the readers emphasized the moral superiority and the civilizing mission of the British. The various heroes were the typical "Englishmen of Empire", carrying the White Man's burden of British justice to the outposts of empire. The readers all subscribed to a certain type of military response towards the preservation of empire.

General reading matter was also a concern of contemporary educators. Children had to be trained to read the right books as a means of saving the country. If parents failed in this respect, they were "committing a crime against the society of which they form a part".¹⁹⁰ Madge Merton and the editor of the Canadian Magazine recommended that boys read the Boys Own Annual, and Scott, Dickens, Ballantyne, etc., but particularly Henty:

Where can a boy get a better idea of Harold and the Battle of Hastings, of the difference between the Anglo-Saxons and the Normans, than in 'Wulf the Saxon'?¹⁹¹

An influential school principal strongly recommended that the following essential works should comprise a school library in order to cultivate the proper "spirit":¹⁹²

The Companion to the Victorian Readers, Fitchett's Fights for the Flag, and Deeds that Won the Empire, Kipling's Jungle Book, and Poems, Brook's Historic Boys, Creighton's Stories from English History, Englishmen of Action, 22 volumes, Macauley, Green, Lingard, History of England.¹⁹³

VII

What emerges then is that the Winnipeg schools system through its imperialist-minded administrators and "safe" teachers, its curriculum (both stated and hidden) and prescribed textbooks, its assimilationist policies and brazen militarism, was inculcating a myth of empire in the minds of its wards. All of the various concomitant values of imperialism were used to unite the pupils in a supreme allegiance to the Queen and the empire, which, in effect, also meant allegiance to the local traditional concepts of hierarchical status in Winnipeg society. These imperial values were also seen as a safeguard against revolution and violence which Daniel MacIntyre believed would inevitably result from Winnipeg's nascent

industrialization.¹⁹⁴ The 'deeds of empire' as they were reflected in the texts and readers can be seen as a morality play message in which salvation was a reward for practical service to the empire.

Thus on the eve of the jubilee, Winnipeg children, in spite of their diverse ethnic, national and religious origins, were all in the process of being Anglicized, and, in the words of Dr. Sybil Shack, "in a sense Christianized, in a Protestant image".¹⁹⁵ They understood full well that they were all citizens of an empire, 'on which the sun never set' and if need be, they would defend that empire with their lives.

FOOTNOTES

¹J. A. Hobson, Imperialism, A Study (London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 1902).

²Ibid., p. 217.

³A. R. M. Lower, op. cit., p. 35.

⁴Annual Report, School Management Committee, 1897, Winnipeg School Division No. 1, p. 23.

⁵Ken Osborne, "Marxism and Educational Theory," University of Manitoba, Department of Education Colloquium, 30 November, 1978. A number of studies are cited showing how industrialization has influenced all aspects of education to suit its various needs.

⁶J. A. Hobson, op. cit., p. 219.

⁷G. Bryce, op. cit. (1885-1886), p. 2.

⁸E. F. Simms, "The History of Public Education in Manitoba from 1870-1890 Inclusive," M. Ed. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1944, p. 27.

⁹Governor Simpson believed that knowledge only encouraged "habits of indolence" amongst the local natives who were expected to serve the fur trade primarily. See F. Mark, Fur Trade and Empire, George Simpson's Journal; 1824-1825 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931), p. 205.

¹⁰E. Best Papers, MG9, A95, p. 28.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²W. S. Wallace, John McLean's Notes of a Twenty-Five Years' Service in the Hudson's Bay Territory (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1932), pp. 316-319.

¹³The superintendent of the Norway House mission, the Reverend James Evans is a classic case in point. He clashed with the Hudson's Bay Company over the proper observance of the Lord's day, which interfered with the company's fur shipments. Consequently, "he found himself victimized by trumped-up charges of gross immorality." See B.A. Frederick, "Missionaries and the Hudson's Bay Company," Graduate research paper, Course 11.735, for Professor V. Jensen, March, 1977, chapter IV, James Evans- Conflict and Trial, pp. 19-27.

¹⁴E. Best Papers, MG9, A95, p. 28.

¹⁵Ibid. p. 2.

- ¹⁶Ibid.
- ¹⁷K. Wilson, "The Development of Education in Manitoba," Ph. D. Thesis, Michigan State University, 1967 , p. 87.
- ¹⁸Archbishop S. P. Matheson. Quoted in E. F. Simms, op. cit., p. 21.
- ¹⁹Ibid., p. 25.
- ²⁰W. Luxton Papers MG14, B33, clipping, 21 May 1907.
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- ²⁵Winnipeg Free Press, 9 November 1922.
- ²⁶F. H. Schofield, op. cit.
- ²⁷Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 15.
- ²⁸Ibid.
- ²⁹Ibid., Vol. 111, p. 7.
- ³⁰Ibid., p. 5.
- ³¹Ibid.
- ³²Ibid. Vol. 1, p. 231.
- ³³Ibid., p. 232.
- ³⁴Ibid. Vol, 1, p. 419.
- ³⁵Ibid.
- ³⁶J. Pampallis, "The Winnipeg School System and the Social Forces that Shaped It," M. Ed. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1979, p. 49.
- ³⁷B. Clarke, "Sociology of Education," R. Farris, ed., Handbook of Sociology (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1964), p. 196.
- ³⁸J. W. Chafe, An Apple for the Teacher (Winnipeg: Winnipeg School Division No. 1, 1967), p. 16.
- ³⁹Winnipeg Free Press, 23 October 1907.

- ⁴⁰Ibid.
- ⁴¹Ibid.
- ⁴²M. F. P., 4 April 1896.
- ⁴³Winnipeg Free Press, 23 October 1907.
- ⁴⁴F. H. Schofield, op. cit., Vol. 11, p. 34.
- ⁴⁵Ibid., Vol. 111, p. 7.
- ⁴⁶See appendix, No. , p.
- ⁴⁷W. Luxton Papers, MG14, B33, clipping, n.d.
- ⁴⁸Ibid.
- ⁴⁹Report of the Superintendent of Education for Protestant Schools, 1886, p. 37.
- ⁵⁰Winnipeg Tribune, 18 December 1946,
- ⁵¹Daniel McIntyre Papers, MG14, B33, Letter No. 45.
- ⁵²F. H. Schofield, op. cit., Vol. 11, p. 428.
- ⁵³Winnipeg Tribune, 16 December 1946.
- ⁵⁴Ibid.
- ⁵⁵Report of the Department of Education, 1891 (Winnipeg: King's Printer), pp. 124-125.
- ⁵⁶Ibid.
- ⁵⁷R. Milliband, The State in Capitalist Society (New York: Basic Books, 1969), p. 186.
- ⁵⁸Quoted in K. Wilson, op. cit., p. 174.
- ⁵⁹Winnipeg Tribune, 16 December 1946.
- ⁶⁰Report of the Department of Education, 1897, op. cit., p. 22.
- ⁶¹W. L. Morton, Manitoba, A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), p. 242.
- ⁶²Ibid.
- ⁶³Ibid., p. 248.

⁶⁴N. McDonald, "Canadian Nationalism and North-West Schools, 1884-1905," A. Chaiton and N. McDonald, eds., Canadian Schools and Canadian Identity (Toronto: Gage, 1977), p. 59.

⁶⁵W. L. Morton, op. cit. (1957), p. 248. Chapter IX deals with the position attained by the Ontario settlers in general in the whole province. A. Artibise, in Winnipeg, An Illustrated History, op. cit. (1977), deals with their coming to power in the city, stating that the early flow of settlers from Britain and Ontario "was the most significant, and early established the essentially Anglo-Canadian nature of the city." p. 38.

⁶⁶Statutes of Manitoba, 53 Victoria, 3rd Session, 7th Legislature, 1890, chapter 37, pp. 176-178.

⁶⁷W. M. Hall, "The Advisory Board in the Development of Public School Education in Manitoba" M. Ed. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1939, p. 95.

⁶⁸J. Pampallis, op. cit., p. 47.

⁶⁹A. Artibise, op. cit. (1975), p. 167.

⁷⁰Report of the Department of Education, 1897, op. cit. p. 25.

⁷¹K. Wilson, op. cit., p. 131.

⁷²M. F. P., 22 April 1892.

⁷³Annual Report, Winnipeg School Division No. 1, 1896, p. 19.

⁷⁴M. F. P., 4 April 1892.

⁷⁵Ibid.

⁷⁶J. A. Hobson, op. cit., p. 217.

⁷⁷Archbishop Matheson. Quoted in E. F. Simms, op. cit., p. 21.

⁷⁸R. C. Green, "The history of the cadets in the city of Winnipeg," M. Ed. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1950, p. 6.

⁷⁹Ibid.

⁸⁰Ibid.

⁸¹Carl Berger, op. cit., pp. 254-258.

⁸²Ibid., p. 254.

⁸³R. C. Green, op. cit. p. 31.

⁸⁴F. H. Schofield, op. cit., deals with most of the members of the Red River Expedition who elected to stay in Winnipeg. They remained militiamen, often officers, who were addressed according to their militia rank even in private and civilian life. Of special concern here is W. J. Watson, "who is, moreover, entitled to representation in this volume as one of the veterans of the Wolseley expedition of 1870." p. 656. He was attached to the First Ontario Rifles and served under Sir Daniel McMillan. Sergeant Watson preceeded Major Billman as drill instructor for the Winnipeg schools. Sgt. Watson had trained boys at South Central School even prior to the official adoption of the program by the school board. The M. F. P., April 4 1892, reported that Watson was responsible for "their efficiency in drill, enabling them to carry off the flag of the exhibition directors last fall."

Another point to bear in mind about the members of the Red River Expedition was their alacrity in volunteering for service in the cause of empire when needed. W. J. Healy in his Winnipeg's Early Days, (1927), writes that many of them led by Lieutenant-Colonel Kennedy, a member of the Board of Education, Protestant section, "marched along Main Street to the C. P. R. station and took the eastbound train" bound for Khartoum, for the relief of General Gordon (p. 29).

⁸⁵Annual Report, School Management Committee, Winnipeg School Division No. 1, 1889, p. 23.

⁸⁶R. C. Green, op. cit., p. 32.

⁸⁷Annual Report, School Management Committee, Winnipeg School Division No. 1, 1889, p. 23.

⁸⁸M. F. P., 20 April 1892.

⁸⁹Ibid.

⁹⁰Ibid., 20 May 1892.

⁹¹Annual Report, Winnipeg School Division No. 1, 1894, p. 10.

⁹²Ibid., p. 11.

⁹³Annual Report, Winnipeg School Division No. 1, 1895, p. 29.

⁹⁴Ibid.

⁹⁵J. W. Chafe, op. cit., p. 79.

⁹⁶Ibid., p. 80.

⁹⁷R. C. Green, op. cit., p. 34.

⁹⁸C. Alward, interview held 3 September 1980.

⁹⁹R. C. Green, op. cit., p. 46.

- ¹⁰⁰C. Alward, interview held 3 September 1980.
- ¹⁰¹R. C. Green, op. cit., p. 46.
- ¹⁰²C. Alward, interview held 3 September 1980.
- ¹⁰³J. W. Chafe, op. cit., p. 80.
- ¹⁰⁴Ibid., p. 42.
- ¹⁰⁵Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁶W. J. Sisler, op. cit., p. 61.
- ¹⁰⁷Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁸Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁹Ibid.
- ¹¹⁰J. W. Chafe, op. cit., p. 109.
- ¹¹¹S. Shack, Armed With a Primer (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1965), p. 78.
- ¹¹²Ken Osborne, "Education and Social Control," a paper delivered to the Faculty of Education, University of Manitoba, 27 October 1977, p. 8.
- ¹¹³W. H. Fitchett, Deeds That Won the Empire (London: Smith, Elder and Company, 1909), p. v.
- ¹¹⁴E. C. Martin, ed., Imperial Studies in Education (London: Pittman and Sons, 1924), p. 15.
- ¹¹⁵Report of the Department of Education, 1903, op. cit., p. 3.
- ¹¹⁶E. C. Martin, op. cit., p. 20.
- ¹¹⁷W. H. Fitchett, op. cit., p. vi.
- ¹¹⁸P. C. Williams, "The history curriculum in Manitoba, 1870-1970," M. Ed. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1979, p. 72.
- ¹¹⁹In 1882, the Board of Education, Protestant Section, consisted of twelve members, of whom seven were prominent clergymen, including the Most Reverend Robert Machray, chairman, the Reverend Pinkham, superintendent, the Reverend Professor Hart, the Reverend Alexander Matheson, etc. Also on the board were noted imperialist laymen, including Lieutenant-Colonel W. N. Kennedy, who was to lead the Winnipeg contingent on the Nile expedition and Colonel Mulvey.
- ¹²⁰Minute Book, Board of Education, Protestant Section, 1885, p. 100.
- ¹²¹Ibid., 1882, p. 82.

- ¹²²Report of the Department of Education, 1887, op. cit.
- ¹²³D. Duncan "Teaching Canadian History," Educational Journal of Western Canada, (May 1899), p. 76.
- ¹²⁴Except for the Schmitz and Green texts, as well as, W. H. Clement, The History of the Dominion of Canada (Toronto: William Briggs, 1897), and W. F. Collier, History of the British Empire (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1898), the other texts were not available for examination
- ¹²⁵J. R. Green, Short History of the English People (Toronto: McMillan and Company, 1888).
- ¹²⁶Ibid., p. xvii.
- ¹²⁷Ibid.
- ¹²⁸Ibid., p. 301.
- ¹²⁹Ibid., p. xvii.
- ¹³⁰Ibid., p. xviii.
- ¹³¹Agnes Cameron, "The Study of History," Educational Journal of Western Canada (November 1899), p. 200.
- ¹³²Ibid.
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- ¹³⁶Ibid.
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- ¹³⁹Ibid., p. 93.
- ¹⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 82-100.
- ¹⁴¹L. Schmitz, History of Rome (Toronto: Copp Clarke and Co., 1883).
- ¹⁴²Carl Berger, op. cit., p. 109.
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- 146 Program of Studies for the Public Schools of Manitoba, 1896 (Winnipeg: The Buckle Philip Co., 1896).
- 147 Report of the Board of Education, Protestant Section, 1877, Examination of Teachers, p. 42.
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- 150 Ray Billington, "History is a dangerous subject," Saturday Review, 15 January 1966, p. 59.
- 151 Neil Postman and C. Weingartner, Teaching As a Subversive Activity (New York: Dell Co., 1969), p. 13.
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PART II: WINNIPEG AND THE DIAMOND JUBILEE

CHAPTER IV

WINNIPEG IN 1897

I

In jubilee year the Winnipeg establishment proudly believed that the city and its hinterland was "a portion. . ." of a "mighty empire".¹ Its position as an important urban centre in that empire was unquestioned in the minds of its leading citizens. Incorporated in 1873, by jubilee year it had become the third largest city in Canada.² Winnipeg was characterized by a complex of distinctive environments, with a clearly defined business district, a foreign quarter, a 'sylvan suburb', and other neighbourhoods.³ Generally, the architecture resembled that of any other city of the time, with eclecticism best describing the style.⁴ The ever-expanding city limits extended from Point Douglas to the Assiniboine and Armstrong's Point with suburban villages in St. Johns, St. James and Fort Rouge".⁵

George Woodcock's description of Winnipeg as the "capital of that quarter of the Canadian population who are neither French nor British by extraction"⁶ applied to Winnipeg from its early settlement "polyglot community" days.⁷ By 1897, this mixed ethnic composition was already a fact in Winnipeg life.⁸ However, in spite of this great diversity of national origin,⁹ the dominant group was of British stock, comprising eighty per cent of the population¹⁰ of approximately 32,000 people.¹¹ The majority of the British in Winnipeg had come from Ontario, while the rest came straight from the British Isles. This British-Ontarian group almost

exclusively comprised the city's middle and upper-middle classes. The English made up about one-third of the population, followed by the Scots and the Irish.

The rest of the city's population was made up of the so-called "Foreign element". Some members of the Icelandic and Scandinavian group and some from the Jewish and German communities, had "entrance group status" because of shared cultural and ethical values. However, the Galicians, the term used to describe all non-Nordic settlers,¹² and which included the Bukovinians from the Austrian Empire, had an exceedingly low status in the life of the city. For the rest of the ethnic mix, their numbers were negligible in comparison with groups mentioned above.

When the British Anglo-Saxon charter group attained hegemony over the city and its hinterland, by and large, race and class tended to merge in Winnipeg's social and economic life, with each man virtually locked into his appropriate place. There was very little social intercourse between the classes and races unless it was necessary to organize some consensual event, such as the Diamond Jubilee, in order to reassert values and power held by the charter group.

By 1897, the leaders of the dominant group were in control and for a long time "established the essentially Anglo-Saxon nature of the city".¹³ There could have been no more than 400 belonging to this elite group.¹⁴ Their dominance extended over all facets of economic, political and social life. From their ranks some of the wealthiest and most successful Canadians emerged.¹⁵ In addition to their entrepreneurial success, the British also reserved the professional services for themselves. A veritable system of job reservation evolved which saw the English command the civil service, the Scots monopolizing the police force, and the Irish, the fire department.¹⁶

In addition, the British manned the developing skilled construction and railway positions as well.

Although a true working class had not yet developed, the non-Anglo-Saxon, especially the Galicians, were relegated to the menial and labouring jobs that were opening up in construction and in the railway shops. They were permitted to "function in the power structure of the basic framework set up by the dominant founding group",¹⁷ wherein they were coerced into low status occupational roles and subjected to processes of assimilation.¹⁸ This "foreign element" was victimized by his native tongue and culture which further militated against his assimilation.¹⁹

Winnipeg's working class and ethnic stratification also manifested itself in residential segregation. The pattern followed these lines: a core of middle and working class elements, surrounded on the south side by the middle-class, and on the north by the working and lower class".²⁰ The North End, "lying north of the C.P.R. tracks (except the St. John's area) was literally the wrong side of the tracks"²¹ Comprising Wards 5 and 6 in 1897, it was predominantly working class and "foreign". Here slums emerged with their attendant social evils.²² The area included "squatters who had built shacks and shanties on vacant properties and even upon the streets".²³ The Voice saw the area:

. . . overrun with the gaunt, the hungry,
the hopeless, and men who have a haunting
fear their loved ones may one day be in want.²⁴

In sharp contrast, Winnipeg's "vestigial family compact"²⁵ lived in exclusive neighbourhoods in the south and western parts of the city,²⁶ even separated from their middle-class fellow Anglo-Saxons. By 1897, the Hudson's Bay Reserve in Ward 2, which was south of Portage Avenue and west of Kennedy Street, was fast becoming the most exclusive residential area

in the city.²⁷ Here resided such notables as Lady Schultz, Major-General Sam Steele, James Ashdown, Jerry Robinson, W.J. Richardson, Hugh Sutherland, W.J. Alloway, Sir Augustus Nanton, and Hon. Colin Campbell, amongst others.²⁸ They lived in brick-veneered mansions on high dry and level land.²⁹ The houses were typically Victorian with large verandas and landscaped lawns. Dalnavert, Sir Hugh John Macdonald's home was "an excellent example of the Victorian gingerbread ornamentation combined with a single proportional mass".³¹ Other exclusive areas established earlier were the legendary Point Douglas area, east of Main, and Winnipeg Centre, west of Main and north of Notre Dame Avenue.³² Armstrong Point, which had been "the country seat of Winnipeg's commercial elite",³³ was, in 1897, developing into the most elegant area of the city.

II

Winnipeg's civic motto, "Commerce, Prudence and Industry", truly reflected its raison d'être. To accomodate its economic function, a large part of the city was the scene of commercial activity. The section of Main Street between Portage and the C.P.R. line, and the adjacent areas east and west of Main Street, were the sites of most of the commercial establishments.³⁴ Retail and service outlets abounded, but it was the grain and wholesale businesses, just west of City Hall, which dominated all else.³⁵ These buildings were large and impressed countless visitors to the city, including that great imperialist, Rudyard Kipling, who viewed them as a "record of unsurpassed achievement" by members of his own race and blood.³⁶ Many of the buildings were styled according to the Richardsonian mode of the Chicago school, characterized by the "dominant repetition of the vertical arches . . . and the recessed spandrel members".³⁷

Arthur Lower saw the inextricable link between urban life and commercialism in Canada: "Cities represent economic control. Even quite small collections of men became focal points from which the affairs of larger regions are directed".³⁹ This was certainly the case with Winnipeg. From this position of power it controlled the factors of production used in regional development.⁴⁰

The Winnipeg economy in jubilee year did not visibly bear the scars of the world-wide depression that had affected the city in the early 1890's. Recovery and expansion started in 1896 due to the world demand for wheaten foods and the corresponding increase in wheat prices.⁴¹ Simultaneously, farm revenue in the hinterland increased while transportation costs and merchandise prices for goods distributed from Winnipeg decreased⁴² with the result that by 1897 the city was experiencing an economic boom. The gold discovery at Rat Portage in 1896, 150 miles east of the city, and the spill-over effect of the Yukon gold rush coupled with the commencement of the new phase of immigration into the west, heightened the effect of the boom.⁴³

The multiplier effect on the city's economy led to an increase in demand for metropolitan services. New settlers and produce were channelled through this western focal point. Many people in transit "remained to take up residence and participate in the city's growth".⁴⁴

The traditional "source of wealth upon which great cities have grown consists in a commodity for which demand is great".⁴⁵ In Winnipeg's case it was the grain staple. This trade was centred around the Winnipeg Grain Exchange, and by 1897 the city's reputation as a grain marketing centre had been established internationally.⁴⁶ A complex infrastructure developed as eastern and American grain dealers located in the city alongside major

public and private organizations that served the industry.⁴⁷ At the focal point of the infrastructure was the C.P.R. and its yards, which made the city the railway centre of the west,⁴⁸ and which gave employment to hundreds of residents thereby providing the basis of the future working class of the city.

As a railway centre radiating out over its hinterland, Winnipeg also solidified its position as "the distributing and wholesale emporium of the Canadian Northwest . . . and made Winnipeg the unrivalled mistress of its trade".⁴⁹ However, there was an uneasiness about this 'one-crop economy' because of its utter dependence upon the world market for wheat and upon the world's great financial centres.⁵⁰

This urban economy, so inextricably bound with its vast hinterland, was directed by the city's Anglo-Saxon elite whose commitment to progress as an ethical standard was well-known. Their leading representatives were members of the influential and energetic Board of Trade. Each spring they ran the Industrial Exhibition as a showpiece of their achievements. Yet, their economic power was limited. Their domain was still an economic fragment of the central provinces and the National Policy.⁵¹ Although many amongst their ranks were agents for eastern and metropolitan British concerns, nevertheless, the local economic elite began to develop independent positions on trade and commercial relations with regard to the British Empire and the United States. This was inevitable given the nature of the local economy, and the supreme confidence that the commercial elite had in the city and themselves. After all, the oracles of history decreed that "westward the star of empire makes its way",⁵² and Winnipeg was destined "to be the ultimate seat of the Dominion Government"⁵³ because the Hudson Bay route made Winnipeg as near to London as Ottawa was.⁵⁴

III

A Winnipeg resident reminisced that:

The predominant British element, although busy making a living and developing the trade centre of Western Canada, were quietly expressing their inherited traditions through church, school and university activities and, to a small degree, through musical societies and the theatre.⁵⁵

By 1897 a fairly rich and vibrant cultural and artistic life had taken root in the city. Active in the arts were the Winnipeg Operatic and Dramatic Society, the Women's Musical Club, and the Women's Art Association.

Dramatic performances by local and travelling companies were regularly staged in the city. In the summer months Fort Garry park was the scene of such performances. Visiting virtuosos often performed in the city. In jubilee year, for example, the celebrated German concert pianist, Herr Von Scarpa, gave a recital at the Manitoba Hotel.⁵⁶ Both the Winnipeg Daily Tribune and the Manitoba Free Press ran Music and Drama columns which attest to the lively state of the arts in the city. The various fraternal and national societies also gave regular socials and banquets where song and poetry recitals, often extolling the British connection and heritage, were performed.⁵⁷

The cultural activities of the city's elite was already well-established by jubilee year. A leader in this respect was the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba which was an affiliate of the Royal Society of Canada and which was instrumental in founding the Winnipeg public library. The university colleges, those "little islands of British civilization transferred across the sea",⁵⁸ were also deeply involved in setting the cultural tone of the city. In this respect, the Manitoba College Literary Society, with the ubiquitous Dr. Bryce as its president, stood out. Its

annual inaugural addresses were published, and dealt with the searching problems of the day, many of which concerned Canadian-Imperial relations.⁵⁹

In spite of an avowed commitment to a unified and an assimilated society, both the vertical and horizontal cleavages of ethnicity and class respectively militated against a unity of culture. The multi-varied social life of the elite was typical of any well-developed urban middle and upper middle-class group in that era. Nevertheless, the social event of the year was still the Cricket Club Ball held annually on New Year's Eve at the Manitoba Hotel.

"Year by year", wrote the Manitoba Free Press, "the Cricket Ball has been the epoch-making event of the social world of the prairie capital".⁶⁰ The program of dances was traditionally British. It was an exclusive event for the city's elite, with only 400 invitations being issued in jubilee year.⁶¹ The local press published a full list of invited guests which comprised all but one Anglo-Saxon name, and which was a veritable "who's who" of local society.

In the absence of strong economic associations, Winnipeggers turned to social organizations. British immigrants, especially, had had experience with building and burial societies, but in Winnipeg they found a wider range of organizations to join, catering to explicit social and economic needs. This was the age in Canada when it was quite common for a man to be "a member of half-a-dozen different organizations".⁶² The need to be an insider, to belong to an elite with all its rituals and ceremonies,⁶³ appealed to late Victorians generally, and imperialists specifically. Many notable imperialists, such as Rudyard Kipling and Cecil John Rhodes, were Freemasons.⁶⁴ The hierarchical structure and elitism appealed to both as it did to the local elite and imperialists. The local elite belonged

to their exclusive secret societies and fraternal organizations, and served as executive members on those societies where the general membership was working class. Here they were able to guide their charges into developing the essential social character of the day.

In Winnipeg in that day, there were church-sponsored brotherhoods, political party associations, national and ethnic group fellowships, sports clubs, militia units, fraternal orders, and secret societies. Although there were female auxiliary units attached to some of the organizations, such as the True Blues, basically these organizations were male. Some were better organized, and more influential and powerful than others. Some had large general memberships, such as the St. Andrews society, The Sons of England, and the Orange Lodges, while others, by choice, especially the secret societies, such as the Knights of Pythias, and the Ancient Free and Accepted Masons (A.F.A.M.), were exclusively small. Many notable Winnipeggers, such as C.N. Bell, Thomas Robinson, and Hon. Colin Campbell, among many other notables, were chief executive officers of the A.F.A.M.

There were a number of national benevolent societies flourishing in the city.⁶⁵ Even the so-called "foreign element" were organized. The German, Icelandic and Scandinavian communities had strong active social organizations by 1897. The Jewish community was served by two benevolent societies organized around their respective synagogues.⁶⁶ These social organizations, embodying middle-class ideology and attitudes, in the absence of public social security and a strong union movement, were indispensable to the working man of the day, especially in that age characterized by Asa Briggs as one of self-help and improvement.⁶⁷

A visiting writer, observing the Winnipeg scene in this respect, wrote:

They all have excellent rooms, where the members meet and where fellow-countrymen are made welcome. These societies have been of great benefit in imparting information to those coming to settle in the country, and in relieving the distressed.⁶⁸

Two of these societies, the Sons of England Benevolent Society and the Grand Orange Lodge, best illustrate the role and function of these societies. Both played important parts in promoting "the real imperial spirit" in the city,⁶⁹ as well as easing the burdens of settling in the city for those newcomers of British stock.

The Sons of England was a flourishing society in the city that, according to its local president, inculcated "love of country, obedience to constitutional authority and of the dear land we were all sprung from . . .".⁷⁰ The organization eschewed Canadian nationalism which "some people claim very foolishly".⁷¹ There were five local lodges in the city, and half of the six executive members were Anglican ministers, including the well-known Reverend Canon C.F. Coombs.

One of its explicit aims was to maintain the British character of the city.⁷² One way in which this was achieved was by regular church parades to Holy Trinity Church in order to commemorate the "preambulation of parish practices so long in vogue in England, when the poor was visited and relief given".⁷³ The organization also gave regular socials at its Portage Avenue lodge hall to stir up memories of 'Merrie England'. This was lauded by a local paper as being good "amid the prosaic surroundings"⁷⁴ of a new land. St. George's day and Shakespeare's birthday were also celebrated by the society with appropriate recitals of song, poetry and "refreshments in true English style".⁷⁵ Their leading spokesman at that time, Alderman G.W. Baker, made a significant contribution to the preservation of the British heritage and imperialist thought in Winnipeg.

The organization itself played a key role in organizing and celebrating the Queen Victoria Diamond Jubilee celebration.

The other influential society in the social life of the city was the Loyal Orange Lodge. Whereas the Sons of England was basically a Winnipeg society, the Orange Lodge was active within the mosaic of Winnipeg and southern Manitoba.⁷⁶

By 1897, with the settlement of the Manitoba schools question to the satisfaction of the Orange-led protestant British-Ontarian majority, the Lodge was able to turn its passions on to "the present duties devolving upon them", viz., "loyalty to God and the British throne",⁷⁷ as well as on to its philanthropic work for its members. Part of the Lodge's social function in the west was to secure land and employment for Ontarian emigres.⁷⁸

The religious and patriotic ideals of Orangeism were held high by the local order. In fact, one local criticism was that "it was too good", as it "usurped the work of the churches".⁷⁹ Indeed, it self-righteously wrote off other local societies such as the Free Masons, Oddfellows, Knights of Pythias for not believing "in the divinity of Jesus".⁸⁰ On the question of loyalty, local history, they believed, testified to their record. They were proud of their role in the Riel affair. Most of the Winnipeg militia at the time were Orangemen.⁸¹ No lesser imperialist than Sir Charles Dilke, himself, had credited the order with being the saviour of the British Empire.⁸² Its successful fight for a national school system in Manitoba had undoubtedly safeguarded Canada's nationhood within the British Empire.⁸³

The first Lodge in the Red River Settlement pre-dated the founding of Winnipeg. Having their secret society with passwords and mysterious ritual

made Orangemen feel less than outsiders in such an outpost of empire. The most symbolic ritual demonstration designed to preserve the Protestant monarchy, the British connection, and the national school system, was the annual orange parade held on 'the glorious twelfth' of July. Each 12th July since 1872, Winnipeggers had witnessed the colourful orange parade of those "hardy, loyal, and intelligent. . .pioneers of Protestantism..."⁸⁴ as they marched to a local church for a commemorative service. On this traditionally pleasant day,⁸⁵ participants wore rosettes of orange and blue as they marched under the Union Jack from their lodge rooms in Point Douglas.⁸⁶

In jubilee year the 'Orange Walk' was joined by the Sons of England. The procession, led by 'King Billy' and a drum and fife band, headed to Wesley Church "which was soon crowded to the doors".⁸⁷ There the Reverend J.C. Walker complemented his patriotic address by speaking on the theme of socialism.⁸⁸ The social gospel tenor of his sermon suggested a large working class audience, as well as a recognition of things to come in the city. The rest of the city's orangemen, as they had done the previous year, left the city for a larger parade and festivities in Killarney.

By 1897 Thomas Scott's revenge, and their political and educational goals having been reached, the Order, in the interest of a consensual pageantry, put aside their principles and refrained from participating in the jubilee pageant under their banner, "because of the belief that the appearance of members in regalia would be distasteful to a number of citizens",⁸⁹ viz., local French-Canadians and Catholic associations. Both the latter groups were still seething over their defeat in the schools question, and were hesitant to join the jubilee celebrations which the organizers were portraying as a kind of family reunion.

Nevertheless, the role of the Order in promoting the Imperial Idea is unquestioned. Quite recently, P. Ziegler in his controversial study, Crown and People, which was written in the wake of the 1977 Royal Jubilee, concluded that public enthusiasm for the monarchy was really contingent upon continual whipping up of support by ritual and processions.⁹⁰ It is precisely this particular function that the Lodge excelled in.

The social organization catering almost exclusively to the upper echelons of Winnipeg society was the Manitoba Club. The club had been founded by people who "left an impressive mark on the growth of Winnipeg and environs",⁹¹ including such city stalwarts as A.G. Bannatyne and Lieutenant-Colonel W. Osborne Smith. The loyalty of the club to the British empire was well-known.⁹² The most prestigious visitors to the city, including royalty and governor-generals, were honoured and received by the club.⁹³ In jubilee year, the Club honoured the event by installing a magnificent commemorative stained-glass window which highlighted both Canadian national symbols and British imperialist ones. Membership in the club "was practically a certificate of leadership in the commercial community in Winnipeg".⁹⁴

IV

An important part of Winnipeg social life was the idea of sports. Victorians and especially imperialists held sports in high esteem as a virtue which inculcated athleticism, self-discipline, and the exercise of self-confident authority; values which denoted "character" in that late Victorian period.⁹⁵ In addition, sports was also an important cultural link of the empire.⁹⁶ The code of the open-air life was promulgated to the extent that many believed that "it was the Englishman's love

of outdoor exercise that had won him the empire".⁹⁷ This message was instilled into the hearts of Winnipeg schoolchildren through their reading material, as well as through organized sports activity,⁹⁸ and reached the general reading public through the sports pages of the local press, and the popular novels and other reading matter of the day.

Winnipeg's attitude to sports seemed to surpass what could be considered typical for a late Victorian city. Not only were the games of the empire, which had explicit social and political aims, played in the city, but, as another indication of the compatibility between Canadian nationalism and British imperialism, the home-bred games of lacrosse and hockey were popular then. In fact, easterners marvelled at Winnipeg's sporting prowess. W.H. Wooside, writing in the Canadian Magazine about Winnipeg's success in producing great hockey teams, claimed that the city "poured out its teams as did Thebes its armies from a hundred gates",⁹⁹ and credited the city with having "some thirty clubs".¹⁰⁰ In particular, the Victoria Hockey Club captained by Colonel Evans of the Dragoons was considered the best in the country at that time.

However, cricket, the most distinctive and unifying game of the empire,¹⁰¹ as well as "the only sport peculiar to the British Empire",¹⁰² flourished in Winnipeg in 1897.¹⁰³ It was considered a British institution. As a character in Tom Brown's Schooldays said: it was "the birthright of British boys, old and young, as habeus corpus and trial by jury are of British men".¹⁰⁴ Judging from the full press coverage of the games which detailed all the subtleties and intricacies of the symbolic rituals of scoring, dismissals and bowling analysis¹⁰⁵ which only those steeped in the game could appreciate, the game was well organized and popular in the community. The Manitoba Free Press wrote: "cricket is now firmly planted

as the most popular summer game".¹⁰⁶ Prominent Winnipeggers were members of the various clubs. Sir Hugh John Macdonald, for example, was president of the Winnipeg Cricket Club in 1897, which alone fielded three teams in league competition. Cricket was being played in the Winnipeg school division as well. An English professional cricketer was engaged to coach at the participating schools.¹⁰⁷ A local press report noted that among the young "cricket fever has taken a firm hold and every vacant corner lot will have its club".¹⁰⁸

The other British game that was quite popular at the time was rugby. Like cricket it was well patronized by the local press and community leaders, and large crowds turned out to watch local games played at Driving Park. There were four well-organized clubs in the local league, comprised of Wesley College, Winnipeg Club, St. John's and Dragoons, with a junior league as well.¹⁰⁹ Throughout the empire the game caught on where there was an educated, urban and professional middle class keen on propagating the Victorian English public school virtues "concerning the efficacy for health and morals of team sports".¹¹⁰ The teams registered in the league came from the ranks of the city's middle class.

Rowing was another popular sport amongst the middle and upper middle classes of the city. The Winnipeg Canoe Club by 1897 had already been in existence for a quarter century. It was founded by Sir William Whyte and Judge Whitla, and included in its membership some of the most prominent Winnipeggers.¹¹¹ Here, again, Winnipeg had made its mark. Local, national and Henley regattas were closely followed by the local residents. Local heroes emerged from this sport, and the city keenly followed the fortunes of its representatives, as it did in July of 1896 when its "four-oared crew" reached the finals at Henley after vieing for honours with fifty-six international entries.¹¹²

Football was also played in the city then, but the press coverage was scanty. It was just getting under way, and was not popular with the local elite who organized the sporting events in the city. Given the maxim that soccer was played wherever Englishmen were to be found, there must be good reason for its low status and poor growth in the city at that time. One may well conjecture a social design. Football was originally introduced in Britain and parts of the empire as a means of sublimating class hatreds by the masses.¹¹³ The lack of a true working class in the city may well explain football's position at the time. It was only in 1897, for example, that the Victoria A.F.C. which was to be a prominent club in later years, was founded.¹¹⁴

In addition, Winnipeggers supported track and field, and because of the fact that cycling had come into its own by 1897, which would be "known to history as the bicycle year of Her Majesty's reign",¹¹⁵ both competitive and recreational cycling clubs were extremely popular. Curling and snowshoeing were other popular winter recreational sports. However, sports like art and architecture, and all other social activities in the outposts of the empire had to teach the "lazy Athenians" to believe in empire. It was in that spirit that the St. George's Snowshoe Club was organized. One verse of the club's song went thus:

In a nation's pluck and prowess there's a
mighty charm
To protect the honour of our flag and Queen
from harm,
So on snowshoes we will train the sturdy limb
and arm
As we are tramping on snowshoes.¹¹⁶

V

Bruce Coleman has written that the term, "Victorian", is used to "denote social properties of which religious practice was an integral part".¹¹⁷ And in this respect, Winnipeg was Victorian as it was imperialist. Besides being the occasion for celebrating and honouring the Queen's long reign and achievements of empire, 1897 was also, according to the Winnipeg Tribune, a cause for gratitude for the prosperous, and unified state of the local churches and their missions.¹¹⁸ The sectarian Methodist and Presbyterian variants of the 1880's¹¹⁹ had unified by 1897 as single Methodist and Presbyterian churches respectively. Generally, except for the schools question which divided Catholic and Protestant temporarily, there was "co-operation and good feeling among the different churches".¹²⁰

A vigorous church life existed in the city, and Winnipeg, the Winnipeg Daily Tribune wrote, "may dispute with Toronto the palm of being the best church-going city in Canada".¹²¹ Recently revisionist historians have proclaimed that Victorian cities "experienced a breakdown of religious practice and what amounted to a secularization of social consciousness and behaviour".¹²² However, this certainly did not apply to Winnipeg given its age, and especially its low level of industrialization and nascent union movement. Moreover, in that era of self-help working-class people had to rely on church-sponsored charities and fraternal societies. In fact, despite the social problems, church life found its fullest expression in Winnipeg's city life because the charter group believed implicitly that Winnipeg, itself, was a manifestation of the providential plan of human progress. Nevertheless, although the prosperous and respectable observed religion assiduously, the city's working class displayed a seemingly

lackadaisical attitude to church-going if the alacrity and intensity of establishing missions in the city is any indication. Missionary activity in the working-class sections of the city was a marked feature of city life.¹²³

Winnipeg prided itself in that in the "number of churches per thousand of population" no city on the continent "of equal age and size can equal Winnipeg".¹²⁴ This fact, citizens believed, "testified to the deep religious faith of the citizens, most of whom were of British stock".¹²⁵ Every major Protestant church was located in the city: The Presbyterian church, Church of England, Methodist, Baptist, Congregational, Lutheran, Salvation Army, Inter-denominational, Scandinavian, Seventh Day Adventist, Pentecostal, Undenominational, and even Christian Science.

However, it was the three main Protestant religions, viz., Anglican, Presbyterian, and Methodist churches which made Winnipeg a predominantly Protestant community, comprising well over one-half of the city's religions.¹²⁶ At the turn of the century, the Anglicans and Presbyterians made up 24% of the population each, while the Methodists accounted for 15.9%.¹²⁷ All told, Protestants comprised 82.3% of the population.¹²⁸

Most of the Protestant churches were located close to the wholesale district of the city.¹²⁹ Many of these were described as edifices of magnificent structure and proportions.¹³⁰ Holy Trinity Anglican Church, for example, was typical of the large parish churches of England, with its circular planned chapter house, bell tower, tiled floor chancel and box pews.¹³¹ The other main Protestant churches were basically similar and characteristically pure Gothic.

The local churches, because of their strategic location in the outpost of empire, were inextricably involved in missionary endeavours. Historically

the earlier settlement had attracted strong-willed, dedicated and patriotic ministers and priests to the area from which they pursued their missionary and exploratory work under the auspices of the various British missionary societies which were part and parcel of the infrastructure of the British Empire.¹³² The missions of Winnipeg and its hinterland, in which all denominations participated, were manifestations of that imperial and Christian sense of mission which A.J. Hobson called "the purer and more elevated adjuncts of Imperialism".¹³³ At the Christian Endeavours convention in Winnipeg in 1897, the Reverend John Hogg, in his patriotic address, said:

If patriotism means anything, patriotic works go out on religious lines. Religion and patriotism are hand in hand - it is for God and for our country.¹³⁴

Reverend G.M. Grant delineated the role of the clergy in the North-west. He believed that it was their duty "in the interest of patriotism and religion" to mould the character of the newcomers who were pouring into the North-west.¹³⁵ Besides keeping the imperial idea alive in the minds of the people and administering to their spiritual needs, the church was also a stabilizing influence in a city that had grown too fast. A number of philanthropic and charitable organizations were under the wing of the church. In addition to do its work with the public and private schools systems, higher education was solely the prerogative of the church.

The spiritual leaders of the main three denominations were members of the city's social elite. They were members of the Provincial Advisory Board of Education, as well as faculty, Senate, and Board of Management members of Manitoba College. They were also executive members of fraternal, national and secret societies, as well as of cultural and intellectual ones. They participated in major political debates on national, provincial and

local issues. The Manitoba schools question occupied the minds of the clergy through the 1890's. In 1897 the scars of the conflict were still painful to some of the Catholic clergymen who threatened the consensual nature of the jubilee celebration which the organizers were trying to present to the public. The conflict, which transcended religion,¹³⁶ was the subject of sermons, lectures and pamphlets by local clergymen.

Dr. G. Bryce and Dr. T. Hart led the debate on behalf of the Protestants, while Father Drummond, the rector of St. Mary's Cathedral in Winnipeg, represented Catholic thought in the conflict, and consistently preached strong sermons to large congregations on the matter.¹³⁷ On the burning question of Imperial Federation the leading members of the church entered the debate vehemently. Dr. Bryce, an avowed imperialist, castigated the scheme,¹³⁸ while his colleague, Dr. King, who supported Reverend G.M. Grant on the issue, considered Imperial Federation as the only alternative to Canadian annexation by the United States.¹³⁹

Due to their background and experience, generally, local clergymen were recognized as leading intellectuals in the city. The Reverends Dr. Bryce, Dr. T. Hart, D.M. Gordon, R.Y. Thompson, Dr. J.M. King, C.B. Pitblado and C. Pinkham had all made their mark in this respect.

Although the beginnings of the social gospel were evident in Winnipeg at that time, and certain clergymen, such as Reverend J.C. Walker, were questioning the prevailing ethos, for the most part, the church as a whole subscribed to that philosophy of material success which R.H. Tawney claimed was "the sign and reward of ethical superiority".¹⁴⁰ Basically they believed that the poor had brought poverty on themselves. Winnipeg's social and economic elite, therefore, were merely virtuously fulfilling their calling. Thus they gave ideological support to the progress and

material success which the local bourgeoisie was enjoying at that time. In this respect church support for the ethos of material progress cut across denominational grounds.¹⁴¹

VI

Winnipeg, the staple entrepot and commercial town, also displayed all the signs of a garrison centre. Indeed, two prominent landmarks of late Victorian Winnipeg were the Drill Hall and Fort Osborne Barracks, both centrally located in the heart of the city on the edge of the prestigious Hudsons' Bay Reserve, adjacent to the legislative building, on the corner of Osborne and Broadway. The barracks was built in 1884 specifically for the Winnipeg 90th, which had been organized a few months earlier by Lieutenant-Colonel W.H. Kennedy.¹⁴²

The military had an omnipresent position. Military, school cadet, and boys' brigade bands were seen throughout the week training or leading their respective marching units. The martial strain, "Pork beans and hardtack" was a familiar tune in the city.¹⁴³ On special commemorative occasions, especially those recent historical events in which the local militia had participated, and on Sundays, when special services for the military were held at local churches, Winnipeg was witness to military church parades, martial music and splendid uniforms. Military dress was as formal and popular as evening wear at major social events.¹⁴⁴

The local press added to the physical presence of the military by keeping the public fully informed of all their activities concerning manoeuvres and exercises, as well as sporting ones. The local military leaders, because of their affiliation with the local elite, and their participation in public affairs, were revered by the local press. This

special status of the military in Winnipeg life had historical roots, and was an inevitable consequence of its earlier "far-flung" settlement days as part of the British Empire. Often the commander of the imperial troops stationed in the colony was appointed governor; sometimes the officer in charge of Fort Garry acted as governor.¹⁴⁵ This tendency continued up to jubilee year. Many of the city's elite, including Lieutenant-Governors, premiers, members of the legislature, and mayors, were militiamen. One in particular, Lieutenant-Colonel W.N. Kennedy, who achieved royal recognition as an imperial soldier, was a popular and successful mayor.¹⁴⁶

As far back as 1846, with the Oregon Crisis, Red River "first saw the scarlet coats of British infantry" numbering three hundred and forty-seven under Major Crofton.¹⁴⁷ Two years later they were replaced by a small detachment of Chelsea pensioners to deal with the threat of civil unrest in the settlement.¹⁴⁸ United States manifest destiny and free-trader activity a decade later saw the Royal Canadian Rifles being stationed in Fort Garry to quieten the "turbulent spirits" in the colony.¹⁴⁹

However, none of the earlier military detachments sent to the settlement could match the legendary myth-making Red River Expedition in scope, and in decisively determining the essential British Ontarian nature of the city. Wolseley's troops almost equalled the total Metis male population in the settlement at the time.¹⁵⁰ The expedition consisted of seven companies of the First Battalion of the 60th Rifles, 350 strong, besides twenty men of the Royal Artillery and twenty of the Royal Engineers. In addition, there was a proportionate number of medical corps and army service corps, with over 400 regular soldiers associated with a militia force from the drilled militia regiments of Ontario and Quebec comprising two battalions of 350 men each.¹⁵¹ Even the overwhelming majority of the Quebec units were Anglo-Saxon.¹⁵²

The core of the city's economic, political and social elite emerged from this legendary force. To local imperialists, the expedition brought "law and order and the symbol of British power into the country"¹⁵³ and, to add to the mystique and solidify the myth, it was believed that it had "accomplished a march which was the largest ever made by a force".¹⁵⁴ The expedition facilitated "the westward course of the empire" thereby establishing "an all-red route between the east and the west".¹⁵⁵ Pax Britannica had come to the North-west, and the governor-general cynically assured the indigenous people that they had "a place in the regard and counsels of England, and may rely upon the impartial protection of the British sceptre".¹⁵⁶ Wolseley's report re-inforced the myth. He wrote that the expedition itself was both crime and illness-free. That 'muscular Christian' and imperialist, the Reverend George Young saw the expedition as clearing the way for Christian penetration. Besides augmenting the local congregations these "methodistically inclined soldiers"¹⁵⁷ and their coming, enabled the church to "push forward its work more vigorously and expeditiously".¹⁵⁸

The local press kept its readership up to date with the wars and military adventures of the empire. This was understandable given the essential British character of the city, and the fact that the local militia was deemed the first among local British subjects, and defenders of the empire.¹⁵⁹ A number of local militarymen, such as Lieutenant-Colonel W.N. Kennedy of Sudan fame, and Lieutenant Hosmer, late intelligence officer with Sir Evelyn Wood's column in the Zulu Wars,¹⁶⁰ and others, were well-known because they had served alongside famed British officers in imperial ventures. Winnipeg was typical of English speaking cities of the empire where "the fascination in war and all things pertaining to it"¹⁶¹ was seized upon by the local press to sell papers. The papers were filled with

the drama, colour and passion of imperial wars. Besides the diversionary effect, news reports of the wars conspired to mould public opinion about the correctness of Britain's position and, most importantly, reinforced imperialist attitudes in the minds and hearts of the public. Except for the Manitoba Free Press' repudiation of the Jameson Raid, and the occasional "suspicions of Cecil Rhodes and the Chartered Company",¹⁶² the local media did not raise political and moral arguments about the rights and wrongs of interventionist wars. Instead, editorials and articles by British war correspondents on the background or causes of the wars accepted them as a fait accompli and expressed the imperialist view of the correctness of British policy.¹⁶³

Thus the militarist character of Winnipeg was set. Winnipeggers, headed by Lieutenant-Colonel W.N. Kennedy, rallied to the imperialist cause for service under General Wolseley in the Sudan in 1884:

This was the first body of men to leave Winnipeg for active service. The years to come were destined to see many departures from Winnipeg for active military service, in the Saskatchewan fighting in 1885, the South African War, and in the Great War in which Manitoba, with one-sixteenth of the population sent one-ninth of the total number of recruits from Canada for overseas.¹⁶⁴

Colonel Crofton, who commanded the first imperial troops to be stationed in the early settlement, and who acted as Governor of Assiniboia in 1846, helped set the militarist tone of the area. He wrote:

It is obvious that veterans would in a country like this, be the best force, and by permitting them to settle in the colony, a loyal and martial feeling would grow up, and the colony would be able to resist any hostile attack.¹⁶⁵

Crofton's proposal, in fact, became an integral part of local land settlement development. In this respect, Winnipeg and its earlier settlement, was an analogue of British imperial military tradition. Any outpost of empire

or Crown colony had rewards for servicemen that were there for the taking. Winnipeg and its hinterland were not different to India in its benefits available to those who had actively defended the empire.

One of the plums of military service in the west was the land grant. An Order-in-Council of April 25, 1871, decreed that members of the Ontario and Quebec battalion of Rifles stationed in Winnipeg, ie., members of the Red River Expedition, "shall be entitled to a free grant, without actual residence of one quarter section" of land in the province.¹⁶⁶ Until 1877, every recruit who volunteered for service in the Winnipeg garrison, under terms of enlistment, was given a similar grant.¹⁶⁷ Militiamen who saw service in the North-west Rebellion were recipients of "a free homestead and two adjoining quarter sections".¹⁶⁸

Besides the land grants and other social advancements that the military afforded local ex-servicemen and volunteers, the imperialist spirit of adventure was another feature of local militarism. This spirit of adventure, implicit in the military and jingoistic aspect of imperialism, was the driving force in many members of the Red River Expedition, including Wolseley himself,¹⁶⁹ as well as W.N. Kennedy and Sam Steele. Like the latter, his many comrades adored military life with its colourful uniforms, and "the pride that shines through the spit and polish, the parade in the Rifle Corps' quickstep".¹⁷⁰

By jubilee year, out of twenty-six urban militia battalions in Canada,¹⁷¹ Winnipeg, significantly, was the home of four of these. The problems that plagued Canada's defences in the last three decades of the nineteenth century, were mostly the makings of the rural militia units,¹⁷² and rarely applied to city militia units, let alone Winnipeg. Norman Penlington's claim that the unenthusiastic support of the Dominion Government to military matters was mitigated by the "local patriotic spirit found among

individual citizens, among members of the militia, and in the municipalities"¹⁷³ is clearly demonstrated by the situation in Winnipeg. For one, the Winnipeg middle-class, because of its natural affinity for the military, did not display that pacifism associated with its class that Normal Penlington has documented.¹⁷⁴ In fact, it was this class in Winnipeg that kept the militarist and imperialist spirit alive.

The four military units stationed in Winnipeg in 1897 were the Winnipeg Troop of cavalry, also known since 1894 as the Royal Canadian Dragoons, the Winnipeg 13th Field Battery, the 90th Field Battery or the Royal Winnipeg Rifles, and the Royal School of Mounted Infantry which was formed in 1885 and later achieved fame in South Africa as the Lord Strathcona's.¹⁷⁵ These units were extremely well-known to Winnipeg and its immediate hinterland. The registration roll of the Royal Canadian Dragoons, for example, show that a large number of the volunteers came from the outlying rural areas of Winnipeg, including Brandon, Souris and the surrounding villages.¹⁷⁶ Often, too, these militia units would march to a rural town for exercises for a few days. When not on manoeuvres, these units would often parade to church on Sundays for special commemorative services where martial sermons would be preached. A popular text for this kind of service was Exodus 15, Verse 3: "The Lord is a man of war, Jehovah is his name".¹⁷⁷

These commemorative parades were extremely popular in the city. On May 17, 1897, for example, when the Winnipeg 90th Rifles participated with the Veterans of 1885 in a parade down Portage Avenue and Main Street to St. Johns cemetery, to honour the "fallen heroes of '85", crowds lined the streets and packed the cemetery. The Manitoba Free Press wrote:

On account of this crowd, it was impossible to draw the men up in line by the graves so no effort was made to do so.¹⁷⁸

These "citizen soldiers" in Winnipeg served for three years "under conditions for the government of the Active Militia Force of Canada, as set forth in 'The Consolidated Militia Act of 1883', . . .".¹⁷⁹ However, local members of the elite such as Lieutenant-Colonel W.N. Kennedy. Lieutenant-Colonel Scoble, Colonel Ruttan and others, were more instrumental in promoting the militia cause than the federal authorities. The city was proud of their militia. When the 90th Rifles was initially omitted from representation at the London jubilee procession, the city fathers and the "90th Veterans Association" campaigned vehemently, and successfully for its inclusion.¹⁸⁰ As part of their preparation, local officers often completed training courses with the imperial army in England.¹⁸¹ Rank and file members, meanwhile, were required to train weekday evenings and on some week-ends.

Besides military skills, "responsibility, citizenship and leadership training",¹⁸² were also inculcated into the militiamen. Regimentation and discipline were integral parts of local military thinking. The following standing order applied to members of the Royal School of Mounted Infantry:

Not a man of the force is permitted out of the barracks' square unless clearly and neatly dressed. On all rides outside of the square each man must carefully be dressed and accoutred in forage, or full dress, with helmets.¹⁸³

Colonel Ruttan, who commanded the Winnipeg 90ths, insisted that local militiamen be of "good physique", with "smart soldier-like looks and bearing", and "good moral character".¹⁸⁴ Ruttan was merely reflecting the spirit of this age which saw military-style discipline as the very backbone of self-help individual enterprise. Samuel Smiles, the great British propagandist for the gospel of work, saw a clear connection between military discipline and the will to succeed.¹⁸⁵

The contribution of the military to the imperial idea in Winnipeg is quite evident. Duty in defence and expansion of the empire was the virtual

raison d'etre of late Victorian British militarism. The same idea had always been a mark of local military thinking. Lieutenant-Governor J. Schultz supported the school cadet movement because it could not fail to promote the idea "in their young hearts".¹⁸⁶ Sir Donald Smith pledged to Britain that Canadian soldiers were "always ready to maintain the integrity of the Empire . . . and to do their part with the imperial forces to this end".¹⁸⁷ The military enthusiasm of Lieutenant-Colonel W.N. Kennedy is legend.¹⁸⁸ Prominent civilians held similar views. In 1886 Mayor Westbrook was convinced that Winnipeg's loyalty easily surpassed that of Toronto's. Winnipeg, he claimed, could have troops ready to defend the empire "at an hour's notice", and if need be recruit an additional battalion without much ado.¹⁸⁹ The reward for this selfless military loyalty would come from that "Great Commander" himself, in the form of salvation.¹⁹⁰ The Honourable Colin Campbell saw Britain's imperial wars as a manifestation of her "Christian truth".¹⁹¹ School trustee Stewart Mulvey saw his Orange Order's role and subsequent victory in the Manitoba schools question as a military victory.¹⁹²

This was but a variant of jingoism. To Norman Penlington, jingoism "was also an element in the exaggerated loyalty for Queen Victoria in 1897".¹⁹³ Although jingoism was an integral part of military thinking, some local military men did think beyond this narrow position. Many, such as W.N. Kennedy, Major Boulton and Colonel Scoble, promoted the cause of imperial federation. Colonel Scoble, in a paper read before the Manitoba Historical Society in 1885, saw Winnipeg's and the North-west's role in such a scheme as being pivotal because of its "ability to become the leading grain producer in the world".¹⁹⁴ He berated Britain for favouring India, "peopled by hostile races", over the North-west.¹⁹⁵

By 1897, therefore, military life was endemic in Winnipeg society. The established elite, because of its natural affiliations to the military and because of the great parvenu spirit that underpinned its ethos, both realized and savoured the advantages that militarism brought to bear on the local social fabric. The pivotal role that local military officers played in organizing the jubilee extravaganza is clear testimony to the influence that they wielded. In Winnipeg's short history the reaction to the Riel Rebellion of 1885 best illustrates the effect of military preparations on the city. In the following year, the Annual Report of the Winnipeg Board of Trade, in reviewing the effects of '85 on the city, said:

Military preparations for crushing the rising occupied the attention more than business, and completely staggered many branches of trade. For weeks in March and April the sound of the bugle was more than the clang of the hammer, and by the close of the latter month the city had sent to the front some two thousand men as soldiers, teamsters, transport men, and other branches of the service.¹⁹⁶

Another way of looking at Winnipeg's overall position in 1897 is to see it as a focal point in an ever-expanding frontier of the British empire. It was from Winnipeg that western imperial boundaries could be rectified, and indigenous peoples be pacified in typical imperialist fashion.

VII

Winnipeg in 1897 was a cosmopolitan city dominated by a plutocratic elite of British stock. Race and class, as well as religion and culture divided a city characterized by social tensions and anxieties. Economic and social inequalities resulted in both foreign ghettos and exclusive neighbourhoods existing at different ends of the city.

Winnipeg's raison d'être was commerce. Its economic achievements in just under three decades were indeed astounding. Its mastery over its

bountiful hinterland was legend. What guided Winnipeg ethically was an abiding belief in the Victorian and imperialist creed of progress. Even a world-wide depression failed to disillusion its commercial class.

This confidence spilled over into the creation and patronage of a viable cultural and social life. British national organizations and athletic clubs provided the outlet for that late Victorian propensity to belong to organizations. These social organizations spear-headed the drive to maintain the British character of Winnipeg.

However, one area of great social conflict and bitterness was also one of the strengths of the city. Winnipeg's vigorous church life was testimony to its claim to be the best church-going city in Canada. Protestantism had just achieved a resounding victory over Catholicism in the Manitoba schools question. Bitterness and open hostility exacerbated the earlier religious differences and the resulting struggle for power and influence over the French and Catholic communities in Winnipeg and St. Boniface.

It is within the context of these social and religious divisions existing in Winnipeg, and against the background of the collective sentiments and ideas of the community, as well as the post-depression buoyant economy, that the Queen Victoria Diamond Jubilee must be examined.

FOOTNOTES

¹M. F. P., 22 June 1897.

²John Graham, Winnipeg Architecture. The Red River Settlement, 1831-1960, (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1967), p. 3.

³A. Artibise, op. cit. (1975), p. 151.

⁴John Graham, op. cit., p. 3.

⁵W. L. Morton, op. cit. (1957), p. 263.

⁶M. F. P., 10 July 1976.

⁷Reverend John West. Quoted in G. Bryce, op. cit. (1885-1886), p. 8.

⁸A. Artibise, Winnipeg, An Illustrated History (Toronto: J. Lorimer, 1977), p. 64.

⁹A. Artibise, op. cit., (1975), p. 142. Artibise's listing of the origins of Winnipeg's population, 1851-1916, tends to be inadequate and insensitive. He unwisely mixes so-called racial and national origins. A proper listing would not use "Negro" for example, unless all other groups were listed in scientific biological or anthropological categories, i.e., "Jewish" becomes Semite, and so on. Obviously, because Artibise uses "Asian", albeit unsatisfactorily, then African can be used instead of "Negro."

¹⁰A. Artibise, op. cit. (1977), p. 38.

¹¹M. F. P., 8 July 1896.

¹²J. Gray, Boomtime. Peopling the Canadian Prairies (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1979), p. 11.

¹³A. Artibise, op. cit. (1977), p. 38.

¹⁴The most prestigious social event of the year was the annual Cricket Club Ball held every New Year's Eve for which only 400 invitations were sent out. Many of the guests were M. L. A.'s from outside Winnipeg, as well as, militia officers. M. F. P., 1 January 1897.

¹⁵Winnipeg Telegram, 29 January, 1910. The paper reported quite proudly that the city had nineteen millionaires for certain, but give and take, it was quite conceivable that there were at least twenty-five "without stretching the truth." Meanwhile the paper's Toronto correspondent only put that city's millionaire list at twenty-one.

Significantly, many, if not all of the city's wealthiest residents were self proclaimed imperialists, and many of them had been knighted, including Sir J. C. Schultz, Sir D. McMillan, Sir R. Roblin, Sir Douglas Colin Cameron, Sir J. Aikins, Sir A. Nanton, and Sir Colin Campbell.

- ¹⁶James Gray op. cit., p. 110.
- ¹⁷L. Driedger, "Ethnic prejudice and discrimination in Winnipeg high schools," Canadian Journal of Sociology, Vol. 6, No. 1(Winter 1981), p. 3.
- ¹⁸Ibid.
- ¹⁹J. E. Rea, op. cit., p. 51.
- ²⁰A. Artibise, op. cit. (1975), p. 157.
- ²¹G. Shanks, op. cit., p. 5.
- ²²A. Artibise, op. cit. (1977), p. 157.
- ²³R. Rostecki, "The Growth of Winnipeg, 1870-1886." M. A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1980, p. 105.
- ²⁴The Voice, 19 June 1897.
- ²⁵A. R. M. Lower, op. cit., p. 366.
- ²⁶A. Artibise and E. H. Dahl, Winnipeg in Maps (Ottawa: Public Archives, Canada, 1975), p. 75.
- ²⁷Ibid.
- ²⁸G. Shanks, op. cit., p. 98.
- ²⁹R. Rostecki, op. cit., p. 98.
- ³⁰See R. Rostecki, "Some Old Winnipeg Buildings," HSSM Transactions, Series 111, No. 29 (1972-1973), pp. 5-22. Rostecki describes a number of typical contemporary homes of that era.
- ³¹John Graham, op. cit., p. 105.
- ³²A. Artibise and E. H. Dahl, op. cit., p. 35.
- ³³R. Rostecki, op. cit. (1980), p. 105.
- ³⁴A. Artibise and E. H. Dahl, op. cit., p. 29.
- ³⁵Ibid.
- ³⁶"Kipling's Winnipeg Speech," An Address to the Canadian Club, 2 October 1907 (Winnipeg: Jackson Co., 1907), n.p.
- ³⁷John Graham, op. cit., p. 13.
- ³⁸A. Artibise and E. H. Dahl, op. cit., p. 31.

³⁹A. R. M. Lower, "Metropolis and Hinterland," South Atlantic Quarterly, Vol, 70, No. 3(Summer 1971), p. 63.

⁴⁰L. M. McCann, "The Myth of the Metropolis: The Role of the City in Canadian Regionalism," Urban History Review, Vol. 1X, No. 3 (February 1981), p. 53.

⁴¹R. Bellan, op. cit., p. 59.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴T. R. Weir, Atlas of Winnipeg (London: University of Toronto Press, 1978), p. 6.

⁴⁵A. R. M. Lower, op. cit. (1971), p. 65.

⁴⁶R. Bellan op. cit., p. 72.

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸W. L. Morton op. cit. (1957), p. 264.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 252.

⁵⁰R. Bellan, op. cit., p. 57.

⁵¹J. Knuttila and J. Crorie, "National Policy and Prairie Agrarian Development," The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, Vol. 17, No. 3 (August 1980), p. 263.

⁵²W. D. T., 2 October 1882.

⁵³Ibid.

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵G. Shanks, op. cit., p. 44.

⁵⁶W. D. T., 14 June 1897.

⁵⁷Baker Papers, MG14, B2.

⁵⁸W. H. Heick, op. cit., p. 284.

⁵⁹See chapter 2 for Dr. Bryce's brand of imperialism.

⁶⁰M. F. P., 1 January 1897.

⁶¹The non-Anglo-Saxon guest was Fred Heubach, a de facto member of the city's elite. A former secretary of the Hudson's Bay Company Land Commission, he was later to become a major developer in Winnipeg.

- ⁶²G. R. Stevens, op. cit., p. 149.
- ⁶³J. O. Springhall, "Rule Britannia," The British Empire, Time-Life Books, No. 55, p. 1529.
- ⁶⁴Ibid. See also J. Flint, op. cit., pp. 29-30.
- ⁶⁵J. Macoun, Manitoba and the Great North-West (Guelph: The World Publishing Co., 1882), p. 205.
- ⁶⁶See chapter 4 for the section on national societies.
- ⁶⁷Asa Briggs, Victorian People (London: Odhams, 1954), p. 125.
- ⁶⁸J. Macoun, op. cit., p. 505.
- ⁶⁹Baker Papers, MG14, B2, Scrapbook, p. 42.
- ⁷⁰Ibid.
- ⁷¹Ibid.
- ⁷²Ibid., p. 16.
- ⁷³W. D. T., 23 May 1892.
- ⁷⁴Ibid., 4 May 1892.
- ⁷⁵Baker Papers, MG14, B2, Scrapbook, p. 5.
- ⁷⁶W. D. T., 12 July 1892.
- ⁷⁷M. F. P., 12 July 1892.
- ⁷⁸H. Senior, Organeism: The Canadian Phase (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., 1972), p. 74.
- ⁷⁹W. D. T., 12 July 1892.
- ⁸⁰M. F. P., 12 July 1896.
- ⁸¹H. Senior, op. cit., p. 78.
- ⁸²M. F. P., 12 July 1896.
- ⁸³W. L. Morton, op. cit. (1957), p. 248.
- ⁸⁴Annual Report, Grand Orange Lodge, 18th Annual Session, 5 March 1890. Grand Master S. Mulvey's description of the local membership.
- ⁸⁵W. D. T., 12 July 1897.

⁸⁶E. Patterson, "Our Picturesque Past," Winnipeg Free Press, 12 July 1975.

⁸⁷W. D. T., 12 July 1897.

⁸⁸Ibid.

⁸⁹Ibid., 15 June 1897.

⁹⁰P. Ziegler, Crown and People (New York: Random House, 1978).

⁹¹V. Leah, "Pages from the Past," Winnipeg Tribune, 25 October 1975.

⁹²M. Benham, The Manitoba Club, 100 Years (Winnipeg: The Manitoba Club, 1974), p. 22.

⁹³Ibid.

⁹⁴W. L. Morton, op. cit., (1957), p. 172. In his most recently published work, Peter C. Newman has this to write about the club: "None of Canada's private clubs ever symbolized so directly any province's concentration of personal authority... the club institutionalized the province's decision-making process from the very beginning." Peter C. Newman, The Acquisitors (Toronto: McLelland and Steward, 1981), p. 301.

⁹⁵Most recently, Francis Wheen writing in the New Statesman, 11 September 1981, had this to say about the subject in his review of J. A. Mangan's original and stimulating book just published, Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School (Cambridge, 1981): "From about 1850.... a legitimating rhetoric began: athleticism became a fully-fledged ideology: (p. 15) Wheen further claims that the most dominant theme of athleticism was the connection between games and war, (Ibid.) Also, and most significantly, Wheen says that J. A. Mangan has shown conclusively that "the game cult was intimately linked" to Britain's expansion.

⁹⁶G. Bolton, Britain's Legacy Overseas (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 109.

⁹⁷J. O. Springhall, op. cit., p. 1530.

⁹⁸See chapter 3 for the section on sports in the Winnipeg Schools.

⁹⁹W. H. Wooside, "Hockey in the Canadian North-West," The Canadian Magazine, Vol, VI, No. 3 (June 1896), p. 244.

¹⁰⁰Ibid.

¹⁰¹G. Bolton, op. cit., p. 109.

¹⁰²Ibid.

- 103 M. F. P., 2 April 1897.
- 104 Quoted in Asa Briggs, op. cit., p. 161.
- 105 See the sports pages in the local dailies in summer 1897.
- 106 M. F. P., 10 April 1897.
- 107 W. D. T., 8 April 1897.
- 108 M. F. P., 2 April 1897.
- 109 Ibid., 4 October 1897.
- 110 D. Smith, "People's Theatre - A Century of Welsh Rugby." History Today, Vol. 31 (March 1981), p. 34. See also M. Mott, "Manly Sports and Manitobans, Settlement Days to World War One." Ph. D. Thesis, Queen's University, 1980. M. Mott has shown how the elite used sports to inculcate racial and cultural values in the local population.
- 111 Winnipeg Tribune, 15 August 1972.
- 112 W. D. T., 12 July 1896.
- 113 G. Bolton, op. cit., p.
- 114 M. F. P., 10 April 1897.
- 115 Ibid., 22 June 1897.
- 116 Baker Papers, MG14, B2, Scrapbook, p. 42.
- 117 B. Coleman, "Religion in the Victorian City." History Today, Vol. 30 (August 1980), p. 25.
- 118 W. D. T., 19 June 1897.
- 119 J. Macoun, op. cit., p. 684.
- 120 W. D. T., 8 October 1897.
- 121 Ibid.
- 122 B. Coleman, op. cit., p. 25.
- 123 M. F. P., 24 December 1897.
- 124 W. D. T., 1 October 1892.
- 125 G. Shanks, op. cit., p. 10.

- 126 A. Artibise, op. cit. (1975), p. 145.
- 127 Ibid., p. 143.
- 128 Ibid.
- 129 G. Shanks, op. cit., p. 10.
- 130 W. D. T., 8 October 1892.
- 131 John Graham, op. cit., p. 11.
- 132 G. M. Grant, "Churches and Schools in the North-West," in J. Macoun, op. cit., pp. 523-539.
- 133 J. A. Hobson, op. cit., p. 198.
- 134 M. F. P., 25 May 1897.
- 135 G. M. Grant, op. cit. (1882), p. 528.
- 136 P. Crunican, op. cit., p. 10.
- 137 W. D. T., 12 September 1892.
- 138 See chapter 2 for the section on Dr. Bryce's brand of imperialism.
- 139 "Imperial Federation" A published lecture that Dr. G. M. Grant delivered in Winnipeg on 13 September 1889. R. B. R. F 1029 S. G7, G75. Dafoe Library, University of Manitoba.
In moving the vote of thanks to Dr. Grant, Dr. King expressed strong support for the scheme.
- 140 R. H. Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism (London: John Murray, 1936), p. 279.
- 141 M. Bliss, A Living Profit, Studies in the Social History of Canadian Business, 1883-1911 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), p. 10.
- 142 E. Patterson, ed. Winnipeg 100. 100 Year Pictorial History of Winnipeg (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Free Press, 1973), p. 42.
- 143 M. F. P., 29 September 1896.
- 144 W. D. T., 1 January 1897.
- 145 Alexander McArthur, "The Causes of the Rising in Red River Settlement 1869-1870," MHSS Transactions, No. 1 (1882), p. 3.
- 146 See chapter 2.
- 147 W. L. Morton, op. cit. (1957), p. 75.

- ¹⁴⁸Ibid., p. 77.
- ¹⁴⁹Ibid., p. 102.
- ¹⁵⁰Professor D. Sprague, C. B. C. interview with John Harvard, 9 March 1982, "Information Radio".
- ¹⁵¹G. Young, Manitoba Memoirs (Toronto: William Briggs, 1891), p. 176.
- ¹⁵²J. F. Tenant, op. cit. See pp. 120-135 for the Nominal Roll, 2nd Battalion, Quebec Rifles.
- ¹⁵³Ibid., p. 118.
- ¹⁵⁴Ibid.
- ¹⁵⁵A. L. Dawson, "First Military Expedition from Thunder Bay to Red River," Manitoba Historical Scrapbook, M3, p. 72.
- ¹⁵⁶G. F. Stanley, The Birth of Western Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960), p. 133.
- ¹⁵⁷G. Young, op. cit., p. 183.
- ¹⁵⁸Ibid., p. 184.
- ¹⁵⁹Senate Debates. Senator Domville in the Jubilee and Canadian Military Debate, 13 April 1897, pp. 839-840.
- ¹⁶⁰W. D. T., 5 August 1891.
- ¹⁶¹P. G. Griffiths, "The Particular Character of Military Literature," History Today, Vol, 31 (June 1981), p. 62.
- ¹⁶²M. F. P., 4 April 1896, 4 May 1896, 6 March 1896, 18 March 1896.
- ¹⁶³M. F. P., 29 April 1896 and 1 May 1896. Typical is the account of the cause of Matabele resistance in which 100 Europeans were killed: "Natives 'cattle slaughtered to stop the spread of disease' (7 April 1896). The M. F. P. (25 April 1896) ran a headline: "A Daring Dash. Brilliant Work By Brave British Troopers."
- ¹⁶⁴W. J. Healy, Winnipeg's Early Days (Winnipeg: Stovel Co., 1927), p. 29.
- ¹⁶⁵Quoted in F. Schofield, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 91.
- ¹⁶⁶J. Tyman, "Patterns of Western Settlement," HSSM Transactions, Series 111, No. 28 (1971-1972), p. 128.
- ¹⁶⁷Ibid.
- ¹⁶⁸Ibid.
- ¹⁶⁹R. Steward, op. cit., p. 11.

- ¹⁷⁰Ibid., p. 13.
- ¹⁷¹N. Penlington, Canada and Imperialism, 1896-1899 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), p. 16.
- ¹⁷²Ibid.
- ¹⁷³Ibid., p. 19.
- ¹⁷⁴Ibid., p. 12.
- ¹⁷⁵Colonel C. P. Stacey, Introduction to the Study of Military History (Ottawa: Queen's Printers, 1955), p. 18.
- ¹⁷⁶P. A. M. Military District No. 10, MG6, B1.
- ¹⁷⁷W. D. T., 27 June 1884.
- ¹⁷⁸M. F. P., 6 May 1897.
- ¹⁷⁹P. A. M. Military District No. 10., MG6, B1.
- ¹⁸⁰M. F. P., 6 May 1897.
- ¹⁸¹Ibid., 6 November 1897.
- ¹⁸²Winnipeg Free Press, 11 September 1973.
- ¹⁸³W. D. T., 5 August 1891.
- ¹⁸⁴M. F. P., 17 May 1897.
- ¹⁸⁵Asa Briggs, op. cit., p. 145.
- ¹⁸⁶W. D. T., 26 October 1892.
- ¹⁸⁷M. F. P., 1 July 1896.
- ¹⁸⁸See chapter 2 for the section on Winnipeg imperialists.
- ¹⁸⁹M. F. P., 29 September 1886.
- ¹⁹⁰Ibid.
- ¹⁹¹P. A. M. Colin Campbell Papers, MG114, B21, Box 5, p. d.
- ¹⁹²Ibid. Copy of Grand Master Stewart Mulvey's address: "To the Orangemen and Protestants of Canada."
- ¹⁹³N. Penlington, op. cit., p. 2. Penlington has correctly charged later students of imperialism with deliberately downplaying jingoism "because of its unpleasant associations with democracy."

194

Colonel Scoble, "Our Crop Markets," HSSM Transactions, No. 15,
Winnipeg (1885), p. 9.

195

Ibid., p. 10.

196

M.F.P., 23 June 1897.

CHAPTER V

WINNIPEG CELEBRATES THE DIAMOND JUBILEE, 22nd JUNE 1897

I

Queen Victoria expressed the desire that she be honoured in the jubilee year of her reign by the establishment and promotion of institutions for the good of her people. "Do something for humanity, especially for afflicted humanity", she said.¹

Winnipeg complied without hesitation. First of all, Winnipeg gave financial support to Lord and Lady Aberdeen's Jubilee drive to start the Victorian Order of Nurses, intended to embrace all of Canada, "as a permanent memorial of Her Majesty's long and happy reign".² The Manitoba Free Press exhorted the public to support the worthy cause as a "loyal observance of Jubilee Day".³

In this respect, Professor Robertson, from Ottawa, addressed City Council early in June of "Jubilee Year", asking the city for support of the Aberdeen's campaign, saying that:

the Queen had expressed a desire that any movement inaugurated should be designed with the object of conferring benefit on the poor, and unfortunate of her subjects.⁴

Winnipeg City Council, which in 1897 contained some ardent imperialists led by Aldermen Baker, Mitchell, Andrews, and Kennedy, fully endorsed the scheme. Although the Methodist church, and certain doctors found the scheme impracticable,⁵ and even the Manitoba Free Press that had previously endorsed the scheme, had second thoughts, the euphoria engendered by the coming jubilee event meant that the Aberdeens, and, indeed Queen Victoria, herself, would not be denied.

One aspect of the imperialist's sense of mission, so obviously a part of Queen Victoria's personal appeal about the form that the celebrations should take, was the humanitarian ideal of serving one's fellow human being, and not necessarily only the "lesser breed" or as the local press put it, "the Mongolian and African races".⁶ And to serve these ends, G.M. Grant said: "the British empire was the highest secular instrument the world has ever known".⁷

It was at this time, too, that Winnipeg was becoming the home of "foreign elements",⁸ to which its charitable organizations were to address themselves. Winnipeg's "White man's burden", and "lesser breed" were implied in Mrs. G. Bryce's use of the current phrase, "foreign element". The officers of many of Winnipeg's charities were the wives of many of Winnipeg's prominent citizens.⁹ The social consciences of this class was a form of "aristocratic paternalism",¹⁰ which in effect, became the hallmark of the local imperialist's sense of mission. However, their social concerns were very selective. One of their pet charities was the Winnipeg General Hospital. The Queen's appeal provided the hospital with an opportunity to expand the place as a "royal observance" of the spirit of the day.¹¹ Consequently, the directors of the hospital, which included a number of imperialists, launched an appeal to raise \$50,000 for the erection of a "Victoria Wing".¹²

There were other jubilee "showers of blessings" as well. The Winnipeg-based Aberdeen Association "undertook to supply the lonely homes of the North-West with instructive and entertaining literature", to mark the jubilee occasion.¹³

Winnipeg residents were to benefit in another way. Alderman Baker proposed at city council meeting that the Hudson's Bay Company in London be petitioned to donate to the city, the Fort Garry Gateway and sufficient ground in the vicinity, "to enable the City to constitute and improve a

City Park in order to perpetuate the recollections of Old Fort Garry as well as commemorate the Queen's Diamond Jubilee",¹⁴ Alderman Baker further proposed that he be charged with carrying the petition to London to present it, at the time of the Jubilee celebrations, as Winnipeg's official representative at the Queen Victoria Diamond Jubilee.¹⁵

Winnipeg prepared a decorative petition, signed by Mayor McCreary, which read in part:

And whereas the City of Winnipeg is desirous this year not only of commemorating Her Majesty's Diamond Jubilee, but of perpetuating the memory of old Fort Garry, and would most respectfully petition that you may be graciously pleased to donate the Gateway and sufficient ground thereabout to enable your Petitioners to constitute and improve a City Park under the control of the present Park Board.¹⁶

The background to Alderman Baker's proposal, concerning a City Park, situated on the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, is quite revealing. It shows that, as it was with the question of charities, the sentiment and mood of the occasion could be easily exploited to settle outstanding difficulties.

The block of land requested from the Hudson's Bay Company has been assessed at \$54,000,¹⁷ and was deemed "more land than was necessary for the purpose".¹⁸ The city had on numerous occasions in the past attempted to obtain the "Gateway and land around it".¹⁹ The Commissioner of the Hudson's Bay Company in Winnipeg, knowing that the patriotic sentiment of the occasion was being tied to the negotiations, wrote to London suggesting a solution that would preclude damaging the Company's prestige and loyalty. He suggested to his superiors that the Bay join with the city in regard to the matter by contributing \$5,000 towards the purchase of part of the property, adding that "It is not anticipated that the City Council will accept the offer, but the Company will be in a better position than at present, whether they do or not".²⁰

The Bay's London office instructed their Winnipeg Commissioner, C.C. Chipman, to write and remind the city that in 1872 the Hudson's Bay Company had made a "free grant to the Government of 50 acres or one-tenth of the whole area of their reserve of 500 acres of Winnipeg for public purposes".²¹ However, the Bay would be magnanimous enough to make a "free grant to the Municipality of 4 lots comprising upwards of half an acre, on a portion of which the old Fort Garry Gateway stands".²²

Using the sentiment of the occasion, therefore, City Council had made some progress in the old dispute. However, the Hudson's Bay Company felt that it had averted what could have been a tremendous loss of prestige. Regardless, both sides felt satisfied.

The local city newspapers expressed gratitude to the Bay on behalf of its citizens. Expressions like "graceful act", "a tangible memorial", "magnificent acquisition",²³ were common. Members of city council were jubilant, and posed triumphantly the following morning at the site, where they announced their plans for developing the park. Meanwhile, Commissioner C.C. Chipman was able to inform the London authorities of the "very pleasant appreciation on the part of the Public of Winnipeg for the gift",²⁴ concluding that the Bay's "object appears to have been achieved".²⁵

The economically desirable opening up of Western Canada for settlement, which had just then got underway in earnest, was considered another "fertile" scheme for the benefit of the nation".²⁶ In fact, the Manitoba Free Press proposed a Victorian scheme for the settlement, on a grand scale, of North-Western Canada. This jubilee philanthropic gesture would be far-reaching:

Manitoba contributes her share towards the celebration of the historical year, by offering to the crowded and struggling multitudes of older countries the opportunity of founding happy homes for themselves. A Victorian colony of a hundred thousand settlers to till the soil, and develop the boundless resources of the land, would be a grand moment to perpetuate the name of the Queen of Queens.²⁷

Just as the Egyptian Empire had perpetuated the memory of their monarchs, the paper felt that Great Britain could "send out a few hundred thousand men to transform these vast prairies into productive fields and ship home to the mother country the fruits of their industry".²⁸ This, the Manitoba Free Press felt, would be "a truly philanthropic movement".²⁹

The jubilee therefore provided the local imperialists with an opportunity to display their sense of mission, to reaffirm their "aristocratic paternalism". Ex-Mayor Taylor, at one of the jubilee organization committee meetings, went so far as to suggest that an admission be charged at some of the festivity events, and "the proceeds...donated to some charitable institution", as an act of allegiance.³⁰ Imperial duty had become as obvious as patriotism itself.

II

Late in April of jubilee year, with less than two months to go, the Manitoba Free Press wondered why Winnipeg had not discussed the jubilee celebration while other Canadian cities had done so.³¹ The provincial government was similarly taken to task for not "taking any steps to mark the year as of special interest to subjects of the Empire".³² However, even the federal government, although it was expected to do so, had not yet officially proclaimed June 22nd a national holiday.

The Winnipeg City Council had indeed discussed the jubilee in 1896, but then left matters in abeyance until the 15th March, 1897, when it struck its Jubilee committee, consisting of Aldermen J.B. Mitchell, H. Wilson, W.G. Bell, and W.G. Baker to make arrangements for celebrating and drafting a suitable address for the Queen on her Diamond Jubilee.³³

Council took up the matter more urgently the following month when Alderman Baker moved the following motion:

Whereas this Council wish to express their deep feeling of loyalty and devotion to Her Majesty, Queen Victoria. Therefore, it is deemed desirable

that this Council co-operate with all city societies in celebrating Her Majesty's Diamond Jubilee on the 22nd June, next...³⁴

In addition an "interim appropriation of \$1,000", was passed, and an expanded committee of aldermen was created "to carry out the details and incur the necessary expenditure..."³⁵

Meanwhile, a meeting of all the Scottish societies was held on the 20th May, where it was decided that the jubilee should "be celebrated by a monster demonstration of the different societies and citizens of the city".³⁶ The joint Scottish societies then delegated key members to prevail upon Mayor McCreary to call "a meeting of the societies and citizens, at an early date to decide upon the nature of the demonstration".³⁷

The committee sat with Mayor McCreary on the 21st May and agreed to call together all local societies and clubs, as well as other interested people. It was hoped that the matter would be "thoroughly discussed" at the proposed meeting, where both the Lieutenant-Governor and a representative of the provincial government were expected to attend.

On the day before the scheduled meeting called by the mayor, the city council, on a motion by Alderman G. Baker, had already agreed to "cooperate with all city societies in celebrating" the coming event.³⁸

For a full month after the 21st May, right up to the eve of the jubilee celebrations, a series of general organizational meetings were held in city chambers. In addition, ad hoc committee meetings, fraternal and secret society and athletic club ones were also specifically held to discuss the matter.

Significantly, the mayor's meeting was held on the Tuesday afternoon of the 26th May, "to make the preliminary arrangements for celebrating the Queen's Diamond Jubilee in this city".³⁹ Mayor McCreary presided over a well-attended gathering of prominent citizens who were there, either as

interested unattached individuals, or as representatives of the various local societies. This preparatory meeting was relatively uneventful. The decision to assemble in the afternoon effectively excluded working class representation. Also the composition and attitude of the meeting is quite instructive. Thus the pattern of events and attitudes that was to permeate the preparations and subsequent jubilee events itself was set.

The composition of the representatives at the mayor's meeting was almost exclusively middle-class and petit bourgeoisie. Prominent clergymen, military officers, civic fathers, businessmen, and educators were in attendance. Even later, when so-called "foreign element" societies began sending delegates to the general meetings, those delegates had "entrance-group status" in that they were burgeoning Main Street shopkeepers. However, it was the city's elite who dominated the planning sessions and called for the type of celebration that was in their main interest. Labour, although basically unenthusiastic about the general idea, did have two delegates present at the first meeting.

The British national societies were well-represented, especially the various lodges of the Sons of England, which had seven members in attendance. The St. Andrew's Society, the United Order of Scotchmen, Clan Steward, the Sons of Scotland, and the St. Patrick's Society each had one delegate present. Two athletic clubs were represented: the Olympic Athletic Club, and the Manitoba Lacrosse Association.

If one includes the interested citizens, the Sons of England had nine delegates out of the twenty present. The Scottish societies had four delegates altogether.⁴⁰ Not a single "foreign element" society was represented, nor was there any representation from a Catholic or French-Canadian society. This situation was disconcerting to the organizers and had to be reversed if a consensual extravaganza was to be achieved. However,

this anomaly was merely indicative of the social strains and tensions underlying Winnipeg society.

At subsequent meetings, the British national societies, led by the Sons of England, continued to be well-represented. At the third meeting, held on the 28th May, the Sons of England had fourteen delegates representing their various lodges.

At this particular meeting, Mr. Heubach, the secretary of the general jubilee committee, was pointedly asked about the poor turn-out of the non-British societies. He assured the gathering that he had notified all known fraternal, national, secret and other societies in the city, but, in his words, "some credentials had come to hand, but not many".⁴¹ Only six of the non-British societies were represented at that meeting, viz., the German Union, the Icelandic Society, the Hebrew Benevolent Society, the Scandinavian Citizens, the St. Jean Baptiste Society, and the Belgian Citizens. The low turn-out by the "foreign element" societies perturbed the organizers who saw the coming occasion as an emotional re-union of the races under one flag, a gathering of the nationalities from which the "foreign element" were not to be excluded on this occasion, even if they were expected to know their place on other occasions. The organizers' aims were clear: the event was to be seen as one of "collective effervescence".

By the fourth meeting, on the 31st May, one additional non-British society, viz., the Hebrew Sick Relief Society, was represented. However, names of the Jewish members were added to the general committee in order to ensure the future representation of the Hebrew Benevolent Society of Shary Zedek and the Knights of Maccabees.

The question of French-Canadian and Catholic participation was also raised at the May 31st meeting. After a lengthy discussion on the matter, Mr. Theo Bertrand⁴² of St. Boniface was charged with the duty of arranging

for the participation of the St. Jean Baptiste Society, to which he belonged, the St. Joseph Society, and the St. Boniface Industrial School. However, Secretary Heubach was instructed once more to invite the societies and lodges of St. Boniface to join in the loyal jubilee demonstration. By the 14th June, eight days before the pageant, there was still no firm commitment from these societies, and the secretary was urged once again to solicit their participation.⁴³

But, only at the eleventh hour, when it became evident that the Orange lodges would not be participating under their banner, did the French-Canadian societies agree to join in the demonstration. However, they insisted on exemption from the toll over the St. Boniface bridge on jubilee day.⁴⁴

At the general organizational meetings, various plans had been put forward for celebrating the event, but from the outset there was general agreement for a consensual "monster demonstration in the shape of a procession"⁴⁵ in which all citizens could participate, followed by other jubilee events in the afternoon. Colonel Holmes, representing the Military District No. 10, pledged the military's whole-hearted co-operation in their quest for celebrating the jubilee.

Some of the proposed plans were ill-conceived, grandiose, and costly. The Sons of England, for example, at the first meeting, proposed a street festival celebration, with a military cavalcade, in which all the local societies would participate with banners and mottoes. This was to be followed by a procession of "triumphal cars", one of which was to symbolize Great Britain in the form of an ancient Roman galley:

A raised dais in the stern's sheets, on which, supported by her shield Britannica is seated, her hand grasping a trident in the usual manner, her left resting carelessly on a globe representing the world, engirdled by Union Jacks. At her feet reclines a lion...At the prow of the galley would

stand a man-o'-wars man in summer dress holding a Union Jack. The intermediate space between the group in the stern quarter and the prow to be filled by a living picture, representing a grenadier in busby and cross-belts, Highlander in kilts, Irish soldier in uniform with green facings...Notes on banner: "The Sun Never Sets on Her Domains!"⁴⁶

Needless to say that this elaborate scheme was rejected because of the cost involved.

Another grandiose proposal was made by the ubiquitous Alderman Andrews, who amongst many other suggestions including the idea of an official jubilee badge, put forward a design for an official float purporting to symbolize the empire. The float was to be, in his own words:

in the form of a rowing galley, 30 feet long. On the prow is a man-of-wars sailor, at the four corners, respectively, a Canadian, a South African, a native of India, and an Australian are represented. In the centre is a pyramid, with girls in uniform white dress, with blue sash, the pyramid being trimmed with red. Overall is a figure of justice, a boy carrying a banner, with a crown.⁴⁷

A more sensible program was finally outlined by Thomas Robinson of the St. George's Society who was generally deemed Winnipeg's "most public-spirited, representative and progressive citizen",⁴⁸ as well as its best-known imperialist. He suggested:

The school children go to Government house between 8:30 and 9:30; the performance there from 9:30 to 10:30; military and general parade 10:30 to 12; salute by the military 12 o'clock; sports in the afternoon, and the illuminations in the evening at Government house.⁴⁹

In addition, it was resolved that Premier Greenway be invited to deliver a jubilee oration.

During the planning stages many other matters a propos the jubilee were discussed. These included the proposed unveiling of the Queen's portrait commissioned by the city council,⁵⁰ and the arrangement for the official opening of the jubilee fountain outside city hall, which was

sponsored and being built by the Winnipeg Trades and Labour Council.⁵¹

Fire Chief Rodgers also suggested that arrangements be sought for reduced excursion rates that would enable United States citizens to attend the Winnipeg jubilee.⁵²

At a later stage in the planning, in dramatic fashion, Mr. K. McDonald appeared on behalf of the Red River settlers, who had met at Kildonan, and indicated they would participate in the parade. This decision of the "early pioneers of the country"⁵³ was enthusiastically received by the general body which recommended that the procession committee give them pride of place in the demonstration. At the final general meeting, the committee agreed to a request from the early Red River settlers for carriages for some of its members who were too weak to walk in the parade.⁵⁴

In addition to the general organizing committee three special committees were struck to make final arrangements for celebrating the jubilee. The plutocratic nature of Winnipeg society was further demonstrated in the way in which the committee members were chosen. The participating aldermen appointed "a nominating committee to strike other committees,"⁵⁵ composed of nineteen members of the charter group, all influential in their fields of endeavour.

It was this nominating committee, therefore, that appointed the real organizers of the jubilee. Thus a five-man Finance Committee came into being, chaired by Andrew Strang, and which included such imperialists as Thomas Robinson and D.W. Bole. The Sports Committee was comprised of sixteen members, chaired by G.F. Harris of the Winnipeg Canoe Club, and included the ubiquitous Thomas Robinson, and three local military officers.

Later, two additional committees were struck which further centralized planning in the hands of the elite. A printing and music committee was appointed with J.P. Robertson as chairman, and a procession decoration

committee was chosen consisting of ex-Mayor Taylor, Colonel Holmes, J.P. Robertson, Chief Rodgers, Theo Bertrand, and J.J. Golden.

The sports committee met regularly during the planning period but had difficulty organizing sports events for lack of information about the budget. On the 4th June, the committee finally decided against having athletic events because of a lack of a suitable venue large enough to house the large sports-minded crowd that was bound to patronize the athletic events.⁵⁶

Throughout the planning stages, the idea of a civic arch remained a key issue. Although city council had voted an appropriation of \$1000 for the jubilee,⁵⁷ the jubilee finance committee initially rejected the idea of a civic arch because of the cost involved. It was only much later, however, that an extra \$200 was voted towards the celebration after Mayor McCreary had charged that the original funding "was much too small and not in keeping with the importance of the city".⁵⁸ Three aldermen voted against the motion, but they wanted it on record that they did so on the grounds of economy and not of disloyalty.⁵⁹

Meanwhile the procession committee revised the original route of the parade in order to include the north end because of the arch which north end residents had decided to erect. The new route was now to continue along Main Street as far north as the C.P.R. tracks.⁶⁰

One of the most important sub-committees was the procession committee which, in the interest of status and rank, clearly laid down the positions and order of precedence in the procession. After subdividing the societies into fraternal, national and sporting ones, it decreed that their respective positions in the parade would be determined by lot.⁶¹ However, these societies, representing the populace, would bring up the rear, behind those elements that comprised the social hierarchy.

The aim of the procession committee was clear. The procession symbolized order in Winnipeg society while simultaneously re-asserting the hierarchical structure of authority on which that social order depended. Positions of superiors, inferiors and equals were being displayed, "thus presenting the community with an idealized version of itself and the mechanics of order".⁶²

The committee's report gave the following order of the parade:

Military, headed by the 90th band.
 Lieutenant-Governor Patterson and suite.
 Foreign Consuls.
 Archbishops, Bishops and Clergy.
 Members of the Dominion Government.
 Senators and Members of the House of Commons.
 Chief Justice of Manitoba, and Puisie Judges,
 and Judges of other courts.
 Members of the Executive Council of Manitoba,
 Speaker and Members of Legislature.
 Mayor and Corporation of St. Boniface.
 Chairman and Board of Public School Trustees of Winnipeg.
 Irish Societies.
 Hebrew Societies.
 G.A.R., and Citizens of the United States.
 Scandinavian Societies.
 Icelandic Societies.
 French Societies.
 English Societies.
 Red River Settlers.
 Scottish Societies.
 C.M.B.A. Society.
 Woodmen of World.
 Knights of Pythias.
 Oddfellows.
 A.O.U. Workmen
 Chosen Friends.
 Forresters.
 Maccabees.
 Orange Societies.
 Civil Service.
 Manitoba Rifle Association.
 Winnipeg Cricket Club.
 Bicycle Clubs and Wheelman.
 Rowing Club.
 Fire Brigade.

Although the basic order was retained, by the 22nd June, the composition of the procession was altered by decisions of some of the societies themselves.

In addition, the decision of the "early Red River Settlers" to participate in the parade forced the procession committee to give them pride of place in the procession. At the final general meeting, J.P. Robertson informed the meeting that his procession committee had arranged for the publication of a program, "giving the order of the procession, and other particulars for general distribution".⁶³ Also, it was decided that every society in the procession would be compelled to carry the Union Jack alongside any other national flag or emblem. Alderman Wilson made a last ditch stand to have city councillors get the foremost position in the parade, but it was rejected on the grounds that "precedent would be followed".⁶⁴

At the meeting of the 10th June, the procession committee put forward the program for jubilee day:

Sunrise: royal salute, array of guns and fire-crackers,
hoisting of flags, ringing of bells.

9 a.m. muster of military, societies, clubs, etc. at
respective quarters.

9:30 am. assemble at rendez-vous, corner of Portage
Avenue and Kennedy Street;

10 a.m. Procession starts, led by military and followed
by state and other carriages, national societies,
fraternal organizations, sporting clubs, and
fire-brigade;

11:30 a.m. Procession terminates at the Government
buildings, military going to Norwood for military
evolutions.

Noon. Royal salute of artillery, "feu de joie" by other
corps, ringing of bells, blowing whistles, etc.,
followed by addresses;

1:30 to 6 p.m. Private picnics and sports in the various
parks.

9 p.m. Grand muster of bicycle clubs for an illumination
parade, and go over jubilee parade, headed by a
band reaching Broadway in time for the fireworks
at Government house;

10 p.m. Grand illumination of private and public buildings
of the city, with beautiful pyro-technique display
by provincial government, under direction of Professor
Hand of Hamilton,
which will conclude the jubilee festivities.⁶⁵

In addition to the general programme for that day, the procession committee also drew up a plan for the school parade, and recommended the

following, "so as to have the children in touch" with the general parade:⁶⁶

9:30 a.m. Children muster at the respective schools,
 preparatory to going in procession via Main
 Street and Broadway to Government house;
 11:30 a.m. Reach Government house, where they will
 await arrival of jubilee procession;
 Noon. Singing of national anthem by children.⁶⁷

The local military participated fully in the planning, as well as in the loyal jubilee demonstration itself. From the first meeting, when Colonel Holmes pledged his command's co-operation, the military played a decisive role in the events.⁶⁸ Whereas the general jubilee committee was still uncertain about the final form of the demonstration throughout the planning stages, Colonel Holmes, from the outset knew precisely the military's plans for the day. At the first meeting Colonel Holmes stated that they would participate in the civic demonstration, but would also have their own military review, with a general salute at noon that day. The rank, status, and prestige of the military in Winnipeg life was underlined by the fact that at a later meeting Colonel Holmes, in detailing the official military functions for the jubilee, emphasized that the military's review was to take precedence over the civic demonstration. His terms were conditional: only if the parade ended at 11:30 a.m., only "then the military could take part in it".⁶⁹

Imperialist W.G. Baker then pointed out that, in view of the importance of the military to the parade, the event would be arranged to accommodate the demands of the military.⁷⁰ This proposal was unanimously approved. Furthermore, to add to the military's stature, Colonel Holmes was appointed parade marshall, while Captain Williams of the Dragoons was to provide mounted men to help the Winnipeg police with crowd control, and other policing duties on the day.⁷¹

While the preparations for the civic celebrations had been in progress, the local newspapers had kept the public fully informed of the arrangements at every turn. The city's national fraternal, and secret societies also held special jubilee planning meetings, with reports of their activities appearing almost daily in the local press.

In addition, Winnipeggers were also kept abreast of London's plans for the "coming apocalypse". Some of the reports caused concern in Winnipeg. There was concern for the Queen's frail health, and belief that she, herself, was most reluctant to celebrate. The Voice went so far as to suggest that if the Queen had here way, she would have called the whole thing off.⁷² A report from the London Times, reprinted locally, claimed that the London preparations for the jubilee were "at present in a state of chaos" as the Queen had not yet approved of the program.⁷³

However, most of the reports, especially those about Canadians in London, filled Winnipeggers with pride. Laurier's London trip received full coverage. His speeches and activities were written about quite favourably. The press was ecstatic about Canada's position in the scheme of things in London. Winnipeggers read with great interest of the activities of the Canadian military contingent there. Winnipeg's representatives in the contingent were feted in print; their pictures and pen-pictures being splashed across the pages of the local press.⁷⁴

Social life also took a jubilee turn. Local entertainment emphasized patriotic musical evenings.⁷⁵ School children were being drilled for the loyal demonstration, while in the classroom special lessons were being taught "to impress upon the young lives a deeper sense of the dignity of British citizenship",⁷⁶ over and above the imperialist-based curriculum.

The newspapers were filled with patriotic addresses delivered at conventions in the city. At the Synod of Rupertsland that year, the

Archbishop delivered his patriotic address,⁷⁷ At the Christian Endeavours conference in the city in May, the Reverend J. Hogg gave a well-publicized loyal address.⁷⁸ Other institutions followed suit. At the June Convocation at the University of Manitoba, the theme centred on the university's "public expression of our loyalty".⁷⁹

Jubilee momentos and artifacts went on sale, while the city began to decorate. Competition between neighbours in residential areas, and between stores and public buildings in the city centre flourished. Winnipeg actually ran out of bunting, and due to national shortages had to import the material from the U.S.A. by special delivery.⁸⁰

In a post-depression city, which had few public holidays besides Victoria Day, the festive mood was heightened by the excitement engendered by the publicity and activities attending the jubilee. The jubilee stamp issue produced a "continuous crush at the stamp counter" on the first day of issue as \$1,500 worth was sold by 2 p.m.⁸¹

Jubilee day finally dawned. It was "glorious cool weather, the proverbial Queen's weather",⁸² and "a populace whose hearts were evidently in the celebration"⁸³ were ready to "jubilate".

III

The feature of Winnipeg's patriotic display was the civic procession in which "all classes and nationalities united in honouring Her Majesty".⁸⁴ Thus Winnipeg represented the apotheosis of that important symbol of the British Empire. Its cosmopolitan population did make it a microcosm of the very demographic nature of the empire itself.

Both local newspapers emphasized this imperial symbol. The Winnipeg Daily Tribune wrote that "a more cosmopolitan gathering could not be imagined, for it included all civilized nationalities".⁸⁵ The Manitoba Free Press

stated that the jubilee "showed how patriotism can bind in joyous and fraternal bonds elements of every nation and creed".⁸⁶ Whereas representatives from all parts of the empire had converged on London to "jubilate", Winnipeg naturally did justice to that symbol.

The procession route was along Kennedy Street, Portage Avenue to Donald Street, north on Donald and Princess Streets to Alexander Avenue, then east to Main Street, where the line turned and proceeded up Main Street to Broadway, and along that avenue to Government House.⁸⁷ The length of the procession was such that by the time the military, at the head of the parade, had reached the northerly point at the C.P.R. tracks, the fire-brigade, bringing up the rear, had just fallen in on Kennedy.

The parade was marshalled at 10 a.m., and set off promptly. A mounted marshall was in charge of each division, and thus the movement of the various sections was controlled, and fell in as the preceeding section marched along Kennedy Street.

The military, for so long representative of the Imperial idea in Winnipeg, led the parade. Winnipeg received this part of the procession with limitless enthusiasm. Colonel Holmes was at the head of this section, which was composed of the troops of the Royal Canadian Dragoons, the Winnipeg Cavalry, the 13th Field Battery of the Artillery, the 90th Rifles Band, the 90th Rifles Battalion, Major Ruttan in command, and the 90th Veterans, with Colonel Boswell, and Captain Hugh John Macdonald in command. Closing off the military section was the Boys' brigade, "a semi-military body",⁸⁸ under the direction of the Reverend C.C. Owen.

A number of carriages followed the military contingent. The first contained the Hon. Clifford Sifton, Mayor McCreary, the chairman of the jubilee organizing committee, and F.W. Heubach, the honorary secretary of the jubilee organization committee. The next two carriages contained

the foreign consuls of the United States of America, Germany, France, Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Guatamala.

Then followed a carriage, which contained representatives of church dignitaries, comprising the Reverend Canon Matheson, Archbishop of Rupert's Land, the Reverends Dr. Bryce, and Dr. Robertson of the Presbyterian church, and the Reverend Principal Sparling of the Methodists. Other carriages in the procession contained members of the provincial government, members of the city council, St. Boniface councillors, Red River Settler survivors, including George Bannerman, James Irwin, and John McBride.

Behind the many dignitaries in the various carriages, the band of the Royal Canadian Dragoons led the rest of the procession, made up of the various national societies. The Irish societies, about 150 strong,⁸⁹ were in the forefront of this section of the parade, followed by the Hebrew Sick Relief Society of Rosh Pina, who "honoured the occasion by carrying the ten commandments written in scroll, covered by the rich canopy of their church".⁹⁰ The Shaary Zedek Benevolent Society in their wake, had a member in front carrying a large portrait of the Queen, and their emblem written in Hebrew.

Members of the Grand Army of the Republic came next, marching under the banner of the Stars and Stripes, and Union Jack entwined. These veterans were followed by the Scandinavian and the Icelandic societies, of which there were about 250 all told.⁹¹

The St. Boniface band led the French-Canadian contingent which consisted of a float - which had a distinct French-Canadian historical theme - and the St. Jean Baptiste and other French-Canadian societies.

A group of "staunch-looking"⁹² Welsh preceeded the 147 members of the Sons of England, "all wearing beautiful white regalias with a miniature Union Jack for a centre piece",⁹³ marching behind the Citizens band.

Ninety-seven Germans came next,⁹⁴ followed by one of the largest and most colourful contingents of the parade, the "Scotchmen". They were led by a band of kilted bagpipers. Following the band was the Scottish float in the parade, "drawn by eight white horses, emblematic of the gathering of the clans",⁹⁵ and sponsored by the St. Andrew's Society. The decorated float contained a number of young people in Highland dress, who sang and danced to popular songs of Scotland. Leading the Scottish societies in the parade, were a "number of gentlemen in kilts",⁹⁶ representing the various clans.

Next in the procession, a number of "secret orders" followed, including the Catholic Mutual Benefit Association, the Knights of Pythias, "under Colonel Bunnell had a very soldiery appearance in their smart uniforms",⁹⁷ the Ancient order of Forresters, "weakened to some extent through many of their members having gone in with the national societies".⁹⁸ Bringing up the rear of the "secret orders" was the Orange Young Britons.

The penultimate section of the procession consisted of members of the civil service, lacrosse athletes, and members of bicycle and other minor clubs. They, in turn, were followed by the resplendent fire brigade, "who were complimented all along the march",⁹⁹ led by Chief Rodgers.

In spite of the large citizen participation in the procession itself, and the compulsory participation of the Winnipeg school children in their patriotic demonstration, there was still an immense concourse of spectators that watched the progress of the pageant.

Enthusiastic, flag-waving crowds lined the streets. As the different actors in this ritualistic drama of empire passed, they were lustily cheered on by the spectators, who exemplified and chrystallized that imperial ideal that made them feel that they were part of what James Morris calls, "some properly organized working unit".¹⁰⁰ The windows of business and other

establishments were filled with eager faces, witnessing the pageant. The crowd had milled together so inadvertantly at the corner of Portage and Main, that a "jam" was created. It was estimated that there were 10,000 people inside the Government house grounds alone on that auspicious morning.¹⁰¹

Amongst the vast numbers of Winnipeg celebrants, there were many visitors, who had come in to the city to attend the "jubilations". This influx of visitors had been anticipated by the organizers, who had supported Chief Rodgers' appeal for reduced excursion rates for U.S. citizens who were expected to swell the ranks of the celebrants.¹⁰² A special Selkirk excursion brought about 200 jubilee visitors into the city on the morning of jubilee day. Similarly, the train that arrived from the west that same morning, "was a heavy one" with visitors from as far afield as Calgary to attend the celebrations.¹⁰³ A large group of Portage la Prairie residents had also come in on the Northern Pacific "special", which was "decorated with flags for the occasion".¹⁰⁴ Similarly, many residents of the rural and outlying farming districts around Winnipeg drove in with their families to join Winnipeggers "en fete". It was even reported that a prominent Dutch banker "arrived in the city on Monday to participate in Winnipeg's jubilee and attend to other business".¹⁰⁵

IV

The feature of the demonstrations which transcended all others in its magnificence was the jubilee parade of the schools.¹⁰⁶

Four thousand Winnipeg public school children, plus two thousand from the private Catholic schools in Winnipeg and St. Boniface marched like a "well-disciplined army",¹⁰⁷ under the direction of Winnipeg Superintendent Daniel McIntyre, drill instructor Major Billman, and their teachers. The Lieutenant-

Governor had formally invited the school children in the city to march to government house that morning "and present the children there with some souvenir of the day".¹⁰⁸

Many of the pupils had assembled at seven o'clock that morning. Most of the boys wore their cadet uniforms, while others were royally attired for the event. The girls also were appropriately dressed for that day. Ruby B. Johnstone, who was an eight year old pupil at the time writes that both she and her older sister "distinctly recall we had new dresses for the occasion, - white pique with a little black stitch in it,... each with a little Union Jack, held proudly in our hand".¹⁰⁹ All of the pupils were fitted out with patriotic sashes, flags, pennants, and ribbons.

The formation of the parade was organized with great precision. The North Central school pupils on starting out were joined by the Indian pupils of St. Paul's Industrial school, who carried a banner made of white tail eagle feathers. These two schools, en route southwards, were joined by Aberdeen and Machray students. Further along the route Argyle and Dufferin schools joined the procession.

The St. Boniface Catholic schools formed in line on Portage Avenue, headed by the St. Boniface Industrial school band.¹¹⁰ They marched up Fort Street, with the Winnipeg Catholic schools following them. As the North-end schools turned the corner at the junction of Portage and Main Street, Central schools, Nos. 1 and 2, and the South Central, Mulvey Collegiate, and the others fell in behind. A number of bands, including the various school cadet bands, the St. Boniface Indian boys' band, the Jubilee band, and the Citizen's band played at intervals.

From Fort Street the procession followed Broadway to the Government House grounds where a vast crowd, comprised mostly of parents, had gathered. The Lieutenant-Governor, the Winnipeg school trustees and

officers of the school board, and many prominent citizens, reviewed the march past from the steps of Government House.

After the entire procession had reached the vicinity of Government House, and had been assembled to stand at attention, the jubilee choir, comprised of selected pupils, opened the proceedings by singing, "The Lord Is My Shepherd",¹¹¹

Then the Lieutenant-Governor accepted on behalf of the Queen a number of loyal addresses, delivered by students in ten different languages.¹¹² These addresses were later forwarded to the Queen by the Lieutenant-Governor "as indicative of the many elements which the schools are here assimilating into good Canadian loyal subjects".¹¹³

Helen Stuart, daughter of the chairman of the Winnipeg school board, delivered the address on behalf of the pupils of British stock. She pledged their continued love and loyalty to the Queen, and expressed the customary imperialist gratitude for, and conviction of, the supremacy of British laws and institutions. She concluded thus:

We are proud of our empire and its institutions,
and trust that our generations in its turn may
worthily support the religious principles that
have guided every great movement of Her Majesty's
reign.

It is our prayer that our gracious Queen may
long continue to rule over the hundreds of millions
of loyal subjects that compose our great empire.¹¹⁴

Helen Stuart expressed decisively that the British Empire was the domain of the pupils of British parentage.

Fred Marrin, a Catholic pupil, delivered the loyal address on behalf of the Catholic schools of Winnipeg and St. Boniface. The words were carefully chosen, and in fact, dealt with a current charge of disloyalty to Queen and country levelled at the catholic institutions, especially in

St. Boniface, Fred Marrin, on this day of sentiment and extrayagance, could set the record straight:

We hereby wish to show that, besides our duties to God and the church, we are likewise taught, and it is instilled into our minds and hearts by our devoted teachers, that which every loyal subject ought to have, true patriotism.¹¹⁶

In the light of the prevailing political conditions, which has just seen the protestant forces come to complete power, he prayed for peace and happiness, "especially in this fair land of ours, in our beloved Manitoba".¹¹⁷ Fred Marrin's address reflected the typical viewpoint of the St. Boniface Catholic church at that time. Allegiance and gratitude to the sovereign and Empire were important ideals, but subject to, and stemming from one's duty to God and Pope, who is "en Europe et dans le reste du monde...le dernier arbitre de la Paix".¹¹⁸

Anna Bonneau delivered the address on behalf of "les eleves des ecoles publiques dont le francais est la langue maternelle".¹¹⁹ Her address was unencumbered by any special claims or refutations. It was a loyal statement of praise and devotion to the Queen, her good works, her wisdom, and "son regne glorieux sur le plus grand empire que l'univers ait jamais connu".¹²⁰

Similar addresses were read by other Winnipeg public school pupils, representing the German, Icelandic, Polish, Galician, Hebrew, and Swedish mother tongues, after which Lieutenant-Governor G. Patterson replied. He thanked the school authorities, and pupils on behalf of the Queen, and stated, significantly, that the fortune of the British Empire was in the hands of those young people who stood before him:

You boys and girls are the men and women of the next generation, and it is to you we look for the carrying of the loyal sentiments which animate the people of Winnipeg today.¹²¹

He continued the theme, stating that the loyalty of some of the adults was questionable at best, while the proven loyalty of other adults could be

intensified, His message that day was to the youth:

but you, whose minds are open to impressions will realize from the events of today something of the imperialism which animates this broad empire from colony to colony, and, not least, the spirit of loyalty and devotion which animates the people of Manitoba.¹²²

The Lieutenant-Governor then read the Governor-General's telegram of "loyal devotion and affectionate homage",¹²³ sent to the Queen on behalf of her people in Canada, as well as her message to her peoples, which read, "From my heart I thank my beloved people. May God bless them. Signed, Victoria, Queen and Empress".¹²⁴

The Queen's message to her peoples, which "was sent on its way by the Queen's own hand, by the pressing of a button on a telegraphic instrument",¹²⁵ was in itself a testament to the imperialists' creed of progress, which epitomized the very nature of the empire that was being feted that day.

The Lieutenant-Governor proceeded to read his message to the Queen, on behalf of the people of Manitoba:

Manitoba unites with her sister provinces in the expression of their gratification at this happy completion of the 60th anniversary of her most gracious Majesty's reign. Winnipeg has excelled herself in magnificent demonstration of loyalty and affection for our Queen. Every town and village in the province is en fete.¹²⁶

He concluded by wishing the pupils "long and happy years of prosperity under British rule", and reminded them that when they attained their adulthood they should do their "duty by the flag and cherish sentiments of devotion and affection to the empire",¹²⁷ the history of which, he hoped, they would now read:

If you do that you will have some reason to understand why so many men of intelligence are marching in the ranks of their various societies to do honour to the Queen who rules over the mightiest empire of the world; and you will feel proud that you participated in the celebration...¹²⁸

Several patriotic songs were sung, and as the schools program was drawing to an end, the general civic demonstration arrived and passed through the legislative grounds, so that the pupils and their audience could see the major demonstration. The pupils then marched out of the legislative grounds, each receiving the jubilee souvenir medal. The first medal was presented to young John A. Macdonald, grandson of Sir John A. In making the presentation, Lieutenant-Governor Patterson said that he did it because of:

Master Jack's illustrious grand-parent, who had done more than any other man, living or dead, to develop a spirit of imperialism in Canada.¹²⁹

The school authorities lauded the pupils' procession as "the most striking incident" in the history of the division:

Four thousand children...their faces lighted with the orderly movement of trained soldiers, formed a sight never to be forgotten by those who saw it... Diverse in origin diverse in speech and differing in faith, they were one in learning the lesson of loyalty to the empire, 'on whose flag the sun never sets.¹³⁰

It was "universally conceded" that the pupil's procession was the feature of the day.¹³¹ The Winnipeg Daily Tribune lamented that a full day had not been devoted to their demonstration.¹³² The Manitoba Free Press was now convinced that the local school system was the answer to the upliftment of the "Mongolian and African races". "If only we can get the chance to educate them", the paper wrote.¹³³

Surprisingly, The Voice was most complimentary. It wrote:

It eclipsed all previous parades, and to watch it was pure enjoyment. Pretty and orderly they trooped along in thousands, each with his or her Union Jack held at the correct angle...The whole parade reflects the greatest credit both on the children and those who had trained them, and succeeded in instilling into them the spirit of the occasion.¹³⁴

V

Jubilee afternoon, between 1:30 p.m. to 6:00 p.m.,¹³⁵ was devoted to picnics and sports. At River Park, there was a lacross match between a visiting team and a local city side, and the White Concert company gave a matinee jubilee performance in the park's skating rink.

The various Scottish societies gathered at Elm Park, where a bagpipe band was in attendance, to celebrate the occasion. Dance music was also available, as well as competition in Scottish sports. In addition to the Scottish societies' gathering, large crowds of Winnipeggers were also attracted to the park. The Northern Pacific railroad ran special trains at half-hourly intervals from their depot to Portage junction which was virtually adjacent to the park. The city's electric car service also had special runs that afternoon.¹³⁶

In addition to the above attractions, there were other popular amusements for the 'jubilators' that afternoon, including a riding gallery, a shooting alley, a phonograph kitescope, vitescope music, and various booths.¹³⁷

The various other national societies also had their own afternoon activities. The Rosh Pina congregation, for example, gathered for a jubilee social in their own grounds at their temple, to which non-Jewish friends were invited.¹³⁸ The Sons of England members were involved that afternoon in entertaining patients at the Winnipeg General Hospital, with the aid of the Selkirk Pipe band.¹³⁹

At 8:30 p.m. that evening, there was a "grand muster of the Bicycle Clubs and Wheelmen for a lantern parade".¹⁴⁰ Hundreds of cyclists, mostly club members, as well as unattached wheelmen rode their bicycles behind a marching band. The "machines" were all appropriately decorated for the

occasion, with flags, bunting, and lanterns as they traversed the parade route of the citizens' demonstration held that morning.

There were other ways in which Winnipeg celebrated the jubilee. One very popular form of expressing its loyalty was by way of the fireworks display. For this occasion, an expert was especially brought in from the east,¹⁴¹

Fireworks displays were in evidence in all parts of the city that evening, many privately organized; however, the main display, which was organized by the provincial government, was held on the legislature grounds. The location was on the north side of the Winnipeg cricket field on Broadway. Aware of the popularity of the display, extensive ground control had to be exercised, and the government buildings were locked to prevent the premises becoming vantage points for the excited onlookers.¹⁴²

This continuous display was held while the official garden party ball was in progress, "when twilight had deepened into dusk",¹⁴³ so that the display, which had a royal theme, could be seen to best advantage. The set pieces in the display included "God Bless Our Queen", a portrait of Queen Victoria, the diamond jubilee crown, Prince of Wales plumes, and the Maltese Cross, amongst others.¹⁴⁴

A few days before the display, it was predicted that it would be "the greatest western Canada has ever seen creation".¹⁴⁵ After the show, a local paper claimed that "such a banging off had never before been heard in Winnipeg".¹⁴⁶ However, The Voice criticized the "poor handling of the event",¹⁴⁷

While the fireworks was being displayed, the evening garden party was being held. This grand event was by special invitation only,¹⁴⁸ and, like the fireworks display, was the provincial government's contribution to the jubilee celebrations. It was reported that not a single invited

guest failed to show up.¹⁴⁹ The dancing started at 10 o'clock, and the garden area of the government grounds was off-limits to the general public. Special orderlies directed the guests to the various tents, extemporized as cloakrooms, refreshment stations, dancing pavilions, and to the marquee where Lieutenant-Governor Patterson received his guests. Passers-by and other curious "jubilee celebrants" listened to the dance music, or watched Winnipeg's social elite celebrate. Of this event it has been written:

The garden party closed one of the most successful affairs in the annals of Government House, and His Honour is to be congratulated on the enjoyment which he afforded Winnipeggers on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee.¹⁵⁰

VI

"Sixty years a Queen! It was a thought to evoke the quintessence of loyalty".¹⁵¹ One way Winnipeg's loyalty was to be tested was the manner in which she dressed up for the event.

The procession and decoration committee had delegated the very popular Fire-Chief Rodgers to visit all the business establishments adjoining the route of the procession to get the owners to agree to decorate their stores appropriately. Upon completion of his task, Chief Rodgers reported "that there was unanimous concurrence from all sides".¹⁵²

Bunting had been draped and festooned all over the business establishments, while in the windows, flags were placed, besides bunting, photos, and pictures of the Queen and members of the royal family.

The electric light, that marvel of the age of the New Imperialism itself, and which so fascinated those men of progress, even the great arch-imperialist himself, Joseph Chamberlain, was used to heighten the effect of the decorations:

The special illuminations that many of the business men had placed in position, were all in accordance with the character of the celebration, the devices and mottoes looking extremely well brought out in their many coloured electric lights.¹⁵³

To the Winnipeg Daily Tribune, all of this was "good evidence of loyalty to the Queen".¹⁵⁴

The architects of the celebrations were confident that the theme of the celebrations would go out, not only through the provinces, but abroad, as well. It was thought that "relatives and acquaintances in the various countries of Europe and probably not a few in Asia, will be informed through letters and papers of what has taken place".¹⁵³

Besides the parade route, the rest of the city was decorated as well. Business establishments and private residences were decorated with mottoes, shields, flags, banners, and pictures of Queen Victoria, all heightened in effect by the use of electric lighting:

No expense was spared, everyone vied with his neighbour for quality, design and effect, and the result was a blaze of light from thousands of powerful electric incandescents, artistically arranged in the form of crowns, shields and mottoes of various kinds.¹⁵⁶

All of the best-known business establishments in the city got into the spirit of the occasion. For example, J.H. Ashdown put on an impressive window display of the sixty years history of household articles, which was described as a "magnificent testimony to the progress made in civilization and science during the long reign of Her Majesty".¹⁵⁷ Another one of Ashdown's windows had a military theme, showing models of a fortified castle, a military encampment, and forts, which made a "very fitting tribute in connection with the jubilee celebration".¹⁵⁸

Winnipeg pioneer businessman, and first school trustee, Archibald Wright, had his business block, London House, swathed in bunting. The

windows were draped with "original Nottingham lace curtains, showing the four living generations of the royal family".¹⁵⁹ Queen Victoria's picture, with the letters V.R. made of flowers were conspicuously displayed on the inner panes of each window.

Geo. Craig and Company's department store "displayed a profusion of emblematic flags and tri-coloured bunting, with a full-sized picture of Her Majesty; the whole surmounted with an arch",¹⁶⁰ decorated with the Union Jacks.

The Hudson's Bay Company, that veritable agent of British imperialism,¹⁶¹ had the entire window of one department decorated with a multitude of pictures of the Queen, draped with scarlet and blue bunting. A large multi-coloured, multi-textured crown stood on a pedestal in the centre of the window guarded by four life-sized, flag-holding dolls. "The decoration was arranged in that artistic style peculiar to the drapery business, creditable alike to the artist and management".¹⁶²

It is quite obvious that in the case of the Bay, and in that of Ashdown, loyalty to the crown and empire was combined with the *raison d'être* of their stock-in-trade. Lytton Strachey's claim that "imperialism is a faith as well as a business..." may well apply here as well.¹⁶³ Many other enterprising retailers sold jubilee memorabilia to mark the occasion. These "jubilee goods"¹⁶⁴ were advertised to take full advantage of the prevailing sentiments of the day. Purchasing the articles implied an act of faith, an act of loyalty. The Hudson's Bay Company ran a full, bold advertisement in the local papers, offering Diamond Jubilee ties in four styles, "so rich that any gentleman may wear it".¹⁶⁵ The Bay touted the tie as "the most useful" of all the articles commemorating the event, and it was being offered as a tribute to the Queen, who for sixty years had "guided the destinies of a great people",¹⁶⁶

At an organization committee meeting for celebrating the event, it was moved that the meeting adopt an official jubilee badge, and that there be printed on it the words 'Queen Victoria, Diamond Jubilee, Winnipeg, 1897'; and over it the year '1837'".¹⁶⁷ After a full discussion the motion was rejected on the grounds that the public could avail themselves of the large jubilee commemorative stock, "already secured by various dealers".¹⁶⁸

Radford's Jewelry store displayed its wares and the loyalty of its owner simultaneously:

A picture of Her Majesty was adorned with real diamonds in her earrings, the bracelets and the rings on the fingers. This attracted universal attention, as did also a medal in his window which a lady now residing in the city received at the Queen's coronation.¹⁶⁹

Other smaller businesses also went all out to prove their loyalty as demanded by the occasion. For example, Mr. Haines had his window decorated with bunting and evergreens, and "a very rare picture of all the Kings and Queens that ever reigned on the British throne in a group round Her Majesty, with the Prince and Princess of Wales on each side".¹⁷⁰ Mr. Alexander Calder had his place decorated in the form of a British coat of arms, lapped with evergreens and miniature flags.¹⁷¹

One very enterprising patriot, store-owner Benny Swaffield, even tried his hand at a jubilee poem:

For one of the prettiest sights of any
You want to pay a call on Benny,
To show respect for his good Queen,
He's done all man could do;
His window really should be seen,
Its all red, white, and blue.¹⁷²

Although the overwhelming majority of the Winnipeg businessmen were of British stock, a small group of non-British single proprietors had

established themselves in Winnipeg, especially in the North end, by 1897.

Many Jewish-owned stores joined in the spirit of the occasion. These stores had been established in a Jewish business neighbourhood, comprising small shops in the vicinity around the C.P.R. depot, along Main Street, from Higgins Avenue to James Street.

Ben Zimmerman, pawn-broker, and his friend, Mr. Lechtzler, of the dry goods and fruit store, "vied with each other in loyal display".¹⁷³ It was the same with the Ripstein brothers' shops, Leon Abrahamovitch's hardware store, G. Frankfurter's dry goods and millinery store, F. Rosenblatt's restaurant; all displayed "good evidence of loyalty to the Queen".¹⁷⁴

There is also evidence of local French-Canadian businessmen, like F. Cloutier, the grocer, and C. Gareau, the tailor, among others, participating.

Non-commercial institutions complied with the jubilee committee's request as well. The Winnipeg City Hall had the royal standard fluttering from the main entrance, with a variety of streamers, Union Jacks, and tri-coloured bunting over the entire facade of the building. At night the building was illuminated by two rows of candles in each window. The headquarters of the very loyal Sons of England, likewise was decorated with bunting, evergreens, and national flags to give the appearance of a gateway to an English castle of the Norman period. On the top of the "castle" were the words, "the years, 1837 - 1897" in gold letters, and beneath it, the word, "Jubilee". The motto, "God Save the Queen", appeared in bold letters, and under that "Long May She Reign".¹⁷⁵

The St. Andrew's Society at the street entrance to their rooms at Albert Hall, had a crown made out of electric lights, and beneath it, in a semi-circle, the slogan, "37-Victoria-97". The central fire hall was one of the best decorated buildings in the city: "It had a magnificent ornamentation with evergreens, flags, bunting, etc. A very large picture of Her Majesty formed the centrepiece".¹⁷⁶

The decorations for the jubilee were not wholly confined to the business parts of the city. Private houses in all of the residential areas had "flags flying and bunting lavishly decorating them".¹⁷⁷ At night many gardens and houses were lit up with Chinese lanterns. Cyclists, or wheelmen as they were called then, decorated their wheels, and many were seen to carry flags, as well. Even the hack proprietors and rig owners were "right in line with the rest of the city in the matter of decorations".¹⁷⁸ There were even some individuals, like Mr. Noah Sugden, who was determined to go to the greatest possible height in displaying his loyalty, by flying a jubilee kite, appropriately decorated, 600 feet in the air.¹⁷⁹ Winnipeg labour through its mouthpiece, The Voice, clearly made known what it thought was the best in the way of decorations for the jubilee:

Perhaps the best display on Main Street was that of W. Brown & Co., tobacconist. Mr. Brown is an old sailor and sailed for many years under the Union Jack, and when the occasion came to celebrate Her Majesty's jubilee, he did it in right royal shape.¹⁸⁰

A feature of the city's jubilee decorations was the North end arch,¹⁸¹ which had been erected under the supervision of ex-Alderman Black and J.T. Spiers, and other citizens of the north end. They had been granted permission to erect a Jubilee arch on and across Main Street at the corner of Fonseca.¹⁸² This, the Winnipeg Daily Tribune wrote "redounds

utmost credit upon these gentlemen, and also bespeaks the loyalty and liberality of our citizens of the north end".¹⁸³

The arch itself was based on an idea taken from Windsor Castle. The two main arches spanned the two lanes of the street railway, and was wide enough for carriages to pass through, and was buttressed with small square towers which rose from the edge of the sidewalk. The main tower, with its "embattled ramparts",¹⁸⁴ was fifty-four feet high, and bore a Union Jack seventy-five feet high. The other central towers were thirty-six feet high, and also bore appropriate flags. The small towers were bedecked in bunting. The total width of the arch was one hundred feet. The main decorations were made of spruce evergreens, which set out the appropriate mottoes, shields, and other insignias which were illuminated from the interior, "thus showing as well at night as in day time".¹⁸⁵ The electric lighting, "which was still an experimental marvel of the new age",¹⁸⁶ was also designed to show off the outline of the arch.

The north end arch, although overwhelmingly British, imperial, and Victorian in essential design, did have a gesture of Canadianism in its ornamentation. Elk, buffalo, moose, and deer heads were used as decorative features on the spandrels of the main arches. All of this was crowned by a large picture of the Queen, which adorned the centre of the main tower. The designer of the north end arch was Winnipeg architect, G.W. Murray.

The Winnipeg City Council had appointed a special Jubilee Committee as early as March, "to make arrangements for celebrating and drafting a suitable address to Her Gracious Majesty, the Queen, on this her Diamond Jubilee".¹⁸⁷ The committee, comprising Aldermen Mitchell, Wilson, Bell, and Baker, decided to erect a triumphal arch near the Market Street crossing at Main. This imperialist-led committee found it appropriate to call upon Roman architecture, as the true heirs of Rome, in all its imperial majesty as a means of honouring the occasion.

Chief City Engineer, E. H. Ruttan, designed and planned this civic arch,¹⁸⁸ which was built "in correct proportions as laid down by the ancient Roman architects, and it is rare in this utilitarian age".¹⁸⁹ Built of imitation marble throughout, it had double Doric columns on each side with three and a half foot base support, spanned by a thirty-six foot arch. These columns were named after attributes of the Queen-Empress herself: Justice and Mercy, on the one side; Courage and Wisdom, on the other.¹⁹⁰

The suspended arch itself was comprised of fifteen stones, and each stone was marked to symbolize a colony or a portion of the Queen's domains. There were three key stones: Canada to the right, Australia on the left, and Great Britain in the centre. The other twelve stones represented the Pacific Islands, Straits Settlements, the Cape Colony, Africa, Cyprus, Gibraltar, Newfoundland, the West Indies, the Protectorates, New Zealand, Ceylon, and India, respectively.

The whole civic arch structure supported an entablature¹⁹¹ on which the words, "Victoria, Queen and Empress", were painted, with the year 1837 on the left, and 1897 on the right. The arch had three flag poles that reached a height of forty feet from street level.

The south arch,¹⁹² the third triumphal arch in the city, was designed by W.G. Murray, and built by the St. Andrews society and the "businessmen in the neighbourhood of the McIntyre Block".¹⁹⁵ It was far less elaborate than its north end counterpart, and probably reflected the sober, dour taste of its sponsors. Yet, the south arch was not without praise and was seen as:

the result of the enterprise of a few leading spirits, who not to be outdone in loyalty and 'esprit de corps' soon found the 'sinews of war' necessary to go on with the erection.¹⁹⁴

The south arch was of the "castlelated type",¹⁹⁵ and consisted of one main tower, with a lesser tower rising from it to a height of sixty feet, and two arches of twenty foot span, linked it to the side towers which were about forty feet high. The entire structure was festooned with evergreens and bunting. Union Jacks fluttered from the highest point of the main tower. The arch was also illuminated with electric lights, in red, white and blue.

There were less mottoes used in the decorations than in the north end arch, "but the quieter effects produced in the decorations are very harmonious and pleasing".¹⁹⁶

VII

Clearly, the diamond jubilee provided local imperialists with an opportunity to display their version of the British sense of mission, and to re-affirm their aristocratic-like paternalism, thereby leaving no doubt in the minds of the local population who ran the city and its hinterland. The organizing of the event, as well as the actual celebrations, brought out vividly the hierarchical structure of late nineteenth century Winnipeg society.

Elite members of British and British-Ontarian stock dominated the planning of the event. The celebrations both reflected and promoted their values. They left no stone unturned to make it an occasion of consensual effervescence. This they owed to the myth of empire because they wanted to be able to say that people so diverse in origin, class, culture and tongue were at one in honouring the Queen and her domain.

The occasion was also an opportunity, under the guise of imperial celebration, to settle old scores, to make material gains, or hopefully to mend old wounds. The Winnipeg City Council was able to negotiate

favourably with the Hudson's Bay Company over some disputed city land. Local merchants showed their patriotic stuff by selling mementoes and other patriotic bric-a-brac.

However, all these things were being done against a background of a city divided along racial, class and religious lines. And it is this background which forms the basis of an analysis of the jubilee, which is the topic of the next chapter.

FOOTNOTES

¹G. M. Grant, "The Queen's Reign," The Canadian Magazine, Vol. IX, No. 2 (June 1897), p. 140.

²M. F. P., 26 April 1897, p. 4.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., 5 June 1897.

⁵Ibid., 12 June 1897. See also W. D. T., 4 June 1897.

⁶M. F. P., 22 June 1897.

⁷Quoted in A. G. Bailey, "The Historical Setting of Sara Duncan's The Imperialist." The Journal of Canadian Fiction, Vol. 2, No. 3 (1890), p. 209.

⁸Mrs. G. Bryce, "Historical Sketch of the Charitable Institutions of Winnipeg." HSSM Transactions, Series 1, No. 54 (February 1899), p. 8.

⁹Ibid., p. 25.

¹⁰Gad Horowitz, Canadian Labour in Politics (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), p. 122.

¹¹M. F. P., 12 June 1897, p. 12.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid., p. 13.

¹⁴City Council Minutes, 21 June 1897, p. 102.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶H. B. C. A. P. A. M., A/L Winnipeg City Council Petition.

¹⁷Ibid., A 12/L

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid., A 12/L

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Ibid., fo. 9.

²²Ibid.

²³The Daily Nor'Wester, 20 August 1897. W. D. T., 20 August 1897.
M. F. P., 21 August 1897.

²⁴H. B. C. A. P. A. M., A 12/L. fo. 16.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶M. F. P., 22 June 1897.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Ibid., 26 May 1897.

³¹Ibid., 27 April 1897.

³²Ibid., 29 April 1897.

³³City Council Minutes, 15 March 1897.

³⁴Ibid., 25 May, 1897, p. 297.

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶W. D. T., 21 May 1897.

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸City Council Minutes, 25 May 1897, p. 297.

³⁹W. D. T., 26 May 1897.

⁴⁰M. F. P., 27 May 1897.

⁴¹W. D. T., 29 May 1897.

⁴²He was a member of the St. Jean Baptiste Society, and well-suited to fulfill his task of persuading the French and Catholic organizations to participate in the celebrations. A barrister and favourite son of St. Boniface, he was well-known and prominent in civic matters.

⁴³M. F. P., 1 June 1897. Mgr. Del Val was in the city at this time trying to mend fences between the Anglo majority, and the French and Catholic minority over the schismatic trauma caused by the schools question. It appears that French and Catholic participation in the jubilee celebrations hinged on the 'behind the scenes' negotiations between Del Val and the various parties concerned. See W. D. T. 12 June 1897, and 17 June 1897.

⁴⁴W. D. T., 19 June 1897.

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶M. F. P., 26 May 1897.

⁴⁷Ibid., 1 June 1897.

⁴⁸F. H. Schofield, op. cit., Vol. 111, p. 340.

⁴⁹M. F. P., 29 May 1897.

⁵⁰Ibid., 1 June 1897.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³W. D. T., 15 June 1897.

⁵⁴Ibid., 19 June 1897.

⁵⁵W. D. T., 29 May 1897.

⁵⁶M. F. P., 5 June 1897. The decision was based on past experience. The Queen's birthday celebrations were usually centred around sporting events. Large crowds would flock to special venues to watch Queen's Cup cricket matches, as well as, footraces, jumping, sculling, throwing-the-hammer, tugs-of-war, etc. See W. L. Morton, op. cit. (1957), p. 191. The connection between sports and imperialism is treated in chapter IV in this paper.

⁵⁷City Council Minutes, 25 May 1897, p. 297.

⁵⁸M. F. P., 15 June 1897.

⁵⁹Ibid.

⁶⁰W. D. T., 5 June 1897.

⁶¹M. F. P., 5 June 1897.

⁶²L. Cleveland, op. cit., p. 32.

⁶³W. D. T., 19 June 1897.

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵Ibid., 11 June 1897.

⁶⁶Ibid.

⁶⁷Ibid.

- ⁶⁸M. F. P., 1 June 1897.
- ⁶⁹W. D. T., 29 May 1897.
- ⁷⁰Ibid.
- ⁷¹M. F. P., 15 June 1897.
- ⁷²The Voice, 19 June 1897.
- ⁷³Ibid.
- ⁷⁴M. F. P., 12 June 1897.
- ⁷⁵W. D. T., 20 May 1897.
- ⁷⁶Annual Report, School Management Report, 1897, Winnipeg School Division No. 1, p. 23.
- ⁷⁷W. D. T., 6 May 1897.
- ⁷⁸M. F. P., 25 May 1897.
- ⁷⁹Ibid., 4 June 1897.
- ⁸⁰Ibid., 19 June 1897.
- ⁸¹W. D. T., 19 June 1897.
- ⁸²The Voice, 26 June 1897.
- ⁸³Ibid.
- ⁸⁴W. D. T., 24 June 1897.
- ⁸⁵Ibid., 23 June 1897.
- ⁸⁶M. F. P., 23 June 1897.
- ⁸⁷G. W. Baker Papers, MG14, B2, Grand Jubilee Program, p. 2.
Originally the route was not intended to take in the north end. At the eleventh hour, only after Ex-Alderman Black had reported that north end citizens had resolved to build their own triumphal arch, that the procession committee extended the route to the C. P. R. tracks crossing at Main Street.
- ⁸⁸W. D. T., 24 June 1897.
- ⁸⁹Ibid.
- ⁹⁰Ibid.

- ⁹¹Ibid.
- ⁹²M. F. P., 23 June 1897.
- ⁹³W. D. T., 23 June 1897.
- ⁹⁴M. F. P., 23 June 1897.
- ⁹⁵W. D. T., 24 June 1897.
- ⁹⁶Ibid.
- ⁹⁷Ibid.
- ⁹⁸Ibid.
- ⁹⁹M. F. P., 23 June 1897.
- ¹⁰⁰James Morris, op. cit. (1968), p. 37.
- ¹⁰¹W. D. T., 23 June 1897.
- ¹⁰²M. F. P., 1 June 1897.
- ¹⁰³W. D. T., 23 June 1897.
- ¹⁰⁴Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁵Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁶Annual Report, School Management Committee Report, 1897, Winnipeg School Division No. 1, p. 23.
- ¹⁰⁷M. F. P., 23 June 1897.
- ¹⁰⁸Ibid., 26 May 1897.
- ¹⁰⁹Ruby Johnson, "Reflections of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee," Letter written to the writer, 7 February 1980. Mrs. Johnson recalls a number of special songs and poems that the pupils had to learn in preparation for the jubilee, as well.
- ¹¹⁰Although there were no direct statements with regard to St. Boniface's participation and the schools' question, the innuendo is clear enough. The Voice clearly linked the participation of the St. Boniface schools in the parade as indication of the "hope that the school question is buried." The Voice, 26 June 1897. See also W. D. T., 12 June 1897, and 17 June 1897.
- ¹¹¹M. F. P., 23 June 1897.

¹¹²Annual Report, School Management Report, 1897, Winnipeg School Division No. 1, p. 23. There is a discrepancy between the above report and the M. F. P. account of eight languages.

¹¹³M. F. P., 23 June 1897.

¹¹⁴Ibid.

¹¹⁵W. D. T., 8 January 1895.

¹¹⁶M. F. P., 23 June 1897.

¹¹⁷Ibid.

¹¹⁸Le Manitoba, 23 June 1897.

¹¹⁹M. F. P., 23 June 1897.

¹²⁰Ibid.

¹²¹Ibid.

¹²²Ibid.

¹²³Ibid.

¹²⁴Ibid.

¹²⁵E. Grierson, The Death of the Imperial Dream (New York: Doubleday, 1972), p. 125.

¹²⁶M. F. P., 23 June 1897.

¹²⁷Ibid.

¹²⁸Ibid.

¹²⁹Ibid.

¹³⁰Annual Report, School Management Report, 1897, Winnipeg School Division No. 1, p. 23.

¹³¹W. D. T., 23 June 1897. It went on to say that "the enthusiastic spirit augured well for Canada's future in the empire."

¹³²Ibid.

¹³³M. F. P., 23 June 1897.

¹³⁴The Voice, 26 June 1897.

¹³⁵G. W. Baker papers, MG14, B2, "Grand Jubilee Celebration Program."

- 136 Ibid.
- 137 W. D. T., 23 June 1897.
- 138 M. F. P., 23 June 1897.
- 139 Ibid.
- 140 W. D. T., 23 June 1897.
- 141 Ibid., 18 June 1897.
- 142 Ibid.
- 143 M. F. P., 23 June 1897.
- 144 W. D. T., 18 June 1897.
- 145 Ibid.
- 146 Ibid., 26 June 1897.
- 147 The Voice, 26 June 1897.
- 148 See Appendix
- 149 M. F. P., 23 June 1897.
- 150 Ibid.
- 151 E. Langford, Victoria R. 1. (London: Pan Books, 1964), p. 685.
- 152 W. D. T., 18 June 1897.
- 153 Ibid., 23 June 1897.
- 154 Ibid., 24 June 1897.
- 155 M. F. P., 23 June 1897.
- 156 Ibid.
- 157 W. D. T., 24 June 1897.
- 158 M. F. P., 23 June 1897.
- 159 Ibid.
- 160 Ibid.
- 161 J. S. Galbraith, The Hudson's Bay Company as an Imperial Factor, 1821-1869 (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1957),
The work explores British imperial expansion in Western Canada by the mercantile class of the H. B. C.

- 162 M. F. P., 23 June 1897.
- 163 Lytton Strachey, Queen Victoria (London: Chatto and Windus, 1928), p. 213.
- 164 W. D. T., 24 June 1897.
- 165 Ibid., 18 June 1897.
- 166 Ibid.
- 167 M. F. P., 1 June 1897.
- 168 Ibid.
- 169 Ibid.
- 170 W. D. T., 23 June 1897.
- 171 M. F. P., 23 June 1897.
- 172 W. D. T., 24 June 1897.
- 173 Ibid.
- 174 Ibid.
- 175 M. F. P., 24 June 1897.
- 176 W. D. T., 23 June 1897.
- 177 Ibid.
- 178 Ibid.
- 179 Ibid.
- 180 The Voice, 26 June 1897.
- 181 See Appendix
- 182 City Council Minutes, 7 June 1897, p. 97.
- 183 W. D. T., 18 June 1897.
- 184 Ibid.
- 185 Ibid.
- 186 E. Langford, op. cit., p. 689.
- 187 City Council Minutes, 15 March 1897, p. 137.

¹⁸⁸See Appendix

¹⁸⁹W. D. T., 18 June 1897.

¹⁹⁰Ibid.

¹⁹¹An entablature is that part of a classical architectural order which rests horizontally upon the columns and consists of the architrave, frieze and cornice.

¹⁹²See Appendix

¹⁹³W. D. T., 23 June 1897.

¹⁹⁴Ibid.

¹⁹⁵Ibid.

¹⁹⁶Ibid.

CHAPTER VI

REFLECTIONS ON THE JUBILEE

I.

The pageant itself, superficially at least, achieved its consensual goal. Both the participants and the spectators seemed at one in honouring the Queen and her imperial reign.

However, beyond the collective sentiments and ideas which the pageant dramatized, there was, upon reflection, sufficient conflict and anxiety below the surface to question the conventional notion that the jubilee was a spontaneous outburst of loyalty to Queen and empire. The various contingents, their uniforms, floats, symbols, regalias and personnel, as well as the tone of the description of the events by the local newspapers, revealed significant social relationships in the hierarchical class structure of Winnipeg, played against the background of the imperial idea.

Moreover, the conspicuous absence of an institution or dignitaries suggested intrigue behind the scenes, as well as ambivalence and hostility to the imperial idea, or, otherwise, supreme confidence of social influence and position.

II

There was ambiguity in the attitude of local French-Canadians to the whole affair. One point that James Morris makes in Pax Britannica is that French-Canadians "did not much resent the festivities of Empire, but they hardly celebrated them, either".¹ On the one hand, St. Boniface pupils, the town council, and the St. Jean Baptiste Society participated

in the parade, albeit begrudgingly; on the other hand, the mayor did not take part and, more important, the Roman Catholic church was not represented amongst the church dignitaries.²

Furthermore, in spite of the repeated assurances of loyalty it was compelled to make in refutation of "la vieille accusation",³ the church in St. Boniface had long been cautious in its praise, and often even indifferent to the symbols of empire. This was especially true in the 1890's with the Manitoba schools question, "notre question scolaire",⁴ ever present in the background of local issues. There had been imperialists in the past like Charles Mair who believed that western French-Canadians were a minor nationality whose influence and demands were incompatible with the Canadian national sentiment and were therefore expendable.⁵

Le Manitoba and the local French-Canadians had little quarrel with the Queen and her Privy Council, which had decided in favour of the minority in Manitoba. The problem was with the civil authorities, including those French-Canadian Catholics, like Laurier, Tarte, and others who had forged ties with their own people's enemies. Even the English Catholic organ, the Northwest Review, believed that Laurier had sold out to Dalton McCarthy, and that this Laurier-McCarthy alliance was testimony to the debasement of Laurier's political ambition.⁶ Even imperialist Colonel Denison had praised Laurier's settlement of the schools question.⁷ Le Manitoba in its "Edition Speciale", for the controversial 1896 federal election, speaking for the French-Canadian Catholics, stated, "Ainsi donc, mardi nous voterons tous pour l'hon. Hugh John Macdonald",⁸ the well-known local imperialist.

The influence and prestige of the church were being undermined in the schools question, in fact, the very culture of a people in "declining

strength" was at stake. In 1895, for example, when the Winnipeg Daily Tribune⁹ attacked the Pope's denunciation of Protestant secret societies, Le Manitoba counter-attacked. By refuting the oft-made charge "que les catholiques ne sont pas de loyaux sujets des gouvernements sous lesquels ils vivent",¹⁰ it also accused the English paper of inciting hatred against Catholics and regarding them as citizens unworthy of liberties accorded "aux autres sujets de la couronne britannique".¹¹ Le Manitoba added that nothing was more further from the truth, as each Sunday local Catholics prayed "pour la sauvegarde de l'autorite legitime dans la personne de notre Reine".¹² Moreover, the church, Le Manitoba wrote:

. . . commande la fidelite au drapeau . . .
elle raffermir au lieu de les affaiblir, les
sentiments d'allegiance des peuples envers
leurs souverains.¹³

Furthermore, it reminded its accusers that French-Canadian blood had been shed for the Union Jack, and for the preservation of British power in Canada. Even Sir John Thompson had attested to the fact in 1894, when he lauded "le patriotisme et la loyauté des Canadiens-français".¹⁴

The Privy Council decision on the schools question, "with its hedge of ifs and buts",¹⁵ which some church dignitaries interpreted as being a significant amendment, led Mgr. Langevin to use it as the basis of a rare patriotic sermon. Delivered on Sunday, 2nd June, 1896, at St. Boniface, he asserted that the Queen had granted justice to his flock but that Laurier, "anti-clerical, atheistic, and possibly a free-mason, was withholding it".¹⁶ He asked for rejoicing in the amendment as "un oeuvre essentiellement patriotique".¹⁷ Significantly, he warned, failure to render justice to the Catholics was a repudiation of "le plus haut tribunal de l'empire", and of "la mere-patrie, l'Angleterre. . ." itself.¹⁸

Yet on other occasions, cold indifference to imperial ideals was evident.

Whereas it was expected that local newspapers honour the Queen editorially on her birthday, and carry special feature articles, as well as reports on the way in which Winnipeggers observed the 24th May, Le Manitoba, in spite of its stated position of loyalty, was usually reserved on the matter. In 1894, for example, the only mention of the Queen's birthday was made in connection with Frank Smith's knighthood conferred on him. "M. Smith est Catholique", the paper wrote.¹⁹

In 1897, the mood of the church in St. Boniface was not buoyant at all. The church generally felt betrayed. Its position in Manitoba, "as the guide of a French and Catholic state within a state, was ended forever".²⁰ The church could no longer organize school districts "to segregate Catholics within a framework of separate education".²¹

The jubilee editorial in Le Manitoba on the day following the festivities, reveals the ambivalence of the church and French-Canadians to imperialism. No mention was made of the jubilee demonstration at all. Neither was there any reference to St. Boniface's participation in the event. However, the paper did comment rather pointedly on the Queen's reign.

The Queen was congratulated on her long reign, and for guiding the "destinees de la nation Anglaise".²² Also, within certain limits, "au moins autant que les circonstances ont pu le permettre",²³ her reign did mark the beginning of liberty for Catholics in the empire. Also:

Enfin, c'est elle qui signe de sa main royale
et imperial ce monument qui consacre les droits
de la minorite catholique de ce pays.

Juste et glorieux! Plus glorieux: que ce
soit a Sa Majeste que l'on doive la paix
universelle; plus juste; que se soit a
Sa Majeste que l'on doive la juste complete
pour freres d'Ireland, pour le catholicisme
dans tout l'empire et specialement pour les
catholiques de Manitoba.

God save the Queen!²⁴

However, if praise for the Queen or support for the empire seemed effusive in the jubilee editorial, it was countered by a carefully written editorial juxtaposed on the same page in Le Manitoba of the 23rd June, 1897. It commented on the papal delegate Mgr. Del Val who was in the city during the jubilee celebration. The editorial alluded to the lack of enthusiasm for the jubilee celebration by emphasizing, "l'enthousiasme de nous",²⁵ for Mgr. Del Val because:

. . . il etait de delegue du Pape. Pour les catholiques il representait notre pontife supreme, notre docteur infallible, notre pere bien-aime.²⁶

Even Protestants, and all the great nations recognize the pope's "force morale"²⁷ and the power that he represents as "le dernier arbitre de la Paix".²⁸

The two editorials - placed one beneath the other - clearly revealed the official church position on the question of the highest political authority on earth. Secondly, the church let it be known that de facto recognition of Catholic minority rights could not be guaranteed by the realities of Canadian politics. Both positions were, in effect, challenging two essential concomitants of Pax Britannica, viz., that Queen Victoria "really was the first arbiter of the world, and had imposed a British peace upon it",²⁹ and secondly, that the sanctity of the rule of law was inviolable.

Although the local St. Boniface Roman Catholic church did not publicly advocate participation in the jubilee procession, it certainly did not oppose it. At the eleventh hour, due to the prestige and influence of Theophane Bertrand, one of St. Boniface's favourite sons, a number of St. Boniface societies, including the St. Jean Baptiste Society, as well as the St. Boniface school children, all marched in the procession. There

is also strong evidence to suggest that Mgr. Del Val was working behind the scenes. The Manitoba Free Press was convinced that Mgr. Del Val was here primarily to stifle "Langevin and other agitators", and that "all hostilities on the part of the Catholics will soon cease".³⁰ Less than a week before the jubilee event, the Winnipeg Daily Tribune reported that all opposition to the school settlement would cease, and that a Catholic representative "is to be appointed to the advisory board at once".³¹ Besides these reports the papal delegate was feted by the Anglo-Canadian community. He inspected several Winnipeg public schools, including the one run by Imperialist Jack Mulvey, where he was received by a rifle-carrying guard of honour made up of school cadets.³²

It is clear that the French-Canadians in St. Boniface joined with Winnipeg in celebrating the Queen's jubilee, but it did not do so willy-nilly, in fact, it did so in a studied fashion, almost reluctantly, amidst hints of intrigue, and clear statement of principle.

III

A notable feature of the jubilee celebrations was the full participation of the Jewish community, especially that of the businessmen.

Jews began to settle in Winnipeg in the late 1870's. By 1881, there were twenty-one Jews in Winnipeg, all either from Germany or England.³³ In 1882, the first group of Russian-Jewish immigrants arrived in the city.³⁴ In due course many in this group were able to come to terms with the business ethics of the Winnipeg charter group. Initially, this group of "newcomers" was at variance with the "resident Jews" of English and German origin.³⁵ A rift soon developed between the two groups. The Russian-Jewish "newcomers" complained that the "resident" group "had little interest in Jewish education, and not enough in religion".³⁶ It

was from the "resident" group that the Jewish business community evolved, and within a remarkably short time "were recognized as effective members of the larger community".³⁷ One reason for this was their facility and desire for acquiring a knowledge of English.³⁸

Glazer and Moynihan's general thesis in Beyond the Melting Pot is that social mobility is dependent upon cultural assimilation.³⁹ This was certainly the case with the "resident" Jews of Winnipeg, who, because of their origins and business affinities with the charter group, were well on their way to being assimilated to the "dominant values" of the charter group. This was true in the sense that they "learned the language and social usages of the city well enough to participate in its economic, political, and social life without encountering prejudice".⁴⁰ In spite of the assimilation and social mobility the Jewish ethnic culture did not disintegrate. By 1883, Hyman Miller became a member of the Winnipeg Board of Trade. Furthermore, when the "resident group" appealed for public aid for the erection of the Shaary Zedek Synagogue, it used the rhetoric of the imperialist, associated with the rights of Englishmen: "here we wish to enjoy that freedom . . . the right to worship God".⁴¹ Money poured in from the Anglo-Saxon community. Also, the grand opening of the temple was attended by members of the city's plutocracy, including such notable imperialists such as A.M. Nanton, Lieutenant-Governor Schultz, and Sir Donald Smith.⁴²

The participation of the flag-waving members of the Shaary Zedek benevolent society in the jubilee procession, with the portrait of the Queen and patriotic emblem in Hebrew, was quite understandable. In Winnipeg their "entrance group" status was assured.⁴³ The Rosh Pina Sick Relief Society, which also participated in the festivities, was an

offshoot of the Shaary Zedek group. The enthusiastic debate about the form of the jubilee participation at Rosh Pina temple became so heated that a fight ensued between the leading members of the congregation.⁴⁴

Both synagogues were theoretically under the supervision of the Chief Rabbi in England, and were involved in honouring the achievements of the Anglo-Jewish philanthropist, Sir Moses Montefiore, in Winnipeg in 1887.⁴⁵

Loyalty to the British empire, therefore, was not to be begrudged by the "resident group". After all, Disraeli, and Sir Julius Vogel, the Jewish New Zealand premier, were testimonies to British imperial justice and opportunities. Even the Eastern European Jews, the "newcomers", were thought to have, according to Sir Alexander T. Galt, all the makings of "economically self-sustaining" citizens of the British Empire.⁴⁶ Their "high, almost exalted optimism",⁴⁷ which they brought with them was itself an imperialist's ideal.

Their true worth to the empire was revealed in the Boer War in 1899. The evocation of renewed affirmation to empire which was imposed on all Canadians at that time, saw the Jews respond in a very significant manner. The local community led by S.H. Narovlansky, a wealthy livestock dealer, established the Jewish Committee for the Canadian Patriotic Fund, to which the Jewish community contributed handsomely. In addition, demonstrations in support of the drive were held by the Jews of Winnipeg, in which speeches were made "which expressed the loyalty, devotion, and gratitude of the Jews, in this free and democratic Dominion, to England".⁴⁸

In this respect, then, most of the Jewish community⁴⁹ by 1897, especially the leaders, and especially those of non-Eastern European origin, were probably more acculturated than assimilated, if one accepts

Alan Artibise's definition, which stresses the acquisition of the "memories, and attitudes of the city's dominant group", as well as sharing their experience and history.⁵⁰ In terms of acculturation, Jewish students in Winnipeg public schools were being turned into Englishmen.⁵¹ The point is that, except for a dissenting few whose day had not yet come, the Jewish community accepted the ideology of imperialism as held by the charter group. The Jewish community was attracted to British political institutions and principles which guaranteed them basic freedoms; just as they were attracted to that branch of imperialism which saw progress as "the positive advantages of entrepreneurial capitalism in action".⁵² However, given their historical experience as a people, one must not overlook "pandemic fear" as a prevailing motive for their pro-imperialist position".⁵³

The small German population in the city in 1897 had no difficulty in participating in the events of June, 22nd. One hundred of them marched "with military discipline"⁵⁴ in the procession. Their "general bearing", for which they were famous, impressed both the Winnipeg Daily Tribune and the crowd lining the parade route.⁵⁵ This eager participation in the parade, with the leader of their community, Mr. W. Hespeler, the German Consul, sitting in the first carriage, as well as the very patriotic address delivered by Johan Koslowsky, the German student, was testimony to their loyalty and devotion to the empire.

The Germans in Winnipeg in 1897 were still considered a northern people, destined for greatness alongside the chosen people in the British empire. The stepped-up rivalry in the following decade, between Germany and Great Britain, would turn the Canadian German into an ungodly "Hun".⁵⁶ For the time being, the local Germans were loyal, exemplary citizens.

The Germans were amongst the fortunate numbers of the city's non-British population that settled outside the city's "foreign ghettos".⁵⁷ As Alan Artibise put it, the Germans:

. . . not only had more cultural affinities with the charter group, but also . . . they had the financial resources and work skills to advance their economic status.⁵⁸

Mr. W. Hespeler, the German consul, was praised in a Jubilee editorial for an example he set by locating some of the German newcomers on the outskirts of Winnipeg, on the "eastern end of the Louise Bridge, down the Red River", where they prospered from their market gardening and outside work and were "affording object lessons as to what may be accomplished" by hard work and thrift.⁵⁹

Lord Dufferin repeatedly lauded the Canadian German population, "who by their thrifty habits, by their industry, sobriety and general good conduct, are likely to aid"⁶⁰ the development of Canadian progress. Also, Charles Mair, who advocated Ontario's western expansion as part of imperial growth, desired teutonic settlement of the west because those "many tongued" northerners spoke the same language as the Anglo-Saxon.⁶¹

The Germans had proved their loyalty to the empire before when they turned their back on American republicanism as German United Empire Loyalists. Still others had been used by George III in defense of the empire. Some, like the latter, had come to Canada because of militarist affinities; others because of the protection the British Empire afforded religious freedom. Comprising 10% of the population of Ontario in 1871, they lived alongside the Britishn Ontarians⁶² who later settled in Winnipeg, many of whom became members of the local charter group. Therefore, their past spoke for itself. The virtues of this sturdy Teutonic stock, characterized by thrift, progressiveness, and prosperity met the requirements

for furthering Pax Britannica. They were not regarded as a distinct group. "Even those who detest 'foreigners' make an exception of Germans whom they classify as 'white people' like ourselves".⁶³ The fact that Queen Victoria's ancestors, and Consort Albert, himself, had come from that good German stock enhanced their prospects of being good citizens. As Johan Koslowsky said in his patriotic address on behalf of the German students in the Winnipeg public school system:

We are proud to grow up in this new country,
elected by our fathers, inhabitants of
Canada, and citizens of Great Britain.⁶⁴

Local German newspapers, specifically the Nordwesten, helped shape German public opinion along the lines of the ideals of the charter group. The idea for a German language newspaper⁶⁵ was Wilhelm Hespeler's (called William in the press), the German Consul in Winnipeg, and one "of her foremost citizens".⁶⁶ He was the first "foreign-born citizen to become the first commoner of any British possession in Canada".⁶⁷ A member of the city's establishment, he was lauded for his service to the empire at the time of the jubilee. His daughter, Georgina, was married to A.M. Nanton, one of Winnipeg's best-known imperialists.

Besides W. Hespeler's influence on the German community, there was another factor at work in the socialization process. Because the Nordwesten could not have survived "unless it was associated with one of the main two political parties"⁶⁸ in the province, adherence to a modicum of the conventional politics and ideals of the day was essential.

On the schools question, as far as the Nordwesten was concerned, "several editorials stated unequivocally"⁶⁹ that the 1890 Act was the best system for the province. Although the German settlers were concerned with the perservation of their heritage, they wanted to be recognized first "as full-fledged Canadian citizens",⁷⁰ with all of the imperial responsibilities

that it entailed. In a sense, then, one can say that their position in the context of the Winnipeg social order, was a microcosm of Canada's position within the empire.

The Scandinavians had the largest contingent in the parade, numbering 250, of which 150 were Icelanders, "the strongest in force".⁷¹ This enthusiastic participation was understandable.

The charter group viewed the Scandinavians, like the Germans, as being of the "same racial type and original stock" as themselves.⁷² The Icelandic community supported the charter group's common school system unreservedly. They "accepted public education in English while maintaining the mother tongue in the home and the Icelandic press".⁷³ Their habits, institutions, ideals and "moral standards" were regarded as being kindred and similar, all enhancing "the value of prospective citizens".⁷⁴ When the first group of Icelanders landed in Winnipeg, a large curious crowd were soon disappointed to discover that the newcomers were no different than themselves.⁷⁵

A true nothern people, with what George Parkin has called "a Puritan turn of mind",⁷⁶ their position of "entry group status" was assured. Described by J.S. Woodsworth as "big, brawny, broad-shouldered, fair-haired giants", he believed that they were certain of success in a country "where the strong, not the weak are wanted".⁷⁷

The non-Icelandic Scandinavians settled strictly in Winnipeg,⁷⁸ the majority living outside the "foreign ghetto". Although the majority of Icelanders had settled in Gimli, there was, nevertheless, a sizable group in Winnipeg, many of whom from day one sought and found work in the city.⁷⁹

Their strong turn out in the jubilee parade, their participation in organizing the event, and the loyal address read by Runolfur Fjeldsted on behalf of the Icelandic students in the Winnipeg public schools system,

were all fair indications of their attitude to empire. Furthermore, they had, up to 1897, demonstrated their support in true imperialist fashion.

Balvin L. Baldwinson, who was to become a prominent Winnipegger as editor of Heimskringla, and an M.L.A., had served in the Queen's Own Rifles of Toronto from 1877 to 1880. Moreover, eighteen Icelanders joined Winnipeggers to uphold "the reputation and the honour" of Icelanders in defence of empire against Riel in 1885,⁸⁰ when they "restored the nation's ancient renown".⁸¹ After all, amongst their forebears, Egill Skallagrimson had fought for King Athalstan of Saxon England.⁸²

All of this was done out of a sense of duty to Canada, the British empire and its free institutions, and the imperialism, of the Icelanders, then, seems to have been "a reasoning of the mind rather than a throb of the heart".⁸³

The man almost solely responsible for their coming to Manitoba, John Taylor, was steeped in the imperialist tradition. Born in the Barbados, the son of a Royal naval officer and plantation manager, he was educated at Oxford. He later became a missionary in the service of the British-Canadian Bible Society.⁸⁴ Taylor, with the backing of Lord Dufferin, had recognized the Icelanders' potential as settlers in this outpost of the British empire.

The Galicians, "the common generic term for all non-Nordic settlers",⁸⁵ included the Bukovinians, their compatriots from "the impoverished and overpopulated Ukrainian provinces"⁸⁶ of the Austrian empire.

These were Sifton's "men in sheepskin coats" who only started arriving in Winnipeg in 1896 for settlement in Manitoba. The first two Galicians, really Ukrainians, arrived in Winnipeg in 1891, and, thereafter, there was a steady trickle into Western Canada, unsolicited, and largely unnoticed by the authorities.⁸⁷ The massive immigration that ensued after

1897 surpassed in numbers that of any other group of non-British immigrants into western Canada.⁸⁸ By 1897, they were not yet organized⁸⁹ nor invited to participate in the jubilee.

Although they had been earmarked for homesteading in the frontier of the western empire, many were forced to seek temporary employment in "the heavy labouring jobs - construction and railway shops" of Winnipeg.⁹⁰

Because the Galicians were a non-northern people, they were considered foreign and therefore inferior. Their strange language and dress re-inforced the local social darwinian attitudes prevalent in the community. They were the equivalent of the traditional "white man's burden". Even J.S. Woodsworth could not resist using stereotypical attributes about them himself.⁹¹

Just two days before Queen Victoria's jubilee, Winnipeg's Nor'wester attacked the Ukrainians as being economically and socially unfit for, and undeserving of citizenship in, the British empire, and advocated the cessation of "the further importation of such a dangerous element".⁹²

A content analysis of the three Winnipeg newspapers between 1896-1905 on editorial opinion regarding the fitness of Ukrainians for immigration, reveals that the Telegram "adamantly and consistently opposed"⁹³ Ukrainian immigration, the Manitoba Free Press was "less extreme", while the Winnipeg Daily Tribune was "essentially negative".⁹⁴ All three agreed that there were inherent dangers in Ukrainian immigration, fearing the dilution of the British stock.⁹⁵ However, it was the Telegram that consistently harped on their disrespect for British institutions, and was adamant about their disloyalty to Canada and the British Empire.⁹⁶

Their loyalty was evident, nevertheless, in one respect. Jennie Genik, a Galician pupil, and a product of "the unifying and nationalizing influence"⁹⁷ of the Winnipeg schools system, delivered a patriotic address

on behalf of all the Ukrainian students in the schools system on jubilee day.⁹⁸ However, there was no official contingent of Ukrainians in the general civic procession later on that day.

Yet, at the end of the procession, nine "Galicians" were part of an unofficial float, quite irrelevant to the occasion, but, perhaps indicative of the social relationships of the day which the Manitoba Free Press described as having "occasioned considerable merriment".⁹⁹ Dick Burden, the "Sultant" of the Clarendon Turkish baths, clad in a Turkish bath suit, was being shielded from the sun by a "Galician" woman, holding an umberlla, while eight strong "Galicians" pulled the float along.

In spite of the lack of evidence of their attitude to empire by 1897, their 'voting with their feet' as it were must count for something. The various freedoms and opportunities guaranteed by British institutions attracted them to the British empire. W.J. Sisler, who taught the "sons of peasants", was convinced that their fathers regarded the British Empire and its military might as "something awe-inspiring".¹⁰⁰

Those Ukrainian immigrants who comprised a significant part of the Canadian communist movement,¹⁰¹ and who, therefore, were likely to take an anti-imperialist position, only entered Canada from Galicia shortly after the turn of the century.¹⁰² Their influence in Winnipeg, then, by 1897 was not a factor.

IV

In 1897 labour's attitude to empire was not monolithic at all. The Voice, the official organ of the Winnipeg Trades and Labour Council, through its editorials and comments, took a very flexible attitude towards imperialism. There is no consistency at all. Labour's position varied from full support to Queen and empire, to denunciation and cynicism. Yet,

by and large, there was no rejection of empire in toto, although some attacks on aspects of the ideology clearly began to challenge its very premise in jubilee year.

The workers at this time were not yet fully behind the idea of union membership, because of the national and fraternal societies, to which many of them belonged and which demanded their loyalty. Labour spokesmen had their work cut out for them trying to justify the existence of the unions.¹⁰³

However, one can safely say, that in jubilee year, labour was fairly favourably disposed towards imperialism, although far less committed than the urban middle-class.

Labour did not march under the union banners in the jubilee procession on the 22nd June, instead, they participated in the event through the various national and fraternal societies, as well as sporting and other organizations, to which they belonged. Others, presumably, made up the vast throng of people, who lined the streets and cheered on the procession, enjoying their day off work.

The Winnipeg Trades and Labour Council was represented by two delegates at all of the general organization committee meetings for the jubilee celebrations. Henry Mason, one of the delegates, was also president of the trades and labour council at that time. He was also appointed to the nominating committee of the jubilee organization, alongside many prominent Winnipeggers, such as Colonel Holmes, J.B. Robertson, arch-imperialists Thomas Robinson, and Aldermen Baker and Stuart. Robert Underhill, who was later to become an executive member of the Winnipeg Labour Party,¹⁰⁴ was the other representative. He was placed on the organization and procession committee that planned the overall jubilee event.

The Winnipeg Trades and Labour Council, besides helping to organize the jubilee, also decided to pay the cost and to provide the labour for

the erection of a fountain outside city hall, to commemorate the Queen's diamond jubilee. The Voice did not mention the gesture at all, and very little information was made available to city council, and to the jubilee organizers, who were left in the dark about the details concerning the completion and official opening.

The Voice was significantly silent about the general preparations of the coming event. It but barely mentioned the original invitation by the jubilee committee secretary for participation.¹⁰⁵ However, it did run an advertisement for Peace and Company Tailors, exhorting the reader to "spruce up for jubilee day" by ordering a "tasty suit" for the occasion.¹⁰⁶ Another reference to the coming jubilee celebrations, perhaps more significant, was the paper's recommendation to the workers to "subscribe at once" to the Ladies Home Journal for its article, "What Victoria Has Seen" so that "the reader will be taken on the British Throne" and see the progress in "art, science, invention, music, education, the greatest social reforms; the growth of nations and the advance of civilization".¹⁰⁷

The Voice's jubilee editorial was published three days before jubilee day. However, it was placed after an editorial on the fourth anniversary of the founding of The Voice itself. The anniversary editorial reminded the readers of the founders' purpose, viz., to be a voice for labour, "free to criticize, to applaud, and to condemn". It lauded its own achievements in being "by long odds the best paper of its class in the Dominion".¹⁰⁸

Then it proceeded, in the best tradition of the founders, to comment on the jubilee. It praised the person of the Queen and the "wonderful march of progress" with which her reign was associated. Even those readers "who do not ordinarily profess to be enamoured of a monarchical form of government", should rejoice in this aspect of the occasion. However, in

spite of the far-reaching progress, the empire's "leaders, the master-minds with the stamp of genius" have failed to provide social justice in the empire. The imperial display of power, wealth and luxury is, indeed, meaningless because amidst it all, there is the reminder of "one utter, miserable failure".¹⁰⁹ Furthermore, it stated that the imperial city's intention of spending thousands to feed the poor on jubilee day, summed up the imperial policy on the poor.

To give the poor dinner has been a great feature of coronations and the like in the past, and not till the hovels and empty stomachs are abolished will there be need for a real jubilee.¹¹⁰

It went on to attack the economic and social conditions of the empire. It never questioned the idea of empire itself as it believed that social justice "will one day prevail".¹¹¹

On the front page of the same edition an article appeared expressing sympathy for the Queen for the "hard day's work before her" on jubilee day, and agreed with her for wanting to "call the whole show off if she had her way".¹¹² But the writer suggested a solution: A Toussaud wax model should be made, and the Queen could then stay at home while her "proxy was saluting her loving subjects and nobody would be any the wiser". In fact, he argued, the monarchy could be replaced entirely in the future by "King Automation 1 . . . (who) would lack brains, but that is by no means a drawback". The monarchy was a figurehead devoid of any legislative power, however, he suggested that "a jubilee twice in a 100 years might be held for the fun of it".¹¹³

Shortly after jubilee, The Voice reviewed the events. Studied praise was mixed with cold criticism. It wrote: "for a town of its population, we question if a street could be found anywhere that compared with Main Street".¹¹⁴ Yet, while praising the pupils for their demonstration, it

criticized the lack of refreshments, and the haphazard system of distributing medals to the pupils. It praised the Catholic schools for being in the parade as it signified that the schools question had been buried. Yet, it spanned the fireworks display for being poorly handled.¹¹⁵

Overall, it stated that the city "gave way to none in her loyalty to the great empire of which she is a part".¹¹⁶ However, it later solemnly examined the political future of the country, believing that a true jubilee for all was only possible in a new order reconstructed on Christian, socialist principles.¹¹⁷

Organized Labour's uncertainty and ambivalence about imperialism, at that time, had both domestic and historical roots. The Winnipeg working class found employment in manufacturing, the building trades, transportation, domestic and personal service, as well as other nondescript labouring positions.¹¹⁸ Employment in the transportation sector had grown rapidly by 1897 with the completion of the railway connection as artisans, tradesmen, and general labourers converged on Winnipeg to find work. Intra-urban transportation also gave work to street railway employees.¹¹⁹ These conductors and motormen were "about the poorest paid men in the city", in 1897.¹²⁰ A very mixed work force was evolving in Winnipeg.¹²¹

The city's work force grew at a rapid pace to accomodate the labour requirements of the boom economies of the 1880's and late 1890's, especially with the emergence of industrial capitalism in the west.¹²² Many Ontarian prospective homesteaders "got as far as Winnipeg and no further",¹²³ while others lured to the west were abandoned in Winnipeg to "root hog or die".¹²⁴ Some, like a group of Galicians in May of 1897, who were sent west returned to the city, and "refused to go out on the farms".¹²⁵

As part of their early support for imperialism, local workers, as was natural to their ideology and to the raison d'etre of their migration,

believed in progress. However, the new prosperity brought about by progress was denied to them.¹²⁶

Due to the economic infrastructure, the North end, by 1895, became the home of the working class, and consequently, the home of large groups of foreign immigrants.¹²⁷ This "foreign quarter", which was also known by the name of the "New Jerusalem", and "C.P.R. Town", comprised Wards 5, 6 and 7.¹²⁸

The attitude of the local workers and their unions to the British Empire up to 1897 was fairly strong and traditional. After all, English-Canadian society, which was predominantly English-Ontarian in Winnipeg, had been powerfully shaped by tory ideology, with its powerful concomitant values of loyalty to the crown, and the British connection.¹²⁹ This fact, "the authentic tory aura",¹³⁰ combined with the tendency for early Canadian society to defer to authority, saw the working class accept, by and large, the tory attitude.

John Macoun, in his description of Winnipeg in the early 1880's, was impressed with the condition of the "labouring man" who was perfectly "satisfied with the country in which his lot has been cast".¹³¹ Yet, it was a question of degree, because compared with the urban middle-class, as Carl Berger has asserted, imperialism found less popular support amongst the workers. And, even then, Berger's findings are based on the period which followed the Queen Victoria Diamond Jubilee celebrations.¹³²

Joseph Schumpeter's thesis that industrial capitalism invariably produces an anti-imperialist working class may well be valid,¹³³ however, the extent of the development was still relatively weak by 1897. It was only between 1902-1916 that monopoly capital became a significant factor in the economic life of Canada.¹³⁴ Consequently, one cannot speak

of a true working class or labour force at this time,¹³⁵ let alone a class consciousness. If these did exist, then they were still nascent, unsolidified, and uncertain. The conditions that would solidify class consciousness, and bring into question the whole issue of imperialism, only ripened after 1897. For example, the first major strikes in Winnipeg occurred in 1899 and 1906.¹³⁶ During the late nineteenth century, Victorian Canadian cities experienced class tension rather than class struggle.¹³⁷

Perhaps, more important, as A. Ross McCormack has argued:

Imperialism was a dimension of Canadian working-class culture because the ideology was part of the intellectual baggage of British immigrants who dominated the country's labour movement.¹³⁸

Joseph Chamberlain was proud that the English working classes were taking an interest in imperial affairs. He was of the opinion, contrary to more recent theories, that "the working classes had always put the welfare of the Empire before all else".¹³⁹

Thus working class immigrants from Great Britain between 1870 and the end of the century had been easy prey to the jingoism of the new imperialism in their homeland, and "included it in the collective identity they developed"¹⁴⁰ in order to facilitate their settlement in the outpost of empire. In any case, patriotism was seen by the working class "as a virtue which any decent person ought to possess".¹⁴¹

Another factor which kept the imperial idea alive among the workers, was the popularity of the national benevolent societies, which in the case of the Orange Lodge, for example, aided the workers "in their struggle to exist in the industrializing city . . .".¹⁴² The "excellent rooms"¹⁴³ of the national societies served the purposes of the later union halls. Here members met, and here they welcomed their fellow-countrymen. These Winnipeg societies provided great service "in imparting information to those

coming to settle in the country, and in relieving the distressed".¹⁴⁴ In Winnipeg, the Sons of England, and the Orange Lodge, amongst others, like the German Club, which comprised "mostly working men of small means",¹⁴⁵ were in the forefront of organizing the rank and file of the workers, and channelling their attitudes and loyalties into serving the empire. As Ross McCormack has written:

During the 1870's and 1880's the period when Canada's labour movement was taking shape, imperialism was promoted in Ontario, the country's industrial heartland, by the Orange Lodge . . . Composed mainly of workers the Lodge was ostentatiously loyal to the monarch and Empire.¹⁴⁶

Thus, not only did the Ontario settlers in Winnipeg, especially those of working class background, reinforce the existing imperialist attitudes, but due to the "sacred oath" of allegiance to the monarch, and the insistence on implicit obedience to the lodge, the imperialist attitudes were even heightened. The social benefits, and the dignified burial, would command loyalty to king and country. Furthermore, the national societies also upheld the militaristic aspect of imperialism, with its titles of office, regular drill and marches through the streets in military style.

Although organized "labour was not directly involved", Ontario workers volunteered for army duty to crush the Northwest Rebellion.¹⁴⁷ Winnipeggers, under recruitment and command of officers from the charter group, rallied to the imperialist crusade. Winnipeg sent "more troops to the front than any other centre in Canada and suffered more casualties".¹⁴⁸ This was in no small measure due to the influence of prominent Winnipeggers working through their leadership positions in the various Winnipeg national groups popular in the 1880's.

Another factor that promoted imperialism among the working class was the public school system.¹⁴⁹ The curriculum inculcated patriotism, and

rugged citizenship into the sons and daughters of the workers. The school cadet movement was also aimed at the eventual defence of the empire. A complementary aim, the educators had hoped for, was to replace an interest in class for one in empire.¹⁵⁰ Superintendent Daniel MacIntyre saw his school system, against the background of class conflict, as "a powerful agency for producing . . . that safeguard against revolution and violence".¹⁵¹ Thus working class students were bound to re-inforce and complement the imperialist notions held by the Anglo-Canadian parents; while those students, the "sons of peasants", would re-kindle the awe with which their parents regarded the British Empire and its might.¹⁵²

The favourable attitude of the Winnipeg labour movement towards the empire at the time of the Queen Victoria Diamond Jubilee can partly be explained by the nature and structure of the movement itself. British trade unionists formed the backbone of the local labour movement. They were influenced by the "new unionism" of Great Britain led by such stalwarts as Keir Hardie, and Robert Blatchford, whose "moderate and moralistic socialism" found favour with the Winnipeg Trades and Labour Council.¹⁵³

These Winnipeg labourites, like their U.K. counterparts, "were inspired, in part, by a crusading zeal learned in Nonconformist Sunday schools and chapels".¹⁵⁴ Even its socialism was Christian, as The Voice wrote: "There are not charges brought against Socialism which might have not been brought against Christianity".¹⁵⁵ Labour's critique of capitalism at this point, then, is no different from that of the moderate wing of the imperialists, led by G.M. Grant. Here the labourites' belief that capitalism had eroded the social doctrines of Christianity merged into the social gospel of the humanitarian wing of Canadian imperialism.

Another facet of imperialism that appealed to organized labour purely out of self-preservation was race. Labour stood four-square against the importation of cheap labour "garnered from the slums of Europe and Asia".¹⁵⁶ The imperialists' belief in the virtue of the northern races, to which Canadians naturally belonged, was readily accepted by organized labour's leadership who feared the effects of competition from eastern and southern European immigrants on jobs and wages. Winnipeg labour also saw the Chinese as a detriment to Canada. Besides the competitive threat, they would leave Canada "so much poorer after making money here and then going back to China".¹⁵⁷

Even when Winnipeg labour tried to break away from the "aura of toryism" by advocating independent political action, moderation was still the key-note. The Winnipeg Trades and Labour Council was adamant that the form of direct representation would be strictly along British and other colonial lines,¹⁵⁸ thereby, in labour's own way, still maintaining the British connection.

After initial failure, the trades council established the Winnipeg Labour Party in March, 1896. The party was reformist in nature, with the explicit task of the political education of the workers.¹⁵⁹ It shied away from a doctrinaire position, and, consequently, was even able to attract middle class support.¹⁶⁰

By Jubilee year, then, the emerging labour movement was basically reformist in nature, and caught between loyalties to the national societies and fraternal brotherhoods on the one hand, and the British-led trade unions on the other hand. Local labourites were still trying to sell themselves to the working people of the city. William Small, a regular feature writer for The Voice, in an article, "Why am I a union man", wrote that he was merely following in the tradition of that "Divine Master

workman" himself, and, furthermore, only unions "acknowledge the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man as its lodestone".¹⁶¹

However, there were die-hard socialists and social democrats of non-British origin, but they were without any mass basis. The Socialist Labour Party of Canada was founded in 1894 and quickly established ties with Winnipeg sympathizers.¹⁶² Opposition to the Boer War would come mainly from this source.¹⁶³ Yet, from time to time, lone voices would be heard, challenging the imperialist assumptions of the day as it impinged on labour. Even in Jubilee year, the ambivalence was evident. What emerged is not a complete rejection of imperialism, but almost a "love-hate" relationship.

It was very significant that the "first labour alderman on Winnipeg City Council",¹⁶⁴ Charles Hislop, who served during jubilee year, did not participate in organizing the celebrations at all. Council minutes do not show his participation in any of the many debates held in council on the jubilee, nor was he a member of any of the ad hoc committees struck to organize the celebrations. By his complete silence on the jubilee, Hislop further illustrated Labour's ambivalence on the question of imperialism.

Therefore, Richard Price's thesis that the British working class was not predisposed to imperialism,¹⁶⁵ does not apply to Winnipeg to any great degree until well after the Boer War, in fact, only definitely after World War 1. Workers, through their national affiliations, and their trade unions, accepted the basic conservatism of Canadian society, and its concomitant imperialist values.

The Christian basis of Winnipeg's imperialism was a fact of life. Besides the historic role that the church had played in promoting the Imperial idea in Winnipeg, its participation in organizing and celebrating the historic occasion of the Diamond Jubilee was very evident.

To Queen Victoria, herself, it was unthinkable to have "an empire without religion".¹⁶⁶ An imperial spirit in the state, necessitated an imperial spirit in the Church. Justification for secular expansion could be obtained from God's messengers in the form of the missionary motive which had always been a cornerstone in the development of the Imperial idea.

In Winnipeg the Imperial idea often cropped up in prayers, sermons, commemorative services and church conferences. During the time of the "approaching apocalypse" the idea was reaching a crescendo to that eschatological order that unfolded on the Sunday before jubilee day. To most, as A.R.M. Lower put it, "Queen Victoria, Rule Britannia, and Heaven's command seemed all one".¹⁶⁷

Winnipeg's clerical attitude to imperialism was merely a reflection of the prevailing British one, so aptly analysed by J.A. Hobson:

All the purer and more elevated adjuncts of imperialism are kept to the fore by religious and philanthropic agencies: patriotism and appeals to the general lust of power within a people by suggestions of nobler uses, adopting the forms of self-sacrifice to cover domination and the love of adventure. So Christianity became 'imperialist' to the Archbishop of Canterbury, 'a going out to all the world to preach the gospel'.¹⁶⁸

To Lord Baden-Powell, the pro tanto imperialist extension of

Christianity and civilization was a demand of "the ultimate unit, the taxpayer - whether home or colonial".¹⁶⁹ This extension of Christianity was to go hand in hand with commercial expansion.¹⁷⁰ The idea of the "industrial missionary" in Canada went back to New France under Royal government, and entered the west with the Hudsons' Bay Company's penetration in the 18th century. It had relevance for Winnipeg both as the centre for further western Christian expansion, as well as church sponsored public interest in the missionary endeavours abroad. In the case of the latter, it was not unusual for far-flung, foreign-based missionaries to speak on their respective church's missions, as Dr. Mackenzie from Honan, China, did on jubilee Sunday, June, 20th, 1897, at Westminster church.¹⁷¹

Many of the popular Winnipeg churches were situated close to the wholesale district of the city. These, according to Winnipeg resident, Gordon Shanks, "testified to the deep religious faith of the citizens, most of whom were of British stock".¹⁷² Sara Duncan's observation of the role of the churches in fictitious Elgin, could very well have been written about Winnipeg:

Within its prescribed limitations it was for many the intellectual exercise, for more the emotional life, and for all the unfailing distraction of the weak.¹⁷³

And when the occasion arose, the Imperial idea could provide the content to meet the intellectual, emotional, and even the diversionary needs of a people "in communities where the human interest is still thin and sparse".¹⁷⁴

A number of clergymen were actively involved in organizing the civic celebrations alongside those civic fathers, and other members of the city's social and financial elite who held senior positions in church management.

The one obvious form of celebrating the diamond jubilee was the

special jubilee services held on the Sunday, 20th June, two days before the historic day. Large congregations jammed the major protestant churches to participate in the special services. Some of the Roman Catholic churches participated as well. On that particular Sunday, more so than on any other Sunday, Imperialism, militarism, and Christianity, so inextricably related in philosophical objectives, and in the minds of those at prayer, came together markedly in the participating churches.

The local Anglican churches set the tone. At Holy Trinity Church, as in all Episcopal churches in the diocese, the service was of a special character, "the hymns, psalms, and prayers having reference to the occasion".¹⁷⁵ All of the details for the service had been personally chosen by the Archbishop of Rupertsland.¹⁷⁶ The legendary Winnipeg Nintietth Rifles was in attendance in the morning, while the sermon was preached by Archdeacon Fortin from the text, "A Mother in Israel". In the evening, the Reverend C.C. Owen, a local practitioner of 'muscular Christianity', and noted for his militarism, preached from the text, "Fear God, honour the King", drawing lessons "practically from the family life of Her Majesty".¹⁷⁷ The Provisional Battalion colours adorned the church, and "served to mark the occasion".

The Winnipeg Field Battery attended the service at Christ Church under the command of Captain Doidge. The sermon was preached by the rector, Reverend W.T. Mitton, a notable member of the Sons of England, and a jubilee organizer. His text was "For it is the jubilee; it shall be holy unto to you".¹⁷⁸ At 3:30 p.m. the Sons of England marched to the church where the Reverend W.A. Burman, president of the Marston Moor Lodge, participated in the service, and Canon Coombes, another lodge member, preached. At 4:28 p.m. the national anthem was sung "by Englishmen in all

parts of the world",¹⁷⁹ at the very "moment the national anthem was circling the globe".¹⁸⁰ At the evening service, which was fully choral, Canon Coombes delivered a sermon on "Some events of importance during the past sixty years".¹⁸¹

At All Saints church, just west of the university, on Broadway at Colony creek, "the high Anglican church of Winnipeg whose members included many of the upper crust",¹⁸² the Royal Canadian Dragoons attended the jubilee service after parading to the church led by their band. Among the dignitaries in the congregation were Colonel Holmes and Lieutenant-Governor Patterson. A special jubilee hymn, written by the rector, Reverend F.V. Baker, was sung.

At St. John's Cathedral, situated in "the most interesting part of the North End", where "interment in this hallowed ground was considered an honour",¹⁸³ a special jubilee service was held, and directed by Reverend Canon Matheson.

The jubilee services at St. George's were conducted by the rector, Reverend J.J. Roy. In the morning service his sermon was on the family life of Her Majesty, and in the evening, "on the official life of the sovereign".¹⁸⁴ A children's five minute sermon on the Queen, and on the growth of the British empire was also a feature of the morning service.¹⁸⁵ At St. Luke's Anglican church in Fort Rouge similar jubilee services were held that day, conducted alternatively by Reverend J.A. Richardson, the rector, and that ubiquitous imperialist, Reverend C.C. Owen.

Like the Church of England, the Presbyterians were very strong advocates of the imperial idea, generally. Perhaps, they were not so fanatical about its jingoistic features as their Anglican counterparts, nevertheless, especially on the question of imperial expansion for mission, they were in the forefront of promoting the imperial idea.

At Knox Presbyterian church, situated on Ellice Avenue at Donald Street, the Winnipeg Troop of Cavalry attended divine service that morning. Visiting Reverend Professor Ross of Montreal preached an "eloquent discourse from the text: 'On thy right hand did stand the Queen in gold of Ophir'",¹⁸⁶ from which he drew lessons from the life of Queen Victoria. At the evening service Reverend Professor Cringer spoke on phases of the jubilee reign. The national anthem, and other appropriate songs and hymns were sung by the large congregation.

At Westminster church that evening, Reverend M. McKenzie of Honan, China, preached on the progress of the missionary movement, which had been so elemental in the growth of Imperialism, over the last sixty years, and also preached on the "good accomplished by Queen Victoria by her example".¹⁸⁷

At Winnipeg's Central Congregational church, the services bore directly on the jubilee. However, the emphasis was decidedly different. The theme was social welfare and justice. The Reverend Hugh Pedley preached that evening on "The Progress of the Common People",¹⁸⁸ during the sixty years of the Queen's reign. The People's Voice ignored all the other jubilee services except the Congregational church service. It described the singing by the choir of "God Save the People" as having produced a "beautiful effect".¹⁸⁹ This people-centred jubilee service, the Voice wrote:

. . . carried the minds of some back to the period of the Chartist agitation and riots in the old land, when the common people made the great stand for reform. The preacher outlined the progress made along the lines that most effect the people, and great as that progress was shown to be, by comparison I could not hinder the feeling that it was little enough to be able to say, more might have been expected, seeing the progress of the rich, for instance.¹⁹⁰

The visit to Winnipeg of the papal delegate, Monseigneur Del Val had the effect of appeasing French-Canadian and Roman Catholic feelings on the

on the schools' question. Their earlier reluctance to participate in organizing and celebrating the jubilee had been laid to rest. Special jubilee services were held at St. Boniface Cathedral on jubilee Sunday. Archbishop Langevin, "the inflexible man of the west",¹⁹¹ not surprisingly, was not involved; instead, Reverend Fr. Cherrier officiated at mass. An appropriate jubilee sermon was preached by Father George. The Indian Industrial school band played the national anthem before and after the service.

At the two English Catholic churches in Winnipeg, St. Mary's and Immaculate Conception, jubilee services were also held. At St. Mary's church, Reverend Father Drummond preached on the subject of the Queen's reign, from the text, "Fear God and honour the King".¹⁹³ The music, too, was of a jubilee character. At Immaculate Conception, high mass was celebrated by Father Cherrier, who also preached a sermon on the Queen's reign. The choir sang "Domini Salvam fac Regina", and the national anthem was played as a voluntary. However, it was specifically announced in the press on the Saturday preceeding jubilee Sunday that there would not be any jubilee services at St. Augustine's church.¹⁹⁴

Members of the Jewish community that worshipped at the Rosh Pina temple were also involved in jubilee services. It was reported that after the loyal civic demonstration had ended, Rosh Pina congregation members attended a special service "at which there was a large attendance".¹⁹⁵

The five Lutheran churches serving the German and Icelandic populations in the city, made no formal announcements of jubilee services. This was also the case with the Salvation Army Barracks on Rupert Street, the three Inter-denominational churches, the First Christian Scandinavian Mission, the Seventh Day Adventist, the Pentecostal Mission, and the Christian

Science church. However, it is quite probable that "some references to the character of the day"¹⁹⁶ were made at these churches.

There is much in the analysis to suggest that the ostensibly consensual pageant was not a spontaneous outpouring of loyalty. There was both conflict and consensus at play behind the scenes. Some social groups were far less exuberant in their loyalty than was being mythologized. French-Canadians and the Roman Catholic church refused to accept the imperial sentiments of those who had just recently ended their traditional hegemony over educational and cultural matters in their historic preserve. The "northern" non-Anglo-Saxon groups, as well as the Jews, - who shared cultural values with the dominant group - easily acquired imperial tenets as part of their acculturation. However, local "Britishism" victimized the Ukrainians who, ironically, were racially lampooned in the jubilee parade much to the delight of the onlookers who were purportedly celebrating the racial tolerance and civil liberties of Pax Britannica that day.

Labour's stance on empire was demonstrably ambivalent. The Voice praised imperial symbols effusively, but also made irreverent anti-imperialist comment. It doubted that a true jubilee was possible in a socially unjust empire. Yet, imperialist sentiment still dominated working class attitudes due to the nature of local trade unions, and the many loyalist attitudes still impinging on local workers.

The Imperial idea which the church espoused met the intellectual, emotional, and diversionary needs of the city. Thus the virtuous adjuncts of imperialism were kept to the fore with the result that imperialism and christianity were inseparable in the eyes of the worshippers.

FOOTNOTES

¹James Morris, op. cit., p. 393.

²A few days before the procession was to take place, it was announced that he would not be available, and that somebody else would be representing the church. However, the designated representative did not appear in the parade.

³Le Manitoba, 6 February 1895.

⁴Ibid., 28 May 1896.

⁵P. Cruncan, Priests and Politicians: Manitoba Schools and the Election of 1896 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), p. 10.

⁶Le Manitoba, 11 June 1896.

⁷Carl Berger, op. cit. (1970), p. 137.

⁸Le Manitoba, 15 June 1896.

⁹W. D. T., 8 January 1896.

¹⁰Le Manitoba, 6 February 1895.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid. Le Soleil, 25 May 1897, stated that "nowhere throughout the vast British Empire has the glorious Queen more devoted subjects than in the province of Quebec. This is not a venal phrase, for more than once has the blood of our people been shed for the Queen, and whenever occasion has offered, French-Canadians have never been slow to take up arms in defence of the British Crown."

¹⁴Le Manitoba, 6 February 1895.

¹⁵J. Schull, Laurier, the First Canadian (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1965), p. 330.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Le Manitoba, 4 June 1897.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid., 31 May 1894.

²⁰J. Schull, op. cit., p. 328.

- ²¹Ibid., p. 331.
- ²²Le Manitoba, 23 June 1896.
- ²³Ibid.
- ²⁴Ibid.
- ²⁵Ibid.
- ²⁶Ibid.
- ²⁷Ibid.
- ²⁸Ibid.
- ²⁹J. Morris, op. cit., p. 403.
- ³⁰M. F. P., 17 June 1897.
- ³¹W. D. T., 12 June 1897.
- ³²Ibid., 17 June 1897.
- ³³B. G. Sack, History of the Jews in Canada (Montreal: Harvest House, 1965), p. 192.
- ³⁴This group, more than any other of the city's Jewish population, were victimized by racism. They were repeatedly "condemned in the Winnipeg press... were portrayed as ignorant of the important issues of the day, and interested only in money." H. Trachtenberg, "The Winnipeg Jewish Community and Politics: The Inter-War Years, 1919-1939," H. S. S. M. Transactions, Series 111, No. 35, (1978-1979), pp. 115-116.
- ³⁵H. Gutkin, Journey Into Our Heritage, The Story of the Jewish People in the Canadian West (Toronto: Lester and Orpen Denny's, 1980), p. 51.
- ³⁶Ibid. See also Sacks, op. cit., p. 201: A writer in Hamelitz, 17 September 1882, complained that the old Winnipeg residents paid "little heed to Jewish education."
- ³⁷Ibid., p. 49.
- ³⁸J. S. Woodsworth, Strangers Within our Gates (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), pp. 125-126.
- ³⁹N. Glazer and D. Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot (Massachusetts: M. I. T. Press, 1963).
- ⁴⁰A. Artibise, op. cit. (1975), p. 178. See also H. H. Herstein, "The Growth of the Winnipeg Jewish Community and the evolution of its Educational Institutions," HSSM Transactions, Series 111, No. 22 (1965-1966),

pp. 27-66. Soon after the establishment of the Independent Jewish Political Club in 1896, the Jewish Conservative Club and the Jewish Liberal Club were formed.

⁴¹H. Gutkin, op. cit., p. 52.

⁴²W. D. T., 20 March 1890.

⁴³Dennis Forcese, The Canadian Class Structure (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, Ryerson Press Ltd., 1980), p. 45.

⁴⁴W. D. T., 19 June 1897.

⁴⁵H. Gutkin, op. cit., p. 52.

⁴⁶B. G. Sack, op. cit., p. 194.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 197.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 259.

⁴⁹Many of them, indeed, were socialists, "some of them of the most extreme form..." J. S. Woodsworth, Strangers Within Our Gate (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), p. 125.

⁵⁰A. Artibise, op. cit., p. 178.

⁵¹Sybil Shack, "The Education of Immigrant Children During the First Two Decades of This Century." HSSM Transactions, Series 111, No. 30 (1973-1974), pp. 17-31.

⁵²R. Page, Imperialism and Canada, 1895-1903 (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972), p. 5.

⁵³H. Trachtenberg, op. cit., pp. 115-116.

⁵⁴W. D. T., 23 June 1897.

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶For an extensive analysis of this aspect, see M. K. Mott, "The Foreign Peril: Nativism in Winnipeg." M. A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1970.

⁵⁷A. Artibise, op. cit. (1975), p. 165.

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹M. F. P., 23 June 1897.

⁶⁰N. Sheffe, ed., Many Cultures, Many Lands (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1975), p. 203. See also A. Grenke, "The Formation and Early Development of An Urban Ethnic Community. A case study of the Germans in Winnipeg, 1872-1919." Ph. D. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1975.

With certain reservations, A. Grenke has shown that between 1894-1899 the percentage of Germans classified as professionals, clerical workers, businessmen and managers rose from 8% to 22%; further testimony to their entrance-group status (p. 120).

⁶¹C. Mair, op. cit., p. 164.

⁶²N. Sheffe, op. cit., p. 164.

⁶³J. S. Woodsworth, op. cit., p. 84.

⁶⁴Annual Report, School Management Committee, Winnipeg School Division No. 1m 1897, p. 23.

⁶⁵W. Entz, "German-Language Newspapers of Manitoba Before World War 1." Journal of Canadian Ethnic Studies. Vol. 1, No. 2 (December 1970), pp. 59-66.

⁶⁶F. G. Schofield, op. cit., Vol. 111, p. 54.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 55.

⁶⁸W. Entz, op. cit., p. 64. In fact, the Germania was founded in 1904 under the patronage of the Conservative Party.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 61.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 65.

⁷¹M. F. P., 23 June 1897.

⁷²G. Chapman, Winnipeg the Melting Pot, quoted in A. Artibise, op. cit., p. 197.

⁷³W. L. Morton, "Manitoba Schools and Canadian Nationality, 1890-1923," C. H. A. Report, 1951, p. 13.

⁷⁴A. Artibise, op. cit., p. 74.

⁷⁵W. Kristjanson, The Icelandic People in Manitoba (Winnipeg: Wallingford Press, 1965), p. 36.

⁷⁶G. R. Parkin, The Great Dominions: Studies of Canada (London: Macmillan, 1895), p. 215.

⁷⁷J. S. Woodsworth, op. cit., p. 74.

⁷⁸W. Kristjanson, op. cit., p. 33.

⁷⁹E. Russenholt, The Heart of the Continent; being the history of Assiniboia (Winnipeg: Macfarlane, 1968), p. 175.

⁸⁰W. J. Lindal, The Icelanders in Canada (Toronto: Canada Ethnica 2, Viking, 1967), p. 233.

⁸¹Ibid.

⁸²Ibid., p. 224.

⁸³Ibid.

⁸⁴W. Kristjanson, op. cit., p. 34.

⁸⁵J. Gray, Boomtime, Peopling the Canadian Prairies (Saskatoon, Western Producer Prairie Books, 1979), p. 11.

⁸⁶J. C. Lehr and D. W. Moodie, "The Polemics of Pioneer Settlement; Ukrainian Immigration and the Winnipeg Press." Canadian Ethnic Studies, Vol. XII, No. 2, (1980), p. 89.

⁸⁷Ibid., p. 90.

⁸⁸Ibid.

⁸⁹D. Avery, Dangerous Foreigners: European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979), p. 13.

⁹⁰J. Gray, op. cit., p. 110.

⁹¹J. S. Woodsworth, op. cit., p. 132 and passim.

⁹²Nor'Wester, 20 July, 1897.

⁹³Lehr and Moodie, op. cit., p. 71.

⁹⁴Ibid., p. 91.

⁹⁵Ibid., p. 93.

⁹⁶Ibid., p. 94.

⁹⁷M. F. P., 23 June 1897.

⁹⁸Annual Report, School Management Committee, Winnipeg School Division No. 1, 1897, p. 23.

⁹⁹W. D. T., 23 June 1897.

¹⁰⁰W. J. Sisler, Peaceful Invasion (Winnipeg: Ketchen Co., 1944), p. 61.

¹⁰¹P. Yuzyk, The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A Social History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1953), p. 96.

- 102 Ibid., p. 97.
- 103 The Voice, 5 June 1897.
- 104 Ibid., 24 January 1902.
- 105 Ibid., 5 June 1897.
- 106 Ibid.
- 107 Ibid., 22 May 1897.
- 108 Ibid., 19 June 1897.
- 109 Ibid.
- 110 Ibid.
- 111 Ibid.
- 112 Ibid.
- 113 Ibid.
- 114 Ibid., 26 June 1897.
- 115 Ibid.
- 116 Ibid.
- 117 Ibid., 3 July 1897.
- 118 A. Artibise, op. cit. (1975), p. 305.
- 119 Ibid., p. 306.
- 120 The Voice, 19 June 1897.
- 121 A Artibise, op. cit. (1975), p. 307.
- 122 A. Ross McCormack, Reformers, Rebels and Revolutionaries: The Western Canadian Radical Movement, 1899-1919 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), p. 3.
- 123 J. Gray, op. cit., p. 11. See also A. Grenke, op. cit., p. 113.
- 124 Ibid., p. 107.
- 125 The Voice, 29 May, 1897.
- 126 A. Ross McCormack, "Radical Politics in Winnipeg: 1899-1915." HSSM Transactions, Series 111, No. 29 (1972-1973), p. 81.

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CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

Within the confines of the evidence available for this study, what is instructive about the jubilee planning, organization and celebration, is that the event was master-minded and dominated throughout by the city's elite, for the most part self-professed imperialists. They designed the form and content of the event, and produced the organizational structure and rules that precluded democratic decision-making. Even if labour had participated more actively in organizing the jubilee, they would have been hard put to influence the course of events.

It is precisely this domination of the jubilee by the city's elite that gave this pageant of empire its particular flavour. In a sense, it was to be an object lesson for Winnipeg's non-Anglo-Saxon newcomers, as part of their acculturation, of what the collective sentiments which characterized Winnipeg's unity and personality was all about. To the converted and convinced, the loyal pageant was to serve as a means of reaffirming the value system of the city's charter group: the family, the British nation, the sovereign, and the empire.

Both of the above social functions, instruction and reaffirmation of the desired collective consciousness, were acted out in an atmosphere of consensual effervescence, with strong support of influential institutions such as the newspapers, schools, universities, and churches, as well as fraternal, national, and secret societies.

However, looking beyond the consensual pageant what is also revealed is

an exposition of the hierarchical power-structure and all of its integrative values that upholds the social order and enhances its ethical ideals.

The charter group had good reason to promote this type of functionalist celebration given the vertical and horizontal cleavages that divided Winnipeg society. A consensual effervescent event would also, hopefully, "bury" the schools question, which, although entrenching Anglo-Saxon hegemony in education, and denying the local Roman Catholic church the right of a "state within a state, produced a seething undercurrent of French and Catholic discontent in the community". This latter attitude was damaging to the whole myth of Pax Britannica which even French and Catholic leaders clung to as a last ditch attempt to maintain their historical influence.

Given the functionalist nature of the jubilee, and of imperialism in general, it is understandable that imperialist ideals beat strong in the hearts of the city's elite.

The local elite exemplified Dennis Olsen's succinct definition of that term:

Elites were small groups of decision makers, operating with norms of collegial responsibility, who could make decisions affecting the whole institutional domain.¹

Predominantly of British stock, the local elite demonstrated the usefulness of concomitant imperialist values to their dream of a western empire in their hinterland. Thus "boosterism" was but an extension of that imperialist obsession with progress. Local militarism and athleticism exemplified the broader British imperialist ideals. Ultimately, an interest in empire was a safeguard against an interest in class.

There were other advantages, too, in espousing the imperialist cause. Under its guise, and in the frenzy of the froth whipped up by the newspapers

and in the schools about the civic responsibility to jubilate, mementoes could be sold, power struggles could be resolved, donations for pet elite-sponsored charities could be successfully solicited, and, finally, an outlet for high spirits could be provided.

In addition to the functional, instructive nature of local imperialism, there was also a genuine belief in the imperial idea amongst large sections of Winnipeg's population. As part of their cultural baggage, British and British-Ontarian born Winnipeggers expressed a popular imperialist sentiment. Distance and isolation from the mother country in this outpost of the empire had the effect of enshrining England in that popular myth called "Home". Consequently, enthusiasm for empire waxed strong in their hearts. Furthermore, the emotional bonds of empire held together by their kith and kin in other parts of the empire strengthened their beliefs.

Fundamentally, this was the position of Winnipeg workers as a class, too. Yet, ambivalence was developing in the position of organized labour as they began to analyze their condition more objectively. Nevertheless, it is ironical that labour, despite its peripheral role in organizing the jubilee, erected a permanent jubilee fountain as a monument to the Queen's long reign. This they did without much fanfare, and it stands in sharp contrast to the ephemeral and artificial events that the city's elite dreamt up to symbolize the might, power, and prestige of Victoria's vast domain. In conceding labour's loyalty as an attitude that any decent person in that age was expected to have, it can also be said that jubilee day itself was quite an attraction as an extra day's holiday in an age of long hours and few holidays. Besides labour's biting criticism and irreverence about the handling of the jubilee both at home and in London, they saw the local event as a time for fun and leisured enjoyment, even a time to "spruce" up for the occasion.

To the French-Canadian community, especially in St. Boniface, participation in the jubilee came after studied indifference and cold articulate hostility. Mgr. Langevin was determined to show that their loyalty had a price. Pax Britannica had failed them in the schools question. Only the intercession of the papal legate himself was able to mend the fence at the eleventh hour. However, they had made their point unequivocally that imperial loyalty was secondary to papal authority.

Those Winnipeg nationalities, such as the German, Scandinavian and Icelandic groups, as well as the Jewish people of non-eastern European origin (all with "a puritan frame of mind"), accepted the ethical values of the charter group, and for a number of reasons, including historical and even pandemic fear, accepted imperialism as a reassuring of the mind rather than out of any sentimentality. The Galicians' fitness for British citizenship was questioned at that time. Social darwinism victimized them. The jubilee demonstration clearly showed their lowly position in local society when members of this group of people were openly lampooned in the pageant, without a murmur of disapprobation for the local press. This attitude was racist in the conventional imperialist view of the age.

With regard to the content of local imperialist thought, Winnipeggers shared with their eastern counterparts that popular sentimental attitude to empire with all its purple, patriotic prose of imperial grandeur, might and glory. Except for members of the Sons of England, even the Canadian premise of nationalism as a basis of their imperialism loomed large in local imperialist thought. However, the mode of production in Winnipeg's hinterland dictated certain fundamental changes in local imperialism. For one, the National Policy was unacceptable for its narrow eastern self-interest, and anti-imperialism. Similarly, commercial union with the

United States of America did not produce any hysteria when it was studied in the city. Anti-Americanism was virtually unknown in a city whose lifeblood at one time was linked with north-south trade. The popularity of Imperial Federation in the east did not enjoy the same success in the city. Although it had been advocated by a few local imperialists, for the most part it was frowned upon for its lack of a clear-cut scheme, and its bringing into question the loyalty of those who opposed it. In spite of these differences amongst local imperialists, there was much agreement, especially on the question of forging stronger imperial ties with the mother country and the rest of the settlement colonies of the empire. This, the majority of the city's imperialists believed, came from a natural, just and rational sentiment of love of Britain and all her institutions. And this itself could be easily induced into the hearts of the "foreign element" by demonstrating clearly the benefits of Pax Britannica, which guaranteed equality for all Winnipeggers.

Most of the local institutions, both commercial and public, were imperialist in outlook and design. The Hudson's Bay Company and the Canadian Pacific Railroad, for example, had developed as part and parcel of British imperial expansion in North America, and their senior officers were invariably noted imperialists. Winnipeg also had a pronounced military presence, and, consequently, the more "muscular" components of British imperialism, such as militarism, jingoism, and imperial adventure were conventional features of local life. To most Winnipeggers imperialism was a basic Christian value. Implicit in British imperial expansion was the "christian endeavour" of mission. In this respect, Winnipeg was a "half-way house" for the civilizing mission of her metropolitan country. Besides those clergymen with a sense of christian mission, and who saw

divine will in empire, there were also the "muscular christians" with their forward looking policies and boys' brigade units. Also sterling martial exhortations were not too infrequently preached on Sundays. These loyalist and imperialist sermons came to a climax in Winnipeg on the Sunday preceeding jubilee when Queen Victoria's long reign and imperial domain were sanctified in jubilee services at almost all the local churches.

However, perhaps in overall social design and impact, the Winnipeg public schools system was in the forefront of popularizing the imperial idea. To local educators imperialism was an act of faith, and all of its concomitant values and virtues were to be found underpinning the content of education. Education, because it touched the lives of the most susceptible, was the best method of assimilating and acculturating the young. Thus could the consensual and collective unity and personality of the Anglo-Saxon-led community best be maintained. The lessons of empire were the lessons of Winnipeg's young; however, the immediate lesson of jubilee was made clear to Winnipeg students, that, despite their diverse origins, they were to be one in loyalty to the empire, "on whose flag the sun never sets".²

Finally, in spite of the functionalist approach to this topic, the evidence suggests quite strongly that most Winnipeggers were pro-imperialist. The manipulation of power and propaganda by the city's Anglo-Saxon elite to further the imperialist cause was a fact. However, imperialism's usefulness to the local power structure, in the tradition of Durkheim, was not purposefully and consciously intended at all times, nor recognized by individual members of the elite for ulterior motives.³ The evidence also suggests that, for a number of reasons, imperialism was a badge of cultural conformity to those of British stock and to those who had "entrance group

status" to local citizenship. To Winnipeggers, true British imperialism comprised "Imperium and Libertas" which meant collective consciousness and sentiment, racial kinship, racial heritage and common stock, military glory, the Union Jack, the Red River settlers, the Red River expedition, Winnipeg's defence in 1869 and 1885, and British traditions. Similarly, the evidence also suggests that, despite the conflict and tensions that underlay Winnipeg society, Winnipeggers did want to celebrate the jubilee, even if the various social groups had different reasons for doing so.

Winnipeg, the microcosm of the empire, fits quite nicely into James Morris's description of the way in which the empire at large celebrated. Morris saw the world-wide event as a "family re-union" and as "froth" whipped up by the local press for the occasion.⁴ Winnipeg's two main newspapers at that time did precisely that. The Winnipeg Daily Tribune saw the event as a cosmopolitan reunion of all the city's civilized nationalities,⁵ while the Manitoba Free Press wrote that the jubilee "showed how patriotism can bind in joyous and fraternal bonds elements of every nation and creed".⁶ Even the public at large caught this spirit of consensuality. A letter to the editor of the Winnipeg Daily Tribune perhaps justly expressed the mood of the public at large:

We claim to be loyal, we are loyal, and no such opportunity will occur again for this generation to share in a celebration of such importance.⁷

FOOTNOTES

¹Denis Olsen, "Power, Elites and Society," The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology. Vol. 18, No. 5 (December 1981), p. 608.

²Annual Report, School Management Committee Report, 1897, Winnipeg School Division No. 1, p. 23.

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⁴James Morris, op. cit. (1975), p. 441.

⁵W. D. T., 23 June 1897.

⁶M. F. P., 23 June 1897.

⁷W. D. T., 24 May 1897. A letter to the editor.

Surprisingly, Winnipeg did not take the opportunity to celebrate Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee in 1887. The M. F. P., 21 June 1887, exclaimed "To-day is jubilee day and such will be celebrated all over the British Empire. In Winnipeg there will be no special glorification. . ."

In fact, no public holiday was declared, and the only street parade that day was the annual fireman's one. However, the Field Battery did fire a jubilee salute, and a special jubilee service was held at Holy Trinity church that evening for "all the clergy of Winnipeg and district".

1887 was a far cry from 1897 when the spirit of 'the nineties', the 'New Imperialism' and that sensational concept of Empire was the order of the day.

STREETS OF RENDEZVOUS

The Military, State and Civic Carriages, the Several Societies, Wheelmen and Fire Brigade will be aligned upon their respective streets as follows:

Broadway West of Kennedy—The Military and 90th Band.

Kennedy South of Broadway—State and Civic Carriages, Indian Industrial Schools of St. Boniface and St. Paul's, and Red River Settlers.

York Avenue East of Kennedy—Dragoon's Band, Irish Societies, Hebrew Societies, G. A. R. and U. S. Citizens, Scandinavian Societies, Icelandic Societies, French Societies, from St. Boniface and Winnipeg.

St. Mary's Avenue East of Kennedy—Citizens' Band, English Societies, Welsh Societies, German Societies, Highland Pipers and Scottish Societies, C. M. B. A. and other Catholic Societies.

Graham Avenue East of Kennedy—Selkirk Band, Knights of Pythias, Order of Foresters, Knights of Maccabees, Orange Societies, Civil Service, Butchers and Grocers, Lacrosse Clubs and Citizens.

Portage Avenue West of Kennedy—Bicycle Clubs and other Wheelmen, Winnipeg Fire Brigade.

T. W. TAYLOR,
Chairman Organization Com.

MAYOR W. F. McCREARY,
Chairman Citizens' Com.

J. P. ROBERTSON,
Chairman Procession Com.

F. W. HEUBACH,
Honorary Secretary.

LIEUT. COL. HOLMES, D.O.C.
Chief Marshal.

CAPT. WILLIAMS, R.C.D.
Assistant Marshal

1837

1897



GRAND

Jubilee Celebration

IN HONOR OF THE
SIXTIETH YEAR OF THE
REIGN OF QUEEN VICTORIA

... June 22nd, 1897 ...

BY THE CITIZENS OF WINNIPEG

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN

Programme



INAUGURAL

At six o'clock a.m. Royal Salute and feu de joie by Military, discharge of small arms and fire-crackers, ringing of bells, blowing of whistles, hoisting of flags and other manifestations of jubilation.

8.30 A.M.

Muster of Military, Societies, and all Clubs taking part in Jubilee Parade at Armories and Halls.

9.00 A.M.

Parade of different bodies to places of rendezvous, preparatory to the starting of the procession.

10.00 A.M.

The Jubilee Procession starts, headed by the Military, through Kennedy, Portage Avenue, Donald, Princess, Alexander, Main Street to C.P.R. Station, thence back via Main Street and Broadway to place of starting.

11.30 A.M.

At conclusion of procession, Military proceed to Norwood for review.

NOON

Firing of Royal Salute and feu de joie by Military, followed by the ringing of bells, blowing of whistles and other manifestations of joy.

1.30 P.M. TO 6.00

Pic-nic and Games in Elm Park, Lacrosse at River Park, to which electric cars and Northern Pacific special trains will carry the people.

8.30 P.M.

Grand muster of the Bicycle Clubs and Wheelmen for a Lantern Parade headed by a Band.

10.00 P.M.

Grand Illumination of public and private buildings and gorgeous pyrotechnic display by the Provincial Government in the park opposite the drill shed.

The school children will parade at 9 a.m. at the Schools and

Order of Parade.

MOUNTED ORDERLY.

MOUNTED ORDERLY.

MOUNTED ORDERLY.

Lt. Col. Holmes and Staff.
Military and 90th Band.
Lt. Governor Patterson and Suite.
Foreign Consuls.
Archbishops, Bishops and Clergy.
Members of Dominion Cabinet.
Senators and Members of House of Commons.
Chief Justice of Manitoba, Puisne and other Judges.
Executive Council of Manitoba.
Speaker and Members of Manitoba Legislature.
Mayor and Corporation of Winnipeg.
Mayor and Corporation of St. Boniface.
Chairman and Board of Public School Trustees.
Indian Band.
Indian Industrial Schools.
Red River Settlers.
Royal Canadian Dragoons Band.
Irish Societies.
Hebrew Societies.
G.A.R. and U.S. Citizens.
Scandinavian Societies.
Icelandic Societies.
St. Boniface Band.
French Canadian Societies.
Citizens' Band.
English Societies.
Welsh Societies.
German Societies.
Highland Pipers.
Scottish Societies.
C.M.B.A. and other Catholic Societies.
Selkirk Band.
Knights of Pythias.
Order of Forresters.
Knights of Maccabees.
Orange Societies.
Civil Service.
Butchers' and Grocers'.
Lacrosse Club.
Rowing Club.
Bicycle Clubs and other Wheelmen.

MOUNTED ORDERLY.

MOUNTED ORDERLY.

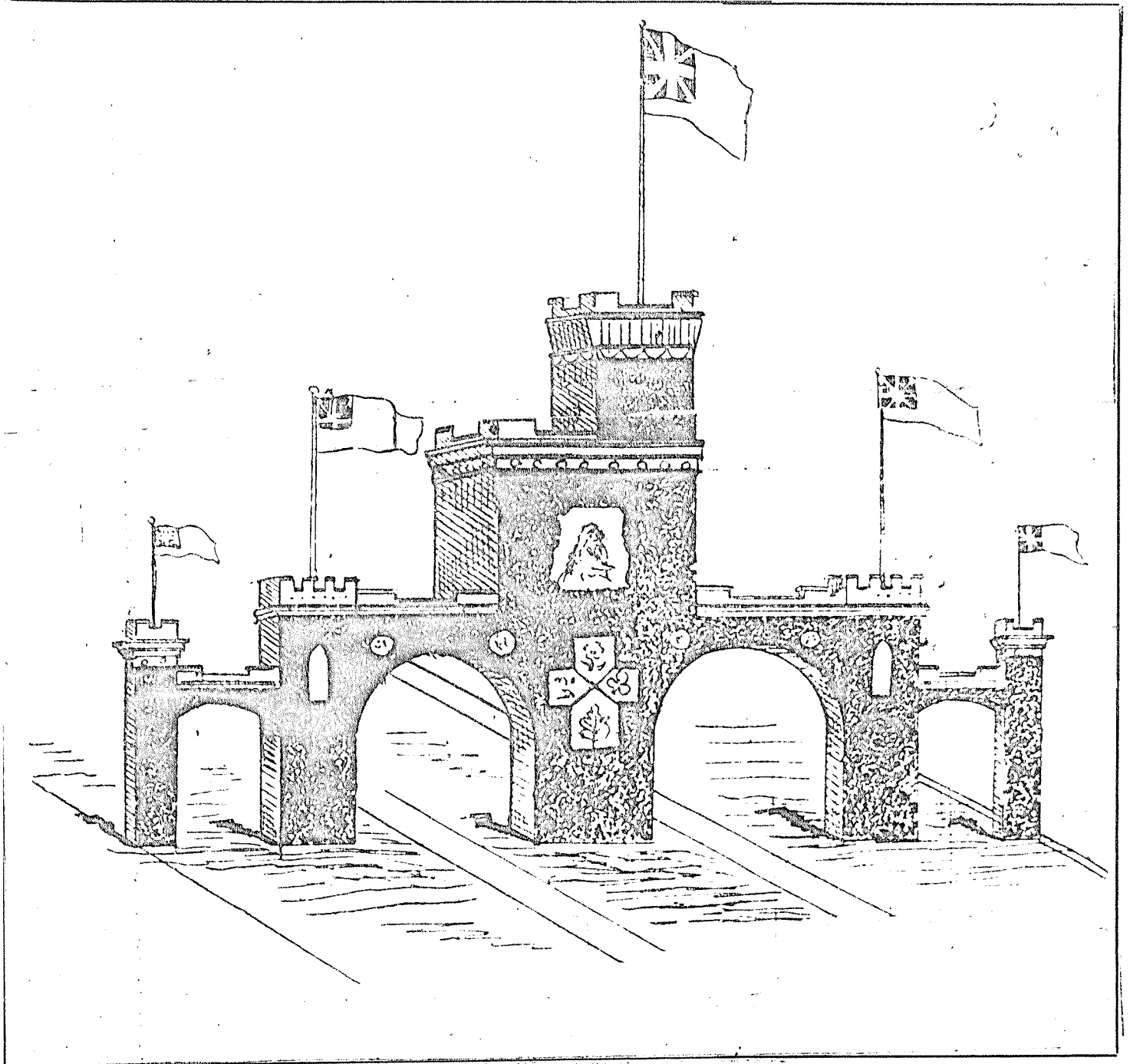
MOUNTED ORDERLY.



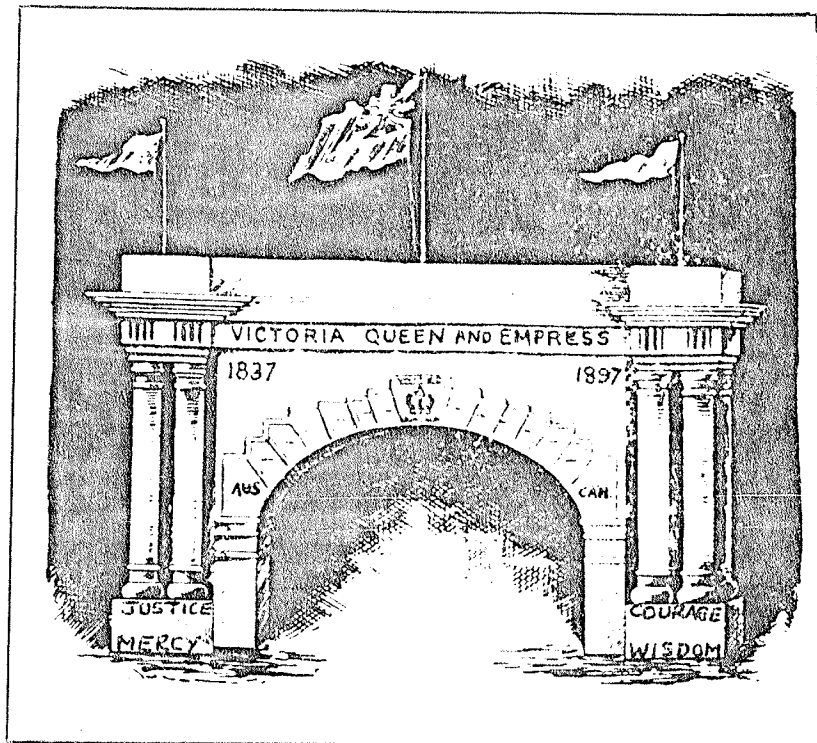
The Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba
requests the pleasure of

W. Hugh Phillips's
Company on Tuesday evening the 22nd June at 9 o'clock.

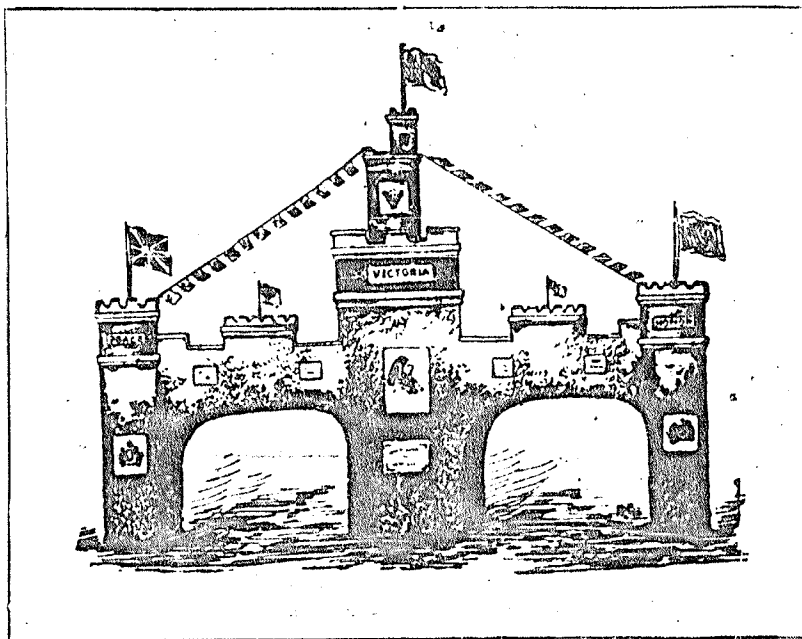
Government House.
Winnipeg.



The North End Arch, Winnipeg.



The Civic Arch, Winnipeg.



South Main Street Arch, Winnipeg.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

- CHA. Canadian Historical Association.
- CHR. Canadian Historical Review.
- HSSM. Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba.
- HBCA. Hudson's Bay Company Archives.
- MDCHR. Manitoba Department of Cultural and Historical Resources.
- MFP. Manitoba Free Press.
- PAM. Public Archives of Manitoba.
- RBR. Rare Book Records.
- WDT. Winnipeg Daily Tribune.