

THE "FOREIGN PERIL": NATIVISM IN WINNIPEG,  
1916-1923

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## ABSTRACT

Before the turn of the twentieth century, an Anglo-Saxon Protestant culture group had established its predominance in the city of Winnipeg and in the province of Manitoba. The First World War brought on intensified devotion to Great Britain in the part of this culture group, along with a heightened association of "Britishism" and "Canadianism". The loyalty and the "Canadianness" of all those who were not of British ethnic origin became acutely suspect during the war; and this suspicion was enhanced by suppositions that grew up around the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919. For the next few years, the members of the established culture group maintained a defensive vigilance against what seemed to be subversive elements in their midst. But as the mid-twenties approached, the intensity of suspicion of non-British culture groups abated, and overt nativism declined.

## Abbreviations Used in the Notes

<u>MFP</u>	<u>Manitoba Free Press</u>
PAM	Provincial Archives of Manitoba
<u>OBU</u>	<u>One Big Union</u>
<u>Telegram</u>	<u>Winnipeg Telegram</u>
<u>Tribune</u>	<u>Winnipeg Evening Tribune</u>
U. of M.	University of Manitoba
W.C.T.U.	Women's Christian Temperance Union
<u>WLN</u>	<u>Western Labor News</u>



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## INTRODUCTION

Academic studies of nativism have tended to concentrate on revivalistic<sup>1</sup> movements among primitive or minority culture groups whose members, perceiving a threat from a larger and/or technologically superior culture group, make a "conscious, organized attempt... to revive or perpetuate selected aspects of its culture."<sup>2</sup> This thesis pertains to a majority culture group, the Anglo-Saxon Protestant community of Winnipeg in the years from World War I to the mid nineteen twenties. One of the leading historians of majority culture group nativism, John Higham, says that the "ideological core" of nativism is a "certain kind of nationalism" which evokes perceptions of selected minority culture groups as a threat to national unity and a national way of life.<sup>3</sup> Higham's definition of nativism is the one which has been adopted for this thesis:

[Nativism] should be defined as intense opposition to an internal minority on the ground of its foreign [in our case un-Canadian] connections.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, David L. Sillis (ed.) places "Nativism and Revivalism" in one article, Vol. XI (New York, Crowell Collier and MacMillan Ltd., 1968), pp. 75-80.

<sup>2</sup>Ralph Linton "Nativistic Movements", American Anthropologist, new series, XLV, (1943), p. 230.

<sup>3</sup>John Higham, Strangers in the Land, Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925, (New York, Atheneum, 1965), pp. 3-4.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

The 1921 Census of Canada indicates that at that time the Winnipeg population of British origin was 67.1% of the whole;<sup>5</sup> the percentage of the Winnipeg population belonging to traditionally British Protestant religious groups (Anglican, Baptist, Presbyterians, Methodist, Congregationalist) was 63.3%.<sup>6</sup> More important, however, was the preponderance of the Anglo-Saxon Protestant culture-group, especially from Ontario, in the seminal years of Winnipeg's development.<sup>7</sup> It would seem that one of the critical factors in the determination of prestige and influence of a culture group in a culturally diversified community is its order of arrival in relation to other culture groups.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> See Appendix I, Table I.

<sup>6</sup> See Appendix I, Table IV.

<sup>7</sup> See Appendix I, Tables I, II and IV, noting especially the figures for 1881.

<sup>8</sup> See John Higham, "Another Look at Nativism", Catholic Historical Review, XLIV, (July 1958), p. 155, and Evon Z. Vogt, Jr., "Social Stratification in the Rural Midwest: a Structural Analysis," Rural Sociology, XIII, (Dec. 1947), pp. 364-375. Vogt's study points out that in "Prairie Township", although only 47% of the population was of "Yankee" stock and 53% of Norwegian stock, the "Yankee" culture group maintained economic and social superiority. Vogt concluded that two of the factors that help to explain this were:

- 1) the "Yankee" culture group had arrived prior to the Norwegian culture group and had established control of the community's economic activity and
- 2) the "Yankee" culture groups gained a tremendous amount of social prestige from ethnic connection with the dominant national culture group.

The parallels between this situation and that in Winnipeg and Manitoba seem to be obvious.

This serves to substantiate Professor J.E. Rea's contention that the great wave of Ontario immigration into Manitoba in the 1870's and 1880's produced, generally speaking, a province "reborn in the image" of British-Protestant Ontario.<sup>9</sup>

Thus, the social relationships, the value structures, the economic and political orientations of the city and the province were established before the large Eastern European immigration in the two decades prior to World War I. When these Eastern European culture groups arrived, they found an established Anglo-Saxon Protestant community. The members of this established culture group did not, of course, hold totally homogeneous opinions on all matters. Economic and social circumstances and ideological premises influenced individual nativistic attitudes just as they influenced opinions on other matters. Some members of the majority culture group such as ardent Sabbatarians and prohibitionists, were primarily concerned with the threat that seemed to be posed by "foreigners" to the morals of the community. More numerous were those members of the established group who perceived "foreigners" primarily as followers of "un-Canadian"

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<sup>9</sup>J.E. Rea, "The Roots of Prairie Society", (unpublished essay, Winnipeg, 1969), pp. 2-6.

economic and social philosophies, and viewed them as a threat to an economic way of life. Foremost among this group was the city's business and professional elite, who may be referred to as the "establishment" within the established culture group. Other Anglo-Saxon Protestants, primarily from within organized labor, were not so devoted to capitalistic-democratic economic and social ideals, and a significant minority openly opposed them.<sup>10</sup> Probably all members of the established culture group felt threatened, to a greater or lesser degree, by those non Anglo-Saxon Protestants who seemed unwilling to learn the English language or send their children to "Canadian" schools. In short, various members of the majority group were concerned with different manifestations of the "un-Canadianness" of the non-Anglo-Saxon Protestant minority groups. But that these minority groups were "un-Canadian", or at least less Canadian, than the established group was an assumption of all members of the majority culture group.

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As an example of the point being noted here, it is true that among those who opposed capitalistic-democratic economic and social ideals were many who were, or had been, Protestant clergymen, especially of the Methodist persuasion. These same individuals were also among the strongest Sabbatarians in Winnipeg. Interview with Mr. F.G. Tipping, July 30, 1970.

It should be noted that the definition of nativism adopted in this thesis excludes some things that may be assumed to indicate nativism. Omitted, for example, are the actions of those private clubs and university faculties which excluded from their membership certain ethnic or religious groups.<sup>11</sup> Such actions reveal not so much a concern about the power of the "International Jew" or a Bolshevik conspiracy or a Papal plot as they reveal a concern for one's personal social status.<sup>12</sup> This kind of concern certainly existed in the period under study, as was revealed when the Tribune, on learning that certain Saskatchewan school districts with Anglo-Saxon majorities were hiring less qualified teachers than were predominantly non Anglo-Saxon districts, demanded:

Do these people of foreign extraction value education more than do our purely Canadian people? Are these boys and girls going to be better trained than those of British birth?<sup>13</sup>

But the study of nativism is not concerned with these developments.

Excluded as well by our definition of nativism are common ethnocentric judgements. Ethnocentric judgements, however, are

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<sup>11</sup>There is no documentation to prove this point, but it is common knowledge that such policies were, and are followed.

<sup>12</sup>"We must assume," says Higham, "that in a competitive society everything which differentiates one group from another involves a potential conflict of interest". "Another look at Nativism", p. 154.

<sup>13</sup>Tribune, edit., Jan. 13, 1920.

extremely important, in that they provide a "cultural subsoil" in which nativism can grow.<sup>14</sup> This being the case, it is well to examine some of the ethnocentric ideas popular in Winnipeg at the outbreak of the war.

Ethnocentrism<sup>15</sup> arises out of what seems to be a "natural and inevitable tendency of the human mind" to categorize people into "in-groups" and "out-groups".<sup>16</sup> Human beings quickly learn that "perceptible differences" usually imply real differences.<sup>17</sup> It is not surprising, therefore, that British-Canadians designated other ethnic groups as out-groups. They probably dressed differently than British-Canadians, had different mannerisms, spoke a different language, practiced different religious exercises, ate different foods and had strange sounding names. Certain of these visible characteristics became the foundations for stereotyped images that emerged.

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<sup>14</sup>Higham, Strangers in the Land, p. 24.

<sup>15</sup>Gordon W. Allport seems to use the term "ethnocentrism" to designate the concept of ethnic prejudice; and "ethnic prejudice" he defines as "an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group as a whole, or toward an individual because he is a member of a group." The Nature of Prejudice, text edition, (Cambridge Mass., Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Inc., 1954) pp. 309-310, p. 9.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid, p. 170, chp. 2 & 3. This "natural and inevitable tendency" to categorize and recognize in-groups and out-groups may, in fact, be a biological necessity. See p. 130.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid, pp. 131-132.

"Stereotypes" are generalizations that select certain traits that may be characteristic of some members of a group and ascribe them to all members of that group.<sup>18</sup> They act, in part, as "screening or selective devices to maintain simplicity in perception and in thinking," but more importantly, they also act as "justificating devices for categorical acceptance or rejection of a group."<sup>19</sup> Some of the stereotypes ascribed to those Winnipeg minority culture groups towards whom nativistic sentiment was directed indicate that a fertile "cultural subsoil" in which nativism could develop did exist. Germans, although regarded as ambitious and hard working, were seen as, if not cruel, at least gruff and barbaric. Mr. J.W. Chafe, who grew up in Winnipeg in the early 1900's tells of the image he had of Germans as a child:

I grew up in an almost exclusively British neighbourhood, but across the street from us lived a German family. We thought they made their sauerkraut by putting cabbage in a barrel and having the children trample on it.<sup>20</sup>

Slavic and Eastern European people, meanwhile, were stereotyped as dirty, ignorant, illiterate, unskilled, "addicted to drunken sprees,"

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<sup>18</sup> John W. Rinehart, "The Meaning of Stereotypes".

<sup>19</sup> Allport, op. cit., p. 192. See also p. 196.

<sup>20</sup> Interview, July 11, 1970. Mr. Chafe is the author of two books on local education history: An Apple for the Teacher, A Centennial History of the Winnipeg School Division, (Winnipeg, Winnipeg School Division, 1967), and Chalk, Sweat and Cheers; A History of the Manitoba Teachers Society, commemorating its fiftieth anniversary, 1919-1969, (Winnipeg, Manitoba Teachers Society, 1969). He has been extremely helpful in the preparation of this thesis.



and crime; their most favourable characteristic was their plodding stubbornness.<sup>21</sup> These ethnocentric judgements reveal that those culture groups who were to become the chief victims of nativistic attitudes had previously been stereotyped as personally obnoxious.

Nativism, therefore, concerns itself with the perceptions, and the actions that arise from those perceptions of some "foreign" threat to the community. In his book Strangers in the Land, Higham traces three nativistic traditions in America between 1860 and 1925, namely, anti-Catholicism, anti-radicalism, and Anglo-Saxonism.<sup>22</sup> Preliminary research in Manitoba history in the early 1920's indicated that this might prove to be an excellent conceptual framework through which to view Winnipeg nativism. Accordingly, it was expected that nativistic sentiment would be directed against religious, ethnic and revolutionary threats to Canadian unity and a Canadian way of life.

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<sup>21</sup> See James S. Woodworth, Strangers Within our Gates, or Coming Canadians (Toronto, F.C. Stephenson, 1909) pp. 125, 135-136, 140; Ralph Connor, The Foreigner: A Tale of Saskatchewan (Toronto, the Westminster Co. Ltd., 1909) pp. 78-93.

<sup>22</sup> Higham, Strangers in the Land, Chapter I.

In fact, although certain manifestations of religious nativism did present themselves, due to the war atmosphere and the industrial unrest that followed it, reactions to perceived ethnic and radical threats were much more prevalent and emotional than reactions to perceived religious threats.<sup>23</sup> The pattern of nativism that was revealed was one that might have been expected. One commentator has pointed out that in the history of American nativism, "there seem to have been a direct correlation between the peaks of nativist spirit and the valleys of exceptional economic difficulty."<sup>24</sup> In Winnipeg the immediate post-war period, although marked by high prices for agricultural produce, was one of economic instability and a rapidly rising cost of living.<sup>25</sup> By the end of 1920 a rece-

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<sup>23</sup> In an interview with Mr. D.L. Campbell, June 7, 1970, he was asked if he thought that the most important factor in "labelling" an individual in the war years and the early 1920's had been the ethnic or the religious factor. He indicated that it would have been most definitely the former. In effect, this means that when anticipating personal contact with a German Lutheran or a Polish Catholic, one thought of him primarily as German or Polish, and only secondarily as Lutheran or Catholic.

<sup>24</sup> D. Young, "Research Memorandum on Minority Peoples in the Depression," quoted in Allport, op. cit., p. 224.

<sup>25</sup> W.L. Morton, Manitoba, A History, (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1957), p. 360; W.T. Easterbrook and Hugh G.J. Aitken, Canadian Economic History, (Toronto, The Macmillan Co. of Canada Ltd., 1956), pp. 487-489.

ssionary period in which agricultural prices fell drastically and unemployment "rose to hitherto unknown levels" had set in.<sup>26</sup> The recession lasted until about 1924.<sup>27</sup> The intensity of nativistic sentiment corresponded to this economic cycle. The three or four years immediately following the war witnessed profound and extensive nativistic attitudes and activities. The ideas and assumptions from which later nativistic phenomena could unfold remained implanted in the mind of the community, but as the mid-twenties approached, overt nativistic attitudes and behaviour subsided.

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<sup>26</sup> Morton, op. cit., pp. 380-381; Easterbrook and Aitken, pp. 489-490.

<sup>27</sup> Morton, op. cit., p. 391; Easterbrook and Aitken, op. cit., p. 490.

## CHAPTER I

### WAR AND STRIKE: THE APOGEE OF NATIVISM

In 1919 Reverend (Captain) Wellington Bridgman, pioneer Methodist minister and military chaplain, himself a wounded veteran and father of two sons killed in action, was completing what is surely one of the most remarkable books in all of Canadian literature. The book was entitled Breaking Prairie Sod, The Story of a Pioneer Methodist Preacher in the Eighties, with a Discussion of the Burning Question of To-Day, 'Shall the Alien Go?'<sup>1</sup> As the title indicates, the book was concerned with two subjects, namely, early Western Canadian Methodism, and the most expedient policy to be followed in dealing with what Bridgman called "The Hun", a term he used, apparently, when referring either individually or collectively to Germans, Austrians, Bulgars, Turks and Bolshevik sympathizers.<sup>2</sup> According to Bridgman the individual Hun, male or female, was notable chiefly for physical strength and lack of "skill..., refinement..., education."<sup>3</sup> He was inherently animalistic and criminal, an habitual drunkard, in short "a moral degenerate... without a code of honor, destitute of any sense

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<sup>1</sup>(Toronto, The Musson Book Co. Ltd., 1920). See P. vi, p. xiii, and the WLN, June 4, 1919, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup>Bridgman, p. 157, pp. 189-191, p. 196.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 180-183.

of individual or national decency, distrusted and dishonored by men and nations, (having) forfeited the right and privilege to live or do business among decent people."<sup>4</sup> Bridgman intimated as well that the Hun emitted an odor so offensive that even a skunk could not stand to remain in the same building with him.<sup>5</sup>

The problem with which the Hun had to contend was that he was missing the "three hundred years of moral training" that had made the British people strong.<sup>6</sup> Bridgman saw the late war as "pre-eminently a religious war",<sup>7</sup> in which Great Britain had fought on the side of God and the Hun had opposed Him. The British were God's chosen people; "whereas before He worked through the Hebrew nation, He now works through the British nation to reach the ends of the earth."<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 163-164, pp. 169-170, p. 145.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 144. Gordon W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice, (Cambridge, Mass. Addison-Wesley Publishing Co. Inc., 1954) pp. 136-138 points out that although there is no conclusive proof that particular races and ethnic groups do not give off distinctive odors, its role in ethnic and racial prejudice "seems to be that of an 'objective' excuse or rationalizer for affective states that are too personal and private to be understood or analyzed in their own right."

<sup>6</sup>Bridgman, op. cit., p. 173.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 156.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 254.

And God looked down with disdain upon the Hun enemy alien now living among the chosen British people in Canada. Enemy aliens were not to be treated as the Biblical strangers, allowed to dwell quietly among the godly;<sup>9</sup> they were

the people whom God drove out in order to let his people in, and with them God's people were to have nothing to do. They were heathen and idolators, and very often the command was to put them to the sword.<sup>10</sup>

Bridgman suspected that it had been God's plan to have certain Huns come to Canada and then return to their people to spread the higher British form of civilization.<sup>11</sup> They should, therefore, be sent back to where God wanted them to be.<sup>12</sup> Immediate steps should be taken, he felt, to confiscate the property of the Hun, distribute it to the returning British-Canadian soldiers and the wives and children of fallen allies, and to send the Hun back where he belonged.<sup>13</sup> "Could the God of Justice smile upon a more equitable adjustment?" he asked.<sup>14</sup>

In Winnipeg Bridgman's book did not go unopposed. James S. Woodsworth called it a "most astonishing production" and could hardly believe that a Christian clergyman could express such sentiments.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>And if a stranger sojourn with thee in your land, ye shall not vex him. But the stranger that dwelleth with you shall be unto you as one born among you, and thou shalt love him, as thyself; for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt... Leviticus, XIX, 33-34.

<sup>10</sup>Bridgman, op. cit., p. 255.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 204.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 265.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 215, p. 244, p. 176.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 176.

<sup>15</sup>Review in WLN. April 23, 1920, p. 3.

But Rev. J. E. Hughson of Grace Church, Winnipeg, said that he had "gathered a great deal of inspiration from it".<sup>16</sup> And Bridgman's assertions of extreme Anglo-Saxonism, accompanied by the assumption that the only good Canadian was a British-Canadian, and of extreme anti-Germanism and anti-Bolshevism, accompanied by demands for the deportation of the German-Bolshevik element "in our midst", were assertions of attitudes that were commonplace in Winnipeg in 1919.

From the beginning of the war, John W. Dafoe insisted that Canada had joined in the conflict as a "principal", rather than as a British colony.<sup>17</sup> The distinction was not often drawn by average Manitobans; for them the war had been a case of being "ready-aye-ready" at Great Britain's side.<sup>18</sup> Coupled with the feelings of affinity toward Great Britain had been a feeling of rancor toward Germany and her allies.<sup>19</sup> Winnipeggers had been exposed to a tremendous amount of

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<sup>16</sup> Introduction to Breaking Prairie Sod, p. XIV.

<sup>17</sup> Ramsay Cook, The Politics of John W. Dafoe and the Free Press, (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1963), p. 67.

<sup>18</sup> Interview with the Honorable D.L. Campbell. June 7, 1970.

<sup>19</sup> The enemy was constantly referred to as "German;" the term applied to the enemy, whether Germany or an allied nation. Therefore, in this thesis, "anti-Germanism" refers to feelings of enmity toward the nationals of all enemy countries.

propaganda about German atrocities,<sup>20</sup> and, as indicated by the following poem published in the Manitoba Free Press in 1915, they had never been in any doubt as to Germany's responsibility for the war:

If two men fell to fighting, of whom one  
Carried that day no weapon save  
Only an oaken stave,  
While the other glittered in the summer sun  
With casque and corset, lance, and whetted glave,  
By which of these men would all but fool or knave  
Adjudge the combat to have been begun?<sup>21</sup>

By the latter stages of the war, the Germans had been joined by a second villain - the Bolshevist. It was the Russian Bolsheviks, of course, who in late November of 1917 had surrendered to the Germans, thus allowing Germany to concentrate on its Western front. A Hun-Bolshevist conspiracy had been discerned immediately; the Telegram even referred to Bolsheviks as German "creatures".<sup>22</sup> The word "Bolshevik" became a general term of disparagement, designed by those who used it to elicit negative stock-responses, the most humorous and yet very illustrative example being when the Tribune, in a mood of moral indignation, referred to popular jazz music as "musical Bolshevism".<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> See for example the news story "Women and Babies Chief Victims of Hun Attack," Tribune Feb. 18, 1918, p. 1.

<sup>21</sup> Poem by William Watson, printed in MFP, March 20, 1915, p. 11. See also the address by Dr. James W. Robertson of Ottawa to Manitoba School Trustees at the annual Convention, 1916, reprinted in Western School Journal, April, 1916, p. 131.

<sup>22</sup> Telegram edit., Dec. 27, 1918.

<sup>23</sup> Tribune, edit., Jan. 19, 1921. See also MFP edit Nov. 28, 1917.



And one could not use an expletive more likely to provoke violence than "pro-German".<sup>24</sup> The popular image of Germans and Bolsheviks that emerged by 1919 is revealed in the following newspaper headlines:

"Germany's Guilt Already Proven"<sup>25</sup>

"When in Doubt, Hun Officers would Order All Civilians Shot"<sup>26</sup>

"Hun Ill Treatment Kills 6000 Belgian Civilians"<sup>27</sup>

"Bolsheviks are Admitted Tools of Hun Intrigue"<sup>28</sup>

"Bolshevists are Best at Shoot and Run Fighting"<sup>29</sup>

"Bolshevists Rob, Burn, and Murder"<sup>30</sup>

"Free Love under Bolshevik Rule Degrades Women"<sup>31</sup>

"Huns are Huns, Just Same as Pigs are Pigs"<sup>32</sup>

The war had created a delicate domestic problem in that Canada was at war with nations from which she had received a large number of immigrants. The problem in Winnipeg, and in Manitoba, was an especially sensitive one because of the large number of these im-

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<sup>24</sup> Interview with Mr. F.G. Tipping, July 31, 1970.

<sup>25</sup> MFP, Feb. 8, 1919.

<sup>26</sup> Telegram, Jan. 13, 1919, p. 2.

<sup>27</sup> Tribune, March 28, 1919, p. 1.

<sup>28</sup> Telegram, Jan. 4, 1919, p. 1.

<sup>29</sup> Telegram, Dec. 21, 1918, p. 1.

<sup>30</sup> Telegram, Jan. 4, 1919, p. 1.

<sup>31</sup> Tribune, March 5, 1919, p. 4.

<sup>32</sup> Telegram, July 16, 1919, p. 8.

migrants in the city and the province. Winnipeggers reacted on the domestic level as they had on the international one. Corresponding to the feeling of attachment to Great Britain was a belief in the synonymity of "British" and "Canadian"; corresponding to the enmity felt toward Germany, its allies, and Bolshevists was antipathy to local citizens whose ethnic origin was that of an enemy nation or who were suspected of sympathy with "Bolshevik" principles.

"There are thousands in the prairie provinces," said a correspondent to the Tribune in 1916, "who call themselves Canadians, but who are anti-British...Canadian and British are the same, and we refuse at any one's bidding to make a distinction."<sup>33</sup> Probably the most conspicuous attitude that emerged from the war was that the True Canadian was considered to be "British", not only in his ideals but in his ethnic origin. As Sandor Hunyadi, the young Hungarian boy who is the central character in John Marlyn's fine novel set in Winnipeg in the 1920's, recognized:

The English [are] the only ones nobody ever calls foreigners. Nobody ever makes fun of their names or calls them balogney-eaters, or laughs at the way they dress or talk. Nobody, cause when you're English, its the same as bein' Canadian.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup>"Loyalist" to Tribune, Feb. 12, 1916.

<sup>34</sup>Under the Ribs of Death, (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1957), p. 24.

Along with this belief in the inherent "Canadianness" of those of British origin went an assumption of the inherent "un-Canadianness" of those of non-British ethnic origin.<sup>35</sup> At the outset of the war, the Free Press had made it clear to the non Anglo-Saxon what it was expected of him:

People of foreign origin who... do not feel that their first duty is to Canada and to the Empire of which she forms a part had better be got out of Canada and kept out.<sup>36</sup>

This statement by the Free Press revealed that the attitude of the majority culture-group toward the "foreigners" had changed from the mere ethnocentrism, the disapproval of social habits and customs that had been conspicuous in the pre-war years. The foreigner had become associated with fifth column activity. Because of this, the war proved to be a difficult time for the "foreigner", and certain imprudent actions and statements by leading members of "foreign" communities served only to diminish whatever tolerance the Anglo-Saxon majority were ready to give.<sup>37</sup> All over the Dominion

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<sup>35</sup> Allport, op. cit., p. 383, says that there is a "reciprocal relation between in-group loyalty and out-group scorn. They are two sides of the same coin."

<sup>36</sup> MFP edit., Aug. 5, 1914.

<sup>37</sup> See Paul Yuzyk, The Ukrainians in Manitoba, A Social History, (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1953), pp. 186-187; on the issue of tolerance to be shown our fellow-Canadians of German origin see MFP editorials Aug. 6, 1914, Sept. 21, 1914.

Germans and Austro-Hungarians lost their jobs, had their ethnic clubs discontinued and their religious services closely scrutinized.<sup>38</sup> By the end of the war, due to various Dominion Acts and Orders-in-Council, these people could not read a newspaper nor conduct a meeting in their own language, could not move freely about the country, and could not vote.<sup>39</sup>

Not only the "foreigner" of enemy origin but members of any ethnic group suspected of less than total devotion to the British cause became the victims of wartime xenophobia. For example, in the federal elections of 1917, the Franco-Manitoban vote went quite heavily to Laurier candidates.<sup>40</sup> This had not been looked upon with favor, of course, by the Anglo-Saxon majority, which had considered a vote for Laurier in this election as a vote for "a German peace and the defeat of Canada."<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Canadian Annual Review, 1917, pp. 436-438.

<sup>39</sup> See Statutes of Canada, 5 George V c2 (The War Measures Act) and Orders-in-Council thereunder, and Statutes of Canada, 7-8 George V c39 (The War Times Elections Act).

<sup>40</sup> MFP, Dec. 18, 1917, p. 4; MFP, Dec. 19, 1917 p. 4. The two French language newspapers of St. Boniface had taken divergent positions in the election. La Liberté strongly opposed the Unionist government; Le Manitoba supported all Unionist candidates except R.L. Richardson, running in Springfield constituency, whose candidacy Le Manitoba regarded "comme un defi a ce qui nous avons de plus chers: notre langue et notre foi." La Liberté Dec. 12, 1917, p. 1; Le Manitoba, Nov. 21, 1917, p. 1.

<sup>41</sup> MFP edit., Dec. 5, 1917; see also Tribune edit., Nov. 29, 1917.

The result of all of this was that, as a Ukrainian delegation put it, by the end of the war

a certain degree of intolerance and hatred towards everything that is foreign has been implanted in the public mind... (and) all who have the appearance of foreign birth... (are) endangered.<sup>42</sup>

By 1919 "alien enemies" had become the term denoting all those ethnic groups who seemed to represent a threat to Canadian unity. It was a term that was used recklessly,<sup>43</sup> and in fact it became almost a synonym for "foreigner", as evidenced by the following editorial in the Telegram:

The attitude of the (federal) Government appears to be that there are individuals among these enemy aliens whose attitudes throughout the war has been all that could be desired, who were, in fact, in accord with the Allied cause, and that... interference with their liberty would create unjustifiable hardship for such individuals. This is not the proper attitude for the Government to take... why should it become the Governments policy to allow the aliens of enemy disposition, which is to say the great majority of enemy aliens, to be free to take advantage of the privileges of Canadian citizenship under a system he [sic.] has been so hopeful of overthrowing merely because a small minority among them who have actually been faithful, would suffer a certain hardship by the adoption of a different course?<sup>44</sup>

By 1919, the term had become applied not only to those groups who represented an ethnic threat, but also to that group which represented a revolutionary threat, the labor radicals.

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<sup>42</sup>Letter from spokesmen for Ukrainians of Winnipeg to Mayor Gray, reported in Tribune, Jan. 29, 1919, p. 5.

<sup>43</sup>See speeches by WR Wood and F.D. Ferley, M.L.A.'s, reported in MFP, Jan. 24, 1918, Jan. 26, 1918.

<sup>44</sup>Telegram edit., Feb. 3, 1919.

To be sure, just as on the international level it was not totally irrational to assume that there was a German-Bolshevist conspiracy, so on the local level it was not totally irrational to associate alien enemies and radical labor. The Western Canadian Labor Conference held in Calgary March 13-15, 1919 had passed a resolution expressing sympathy for enemy aliens, and had even declared them "worthy of protection of organized labor".<sup>45</sup> The well-known pacifistic attitudes of Winnipeg's radical labor leaders helped to enhance the association of radical labor and the alien enemy. Most notable in this regard had been Fred Dixon, MLA, who during the war had not only opposed conscription and this-house-supports-the-war resolutions, but had also announced that had he thought the principle at stake in the war was liberty, he would have been in the thick of the battle, but was going to die "for a myth".<sup>46</sup> These were extremely offensive statements to a community that considered the war "the most hold cause" in human history.<sup>47</sup>

It was the fear of the combined alien-revolutionary threat that plunged all of North America into the infamous "Big Red Scare" of 1919,<sup>48</sup> and in Winnipeg manifestations of the general paranoia were

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<sup>45</sup> See reports of proceedings at this conference, WLN Supplement, April 4, 1919.

<sup>46</sup> Canadian Annual Review, 1917, p. 418.

<sup>47</sup> Statement by J.W. Wilton, MLA, reported MPP, Jan. 30, 1919.

<sup>48</sup> On the Big Red Scare in the United States see Stanley Coben, "A Study in Nativism: The American Red Scare of 1919-20" Political Science Quarterly, LXXIX, (March, 1964), pp. 52-75. Besides giving an excellent factual account of the Red Scare, this article is important from a methodological standpoint.

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similar to those evidenced in cities all over the continent. Deportation of the alien-Red element was a policy advocated from all sides. The Tribune said that while endeavoring to recover from the war Canada "cannot afford to nurse a cancer".<sup>49</sup> The Telegram, in an editorial entitled "Deport the Whole Brood" said:

The deportation proceedings should not be confined to the enemy aliens that were interned. They should be extended to every alien enemy whose sympathy with the Allied cause has not been capable of the clearest proof from the beginning of the war. Canada wants none of these. They should be sent back promptly to the land they came from, and let the atmosphere of our country become once more fit for a patriot to breathe."<sup>50</sup>

Even the arguments of those who cautioned against the wholesale deportation of alien enemies revealed the rancor and distrust that was felt towards them. MLA J.W. Wilton thought that mass deportation would mean that British labourers would be forced to do the "hard laborious work, such as sewer and drainage construction," hitherto done by aliens.<sup>51</sup> A more indignant citizen felt that deportation was an undesirable policy because the alien deserved a worse fate:

In the past four years they have reaped the cream of Canada, and a good many are preparing and have been doing so for some time to depart for the fatherland. They have made good at Canada's expense, and can return to a warmer climate to retire to an easy life. This has been their policy and contemplated by the majority before touching Canada.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Tribune, edit., Jan. 29, 1919.

<sup>50</sup> Telegram, edit., Jan. 9, 1919.

<sup>51</sup> Reported MPP, Jan. 31, 1919.

<sup>52</sup> "A Manitoban" to Tribune, March 12, 1919.

By and large, however, deportation was recognized as the desirable approach, and even Christian ideals could be bent to accommodate it. Lieut-Col. George Clingan, MLA for Virden, felt that as British-Canadians we should "forgive them as we forgive our enemies" then "put them away where they cannot trouble us" by sending them "back to where they came from."<sup>53</sup>

In 1919 probably no group of Winnipeg citizens was more disgusted with alien enemy situation, nor contributed more to the Red Scare atmosphere, than the returned soldiers who were seeking to reorient themselves to civilian life. Frustrated by the fact that many of them were unemployed while Germans and Ukrainians and other "alien enemies" held down good jobs,<sup>54</sup> it was they who most persistently demanded that the alien-pacifist-Red element be deported immediately.<sup>55</sup> Their bitterness led to significant rioting during the last week of January.

The date was Sunday, January 26. On the preceding two Sundays radical labor leaders had made speeches to their followers at Market Square, and on January 26 a big crowd was expected to gather there for a memorial meeting in remembrance of Karl Leibnecht and Rosa Luxemburg. About 200 veterans decided that they would not allow the meeting to take

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<sup>53</sup> Reported MFP, Feb. 6, 1919.

<sup>54</sup> D.C. Masters, The Winnipeg General Strike, (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1950), pp. 29-30, Tribune, Jan. 31, 1919, p. 15, March 8, 1919, p. 1.

<sup>55</sup> See statements by spokesmen for Veterans groups reported, Tribune, May 3, 1919, p. 3, April 2, 1919, p. 5, May 12, 1919, p. 1, May 13, 1919, p. 1, MFP, Feb. 4, 1919, p. 1.



place, and arrived early at Market Square in order to establish a strategic position. No "Reds" showed up, so the veterans broke up into smaller groups and went searching for them. For the rest of that day and through the next the veterans, along with opportunistic hoodlums, prowled about the city, smashing the windows of stores in the North End, breaking into homes in the district and demanding naturalization papers, insisting that everyone who had even the appearance of an alien kiss the Union Jack.<sup>56</sup> The club building of the Austro-Hungarian society near the corner of Mountain and Gregory was literally torn to ruins, and the Edelweiss brewery in Elmwood was left in a shambles.<sup>57</sup> Indicative of the mood of the community was the fact that, although there were exhortations to suspend the violence,<sup>58</sup> no returned soldiers were arrested and, at least in the press, they were not even censured. The Telegram said that "there are worse things than violence," among which were the "toleration of treason among us"

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<sup>56</sup> One humorous incident was reported in the following manner in the Telegram of Jan. 27:

"Where are your papers? asked a brawny corporal of one alien.

The alien produced some papers which seemed fairly satisfactory. 'Kiss this flag', commanded the corporal, pointing to the flag on his Veteran's button. The alien flung his arms around the corporal's neck and implanted a resounding and garlick-odored osculation upon the disgusted lips of his tormentor."

<sup>57</sup> See the reports of the riot, MFP, Telegram, Tribune, Jan. 27, Jan. 28, 1919.

<sup>58</sup> See MFP, edit., Jan. 28, 1919; Tribune edit., Jan. 28, 1919.

<sup>59</sup> Telegram, edit., Jan. 28, 1919.

and the "toleration of destructive propaganda by citizens of hostile alien race."<sup>59</sup>

As a result of the disorders of late January a "peace board" was set up, which included representatives from the employers, the returned soldiers, and organized labor, to deal with employment of the veterans. With the cooperation of the provincial and city governments an employment office for the returned soldiers was opened at Bannatyne and Main.<sup>60</sup> Meanwhile, in order to protect themselves against the wrath of the soldiers, large city firms began to discharge alien employees,<sup>61</sup> and the Provincial Government announced the formation of a three man Alien Enemy Inquiry Board, consisting of senior county court judge R.H. Myers, one representative from the several veterans' associations and one representative from the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council.<sup>62</sup> This Inquiry Board resembled nothing so much as a witch-hunting vigilante committee, for its official purpose was to "aid in the singling out" of all those who "favored the German cause."<sup>63</sup> Loyalty cards were issued by the Board to loyal foreigners; those who were designated as disloyal were to be interned and deported.<sup>64</sup> With the help of the veterans associations,

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<sup>60</sup> Tribune, Feb. 1, 1919, p. 1, Feb. 11, 1919, p. 1.

<sup>61</sup> Telegram, Jan. 29, 1919, p. 3.

<sup>62</sup> Tribune, Feb. 5, 1919, p. 1, Telegram, Feb. 8, 1919, p. 3.

<sup>63</sup> Tribune, Feb. 5, 1919, p. 1.

<sup>64</sup> Telegram, Feb. 8, 1919, p. 3.

the Inquiry Board proceeded to attempt to "clean up" the city in the spring of 1919.<sup>65</sup>

It was in this Red Scare atmosphere that the Winnipeg General Strike took place. There seems little reason to doubt that the majority of middle and upper class Winnipeg citizens sincerely believed that the strike was in fact a revolution. People would not, after all, have slept in churches out of fear of being murdered in their own homes if they had thought that the only issue at stake was the principle of collective bargaining.<sup>66</sup> Given the rhetoric of the Calgary Convention, the reports of bomb scares and labor radicalism in the United States, and the following well-publicized declaration of the Western Labor News:

The fight is on. It overthrew the government in Russia, Austria, Germany, etc. It has compelled drastic innovations in Britain. Now it has Winnipeg in its grip."<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> See Tribune, May 2, 1919, p. 1.

<sup>66</sup> See Kenneth McNaught, A Prophet in Politics, A Biography of J.S. Woodsworth, (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1959), p. 105, p. 116.

<sup>67</sup> WLN, May 23, 1919. See Canadian Annual Review, 1919, p. 469.

it is hardly astonishing that the established community concluded that labor was trying to capture control of the city.<sup>68</sup> It was further convinced that the revolution was led and supported by the same elements that had proven to be disloyal during the war. The leaders of the strike - Dixon, William Ivens, John Queen, Bob Russell, and others - had been pacifists during the war. They were, therefore, considered to be "pro-German," "enemies of the soldier when he was overseas who had tried to "hamper and block in every conceivable way" the war effort.<sup>69</sup> Now it was felt that this group, who together with a foreign element had captured control of organized labor during the war years,<sup>70</sup> were the leaders of a strike supported primarily by alien labor.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> McNaught, op. cit., p. 106, p. 110, implies that the Citizens' Committee of One Thousand, the organization of business and professional classes which mobilized volunteers to maintain essential services during the strike, and the daily newspapers, simply styled the strike a "revolution" in order to gain the support of the general public. While this interpretation may have some validity, there can be little question that the non-striking public felt that a genuine revolution was being attempted. A full two years after the strike, in a very confidential letter to Mr. Augustus Bridle of Toronto, John W. Dafoe still referred to the strike as "a made-to-order strike for revolutionary or semi-revolutionary purposes." Dafoe to Bridle, June 14, 1921. Dafoe Papers, University of Manitoba microfilm, reel M73.

<sup>69</sup> MFP edit., June 20, 1919, "To the Citizens of Winnipeg" from the Citizens' Committee of One Thousand, Telegram, June 3, 1919, p. 3.

<sup>70</sup> Winnipeg Citizen, May 10, 1919, Strike Papers, P.A.M.

<sup>71</sup> "To the Citizens of Winnipeg" from the Citizens' Committee of One Thousand, Telegram, June 3, 1919, p. 3.

This view was in fact erroneous. Mr. F.G. Tipping, who was a member of the Strike Committee, cannot recall one non Anglo-Saxon in a position of prominence in the labor movement in 1919, and doubts that most laborers of non-Anglo-Saxon origin were even unionized at the time.<sup>72</sup> These same facts were asserted by J.S. Woodsworth in the midst of the strike,<sup>73</sup> but apparently his remarks were ignored, for the association of aliens and strikers persisted. One returned soldier came to the conclusion that it was, after all, perfectly logical that the Russian Bolsheviks should choose Western Canada as a starting point from which to spread their ideas, since it contained "a considerable Slav population among which the seeds of Bolshevism might be expected to germinate." One had to realize, he felt, that agitators and political organizers to whom the British worker, "owing to a superior culture" paid no attention, found among the foreign group "numerous disciples and dupes".<sup>74</sup> The Citizens Committee demanded that the Trades and Labor Council open its records to an inquiry board

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<sup>72</sup>Interview, July 30, 1970.

<sup>73</sup>See his open letter, WLN June 12, 1919, p. 4. Strike Edition 23.

<sup>74</sup>John MacLean to MFP, June 7, 1919, p. 11.

composed of representatives of the veterans' organizations, so that the public might be informed of what seemed extremely relevant questions:<sup>75</sup>

1. How many aliens and how many registered alien enemies are on the membership roll of the Unions now on strike.
2. The exact number of alien enemies and aliens in each union that voted for the general strike.
3. What actions the TLC proposed to take in respect to the thousands of aliens now enrolled in their unions who are walking our streets today as strikers.

The Trades and Labor Council tried to cooperate. It went on record as supporting "all efforts on the part of the authorities in their efforts to deport all the undesirable aliens in our midst."<sup>76</sup> But its statements were to no avail; the ethnic and the revolutionary threats were succinctly perceived as one. A Citizens Committee advertisement summarized the issue at stake:

Choose Between the Soldiers who are Protecting You and the Aliens Who Have Threatened You."<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Tribune, June 4, 1919, p. 1, Winnipeg Citizen, June 4, 1919, p. 4. The following was also demanded:

1. The exact number of votes for and against the general strike cast by each union.
2. Why the total votes were pooled and a clear majority decided as sufficient to call a general strike.
3. Aliens ought to be replaced as quickly as possible by returned soldiers, and that all employees are urged to take necessary steps with that end in view.

<sup>76</sup> Notice signed by James Winning, President of the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council, and W.H.C. Logan, Chairman of the Strike Committee, Tribune, June 6, 1919, p. 1, WLN June 7, 1919, p. 1, Strike Edition #19.

<sup>77</sup> Telegram, June 7, 1919, p. 3.

The problem arising out of viewing the strike as a contest between loyalist and traitor was that although official neutrality was maintained by the Great War Veterans' Association, the Imperial Veterans' Association, and the Army and Navy Veterans' Association,<sup>78</sup> a significant number of returned soldiers were pro-strike.<sup>79</sup> Various explanations as to how the soldiers could ally themselves with infidels were offered, none of which seem very convincing, but which seem to have been accepted at the time. They were "misled" into thinking that the strike was not a revolution;<sup>80</sup> they were "not altogether normal at present", not the "real" returned soldier.<sup>81</sup> After the strike it was

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<sup>78</sup>Tribune, May 14, 1919, p. 1; Masters, p. 60.

<sup>79</sup>McNaught, op. cit., p. 107, says that "the majority of the city's returned soldiers were in support of the strike." Mr. Fred G. Thompson, World War I veteran and lawyer who was anti-strike, insists that this is not the case, that the majority of returned soldiers were hostile to the strike. McNaught documents his point by referring to a general meeting of returned soldiers held on May 15 which passed a resolution in favor of the strike (pp. 107-108). Thompson insists that no official position was taken at this meeting, and in view of the later official announcement of neutrality (referred to in footnote 78) it would seem that McNaught would need further documentation to prove his point. Masters (See p. 89) does not commit himself on this point.

<sup>80</sup>Citizen, May 31, 1919, p. 3.

<sup>81</sup>The Manitoba Veteran, June 7, 1919, p. 4, F.G. Thompson Collection, P.A.M.;: Telegram, edit., June 4, 1919, p. 1.

even alleged that only "conscripts" could follow the leadership of pro-Germans like Queen or Dixon.<sup>82</sup>

The rioting, associated with the strike, that occurred on June 10 and June 21 was conveniently attributed to the alien. The foreigner had been stereotyped as inherently violent long before the war,<sup>83</sup> and the press reports of these riots served to justify the animalistic stereotype. Aliens it seems, attacked only when they overwhelmingly outnumbered their victims,<sup>84</sup> and they delighted in smashing somebody with a club<sup>85</sup> or trampling upon them.<sup>86</sup> The kinds of selective perception of which reporters were guilty is indicated in this report of the buildup to the riot of June 21:

Little groups of grim-faced men struggling steadily southward along Main Street was

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<sup>82</sup>Statement by F.W. Law, Provincial organizer for the OWVA reported Telegram, July 26, 1919, p. 3.

<sup>83</sup>See Ralph Connor, The Foreigner, p. 78, pp. 87-93.

<sup>84</sup>MFP, June 14, 1919, p. 1: "...three returned soldiers were attached by a mob of about thirty including a number of foreigners."

<sup>85</sup>MFP, June 23, 1919, p. 4: "A big brute of a man (A Russian, it is believed)...battered him with a club, waving the weapon about his own head...crying out in a foreign accent that 'that was the way to do it'.

<sup>86</sup>Tribune, June 11, 1919: (Seargent F.G. Coppins) was dragged from his house by aliens, trampled upon and beaten..."



the first ostensible sign of the gathering trouble on Saturday afternoon... The British element came silently, for the most part, striding along in twos and threes with the air of men deliberately facing some sort of ordeal, silent, perhaps because they were calculating just what their part in the fracas would amount to if resistance to the proposed silent parade should develop into a riot.

The foreign element seemed less sullen, but at the same time more threatening. The irresponsibility of their extravagant gestures and raised voices as they mingled with the accumulating throng evidenced their violent mood.<sup>87</sup>

These reports of the savageness of "bolshhevists", "aliens" and "foreigners"<sup>88</sup> served to augment the impression that the alien was an irrestrainable revolutionary.

Shortly after the strike the provincial government appointed a Royal Commission to look into its causes and effects. This report said that justifiable industrial unrest had developed into a general strike when laborers of Russian and Austrian extraction were prompted into destructive actions by radical socialist leaders who had introduced fanatical ideas to their pliable minds:

There has been for a long time past existed [sic.] in Winnipeg an element which strongly advocated socialistic views. The group of men who have forced themselves to the front in that way directed

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<sup>87</sup> MFP, June 23, 1919, p. 4.

<sup>88</sup> MFP, June 11, 1919, p. 1.

their energies towards the conversion of [sic.] their ideas of the working classes of Winnipeg. They were particularly successful with the foreign element and, since the revolutions in Europe gave point to socialistic propaganda, Europeans of the Russian and Austrian type in this country were most willing disciples of these leaders... The matter should be treated as though it was purely the work of pronounced Socialistic agitators, and that their chief following was the Russian and Austrian, who thought he was merely following the steps of his European brother.<sup>89</sup>

At the same time the report expressed confidence that the laborers of British and Canadian origin would never "endorse the cause which would lead to the Russian condition." Thus, it became a part of the conventional wisdom of Winnipeg's established community that "sane" labor coincided closely to "British" labor, "radical" labor to "foreign" labor; and although it had actually been the British-sane element that perpetuated the general strike, it was accepted that labor was dominated by an element which represented both an ethnic and a revolutionary threat to the established community.

The Great War had served to strengthen an identification of "Britishism" and "Canadianism" along with a complementary identification of "un-Britishism", and "un-Canadianism". In early 1919 a perceived revolutionary threat from an un-Canadian source was successfully thwarted, but the fear of subversive activity from the same source placed Winnipeg on the defensive. Probably the most

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<sup>89</sup> Report of the Manitoba Royal Commission to Enquire into and Report Upon the Causes and Effects of the General Strike which Recently Existed in the City, H.A. Robson, Commissioner, signed Nov. 6, 1919, pp. 9-10.

overworked slogan in the city during the next three or four years was "Eternal Vigilance is the Price of Liberty". But as the years passed by and as the threat seemed to recede, the necessity for vigilance grew less apparent, and by the mid-twenties the possibility of the destruction of the "Canadian" way of life seemed very remote.

## CHAPTER II

### NATIVIST ATTITUDES TOWARD IMMIGRATION

There was a time in Winnipeg's history when it was accepted as a cultural ideal that each immigrant group should offer what was "best" of its culture to a superior "common-stock" Canadian culture.<sup>1</sup> In fact, what seems to have been expected was that non Anglo-Saxon groups would offer to this "common-stock" culture components that were considered relatively unimportant by the Anglo-Saxon population. They were expected to offer their quaint folk dances or folk songs, or perhaps their skill in weaving or painting. Meanwhile the British culture-group was expected to contribute the ideological components of the "common-stock" culture--the system of government and of justice and prevailing value-structures--and it was expected that non Anglo-Saxons would accept them.<sup>2</sup>

But in the years immediately following the war, the Winnipeg British culture group did not even romanticize about a "common-stock" culture. The cultural ideal was now considered to be pure "British-Canadianism", and cultural traits that non-British "races"<sup>3</sup> might have to

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<sup>1</sup>See W.L. Morton, Manitoba: A History, (Toronto, University of Toronto Press), p. 309; Woodsworth, op. cit., pp. 219-220.

<sup>2</sup>See Morton, op. cit., p. 311; Tribune edit., Jan. 11, 1919.

<sup>3</sup>Winnipeggers invariably referred to ethnicity as "race". All port, op. cit., p. 107, points out the significance of this: "... there is a curious air of finality in the term 'racial'. One thinks of heredity as inexorable, as conferring an essence upon a group, from which there is no escape."

offer seem to have been regarded as contaminations rather than contributions. And cultural groups that had previously been considered capable of absorbing British social and political ideals were now deemed incapable of so doing. It was now believed that the ability of the British culture-group to absorb non-British groups had been overestimated. "The power of traditional assimilation", said the Tribune, "has its limitations".<sup>4</sup> The Western School Journal said that "it is imperative that the future policy of immigration for Canada be such as to make it impossible for the same problems to arise in the future, as have menaced our national life in the past".<sup>5</sup>

During the war immigration had fallen off considerably,<sup>6</sup> and in the first months following the armistice it was felt that a renewed, vigorous immigration policy should await readjustment to peacetime conditions.<sup>7</sup> By early 1920, however, with the exception of one significant interest group, Winnipeggers had begun to indicate that they considered immigration, especially agricultural immigration, economically desirable.<sup>8</sup> The interest group that opposed immigration on economic grounds was labor.

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<sup>4</sup> Tribune, edit., Nov. 25, 1920.

<sup>5</sup> Western School Journal, edit., Feb., 1919, p. 41. See also St. James Leader, edit., May 2, 1919; "The mistakes of the past must never be repeated".

<sup>6</sup> See "Immigration and Citizenship", Canada Year Book, 1957-58, p. 176.

<sup>7</sup> Telegram, edit., Aug. 7, 1919. See also MFP, edit., March 23, 1917.

<sup>8</sup> MFP, edit., Feb. 25, 1920, March 2, 1920; Telegram, edit., June 9, 1920; Minutes of Feb. 25, 1920, Council and Executive Minutes, Board of Trade Papers, Vol. 4, P.A.M.

Labor's case against immigration was succinctly expressed by Fred Dixon in the legislature in 1921:

"... increased immigration would mean cheaper labor."<sup>9</sup>

Labor was opposed to all immigration that would simply serve to swell the ranks of the unemployed.<sup>10</sup> This meant that all immigrants, irrespective of ethnic origin, were undesirable so far as labor was concerned.<sup>11</sup>

Thus labor differed from other elements of the community in that it deemed an influx of immigration economically undesirable. But to the rest of the community, considerations of the economic desirability of immigrants were of less consequence than considerations of their social desirability. Dr. R.S. Thornton, Minister of Education in the Norris Liberal Government and "definitely part of the establishment",<sup>12</sup> advised those in control of Canada's immigration policies that, "instead of viewing things from the standpoint of material development", they should approach them "from the standpoint of the development of Canadian

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<sup>9</sup>Reported Tribune, April 6, 1921.

<sup>10</sup>Unemployment was one of the major problems of the early twenties. Throughout 1920, 1921, 1922 and 1923 Winnipeg's labor newspapers, the Western Labor News and the One Big Union Bulletin gave incessant coverage to the problem, and in 1922 the Provincial legislature debated for two weeks a resolution moved by Joseph Bernier to take steps to solve the crisis before the session progressed.

<sup>11</sup>See WLN, Feb. 25, 1921, Sept. 8, 1922, Dec. 15, 1922, Jan. 12, 1923, April 13, 1923; OBU Bulletin, June 1, 1922, Oct. 25, 1923; report of denunciation of increased immigration policy by Trades and Labor Congress of Canada and Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council, WLN, Dec. 22, 1922.

<sup>12</sup>Interview with F.G. Tipping, July 30, 1970.

citizenship and national unity".<sup>13</sup> Thornton's viewpoint was one on which there was general agreement.<sup>14</sup> The Free Press said that "whatever the need for production and population may be it could not justify opening the gates to socially undesirable classes".<sup>15</sup> The St. James Leader summarized the majority's attitude as follows:

Canada still needs and must have population. We need quantity, it is true, but above all we must have quality, and if we cannot have quality with quantity then quantity must be sacrificed. Canada can better afford to wait than make the mistake of filling up her unsettled areas with people who are not willing to become, real, out-and-out Canadians. Canadian citizenship must be a prize to obtain and value; not something to be given away at bargain counter rates in order to secure immigration.<sup>16</sup>

"Quality", not "quantity" was the criterion for the selection of immigrants, and the "quality" of an immigrant was determined by his apparent desire and ability to become "Canadianized" was

The willingness to acquire the English tongue, to adopt Canadian institutions as their own, and to bring up their children as Canadians in the fullest sense.<sup>17</sup>

And the accepted evidence of ability to become Canadianized was membership,

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<sup>13</sup> Speech to the Teachers and Citizens of Miami, reported in Western School Journal, Nov. 1918, p. 382.

<sup>14</sup> Besides the references which follow see Telegram edit., May 5, 1919, Tribune edit., March 31, 1919, Jan. 5, 1920, Nov. 6, 1920; Bulletin of the Manitoba Teachers' Federation, Feb. 4, 1921, p. 93.

<sup>15</sup> MFP, edit., May 1, 1919.

<sup>16</sup> St. James Leader, edit., May 2, 1919.

<sup>17</sup> MFP, edit., Feb. 4, 1919.

or at least near-membership, in the British race.<sup>18</sup>

Those considered most completely incapable of Canadianization were the Asiatics. Long before 1923, when the term "British subject" was officially limited to natives of the "white" countries of the Commonwealth, "Hindoos" had been regarded as simply too different in genetic composition and cultural traits to become citizens of Canada,<sup>19</sup> and in the early twenties the same attitude prevailed.<sup>20</sup> Meanwhile Orientals were regarded as so radically different from Caucasians that contact and intermarriage could only result in "painful physical and moral degeneration in the offspring and rapid sterilization".<sup>21</sup> Although they were deemed by all but labor as economically desirable immigrants,<sup>22</sup> their total inability to become assimilated made them undesirable:

They never became Canadianized; there does not appear to be the least possibility of their ever becoming so; they come to Canada as Orientals, and, Orientals they remain. They form a foreign block in whatever part of the country they settle.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> That these attitudes were not confined to Winnipeg is evident from the fact that the Federal Government passed legislation in June of 1919 which allowed for restriction of immigrants because of peculiar custom and general inability to be readily assimilated. See Canada Year Book, 1957-58, pp. 168-169.

<sup>19</sup> See MFP, edit., May 29, 1914, June 6, 1914, June 13, 1914.

<sup>20</sup> MFP, edit., Sept. 2, 1921. The word was usually spelt H-i-n-d-u, but in this editorial the Free Press spelled it H-i-n-d-o-o. An attempt to ridicule through the use of this spelling seems obvious.

<sup>21</sup> Tribune, edit., May 10, 1922.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., Report of annual convention of Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, WLN, Oct. 1, 1920; WLN, March 9, 1923, p. 5.

<sup>23</sup> MFP, edit., May 10, 1922.



Also regarded as completely undesirable were pacifistic conscientious-objecting religious groups. During the war a tremendous amount of hostility to these groups had developed,<sup>24</sup> and the attitude of the British-Canadian community of Winnipeg had been summarized by the Free Press as follows:

If this country is not good enough to fight for it is  
not good enough to live in.<sup>25</sup>

In the years following the war anyone who desired to obtain the privileges of Canadian citizenship while accepting only some of the responsibility of defending the nation in war time was regarded as undesirable.<sup>26</sup>

Demands for "special privileges" were seen as evidence of a desire to subvert Canadian institutions. To offer special privileges to the Mennonites, said the Tribune, would "establish Germany in Canada".<sup>27</sup>

Immigrants from Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire were also unwelcome. In part, the desire to exclude these immigrants indicated simply a desire to avoid contact with those with whom Canada had lately

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<sup>24</sup> Morton, op. cit., p. 360.

<sup>25</sup> MFP, edit., Sept. 4, 1918. See also letter of W. Barker to MFP, Sept. 9, 1918.

<sup>26</sup> See Telegram, edit., April 14, 1919; resolution of Canadian Club Committee on immigration, reported Telegram, April 19, 1919, p. 3; Proceedings of the Manitoba School Trustees Association, 1919, p. 10; report of convention of United Farmers of Manitoba, Telegram, Jan. 8, 1920, p. 1.

<sup>27</sup> Telegram, Aug. 20, 1919, p. 1.

been at war,<sup>28</sup> but much of it was due to notions of how well immigrants from these countries could be expected to become Canadianized. Winnipeggers before the war had been favorably disposed towards German immigrants; J.S. Woodsworth said that they were regarded as almost British, and that "even those who detest 'foreigners' make an exception of Germans".<sup>29</sup> But during the war the Germans had become disassociated from the Anglo-Saxon "race". In 1919 the Tribune reported that there was no Anglo-Saxon race. The term "Anglo-Saxon" was a misnomer, and,

. . . the proper term should be Anglo-Celtic race. Of that race the Anglo may be credited with supplying the dour steadfastness which detractors call obstinacy, a quality which has its value in the man as it has in the bulldog. Vision, imagination and the aesthetic qualities are contributed by the Celt.

It is not to be hoped that "Anglo-Saxon" which is wrong, will be changed at this time of day to Anglo-Celtic, which is right, but all Scottish, Irish and Welsh people, and most English folk, would do well to remember that they are not the descendants of an insignificant German tribe.<sup>30</sup>

The various ethnic groups of the Austro-Hungarian Empire had also been once regarded as, in varying degrees, desirable.<sup>31</sup> But now they, along with Germans, were regarded as "impossible to assimilate as Canadian citizens".<sup>32</sup> They were contemplated as groups that had been tried and

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<sup>28</sup> See report of proceedings of Manitoba School Trustees Association, Telegram, Feb. 27, 1919, p. 3; MFP edit., Sept. 29, 1918.

<sup>29</sup> Stranger Within Our Gates, p. 100.

<sup>30</sup> Telegram, edit., June 10, 1919.

<sup>31</sup> See Woodsworth, op. cit., Ch. X.

<sup>32</sup> Report of annual convention of the Great War Veterans Association, Tribune, March 26, 1920, p. 1.

found wanting; the war had demonstrated "the dangers of a too complaisant attitude" toward them.<sup>33</sup> In the post-war years they were considered to be "so foreign in their conceptions of Canadianism", and so incapable of "ascribing to the vogues and laws, to the benefits and the customs of the land", that it was the safest policy to exclude them in order to maintain a purely British-Canadian way of life.<sup>34</sup>

The division between undesirable and desirable immigrant groups was crossed with non-German Northern Europeans. Scandinavians, Netherlands, Belgians, Finns, and Icelanders were regarded as "desirable on every count".<sup>35</sup> Because of their proven willingness to adopt British customs, to send their children to "Canadian" schools, and to learn the English language, they were much more welcome than were immigrant groups from southern and eastern Europe.

But always the preferred immigrants were those of British stock, either from Great Britain or from the United States. To a degree the preference for British immigrants resulted from the very strong devotion felt by Winnipeggers towards the Mother-Country. Despite John W. Dafoe's views on imperial questions, Winnipeggers thought of themselves as citizens of a world-dominating Empire.<sup>36</sup> J.W. Chafe recalls that, when

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<sup>33</sup> MFP, edit., Feb. 4, 1919.

<sup>34</sup> Telegram, edit., March 31, 1920; MFP edit., March 29, 1921.

<sup>35</sup> MFP, edit., Sept. 25, 1918.

<sup>36</sup> For evidence that Dafoe's editorials on imperial matters brought significant opposition from the general public, see Dafoe to J.S. Ewart, Feb. 17, 1921, and H.C. Howard to Dafoe Sept. 22, 1922, Dafoe Papers, M73, M74, U of M.

he was a young man, "the red sections on the map signified 'us'".<sup>37</sup> It was a tremendous affinity to the Empire that was embraced in the post-war years. In 1920 the Reverend Canon Bertie Heeney wrote a leaflet entitled "Seven Reasons Why the Anglican Church Should Be Maintained in Our National Life" for the centenary celebration service of the Archdiocese of Rupertsland. One of the seven reasons, written in a tone that assumed unanimous endorsement, was "because she has been the strongest factor in our national life making for British connection".<sup>38</sup> A conscious effort to foster British connection through increased circulation of British periodicals was devised by the Manitoba Council of English Societies.<sup>39</sup> At times the attachment felt towards Great Britain was carried to extremes. A local Presbyterian clergyman asserted that starving Irish children did not deserve relief supplies because their parents had been disloyal to England during the war.<sup>40</sup> Winnipeg Mayor C. F. Gray, in appealing to the city's citizens to support the Navy League, closed with what had become a cliché:

the sea is His and He made it but the British Navy keeps  
it free.<sup>41</sup>

"This great Empire" began one panegyric,

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<sup>37</sup> Interview, July 11, 1970.

<sup>38</sup> Archives of the Ecclesiastical Province of Rupertsland on Deposit in FAM, item 6004.

<sup>39</sup> Tribune, Nov. 19, 1920, p. 1.

<sup>40</sup> See letter to the editor of the Tribune. Feb. 4, Feb. 5, Feb. 9, 1920.

<sup>41</sup> Telegram, Oct. 20, 1920, p. 11.

presents a united and impregnable front to the forces of disintegration, of reaction, of anacrity, of communism, and of dictatorship, whether proletarian, capitalistic, or monarchial, and leads the world forward to a new era of social justice.<sup>42</sup>

But more important than devotion to England in the preference for British immigrants was the belief that the British people held the proper social, political, religious and economic ideals. The perfect immigrant was one who was "devoted to British ideas of justice and straight dealing" and who was able to "assimilate quickly with the spirit of the English-speaking Canadian",<sup>43</sup> and these were standards which all whose ethnic origin was British, whether from within the Empire or from the United States, could be expected to meet. The whole English-speaking world was seen as one big happy family. Readers of the Tribune were made aware that there had never been an American Revolution after all. The ugly rumor that such a thing had taken place was only the "direct outcome of a foreign plot to destroy the power of the British throne". Early histories of a minor quarrel between England and the thirteen colonies had been inflated by "enemy" historians into a revolution; the United States had been destined from the start, as had Canada and Australia, to become an "independent home of Britishers".<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> North-End, edit., May 26, 1922.

<sup>43</sup> Letter from J.E. Reynolds to Tribune, Jan. 6, 1923.

<sup>44</sup> Tribune, edit., April 20, 1920, citing an interview by the Christian Science Monitor with Mr. S.V. Penfold, secretary of the British-American Association of New York.

A vague sort of eugenic thinking seemed to prevail in these sentiments. Even if, as was often the case, English immigrants were considered physically "soft" or snobbish,<sup>45</sup> they were still somehow inherently devoted to "service and unselfishness",<sup>46</sup> with minds that inherently sought justice and reform in an "orderly" as opposed to revolutionary manner.<sup>47</sup> Even John W. Dafoe, though he felt that closer imperial ties were impracticable,<sup>48</sup> believed that a "moral alliance" of English-speaking peoples for the furthering of "civilization and progress" was a "sublime conception".<sup>49</sup> Their inherent qualities made Britishers a race apart,<sup>50</sup> and made them in the years immediately following the war, the only ethnic group considered to be unquestionably desirable as immigrants.

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<sup>45</sup> Interview with Mr. J.W. Chafe and Mr. F.G. Tipping.

<sup>46</sup> Tribune, edit., March 8, 1923.

<sup>47</sup> Tribune, edit., Jan. 2, 1920.

<sup>48</sup> See for example MPP, edit., Sept. 9, 1919.

<sup>49</sup> Dafoe to G.M. Wrong, Oct. 16, 1916, Dafoe Papers, M73, U. of M. See also Dafoe to J.S. Ewart Jan. 7, 1921, M73.

<sup>50</sup> Sometimes Britishers were described as the "white people". See statement of G.B. Clarke, secretary of the Winnipeg Social Welfare Commission, commenting on the tidiness of 'foreign' homes, reported Telegram, Sept. 4, 1919, p. 3. Allport, op. cit., p. 182, points out that there seems to be an association of "white" and "good" in many languages, and especially in the English language.

But considerations of social stability in designating desirable immigrant groups gradually lost their paramountcy. In an editorial in February of 1922 the Free Press said:

Two main features of our immigration policy must be that for the moment only those who will go on the land should, except in special cases, be admitted, and that we should, for the purposes of sound nation building, obtain as large a proportion as possible of British and North-European immigrants, so as to offset, and aid in the assimilation of, any large influx from mid-European countries.<sup>51</sup>

The editorial indicated that, in selecting immigrants, considerations of the economic welfare of the country were as important as considerations of its social welfare; and as the months passed priority was placed more and more on considerations of economic welfare. High taxes coupled with twenty million acres of vacant land produced an impression that perhaps too stringent qualifications had been adopted. Agricultural immigration became the chief topic of discussion and the accepted cure-all for all the province's ills:

If the grave financial conditions confronting Manitoba as a province are to be overcome, steps must be taken to place more people on the land.<sup>52</sup>

More immigrants, so the argument ran, meant more people, less per capita taxation, more agricultural production, more rural capital, greater consumption of industrial products and thus at some time in the future

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<sup>51</sup>MFP, edit., Feb. 25, 1922.

<sup>52</sup>Tribune, edit., Oct. 18, 1922. See also Tribune, edits., March 7, July 29, Nov. 18, 1922; Jan. 29, March 19, March 31, April 9, June 8, June 15, Sept. 12, Nov. 2, 1923; MFP, edits., May 22, May 31, Sept. 15, Oct. 18, Oct. 28, Nov. 15, Nov. 29, Dec. 11, Dec. 16, 1922; April 20, May 18, Aug. 18, Sept. 20, Oct. 26, Nov. 16, 1923; St. James Leader, edit., Oct. 14, 1921. The index to editorials of the Free Press, Free Press building, reveals the prominence of immigration as a public issue at this time.

even need for urban immigration.<sup>53</sup> By November of 1923 the Tribune reported that the West was "growing steadily more enthusiastic" for an unrestricted agricultural immigration policy.<sup>54</sup> Fears of the social consequences of an aggressive immigration policy had become a secondary to fears of the economic consequences of a languid one.

With the primary criterion of desirable immigrants changed from social desirability to economic desirability,<sup>55</sup> the door was opened to ethnic groups which had been unwelcome for the previous few years. The "test of the desirable immigrant" had become

his willingness to go on the land and his ability by courage and industry, to make a living out of it. Any person who can do this is a good enough immigrant for Canada at this time. It does not much matter what country he comes from or what language he speaks.<sup>56</sup>

Although the British and Scandinavian ethnic groups, provided they were industrious and not "silk-stockinged and lily fingered", were still preferred,<sup>57</sup> a recognition that not enough British immigrants of the right calibre were available meant that they would have to be sought elsewhere.<sup>58</sup> Once again the German farmer and the Central European peasant

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<sup>53</sup> MFP, edit., Sept. 23, 1921; Tribune, edits., April 4, Oct. 18, Nov. 15, 1922.

<sup>54</sup> Tribune, edit., Nov. 2, 1923.

<sup>55</sup> See MFP, edits., May 5, 1925, Sept. 26, 1925.

<sup>56</sup> MFP, edit., Dec. 16, 1922.

<sup>57</sup> MFP, edit., April 11, 1922, Tribune, editorials of April 14, June 19, July 29, 1922; St. James Leader, edit., Sept. 29, 1922; The North-End, edit., Nov. 20, 1924.

<sup>58</sup> MFP, edits., Nov. 27, 1923. Dec. 1, 1924; Clifford Sifton to J.W. Dafoe, Dec. 1, 1922, Dafoe Papers, M74, U of M.



"in a sheepskin coat" were considered good quality.<sup>59</sup> They were healthy, experienced, "eminently fitted to become successful farmers and to help in the development of the country".<sup>60</sup> The North-Ender said that "all good Canadians" welcomed this immigrant group, "with their rough garb [and] their sturdy limbs".<sup>61</sup> They were viewed as particularly suited for "a certain class of agricultural land" in the northern portions of the province.<sup>62</sup>

That these settlers would have to be Canadianized was considered obvious.<sup>63</sup> The significant thing was that by the mid-twenties non-British immigrants were deemed both willing and capable of becoming Canadianized. The Free Press said that since it was the "declared policy" of the federal government to weed out undesirables, citizens of Manitoba should assume that all who were allowed into the country sincerely desired to

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<sup>59</sup> The phrase is that used by Clifford Sifton in describing these immigrants. See John W. Dafoe, Clifford Sifton in Relation to His Time, (Toronto, The Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd., 1931) p. 142.

<sup>60</sup> MFP, edit., Jan. 5, 1923.

<sup>61</sup> North-Ender, edit., Nov. 20, 1924.

<sup>62</sup> MFP, edit., Nov. 27, 1923. In his letters to Dafoe, Clifford Sifton wrote as one who expected that no one in his right mind would attempt to farm in Manitoba's North, but an ignorant Central European peasant might. See Letters of Dec. 1, Dec. 14, 1922 and Jan. 16, 1923: "[For the] rough lands of northern Manitoba and Ontario, the only people that will settle them and stay on the land are the European peasants of the Ruthenian and Hungarian type." Dafoe Papers, M74, U. of M.

<sup>63</sup> Tribune, edit., June 19, 1922.

be assimilated, and that British-Canadians should make a special effort to welcome all "New Canadians".<sup>64</sup> It was felt that there was no need to fear that Canada would be swamped by an unassimilable group. By making certain that only such immigrants as "will fit naturally into the economic life of the community" were allowed to enter and with the public schools having established their efficiency in "follow-up" work with the "New Canadians", the community was confident that it could absorb all immigrants who could be expected to arrive in Manitoba.<sup>65</sup> By the mid-twenties, possibilities of threats to pure British-Canadianism from unassimilable culture groups seemed relatively unlikely.

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<sup>64</sup> MFP, edit., April 19, 1924.

<sup>65</sup> MFP, edits., June 24, Dec. 1, 1924; Tribune, edit., Aug. 22, 1923.

### CHAPTER III

#### WINNIPEG AND LABOR: ANTI-RADICAL NATIVISM

It has been mentioned that one of the consequences of the strike was a suspicious attitude toward labor on the part of the established community. Labor represented a revolutionary threat, and this threat was perceived as a "foreign" revolutionary threat, in that it was assumed that labor was somehow dominated by foreign followers of foreign ideologies. The Free Press advised skilled workers of British origin that the strike was "a lesson written in letters of fire", that association with the radical labor element meant subjection to "the mass of rough labor, mostly foreign born".<sup>1</sup> Rev. Dr. J.E. Hughson told his congregation that because foreigners had "swamped labor" it had become difficult to obtain from within labor ranks "the vote of the Canadian patriot and citizen".<sup>2</sup>

The association of "foreign" labor with rough, unskilled labor was no doubt a valid one. In 1918 and 1921 the City Health Department conducted housing surveys of selected Winnipeg districts. Although the

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<sup>1</sup> MFP, edit., June 6, 1919.

<sup>2</sup> Report of a sermon, MFP, June 3, 1919, p. 5.

surveys did not record, by ethnic origin, the occupation of heads of families, they did record separately the occupation and ethnic origin of heads of families in each district. This was enough to indicate statistically that non Anglo-Saxons tended to congregate in the "North End", and tended to be employed in laboring occupations, while those of British origin tended to congregate in the South West part of the city and work in higher-paying and more socially prestigious occupations.<sup>3</sup>

Yet it was the unskilled nature of "foreign" laborers that made it highly unlikely that they would lead, or even follow, a revolutionary labor movement. As was mentioned previously, probably none of the strike leaders were of a non-British ethnic origin, and F.G. Tipping, who was not only a member of the Strike Committee but a perennial labor candidate in municipal, provincial and federal elections, can not remember, in the twenties, one prominent Winnipeg labor leader being of other than British origin.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, although the voting results of various elections would indicate that foreign voters in the North End did vote for labor candidates, there is no reason to think that they were attracted to "radical" labor leaders. "They simply couldn't follow the abstractions of Marxism or Socialism", says Tipping, "and they were interested in bread and butter issues".<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, when the established community

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<sup>3</sup> See Appendix I, tables 5 & 6. Table 5, taken from W.J. Sislers Peaceful Invasion, points out the rapid development of the North End into something of a foreign ghetto by World War I.

<sup>4</sup> Interview, July 30, 1970.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

thought of radical labor, it always had "foreign" connections, whereas "sane" labor was associated with British-Canadians and British-Canadianism.

The established community was to a certain extent justified in viewing Winnipeg labor as particularly radical. The One Big Union maintained a viable operation in Winnipeg for some time after the movement had dwindled in other Canadian cities.<sup>6</sup> The One Big Union's weekly newspaper, the Bulletin, was constantly uttering statements that surely would have been offensive. According to the OBU journal, the message of organized religion was to "keep your eyes turned to heaven while master picks your pockets".<sup>7</sup> It ridiculed the idea, accepted by most Winnipeggers as gospel truth, that Germany had caused the war.<sup>8</sup> It referred to England as an "imperialist" nation which, through influence in the League of Nations and through her allies and colonies, was attempting to dominate the world as much as Germany ever had.<sup>9</sup> At a time when the elimination of class distinction was an ideal to which all elements of the population were expected to aspire,<sup>10</sup> the Bulletin urged its readers to

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<sup>6</sup> H.A. Logan, Trade Unions in Canada, Their Development and Functioning, (Toronto, the Macmillan Co. of Canada, Ltd., 1948), p. 326.

<sup>7</sup> OBU Bulletin, Dec. 14, 1922.

<sup>8</sup> OBU Bulletin, July 16, 1921.

<sup>9</sup> OBU Bulletin, April 24, 1920. The words "empire" and "imperialist" were always used with connotations of economic exploitation by the Bulletin. These words were seldom used by other Winnipeggers except when referring to devotion to the British Empire.

<sup>10</sup> See St. James Leader, edit., July 25, 1919, Dec. 19, 1919.

. . . unite all workers into a class organization with the opposition of the classes as our basic principle and propaganda . . . a new spirit must be instilled into the workers, a spirit of defiance, not co-operation.<sup>11</sup>

Labor spokesmen always seemed to be doing something to antagonize the community. R.J. Johns, an OBU supporter, apparently made it a point to remain seated during the playing of "God Save the King" at a public function.<sup>12</sup> John Queen reportedly flew red flags over his residence at Gimli on the day of huge Empire peace celebrations.<sup>13</sup> And one can never discount the personality factors involved in these suspicious attitudes toward labor. One former rural M.L.A., who prefers to remain anonymous, reports that from his very first personal contact with William Ivens he had never trusted him, for on that occasion Ivens had told him to bring his father, known to be suffering from what medical doctors said was an incurable cancerous growth, to his office. Ivens told him that he could "cure anything". He was a chiropractor.

In the years following the General Strike of 1919, the established community perceived labor as a revolutionary threat not primarily because they feared that a similar strike would be attempted a second time, but rather because it was feared that labor would capture control of

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<sup>11</sup> OBU Bulletin, Jan. 11, 1922.

<sup>12</sup> Telegram, Aug. 12, 1919, p. 6.

<sup>13</sup> Telegram, July 22, 1919. Peace celebrations throughout the Empire took place on July 19, 1919.

governments with what the Telegram called a "carefully organized sympathetic vote".<sup>14</sup> With the end of the strike labor had decided that it could best achieve its aims by marshalling the forces of working men for political action rather than strike action. Ernest Robinson, Secretary of the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council said that

the part failure, upon the industrial field, has turned the minds of workers toward the political field . . .<sup>15</sup>

The thought that recent revolutionaries might gain their objectives through political means horrified the established community. Their apprehensions were no doubt augmented by the following statement made by an unidentified labor man:

Wait until November, and we'll show you who's going to win this city. After next November's election, we'll have the six hour day in this city and we will be able to dictate the method of taxation and everything else.<sup>16</sup>

The spokesman was referring to the civic elections of 1919, for which the Winnipeg leaders of the Dominion Labor Party, a moderate group led by Fred Dixon, S.J. Farmer, F.G. Tipping and James Winning, had announced the intention of sponsoring candidates as early as July 10.<sup>17</sup> The lesser Winnipeg labor parties, the Social Democratic Party, led by John Queen, the very leftest Socialist Party of Canada led by George Armstrong and William Pritchard, and the Soldiers 'and Sailors' Labor

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<sup>14</sup>Telegram, edit., June 26, 1919.

<sup>15</sup>Telegram, Sept. 24, 1919.

<sup>16</sup>Telegram, July 11, 1919.

<sup>17</sup>MFP, July 10, 1919.

Party led by S. Cartwright, decided to join with the D.L.P. At a nominating convention held on October 6th, at which "all classes of labor people" were represented, candidates were selected who were apparently acceptable to all concerned.<sup>18</sup>

By August the established community had organized itself as well. The instrument through which the Anglo-Saxon business and professional classes worked was the Citizens' League, the constitution of which said that the organization was set up, in part

to permanently carry on the work of the Citizens' Committee of One Thousand

and for

the inculcation of the best Canadian ideals; the cultivation of respect for Canadian law; the proper maintenance of constitutional government and the combatting of all forms of propaganda tending to subvert our established Canadian institutions.<sup>19</sup>

By September this organization was ready to prevent "the Bolsheviks and red revolutionists" in Winnipeg from seizing control of the city council".<sup>20</sup>

The Labor platform in the civic election was directly antagonistic to the interests of the business and professional classes. Labor

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<sup>18</sup> Labor Election Bulletin, Nov. 26, 1919, R.A.C. Manning Papers, file No. 4, P.A.M.; See WLN, Oct. 10, 1919, p. 1: "Members of the Dominion Labor Party and the ex-Soldiers and Sailors' Labor Party were seated by card. Industrial organizations were represented by delegates in the proportion of three for the first hundred and one for every fifty members".

<sup>19</sup> MFP, Aug. 21, 1919.

<sup>20</sup> Telegram, Sept. 23, 1919, Tribune, Sept. 23, 1919.



demanding tax exemptions for homes assessed at under \$3,000 (leading of course to higher tax rates for homes assessed at more than \$3,000), free school texts, abolition of property qualifications for school trustees and aldermen, and municipalization of public utilities. But most important was the demand for the principle of reinstatement and affiliation of public employees.

Those public employees of all levels of government who had struck in May and June had been dismissed, and the specific issue involved here was the re-hiring of dismissed employees of the city of Winnipeg. This problem originated with the decision of City Council during the strike (on May 26) to present an ultimatum to all striking civic employees which demanded that in order to regain their jobs they would have to sign what became known as the "slave-pact" agreement, whereby they pledged to disassociate themselves from

any union which is directly or indirectly in affiliation with any organization, to whose orders, directions, or recommendations such union or association, or its workers are obliged to conform, or act in concert [and that they would] not take part in, or support, or favour what is known as a sympathetic strike.<sup>21</sup>

Labor contended that civic employees should have the right to affiliate with the Trades and Labor Council, and should be reinstated in their job without having to sign the "slave-pact" agreement.<sup>22</sup> But to the established community it seemed sheer nonsense that public servants

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<sup>21</sup>Quoted by McNaught, A Prophet in Politics, p. 113.

<sup>22</sup>See MFP, Nov. 10, 1919.

should be able to affiliate with unions. It seemed to be an open invitation for public servants to thwart the wishes of the very public they were supposed to serve, and to join in sympathetic strikes for the workers in private industries.<sup>23</sup>

To stymie the threat represented by labor, the Citizens' Committee did everything possible from an organizational standpoint to ensure victory. In every ward care was taken to make sure that the anti-strike vote would not be split.<sup>24</sup> They fixed nomination meetings so that labor sympathizers would not be able to influence the selection of Citizen candidates.<sup>25</sup> Mr. J.J. Samson, ward three labor aldermanic candidate, a city policeman who had struck and had not been rehired by the city, revealed that he had been approached to leave the city until after the elections, supposedly to go to Rochester for a sudden operation, and return to his job with all his back pay and promise of an early promotion.<sup>26</sup> But no doubt more effective than all of this was the rhetoric used by the Citizens League and the daily newspapers in their insistence that this civic election was the "second round of the strike".

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<sup>23</sup> Tribune, edit., July 3, 1919, MFP, edit., Nov. 18, 1919.

<sup>24</sup> Only in ward six was there more than two aldermanic candidates. Here the third candidate was a political nonentity named J. Kaplonovitch, endorsed neither by the Citizens nor by Labor.

<sup>25</sup> See report of war 7 meeting, MFP, Nov. 18, 1919, p. 4.

<sup>26</sup> WLN, Nov. 28, 1919, p. 1.

Despite the fact that the labor convention of October 6th was well attended by all labor elements; despite the fact that many labor candidates were international trade unionists and moderates;<sup>27</sup> and despite labor's protestations to the contrary,<sup>28</sup> the impression was established that within Winnipeg labor ranks "Bolshie pulls the strings".<sup>29</sup> The radicals had "captured" the Labor nomination meeting and the candidates did not represent labor at all, but only "a small group of extreme radicals".<sup>30</sup> Although a moderate, labor mayoralty candidate, S.J. Farmer was portrayed as an extremist. The evidence for this conclusion was that he supported the inimical principles of reinstatement and affiliation, and that he was the accepted candidate of the same nominating convention that had first selected the despised former editor of the Western Labor News, William Ivens.<sup>31</sup>

As far as the established community was concerned, what labor was trying to achieve was class control of the city. The Citizens' League,

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<sup>27</sup> The Little Daily, Nov. 24, 1919, p. 2, RAC Manning Papers, file No. 4.

<sup>28</sup> See statements by Labor mayoralty candidate S.J. Farmer, MFP, Nov. 13, 1919, p. 4.

<sup>29</sup> MFP, edit., Nov. 19, 1919.

<sup>30</sup> MFP, edit., Nov. 24, 1919.

<sup>31</sup> MFP, edit., Nov. 8, 1919; report of speech by Citizen's candidate Charles F. Gray, WLN, Nov. 7, 1919, p. 1. Ivens had been the first selection as mayoralty candidate at the October 6th meeting. When he declined the nomination, S.J. Farmer, the second choice, took his place. The "radical" element did, of course, support Farmer, since they had no real alternative. See OBV Bulletin, Sept. 29, 1919, p. 8.

like its predecessor the Citizens' Committee of One Thousand, always regarded itself as the representative of the whole population of the city, including "sane" labor.<sup>32</sup> Labor's insistence, probably a substantially correct one, that the city was already controlled by a Capitalist class,<sup>33</sup> was considered absurd. In fact the whole Marxist idea of a society composed of two warring classes was regarded as intellectually unrespectable and totally at variance with the facts. The Tribune said that children, the aged, the unemployed, the sick and disabled, the unorganized manual and clerical workers, the professional classes and those living on small incomes made up a "general public" not represented in either of the terms "Capital" or "Labor".<sup>34</sup> Labor seemed to be trying to gain political control of the city and use this control for the benefit of only a small minority of the people.<sup>35</sup> "The issue before the elections is plain" said one editorial:

Shall the People Rule?  
Or, Shall class Rule?<sup>36</sup>

What made the threat of class rule seem extremely menacing was that the class attempting to gain control of the city through the Labor party was perceived as the same element of the community that had been disloyal during the war, and had narrowly failed to carry out a revolution in May and June. It can not be denied that a certain amount of hypocrisy

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<sup>32</sup> See MFP, edit., Nov. 25, 1919; Telegram, edit., Nov. 19, 1919; Masters, p. 65.

<sup>33</sup> See statements by Farmer, reported MFP, Nov. 24, 1919, p. 5.

<sup>34</sup> Tribune, edit., Nov. 19, 1919.

<sup>35</sup> Tribune, edit., Nov. 24, 1919.

<sup>36</sup> Tribune, edit., Nov. 15, 1919.

and false propaganda was involved in developing the connections between labor and sedition. For example, John Blumberg, Labor aldermanic candidate in ward six, was constantly and purposely referred to as "Sam" Blumberg, an infamous alien enemy who had been deported by the immigration authorities in the spring.<sup>37</sup> But there was a genuine fear that a truly disloyal element was attempting, this time by constitutional means, to "capture" control of the city. Therefore, the issue at stake was not only class rule, but "whether the Union Jack shall continue to float over our fair city or is it to be replaced by the Red Flag?"<sup>38</sup> Winnipeg's choice was between "constitutionalism and revolution",<sup>39</sup> between "the British tradition of law, order and equity" and a "radical-socialist autocracy",<sup>40</sup> between those who would defend the public schools and those who were attempting to capture the school board

for the benefit of their particular class . . . [and] carry on propaganda in the schools, a method that was first devised by the Germans.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> MFP, Nov. 10, 1919, p. 4.

<sup>38</sup> Citizens' League Advertisement, Tribune, Nov. 25, 1919, p. 16.

<sup>39</sup> MFP, edit., Nov. 6, 1919.

<sup>40</sup> MFP, Nov. 6, 1919, p. 3; MFP, edit., Nov. 27, 1919.

<sup>41</sup> Statement by R.W. Craig, K.C., Chairman of Winnipeg Public School Board, reported Tribune, Nov. 20, 1919, p. 4. See also his statement reported MFP, Nov. 22, 1919, p. 1, and the Free Press editorial of that day.

The Citizens' League directed the following advertisement toward Winnipeg's returned soldiers:

DO YOU REMEMBER when you were in desperate need of help in the trenches - little more than two years ago?  
DO YOU REMEMBER the repeated onslaught of the Hun, which made you pray for reinforcements?  
DO YOU KNOW that S.J. Farmer and other candidates on the radical labor ticket were active workers against conscription at that time?  
DO YOU KNOW that these men tried to prevent help being sent to you, when it meant life or death?  
REMEMBER these things when you go to the polls on Friday, November 28.<sup>42</sup>

There was "just one issue", said the headlines, editorials, advertisements, speeches and posters: "Red or White". "It is up to you Mr. Citizen! Are you Red or White?"<sup>43</sup>

Considering the forces with which Labor had to contend,<sup>44</sup> the results of the election were extremely close.<sup>45</sup> Farmer lost by slightly over 3,000 votes, but Labor gained two of seven school trustee positions and three of the seven aldermanic seats contested. The city council was now split seven to seven with Mayor Gray having the deciding vote.

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<sup>42</sup> Tribune, Nov. 26, 1919, p. 14.

<sup>43</sup> See Citizens League advertisements Telegram, Nov. 21, 1919, p. 14, Tribune, Nov. 21, 1919, p. 21, Nov. 25, 1919, p. 16, report of speech by Mayor Gray, Telegram, Nov. 5, 1919, p. 8.

<sup>44</sup> The WLN, Dec. 5, 1919, p. 1, outlined these forces as follows: the franchise, which allowed for absentee property votes and multiple property votes, (see footnote 60), a united daily press, over \$1,000 per day worth of advertising by the Citizens' League, the clergy and the united political machinery of the Liberal and Conservative parties.

<sup>45</sup> Results can be obtained from MFP, Nov. 29, 1919.

Gray felt that his victory was "a wonderful tribute . . . to the sanity and patriotism of Winnipeg",<sup>46</sup> but the established business and professional classes realized that something more tangible was necessary to keep the city out of the hands of the revolutionaries.

Compared to the civic election of 1919, the civic elections of 1920 and 1921 were marked by apathy and the total absence of inflammable rhetoric. The 1920 civic contests saw no full-page Citizens League advertisements, and Labor mayoralty candidate Farmer even remarked at the close of the campaign that he felt that the press had been "decidedly fair".<sup>47</sup> The 1920 election turned on economic issues such as the feasibility of building a memorial Mall, more extensive public housing and the cost of public transportation--all of which were discussed with relative placidity.<sup>48</sup> In 1921, the federal elections overshadowed the civic contests, voting was very light and incumbent Mayor Edward Parnell even went unopposed by a Labor candidate.<sup>49</sup>

The civic contests of 1920 and 1921 were serene ones, but it was not primarily because the perceived threat from a foreign-dominated radical

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<sup>46</sup> MFP, Nov. 29, 1919, p. 1.

<sup>47</sup> MFP, Dec. 3, 1920, p. 10.

<sup>48</sup> WLN, edit., Nov. 12, 1920; Nov. 26, 1920, p. 1.

<sup>49</sup> Tribune, Nov. 2, 1921, p. 1, Nov. 26, 1921, p. 1; MFP, Nov. 25, 1921, p. 14; North-Ender, Nov. 17, 1921, p. 3.

labor movement had receded. Although his speeches were less inflammatory than they had been in 1919, in 1920 S.J. Farmer, again Labor's candidate for mayor, was damaged by his reputation as a radical.<sup>50</sup> There was still a fear that a labor-controlled school board would mean that Marxist - socialist propaganda would be taught in the schools.<sup>51</sup> In 1922, John W. Dafoe remarked to Sifton that it was obvious that Winnipeg was "the citadel" of Canadian radical labor.<sup>52</sup> He considered it revealing that Labor candidates in Manitoba always seemed to be the champion of radical "minority factions", not of the sane working man.<sup>53</sup> He found it shocking that the International Labor Party, which "theoretically, at any rate" was identified with "Red" ideology, could elect six provincial members in 1922, four of them from Winnipeg.<sup>54</sup> Always, the political successes

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<sup>50</sup> MFP, edit., Dec. 6, 1920.

<sup>51</sup> MFP, Dec. 2, 1920, p. 6.

<sup>52</sup> Dafoe to Clifford Sifton, July 25, 1922, Dafoe Papers, M74, U. of M.

<sup>53</sup> MFP, edit., Nov. 24, 1921. The editorial was generalizing from the observation that Labor candidates for federal office in Winnipeg constituencies in 1921 were Socialist Bob Russell in North Winnipeg and International Labor Party Candidate J.S. Woodsworth in Winnipeg Centre.

<sup>54</sup> Dafoe to Sifton, July 25, 1922, Dafoe Papers, M74, U. of M. The ILP was formed in March of 1921 when prominent D.L.P. leaders Dixon, Farmer, Ivens and W.D. Bayley, who felt that the D.L.P. was being emasculated by the domination of conservative craft unionists, bolted from the party. The Free Press considered that the ILP was composed of "a group of nondescripts", but it had considerably more electoral success than did the DLP. In the civic elections of 1921, three ILP candidates ran and all three were elected, whereas the DLP elected none of four. See OBV Bulletin, Dec. 1, 1921, p. 1, and McNaught, A Prophet in Politics, pp. 147-148.



of radical Labor were seen as the result of the support of "the electors of foreign birth".<sup>55</sup>

The primary reason for the mildness of the civic campaigns of 1920 and 1921 was that labor could not be expected to gain control of the city council. "This year" said Dafoe, "the situation is not quite so bad."<sup>56</sup> Labor could not expect to elect majorities in 1920 and 1921 in part because internal quarrels made it extremely difficult to obtain the support of all labor elements for individual candidates.<sup>57</sup> But primarily labor could not expect to win because of the effectiveness of the gerrymander involved in the amendments to the Winnipeg city charter passed by the provincial legislature in March of 1920.

Both labor and the Citizens' League were dissatisfied with the existing Winnipeg charter, passed in 1918.<sup>58</sup> Labor felt that ownership of property should not be a criterion for qualification of mayors and aldermen,<sup>59</sup> and that ownership of property should not allow one to qualify as an elector whether or not one resided in a ward,<sup>60</sup> and demanded simple

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<sup>55</sup> MFP, edit., July 12, 1920.

<sup>56</sup> Dafoe to Clifford Sifton, Nov. 10, 1920, Dafoe Papers, U. of M., M73.

<sup>57</sup> For the internal labor struggles, see Peter J. Kidd, "Winnipeg and Labor: The Aftermath of the General Strike", (unpublished paper for History 733, U. of M., 1970). See also Masters, op. cit., p. 145n, McNaught, op. cit., pp. 147-148.

<sup>58</sup> The charter is contained in Statutes of Manitoba (1918) 8 George V c. 120.

<sup>59</sup> Mayoralty candidates were required to own property assessed at \$2,000; aldermanic candidates at \$500. Ibid., 8-10.

<sup>60</sup> All who owned property assessed at \$100, or were leaseholders or tenants of real property assessed at \$200, were eligible to vote in each ward in which such property was held, ibid., 8-14.

adult suffrage.<sup>61</sup> The Citizens' League decried the injustice involved in electing an equal number of aldermen (two) from each ward despite the wide disparity in the number of electors in each ward.<sup>62</sup> Under the existing system, Labor could feel fairly certain that they would elect aldermen in the relatively small north end wards: five, six and seven. They were unlikely to win in the relatively large south end wards one, two and three. It was possible for Labor to concentrate on winning the battle in ward four and thus control the city council even though a majority of the electors opposed them.<sup>63</sup> Accordingly, the League's Advisory Committee on Municipal Affairs, which was responsible for action in this matter, proposed some very interesting changes to the Winnipeg charter. Mr. R.A.C. Manning, Winnipeg lawyer, who presented the proposed changes to the city charter, said that they "were necessary to save the city from Bolshevism".<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Report of DLP meeting, MFP, Feb. 20, 1920; report of TLC meeting MFP, March 17, 1920.

<sup>62</sup> The number of electors in each ward was:

Ward I	-12,441
Ward II	- 5,210
Ward III	-15,820
Ward IV	- 8,044,
Ward V	- 5,592
Ward VI	- 9,568
Ward VII	- 3,750

MFP, edit., Feb. 7, 1920.

<sup>63</sup> MFP, edit., March 9, 1920.

<sup>64</sup> WLN, Feb. 20, 1920, p. 1.

The Committee proposed the retention of the seven-ward system with an increase in the number of aldermen from fourteen to twenty, the number of aldermen from each ward to be proportionate to the number of electors in the ward. Such a development would have given more aldermen to the large wards controlled by the Citizens League. The mayor was to be elected or appointed from within the (Citizen controlled) city council. And in an obvious effort to curb the immigrant-labor vote, the committee demanded that:

No person shall be entitled to vote at any election or to be placed on the voters list who is unable to read such part of the Winnipeg Charter of 1918, as may be required by the Assessment Commissioner, County Court Judge or Deputy Returning Officer as the case may be, in the English language, and to write his or her name in the English language.<sup>65</sup>

The Manitoba Free Press, the influence of which seems to have been quite significant in shaping the amendments to the charter, felt that both the positions of Labor and of the Citizens' League were immoderate. Adult suffrage was considered to be "far too sweeping a reform",<sup>66</sup> and the proposals of the Citizens' League would only serve to "increase the discontent and inflame passions throughout the electorate".<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Adv. Committee on Municipal and Legislative Affairs to the Committee on Legislation and Reception, Jan. 15, 1920, RAC. Manning Papers, file No. 3. In presenting the proposals to the Provincial Legislature's Law Amendments Committee a spokesman for the Citizens League explained that those foreigners who really desired and deserved the franchise could go to night school and learn to read and write English. Telegram, Feb. 26, 1920.

<sup>66</sup> MFP, edit., March 17, 1920.

<sup>67</sup> MFP, edit., February 4, 1920.

The Free Press declared for a three ward system and modified proportional representation, both of which were adopted. It accused labor of not supporting the latter innovation because of the realization that to elect a majority on a system of proportional representation would mean that labor would have to advance moderate candidates,

A prospect exceedingly disagreeable to the Red element which dictated the policy upon which the last municipal elections were fought and picked the candidates.<sup>68</sup>

Ultimately the provincial legislature amended the Winnipeg charter in two acts hammered out in Law Amendments Committee, the Chairman of which was Mr. Robert Jacob, who had been one of the provisional officers of the Citizens League in 1919.<sup>69</sup> These acts were proposed as a resolution to City Council in a letter from Mr. Jacob to the City Council at its meeting of March 15, 1920. Labor's demand for adult suffrage was rejected, although the franchise was extended somewhat,<sup>70</sup> and each elector was now allowed to cast only one vote for mayor.<sup>71</sup> The Citizens' League had reason to be much happier than Labor with the amended charter, since it still allowed for "property" votes for aldermanic candidates,

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<sup>68</sup> MFP, edit., March 9, 1920.

<sup>69</sup> Telegram, Aug. 21, 1919,--list of officers.

<sup>70</sup> Statutes of Man., 10 Geo. V, c. 155, s.2. Now enfranchised were "tenants of property where such tenant occupies a portion of a building and is paid a salary in addition to being furnished free living quarters," their spouses and those over 21 years of age, resident in the city for at least six months, "having served in and been honorably discharged from the British or Canadian forces and their wives or husbands (as the case may be)".

<sup>71</sup> Statutes of Man., 10 Geo. V, c. 156, s. 1.

and since the three ward system adopted in the charter gerrymandered all of old wards five, six, and seven in the north end into one ward, ward three, leaving new wards one and two as relatively safe for non-labor candidates.<sup>72</sup> Citizen aldermen considered it a "reasonable compromise". Most Labor members considered it contemptible, but Labor alderman J.L. Wiginton supported the new charter on grounds that it seemed to be the only possible way to extend the franchise, and the new charter was passed by an 8-6 vote in City Council.<sup>73</sup>

The effectiveness of the gerrymander was revealed by the civic elections of December 3, 1920. Despite the fact that Labor aldermanic candidates gained more city-wide votes than in 1919,<sup>74</sup> in this election labor was able to elect only three out of the eleven aldermanic seats being contested. Combined with those aldermen whose seats were not contested in 1920, the City Council of 1921 and, after the civic elections of 1921, the Council of 1922, contained six Labor aldermen, twelve Citizen-supported aldermen, and a Citizen mayor, Edward Parnell.

The civic elections of 1922 and 1923, in which Labor managed to win the mayoralty contests, revealed that the perception of a revolutionary threat from a radical labor movement composed of foreign members with foreign ideologies still remained. The civic election of 1922, in which the chief issue was the extension of the franchise of

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid., c. 156, s. 1a.

<sup>73</sup> MFP, March 16, 1920, p. 1; WLN, March 19, 1920, p. 2.

<sup>74</sup> See results, MFP, Dec. 4, 1920.

the Winnipeg Electric Street Railway Company,<sup>75</sup> exhibited for the first time since 1919 full-page Citizens' League advertisements urging, Winnipeggers to vote against Bolshevism:

Winnipeg wants to heal any breach that ever may have existed between classes of its people; but it files notice, here and now, that memory is too strong an element of human nature to make possible any proposal that places Control of the lives, property, protection, education and taxation of the people in the hands of a cabal whose roster starts with names of individuals which memory makes anathema in the nostrils of this City.

Do these names mean nothing to you. . . .

FARMER - BRAY - HEAPS - ARMSTRONG

LET THE VERDICT TOMORROW BE IN NO UNCERTAIN VOICE.  
LET US SETTLE THIS THING ONCE MORE AND FOR ALL!<sup>76</sup>

Citizen-supported mayoralty candidate J.K. Sparling insisted that the most important issue before the electors was not the extension of the Street Railway franchise, but rather

the salient one - were the citizens of Winnipeg ready to be guided by a group of radicals.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> The Winnipeg Electric Street Railway Company's franchise to operate a street railway system expired in 1927, and pressure from some citizens, especially Labor followers, for developing a publicly-owned public transportation system, with power from Winnipeg City Hydro, caused the Company to try to get an extension of the franchise. The issue of extension came before the Council in early November of 1922, and it had been decided that a referendum of ratepayers only would be taken on the question after the civic elections. Since this disfranchised many who actually used the street railway, the election became, as the Free Press said, (Nov. 23) "a referendum on the propriety of the policy of a limited referendum on the question of the extension of the franchise".

<sup>76</sup> MFP, Nov. 22, 1922, p. 9, Nov. 23, 1922, p. 3.

<sup>77</sup> MFP, Nov. 14, 1922, p. 2.

"Under the smoke screen of Municipal Ownership" said a Citizens' League advertisement, "an attempt is being made to elect an administration of irresponsible elements."<sup>78</sup>

In 1923 the rhetoric of the advertisements and candidates of the Civics Association, successor to the Citizens' League, was similar to that used in 1919 and 1922. It was rumored that Farmer had kept his hat on during the November 11th Armistice-Day ceremonies,<sup>79</sup> and that he had once refused to sign a document because it concluded with the words "God Save the King".<sup>80</sup> Civics Association mayoralty candidate Robert Jacob said that Farmer was taking his orders from "extremists and Socialists",<sup>81</sup> and the weekly North-End, in a rush of similes and metaphors, submitted that Farmer was attempting to ride simultaneously the "four horses of the Apocalypse"--the Worker's Party, the One Big Union, the Socialist party, and legitimate Trade Unionism--and that he would feel more at home if required to ride only the former two, both of which were "ultra-red".<sup>82</sup>

But the civic elections of 1922 and 1923 revealed that most of the community had to be convinced of impending red revolution before they denounced labor. The Manitoba Free Press stayed neutral in both elections,<sup>83</sup> and the Tribune, in supporting Farmer in both years, ridiculed

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<sup>78</sup> North-End, Nov. 16, 1922.

<sup>79</sup> Tribune, Nov. 17, 1923, p. 5.

<sup>80</sup> See letter from "Fair Play" to Tribune, Oct. 2, 1923.

<sup>81</sup> Tribune, Nov. 19, 1923, p. 2.

<sup>82</sup> The North-End, edit., Nov. 22, 1923.

<sup>83</sup> MFP, edits., Nov. 23, 1922, Nov. 21, 1923, Nov. 23, 1923.

the idea that the I.L.P. candidates should be regarded with suspicion, "inasmuch as they may be tainted with communism, or sovietism, or smallpox, or something".<sup>84</sup> The old argument that anything was better than a labor candidate was no longer respectable:

It is now plain that the majority of the citizens are more afraid of the Street Railway partisans than they are of the radical organizations which stand at the opposite extreme. In other words, the support given Mayor Farmer by the worker's Party and by the OBU was not as great a liability to him as the support of the friends of the Street Railway Company was to Mr. Jacob.<sup>85</sup>

An impression remained long after the mid-twenties that "foreigners" were more likely than British-Canadians to adhere to revolutionary ideologies.<sup>86</sup> This assumption had become part of the city's conventional wisdom, and in the 1930's, when labor seemed to represent a renewed threat to the established order, it was automatically assumed that the foreigner was at the bottom of it.<sup>87</sup> But in the mid-twenties the threat posed by a foreign dominated radical labor movement seemed remote. In 1924 mayoralty candidate and Marlborough Hotel manager Ralph Webb said that "Red-ism" was no longer a problem in Winnipeg.<sup>88</sup> Farmer's defeat

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<sup>84</sup> Column by "An Observer", Tribune, Nov. 20, 1923, p. 3. See also Tribune, edits., Nov. 2, Nov. 11, 1922, Nov. 14, Nov. 19, 1923.

<sup>85</sup> The North-Ender, edit., Nov. 29, 1923. For similar remarks see MFP, edit., Nov. 24, 1923 and Tribune, edit., Nov. 25, 1922.

<sup>86</sup> See statement of Presbyterian ministry Rev. John Neil, MFP, Nov. 11, 1920, p. 1; The North-Ender, edit., Sept. 22, 1927.

<sup>87</sup> Interview with F.G. Tipping, July 30, 1970.

<sup>88</sup> MFP, Nov. 27, 1924, p. 22.



in the civic election of 1924 was not attributed to anything like Winnipeg's "sanity" or "patriotism", but to the tradition of electing mayors for two terms only, or to the fact that Farmer played golf when he should have been tending to the city's business.<sup>89</sup> For the next few years there would be no red-baiting at civic election time, and civic elections turned on issues of economic or administrative policy.<sup>90</sup> For the time being, Winnipeg was relatively free of overt anti-radical nativism.

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<sup>89</sup> MFP, edit., Nov. 29, 1924; The North-Ender, edit., Nov. 27, 1924.

<sup>90</sup> See Tribune, edit., Nov. 25, 1925.

## CHAPTER IV

### NATIVISM AND EDUCATION

Long before the First World War, Manitobans had recognized the importance of the public school in nationalizing European immigrants.<sup>1</sup> But during the war years, the public school came to be viewed almost exclusively as an assimilating agent, an inculcator of accepted social values. This attitude was reflected in the 1916 school legislation of the Norris Liberals, whereby English became the sole language of instruction in Manitoba public schools, bilingual normal schools were abolished, school attendance became compulsory for children between the ages of seven and thirteen (later fourteen), and school districts that could not be trusted to maintain the new standards of provincial education were designated "official trustees" by the Department of Education.

All of this indicated the intense desire of the Norris Liberals, and of the majority of the provincial population, to rid the province of bilingualism.<sup>2</sup> The Laurier-Greenway Compromise of 1897 allowed for a

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<sup>1</sup>Keith Wilson, "The Development of Education in Manitoba", (Michigan State U., Ph.D. Thesis, 1967), pp. 297-319; J.S. Woodsworth, Stranger Within Our Gates or Coming Canadians, (Toronto, Frederick Clarke Stephenson), 1909, p. 281.

<sup>2</sup>Keith Wilson points out that "probably the strongest argument" for compulsory education was the desire to assimilate immigrants, since "if the children do not attend the schools, how can the schools bring about assimilation"?, p. 319.

bilingual system of instruction in a school when ten pupils whose mother-tongue was a language other than English were in attendance. In the city of Winnipeg the clause had never been invoked, and "foreign" children in Winnipeg public schools, even when in a majority in a school, received all instruction in English.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, on four different occasions petitions had been presented demanding bilingual schools in the city, and it was deemed wise to remove the "weapon" before Winnipeg schools were also requested to give bilingual instruction.<sup>4</sup> And the fact that bilingual schools did not exist in Winnipeg itself does not mean that Winnipeggers considered the problem as one not directly affecting them. In 1915 one out of every six Manitoba children was being educated in a bilingual school, and these schools were viewed as havens of "alien nationalism" existing right on the city's doorstep.<sup>5</sup>

In fact there can be little doubt that the educational system of Manitoba required a thorough overhauling by 1916. It had become notoriously inferior,<sup>6</sup> and much of the blame could be legitimately levelled at the bilingual clause. Not only had the clause created annoying administrative difficulties wherein, for example, "the arrival and departure of a single

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<sup>3</sup> See W.J. Sisler, Peaceful Invasion, (Winnipeg, Ketchen Printing Co., 1944), Chapters 1-4.

<sup>4</sup> Thornton's address on bilingual schools, reported MFP, Jan. 13, 1916; MFP, edit., Dec. 19, 1914.

<sup>5</sup> The phrase is from an MFP, edit., Feb. 15, 1916.

<sup>6</sup> C.B. Sissons, Bi-lingual Schools in Canada, (London, J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1917), pp. 119-120; Wilson, p. 256; W.L. Morton, Manitoba, a History, p. 233.

family" could make it necessary to remove from a district a bilingual teacher in one language and replace him with a bilingual teacher in another;<sup>7</sup> but it had also adversely affected the quality of instruction. For example, Polish and Ukrainian bilingual teachers had been admitted to normal training schools after completing only grade nine, whereas for all other teachers grade ten standing was necessary, and "a certain amount of indulgence" had to be given in granting bilingual certificates so that positions could be filled.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, the bilingual schools often had not given bilingual instruction.<sup>9</sup> As John W. Dafoe remarked to a French-Canadian friend:

This province is filled with French-Canadians who have received their education in the so-called bilingual schools . . . who cannot read or write English, and who speak it with difficulty or, in many cases, not at all.<sup>10</sup>

And to be fair, the Minister of Education in the Norris government, Hon. Dr. R.S. Thornton, conducted an extremely ambitious educational program. On the assumption that his first duty was "to bring suitable education facilities within the reach of all the children of the province",<sup>11</sup> he

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<sup>7</sup> Special Reports on Bilingual Schools in Manitoba, Chas K. Newcombe, (Superintendent of Educ.), (Department of Education, Winnipeg, 1916), pp. 3-4.

<sup>8</sup> Wilson, p. 266; Annual Report of Department of Education, 1900-1901, pp. 535-536.

<sup>9</sup> See Special Report, pp. 5-26.

<sup>10</sup> J.W. Dafoe to Thomas Côté, April 16, 1916, Dafoe Papers, M73, U. of M.

<sup>11</sup> Thornton's address, reported MFP, Jan. 13, 1916.

had 120 new school buildings constructed by 1919, many of them in "foreign" districts. By that year 4,500 children for whom there had previously been no accommodation were enrolled in the province's public schools.<sup>12</sup> During his years as Minister, the qualifications of teachers improved from grade ten to grade eleven,<sup>13</sup> and a public health nurse program was initiated.<sup>14</sup> And the Norris government did not neglect the city of Winnipeg. In 1916 the grant of the Provincial Government to the Winnipeg Public School Board was \$96,138.00; by 1921 the grant was \$202,417.12.<sup>15</sup> Under the able guidance of Superintendent Dr. Daniel McIntyre, the money was put to good use. The number of school buildings increased from 45 to 66 between 1918 and 1923,<sup>16</sup> salaries and standards of teachers went up strikingly,<sup>17</sup> medical and dental health programs expanded rapidly,<sup>18</sup> and some progressive reforms were adopted, such as the instigation of a rudimentary program of using intelligence tests and measurements to classify children for remedial and special courses.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>Thomton's address, reported MFP, Feb. 3, 1919.

<sup>13</sup>Annual Report of Department of Education, 1919-1920, p. 9.

<sup>14</sup>Thomton's address, reported MFP, Jan. 31, 1920.

<sup>15</sup>Annual Reports of the Winnipeg Public School Board, 1916, p. 22; 1921, p. 21.

<sup>16</sup>Annual Report of Winnipeg Public School Board, 1923, p. 54.

<sup>17</sup>Annual Reports of Department of Education, 1917-1918, p. 159; 1919-1920, p. 115; J.W. Chafe, An Apple for the Teacher, A Centennial History of the Winnipeg School Division (Winnipeg, Hignell Printing Ltd., 1967), p. 100.

<sup>18</sup>Annual Reports of Winnipeg Public School Board, 1919, p. 108; 1920, p. 110, p. 111; 1923, p. 98, p. 99, p. 100.

<sup>19</sup>Annual Reports of Department of Education, 1920-1921, p. 113; 1921-1922, p. 113, Wilson, p. 359.

But there was more than considerations of administrative efficiency and desire for a uniform and improved quality of instruction behind the ambitious education program of the Norris government. It also represented an attempt to produce uniculturalism in the province. The attempt to make sure that all citizens of the province spoke English was not oppressive in itself. One social scientist has pointed out that equal social status for a number of languages in a state is an impossible ideal, and that a universal link-language inevitably emerges in the state.<sup>20</sup> It would seem that minority culture groups were willing to accept that English should be spoken by everyone. Mr. Joseph Bernier, Franco-Manitoban and M.L.A., said that:

Canada is a country governed by the British crown. It must, therefore, be an admitted law that the English language shall be taught perfectly in every school in the province.<sup>21</sup>

But when the majority culture group spoke of unilingualism it was equated with uniculturalism.<sup>22</sup> Mr. A. Willows, resident of Winnipeg and inspector of schools in a rural school district, said that "there can be no national sentiment without a unity of language".<sup>23</sup> "What makes aliens", said the

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<sup>20</sup> Heinz Kloss, "Bilingualism and Nationalism", Journal of Social Issues, XXIII, (April, 1967), pp. 42-44.

<sup>21</sup> Signed edit. in Le Manitoba, July 14, 1920. See also statement by Ukrainian M.L.A., N.A. Hryhorczuk, MFP, March 4, 1921.

<sup>22</sup> James P. Soffietti, "Bilingualism and Biculturalism", Modern Language Journal, XXIV, (October, 1960), pp. 275-277, points out that although language is an integral part of culture, language and culture cannot be equated.

<sup>23</sup> "Teachers in Non-English Speaking Communities", Western School Journal, Jan., 1919, p. 18.

Tribune, "is simply the language question".<sup>24</sup> "One language means one people."<sup>25</sup>

The the issue of unilingual schools involved more than simply a desire to give everyone in the province an opportunity to communicate through a common language is evident from the rhetoric of the supporters of unilingualism in 1916. "Future British domination and rights" were believed to be at stake.<sup>26</sup> Those who apposed unilingualism were rumored to be "encouraged and possibly financed as well" from a foreign nation.<sup>27</sup> The Tribune said that "our soldiers are fighting for British ideals" and asked

Are our legislators less patriotic that they should shrink from promoting British-Canadian ideals by establishing English schools in every section of this British-Canadian province?<sup>28</sup>

Although the acts which established compulsory unilingual education were passed in 1916, they were not strictly administered until the end of the war. Beginning in the fall of 1918, the Department of Education through the official trustees, began to condemn private schools as inadequate or requisition them as public schools, to forcibly levy public school taxes, and to fine or put in jail parents who would not send their

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<sup>24</sup> Tribune, edit., June 19, 1922.

<sup>25</sup> Tribune, edit., Dec. 20, 1918.

<sup>26</sup> Tribune, edit., Jan. 20, 1916.

<sup>27</sup> MFP, edit., Feb. 8, 1916.

<sup>28</sup> Tribune, edit., Feb. 4, 1916.

children to the public schools.<sup>29</sup> The stricter administration of the 1916 laws coincided with an intensified awareness, which grew steadily during the war years, that

on the school, more than upon any other agency, will depend the quality and nature of future citizenship, that, in the way in which the school adopts itself to its opportunities, depends the extent to which Canadian national sentiment will be imbibed and Canadian standards of living be adopted.<sup>30</sup>

One assumes that "education" implies some attempt to infuse accepted social and political ideals. As prominent British educator Mr. A.E. Howard says, "the school cannot aim to turn out social rebels".<sup>31</sup> But during the Norris years the community emphasized this particular aim of education almost to the exclusion of everything else. Public Schools were viewed as institutions the purpose of which was not primarily to teach people to read or think, but to turn out, like a machine, young citizens stamped with British-Canadianism. One Manitoba educator said that:

the fundamental aim of education is not to enable the children . . . to make more money, not to increase general culture, nor to raise the standard of efficiency and intelligence, but by doing all these things to train citizens worthy of their great heritage, and fitted to carry on the great national aim which is the trust bequeathed to us from past generations and centuries.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> See F.K. Francis, In Search of Utopia, The Mennonites in Manitoba, (Altona, Man., D.W. Friesen and Sons, 1955), p. 185. For evidence that administration of the acts was lax until 1918, see report of Inspector R. Goulet, Annual Report of Department of Education, 1917-1918, p. 87.

<sup>30</sup> Pamphlet condensing W.G. Pearce's Winnipeg School Days, 1871-1950, p. 8 in W.J. Sisler's Collection, "Education Papers, 1913-1950", P.A.M.

<sup>31</sup> "How Our Children Learn About Society", Twentieth Century, CLXXII, (Autumn, 1963), p. 81.

<sup>32</sup> Miss M.E. Wood, "A Plea for the Teaching of History", The Western School Journal, Jan., 1918, pp. 15-16.



Professor W.S. Osborne of the University of Manitoba said bluntly that "the aim of the school is to produce good citizens".<sup>33</sup> M.L.A., J.W. Wilton reckoned that,

In considering the relative value of any subject on the curriculum we ask "to what extent will it develop citizenship".<sup>34</sup>

Deputy Minister of Education Robert Fletcher wrote that "the Canadian public school has one great fundamental task, namely the training of Canadian citizens".<sup>35</sup> The Winnipeg Telegram, although it opposed the Norris group and upheld the pre-1916 policies of the Conservative government,<sup>36</sup> agreed that "good citizenship" was the one goal to which all education "ought to be directed".<sup>37</sup> Even the inculcation of moral ideals in the schools was considered desirable chiefly because it helped to produce good British-Canadian citizens:

Eternal spiritual values, after all . . . are the foundations upon which society stands and upon which the solidarity of the nation depends.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Speech at Ukrainian Educational Association Convention, Telegram, Nov. 26, 1919, p. 11.

<sup>34</sup> Address to Manitoba Educational Association, Western School Journal, June, 1919, p. 250.

<sup>35</sup> Annual Report of Department of Education, 1919-1920, p. 8.

<sup>36</sup> Telegram, edits., Jan. 19, Feb. 9, Feb. 16, Feb. 18, 1916, June 25, 1920.

<sup>37</sup> Telegram, edit., Aug. 26, 1919.

<sup>38</sup> Tribune, edit., April 12, 1920. See the "brilliant and impressive address" by Dr. P. Flint of Cornell University at Manitoba School Trustees Association convention, reported Telegram, Feb. 25, 1920, p. 11; Manitoba Teachers' Federation Bulletin, Feb. 4, 1920, p. 36; Telegram article on Knowles Home for Boys, June 10, 1920, p. 6.

Nobody placed more emphasis on the school as an assimilating agent than Dr. R.S. Thornton, Minister of Education from 1916 to 1922. "The great object of education" he said, "is not to teach children to read and write, but to make good Canadian citizens of them."<sup>39</sup> His "constant endeavour" was to "break down barriers" among the different ethnic and religious groups and "evolve a nationality which shall be simply Canadian and British".<sup>40</sup> He seemed to judge his whole performance as Education Minister on how many "foreign" districts could be chalked up as "Canadianized" through the public schools.<sup>41</sup> In the legislature in 1922 he reminisced as follows about his struggles with the Mennonites:

The important feature of the work is that forty-six German private schools have been closed and an opportunity for education in English is being afforded to over one thousand pupils who otherwise would have grown up as many of their parents have done in entire ignorance of the language of the country.<sup>42</sup>

No doubt much of the reason for Thornton's emphasizing this aspect of his work was that he received incessant praise for it:

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<sup>39</sup> Speech at St. Margaret's Church, Tribune, Jan. 10, 1920, Society Section, p. 5.

<sup>40</sup> Addresses by Thornton in the House, reported MFP, March 10, 1921, MFP, Jan. 13, 1916.

<sup>41</sup> See addresses along with tabling of Annual Reports of Department of Education, reported Tribune, Jan. 13, 1919, MFP, Jan. 31, 1920, Feb. 21, 1921.

<sup>42</sup> MFP, Jan. 31, 1922.

... everyone must look with a great deal of satisfaction and gratification upon the change that had been effected in Manitoba under the policy of the present Minister, which was helping to create a Canadian citizenship.<sup>43</sup>

In sum, the public school was viewed as a tool to be used by the community to develop good British-Canadian citizens. And the whole classroom situation to which pupils were exposed was designed to fulfill that purpose. Through the choice and training of teachers, through the curriculum and suggested extra curricular exercises, an intense identification with the British in-group with a corresponding abhorrence of German and Bolshevik out-groups, was generated.

It was commonly recognized that the teacher was the most important person in the whole educational process<sup>44</sup> and one of the community's most valuable citizens. This had not always been the case in Manitoba. In 1907 one school inspector reported that his district was experiencing difficulty in acquiring good teachers, saying:

we have known of several cases where desirable persons have not had the courage to face the prospect of being looked upon as occupying what they considered an inferior social position.<sup>45</sup>

But the war stimulated a revaluation of the importance of education, with

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<sup>43</sup>Speech M.L.A., J.H. McConnell, MFP, Feb. 4, 1920. See also speeches by W.C. McKennell, Tribune, March 1, 1921, John Williams, MFP, Jan. 27, 1920, D.A. Ross and R. Harvey, MFP, Feb. 5, 1919, Tribune, edit., Jan. 21, 1919, evidence of praise from IODE, Women's Section of United Farmers of Manitoba, MFP, Jan. 31, 1920, and Canadian Credit Men's Trust Association, Telegram, April 30, 1920, p. 9.

<sup>44</sup>See the North-End, "Northern Lights", Oct. 21, 1920.

<sup>45</sup>Quoted in Willson, "The Development of Education in Manitoba", p. 321.

an accompanying revaluation of the importance of the teacher.<sup>46</sup> The Tribune said that "the most useful public service is that of the public school teacher. . . . It may sound paradoxical but the pay of teachers is one service in which we can afford extravagance".<sup>47</sup> Because of the salience of the teacher, special care had to be taken to get "good" ones.

What was required of a "good" teacher was indicated in no uncertain terms by the Western School Journal, the official organ of the Department of Education, in 1917:

The first question in certificating a teacher should not be with regard to his scholarship and training, but with regard to his character and loyalty.<sup>48</sup>

Apparently the Advisory Board of the Department of Education, whose duties included the authorization and examination of texts and setting of requirements for teachers,<sup>49</sup> held similar views. In February

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<sup>46</sup>That this revaluation was attributable to the war was an observation made by the Manitoba Teachers Federation Bulletin, Nov. 24, 1919, p. 21 and by Dep. Mr. Robert Fletcher, Annual Report of Department of Education, 1918-1919, p. 8.

<sup>47</sup>Tribune, edit., Aug. 9, 1919. For a similar statement see the Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1916-1917, p. 12.

<sup>48</sup>Western School Journal, edit., Sept., 1917, p. 255.

<sup>49</sup>William Michael Wall, "The Advisory Board in the Development of Public School Education in Manitoba", (unpublished Master of Education Thesis, U. of Manitoba, 1939), pp. 102-103. Through the period from 1916 to 1924 the Advisory Board consisted of 12 members, 8 of them appointed by the Lieut-Governor in Council, 2 elected by the public and intermediate school teachers, one elected by high school and collegiate teachers, and one elected by public and high school inspectors. The only members of the Board during these years with other than obviously Anglo-Saxon names were William Iverich of Isabella, Man. and Rev. (later Mgr.) Cherrier of Winnipeg. The members of the Advisory Board are given on the first page of each Annual Report of the Department of Education.

of 1917 the Advisory Board passed a resolution requiring all certificated teachers in the province, then and in future, to take the oath of allegiance.<sup>50</sup> Teachers who were not British subjects could obtain only interim certificates, valid for not more than six months at a time, if they swore to a separate oath.<sup>51</sup> In June of 1917 the Advisory Board set up a committee, consisting of Deputy Minister Robert Fletcher and Superintendent of Winnipeg Schools Dr. Daniel McIntyre, to examine all applicants for teaching positions who were not British subjects and not trained in Manitoba normal schools.<sup>52</sup> The service performed by this committee was indicated in 1920 when the Advisory Board referred to it the application of one Mr. D. Yakimchuk, recommending that he be given a position only if he indicated to Mr. Fletcher and Dr. McIntyre that his "attitude to matters Canadian and Imperial" was satisfactory.<sup>53</sup>

Those teachers who came through the Manitoba teacher training system could hardly have retained unsatisfactory attitudes towards the British Empire. Their training consisted of something akin to total immersion in Anglo-Saxonism. For example, by 1920, in order to raise one's standard from a Grade B to a Grade A teacher, an examination in

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<sup>50</sup> Advisory Board Minute Book, 1916-1925, p. 25, entry for Feb. 22, 1917.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., p. 11, p. 20, entries for Nov. 23, 1916, Jan. 25, 1917. See also Thornton's address, reported MFP, Feb. 3, 1919.

<sup>52</sup> Advisory Board Minute Book, p. 40, entry for June 28, 1917.

<sup>53</sup> Tribune, p. 173, entry for April 22, 1920.

history had to be successfully written. The required reading for the "history" exam consisted in full of the following books:

Greene's, Short History of the English People, Bagehot's, The English Constitution, Seeley's, The Expansion of England, Egerton's, Origin and Growth of the English Colonies, and Muir's, Students' Atlas of British History.<sup>54</sup>

Nevertheless, local school boards controlled by Anglo-Canadians seldom hired teachers of non-British origin, since it was feared that they might corrupt their pupils by expounding alien ideas.<sup>55</sup> The Winnipeg Public School Board was no exception.<sup>56</sup>

The school curriculum and suggested school exercises evidenced the school's attempt to infuse an identification with a British in-group and a dissassociation from German and Bolshevik out-groups. The school textbooks used glorified the Empire in an almost nauseating manner:

Even their [colonial natives] prejudices are respected; their religion, their social customs and local laws are seldom interfered with, unless for the purpose of preventing crime or abolishing brutal customs.<sup>57</sup>

It is well that she [India] is under British rule. Without the firm control of a guiding power she would be torn by internal strife and exposed to the greed and trickery of powerful neighbours.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Advisory Board Minute Book, 1916-1925, p. 191, Entry for Sept. 23, 1920.

<sup>55</sup> See letter of William J. Mascuich to Manitoba Teachers' Federation Bulletin, Dec. 1923, pp. 499-501, and MFF, edit., thereon, Dec. 27, 1923.

<sup>56</sup> See the list of teachers in Winnipeg's Public Schools for 1920-21, Telegram, August 30, 1920, p. 8.

<sup>57</sup> England's Story, Author not given (Toronto, MacMillan and Co. of Canada Ltd. 1917), p. 297.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., p. 301.

The children were expected to pattern their lives after British heroes such as Sir Philip Sidney:

After he was wounded, some of his friends carried him gently to a quiet place, there they laid him down to die.

As he was being carried off the field he complained of thirst, and one of the men ran to get him a cup of water.

As Sidney raised the cup to his lips, a poor soldier who was laying near gazed with longing eyes at the water. He too was in great pain and suffered with thirst, but no one had time to attend to him.

[Naturally, Sidney gave him the drink]

Is it any wonder that with such men to lead them, British soldiers have done so much in the world?<sup>59</sup>

and Lord Horatio Nelson:

Fear? I don't know what you mean, grandmother.

England expects every man to do his duty.  
His last words were these: 'Thank God, I have done my duty'.<sup>60</sup>

Apparently, once textbooks which emphasized the British disassociation from the Germans became available, the Advisory Board selected them for use in Manitoba Schools. The following passage indicates the image of the Germans to which school children became exposed:

In former wars among civilized peoples, the firing had always been upon armed forces, and the guns were silent after each battle to allow both sides to find and care for the wounded soldiers in the field. The Germans, however, used the Red Cross doctors and stretcher bearers for targets, so that to send them out meant only to add them to the numbers of wounded.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Manitoba Readers, Third Reader, pp. 73-74.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., pp. 162-166.

<sup>61</sup> The Canadian Readers, Book IV, p. 263. This book was published in 1922, by W.J. Gage and Co., Toronto, and was adopted for use in Manitoba schools in 1923.

More important than the content of the textbooks was the influence of the extra curricular exercises. The pupils were expected to sing or recite patriotic songs and verses like "We'll Never Let the Old Flag Fall", "Children of the Empire", "Union Jack", "The Colors of the Flag", "England, My England" and, of course, "Rule Britannia".<sup>62</sup> In 1920 prominent Congregational clergyman George F. Salton visited several of Winnipeg's public schools giving illustrated lectures of great British victories, spiced with scenes of various German atrocities.<sup>63</sup> During the General Strike teachers were advised that part of their duties was to "make children amenable to reason",<sup>64</sup> and were told that it was "a tribute to the Canadian school" that "among the extremists in the matter there is not one solid Canadian".<sup>65</sup>

On Empire Day the children were treated to special doses of indoctrination. In Winnipeg, Dr. McIntyre engaged prominent citizens to visit the schools and lecture the pupils on imperial matters and their duty to the Empire.<sup>66</sup> Passages suggested for the special Empire Day Services included:

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<sup>62</sup>See Western School Journal, September, 1923, p. 655.

<sup>63</sup>OBV Bulletin, Oct. 16, 1920, p. 1.

<sup>64</sup>Western School Journal, edit., June 1919, p. 192.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid.

<sup>66</sup>Minutes of special meeting of School Management Committee, May 5, 1919, Winnipeg Public School Board, Committee Minute Book No. 7, p. 625.



This old Empire has been a blessing to the world, for she has stood for justice and respect for the weak and aged. She has always been ready to oppose the tyrant, and to fight for the liberties of the common people.<sup>67</sup>

Which Empire is the greatest, the widest and the most powerful the world has ever seen?  
The British Empire is the most powerful the world has ever seen.<sup>68</sup>

It's only a small bit of hunting,  
It's only an old colored rag -  
Yet thousands have died for its honor, <sup>69</sup>  
And shed their best blood for the flag.

On Empire Day in 1919, the children received a message from His Honor, the Lieutenant Governor Sir James Aikins, and learned that the reason that the Germans had lost the war was because God had righteously visited "an awful wreckage upon them", for they had "not loved their neighbours as themselves".<sup>70</sup> In 1920 the Department suggested to the teachers that they conduct in their schools an Empire Day pageant, in which "Brittania", seated on a throne, opens as follows:

This is Empire Day! All over the world the grown up children of Brittania are thinking of the great Empire to which they belong, and they have sent me word today to expect visitors from each country who will tell me what they are all doing. For now that they have grown up they attend to their own work and play, but they love to do their part to help each other and me.

Then all of the countries, each represented by a pupil, entered (Ireland was to enter "sulking and with finger in mouth") and pledged that they would "stand or fall in unity" against the enemies of the Empire.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>67</sup>Western School Journal, May, 1921, p. 612.

<sup>68</sup>Western School Journal, May, 1919, p. 169.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., p. 169.

<sup>70</sup>Western School Journal, April, 1919, p. 155.

<sup>71</sup>Western School Journal, April, 1920, pp. 124-128.

During the Norris years, the community was constantly on guard against "foreign" threats to the public schools. In February of 1919 M.L.A. D.A. Ross urged action against an "alien association" in Winnipeg which was "striving to revert the schools of the province to bilingualism".<sup>72</sup> In the same month a report that German texts were being used in Altona schools was the cause of great concern, until Dr. Thornton, "especially for the benefit of Veterans", explained that shipments of German Books to the Altona School principal were not for school use but for the principal's private book store.<sup>73</sup> In 1920 the Free Press identified the "foreign" threat to the public schools as:

the Germans including the Mennonites, the French, and probably the Rutherians and Poles, although the latter two more silently.<sup>74</sup>

It expressed confidence that:

the people of the province, once they realize that the common school is in danger, can be counted upon to bring the plans of its enemies to naught.<sup>75</sup>

This ethnic "enemy" was always perceived as closely allied with a religious one. The two "curses" of bilingualism and clerical denomination were always perceived as originating from the same source--the clerical leaders of foreign ethnic groups who maintained a tight hold on their followers and made it impossible for them to become Canadianized:

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<sup>72</sup> Tribune, Feb. 5, 1919, p. 3.

<sup>73</sup> MFP, Feb. 4, Feb. 7, 1919.

<sup>74</sup> MFP, edit., April 7, 1920.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

It is coming to the surface that there is a desire for a perpetration of non-English languages by the State, in order that certain denominations may retain a greater hold upon their people.<sup>76</sup>

The secret spring of the fierce hostility to the present school laws in Ontario and Manitoba is the objection of many of the French clergy to the acquisition by the French children of the English language which, to their fearful minds, opens a door by which they may escape from the Church.<sup>77</sup>

[The Mennonites] have been kept in a prison house at the instance of tyrannical old men who assume an authority which neither the laws nor the conventions of this country recognize.<sup>78</sup>

The association of ethnic and clerical opposition to the public school system did, of course, have some basis in fact. It reflected the differing philosophy of education held by the majority culture group and the minority culture groups. M.L.A., Joseph Bernier summarized the philosophy of the minority groups in saying:

the only foundation on which education could be firmly based was religion in the schools.<sup>79</sup>

The dominant culture group, however, seem to have felt that the "British" forms of public school education implied a vague kind of non-denominationalism. In fact, this was not part of a British tradition at all.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Tribune, edit., Feb. 16, 1916.

<sup>77</sup> MFP, edit., April 19, 1920.

<sup>78</sup> MFP, edit., Aug. 16, 1919.

<sup>79</sup> Speech reported Tribune, Feb. 26, 1921. See also E.K. Francis, In Search of Utopia, pp. 166-173.

<sup>80</sup> Lovell C. Clark, The Manitoba School Question, Majority Rule on Minority Rights? (Toronto, Copp Clark Publishing Co., 1968), p. 6.

But it was assumed in Winnipeg that it was un-British for religion to enter into education except in some non-denominational way. "It must never be lost sight of" said the Tribune in 1916,

that this is a British state, and all denominations must conform to British rule, as Britishers understand such rule. That rule, in practice in Canada, is absolute non-interference in government by denominations as such.<sup>81</sup>

By about 1922 or 1923, however, the calls to "defend our public schools" came with less frequency,<sup>82</sup> and when education was discussed matters other than the role of the school as an assimilator of "New Canadians" and producer of good citizens assumed prominence. During the first years of John Bracken's administration, the financial aspect of education became of greatest concern. Thornton's vigor as Minister of Education had cost the province money. The Manitoba Free Press calculated that between 1915 and 1922 the province's school population had increased by 30%, whereas teachers' salaries had increased by 141%, building expenses by 43%, expenses for rent, light, water and fuel by 366%, repairs and caretaking by 88%, and secretarial expenses by 115%.<sup>83</sup> Many rural municipalities were having a difficult time keeping their schools open. Winnipeg taxpayers were beginning to feel the pinch as well. In a series of articles for the Tribune in early 1923, Mr. Travers Sweatman, K.C.

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<sup>81</sup> Tribune, edit., Feb. 16, 1916.

<sup>82</sup> See index to MFP, editorials, Free Press building; a check of the Tribune editorials revealed that not one "defend our public schools" editorial appeared from September 1922 through January 1924.

<sup>83</sup> MFP, edit., Oct. 19, 1923.

calculated that between 1917 and 1923 the annual average cost per pupil enrolled in Winnipeg public schools jumped from \$52.05 to \$89.65.<sup>84</sup> The school tax levy in Winnipeg rose as follows, apparently with no adjustment of the mill rate:<sup>85</sup>

1917 -	4.8843 mills
1918 -	5.718 mills
1919 -	6.4443 mills
1920 -	9.1813 mills
1921 -	11.2638 mills
1922 -	12.2228 mills

The Bracken group agreed with everything that the Norris government had done in regard to education, but the emphasis was placed on economizing.<sup>86</sup> One of the first things that the Bracken administration did was to appoint a royal commission, eventually chaired by Walter Murray of Saskatoon, to discover means to spend most efficiently the money allotted to education.<sup>87</sup> Significantly, one of the measures undertaken to cut down on expenses was to discontinue the office of the Official Trustee, not, as Bracken said, because of any disagreement with the reason for creating the office in the first place, but "wholly for purposes of economy".<sup>88</sup> There is no indication that opposition to the Bracken groups' frugality indicated fear that bilingualism would raise its ugly head.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Tribune, March 3, 1923, March 8, 1923, Articles No. 15 and 16.

<sup>85</sup> Municipal Manuals of 1918 (p. 47), 1919 (p. 52), 1920 (p. 54), 1921 (p. 59), 1922 (p. 62), 1923 (p. 62).

<sup>86</sup> Interview with Hon. D.L. Campbell, June 7, 1970; speech by Bracken reported MFP, Jan. 24, 1923.

<sup>87</sup> Speech from the throne, reported Tribune, Jan. 18, 1923.

<sup>88</sup> MFP, Nov. 3, 1922.

<sup>89</sup> See for example MFP, edit., Sept. 7, 1923.

In sum, as the mid twenties approached, although it was common knowledge that certain minority culture groups were not as devoted to the public schools as the Anglo-Saxon Protestant majority, the ethnic and religious threat to the Canadian public school seemed to be somewhat remote. Coinciding with the abeyance of foreign threats went a change in emphasis in the schools. Although pupils would use England's Story and the Canadian Readers until the 1930's, the whole atmosphere of the classroom changed. Whereas teachers had been previously instructed to teach "ideals of Canadianism" above all else in the schools,<sup>90</sup> by the mid-twenties they learned that their mission was to

enrich and ennoble life, to add to capacity for service and enjoyment, to cultivate friendliness and good will.<sup>91</sup>

The suggested Empire Day service for 1927 had children, one for each of the Dominions of the Empire, hanging on to strands of rope fastened to an upright in maypole style. The speeches that each child was supposed to make indicated not so much a conviction to unite against foreign enemies as a conviction that the Empire should remain united.<sup>92</sup> In 1926 Manitoba School Trustees were addressed by a Dr. R.P. Wilson, who told them that the "true aim" of education was:

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<sup>90</sup> Thornton speech to convention of Manitoba Educational Association, reported Tribune, April 7, 1920, p. 2.

<sup>91</sup> Western School Journal, edit., Sept., 1926, p. 855.

<sup>92</sup> Western School Journal, April, 1927, pp. 128-129; see also May, 1927, p. 189.

to develop in the body and in the soul all the beauty and all the perfection of which they (the children) are capable.<sup>93</sup>

In 1926, the Hon. R.A. Hoey, who believed that education should enable man to "reach the highest self-realization"<sup>94</sup> became Minister of Education. In the same year a curriculum revision, fully introduced into elementary schools in 1928, placed greater emphasis on the interests of the individual pupil.<sup>95</sup> Surely, these changes of emphasis reflected a different mentality from that of 1916.

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<sup>93</sup> Proceedings of the Annual Convention of the Manitoba School Trustees Association, 1926, p. 35.

<sup>94</sup> Address to Manitoba School Trustees Association, reported in the Proceedings, 1928, p. 17.

<sup>95</sup> Wilson, "The Development of Education in Manitoba", p. 401.

## CHAPTER V

### ECCENTRIC NATIVISM

In the post World War One period the more religiously inclined element of Winnipeg's established culture group perceived a threat to a truly British-Canadian way of life in what seemed to be a collapse of the morals of the community. In 1923, in a service at Grace Church, Rev. Louis Moffitt told his congregation that since the war there had been a

revolt of men and women against restraint and authority. . . . A good time is more to be desired than good work and achievement. . . . There is loose thinking, loose speaking and writing, and these encourage loose living.<sup>1</sup>

Everywhere one looked manifestations of the moral breakdown presented themselves. Fewer and fewer people attended church regularly.<sup>2</sup> In July of 1919, Manitobans witnessed the granting of the first absolute decree of divorce in their history.<sup>3</sup> Within a short time several more divorces were conceded, and at their conference of 1920 Manitoba Methodists denounced the prevailing "cynical attitude" toward marriage, which they attributed to immoral movies and comic strips.<sup>4</sup> Gambling seemed to

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<sup>1</sup>Reported in Manitoba Messenger, Dec. 1923, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup>Tribune, edit., Jan. 13, 1922.

<sup>3</sup>Telegram, June 10, 1919, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup>Telegram, June 22, 1920, p. 9.



pervade all of society, and Winnipeggers were deeply shocked by the infamous 1919 "Black Sox" baseball scandal.<sup>5</sup> The popular dances of the day exhibited "grave improprieties of a distinctly immoral tendency";<sup>6</sup> and young women were wearing revealing clothes that were considered not only indecent, but also conducive to serious illness, weakling offspring, and "race suicide of the worst kind".<sup>7</sup>

It was a certain sector of the established community that was most concerned about the lax morality of the time. This sector was the same British non-conformist element which, since the first decade of the twentieth century, had supported the Liberal party<sup>8</sup> and had provided the leadership in the campaign for moral and social reform.<sup>9</sup> Many of the religious tenets held by this group conflicted with those held by some or all of various minority groups. Two such tenets were the belief in strict observance of the Sabbath Day commandment, and belief in the

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<sup>5</sup> Prohibition Watchward, Jan., 1925, p. 8; Telegram, Sept. 29, 1920, p. 4. The first indications that the Chicago White Sox had "thrown" the World Series of 1919 came in September of 1920. One of the interesting points that one discovers about Winnipeg in the twenties is that major league baseball was the sport that drew the most attention. It received extensive newspaper coverage, winter and summer.

<sup>6</sup> Prohibition Watchward, Jan., 1925, p. 8. See also Tribune, edit., Nov. 19, 1920.

<sup>7</sup> "A Canadian Mother" to Tribune, Feb. 4, 1920. See also "A Canadian Girl" to Tribune, Feb. 3, 1920, and the remarks of a medical authority on low cut and loose-fitting clothes, Telegram, March 1, 1920, p. 3.

<sup>8</sup> In 1913 Winnipeg Protestant clergymen C.W. Gordon, F.B. Duval and Salem G. Bland had explained that the reason that they were Liberals was because of "love of democracy, temperance sentiment, and fear of Roman Catholic supremacy". Canadian Annual Review, 1913, p. 547.

<sup>9</sup> John H. Thompson, "The Prohibition Question in Manitoba, 1892-1928", (unpublished Masters Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1969), pp. 56-58.

righteousness of total abstinence from alcoholic beverages. In the post war years these became very contentious public issues. Some background to the conflicts involved would appear to be necessary.

The prohibition movement in Manitoba began in earnest in the 1880's, and in 1892 a Manitoba Prohibition League was formed.<sup>10</sup> After a shaky beginning caused primarily by lack of a centralized organizational structure, the movement made great strides when it was adopted by Winnipeg's Moral and Social Reform Council and became part of the whole Liberal reform movement.<sup>11</sup> The movement grew steadily in strength until, in a 1916 referendum on the federal Macdonald Act, prohibition became identified with patriotism and loyalty and won an overwhelming victory.<sup>12</sup> The electorally-approved Macdonald Act prohibited the sale or purchase of alcoholic beverages within the province, but did allow for private importation from outside of the province. Not until December of 1917, by a war time Dominion Order-in-Council, and then by provincial referendum in October of 1920, was importation made illegal.<sup>13</sup>

There was always a significant amount of opposition to prohibition in Manitoba, and especially in Winnipeg. One reason for this opposition was aversion to the tremendous bootlegging traffic that flourished under prohibition. But not until importation restriction alienated the affluent

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., pp. 8-10.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., Chapters II and III, passim.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., pp. 70-74.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., pp. 76-81.

segment of the population was an organized effort to gain more lenient legislation undertaken. In February of 1921 those citizens who desired "real temperance"<sup>14</sup> formed the Manitoba Moderation League. In 1923, the Provincial Legislature responded to Moderation League petitions and scheduled a June referendum on an act drafted by the League that provided for government control of the sale of alcoholic beverages in the Province. A second referendum was scheduled for the same summer of 1923 on proposals by a second anti-prohibitionist group, the Beer and Wine League, for serving beer and wine by the glass along with meals in hotel dining rooms.<sup>15</sup>

The Moderation League proposal was accepted and the Beer and Wine League proposal rejected by the provincial electorate.<sup>16</sup> Accordingly, the bill that the Moderation League had proposed was adopted by the Manitoba Legislative "without division and without amendment"<sup>17</sup> in a special session in late July of 1923. Government liquor stores were set up at various points throughout the province. But even the 1923 legislation soon proved unsatisfactory, especially to veterans groups and to labor. Numerous petitions from these groups resulted in a provincial plebiscite, held June 28, 1927.<sup>18</sup> Acting on the results of this plebiscite, the

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<sup>14</sup> Their agreement was that one cannot be temperate in the use of what one does not have. Therefore, the prohibitionist position was not a true temperance one. See "A Briton" to MFP, Dec. 2, 1922.

<sup>15</sup> Thompson, op. cit., p. 92.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., pp. 93-94.

<sup>17</sup> Canadian Annual Review, 1923, p. 476.

<sup>18</sup> Thompson, p. 102.

Bracken Government in 1928 passed a new Government Liquor Control Act, which abolished brewer's rights to direct sale, but allowed for hotels to open parlours in which beer could be sold by glass or bottle.<sup>19</sup>

Strict observance of the Sabbath Day had been a contentious issue for some time before the 1920's. In the first decade of the century a heated debate over whether street cars should be allowed to run on Sunday persisted for a number of years.<sup>20</sup> In the twenties, the propriety of strict Sunday observance arose in regard to such specific questions as Sunday musical concerts, Sunday skating and tobogganning on the rivers, and the opening of movie houses on Sunday. But most discussion of proper observance of the Sabbath Day centered on the issue of Sunday excursion trains to the beaches adjacent to the city.

On May 6, 1921, Mr. John Queen, Labor MLA for Winnipeg, moved in the Provincial Legislature

that this House petition the federal government to present the operation of excursion trains in Manitoba on Sunday so as to allow people to have a holiday at any of the beaches or elsewhere.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., pp. 104-105.

<sup>20</sup> Morton, op. cit., p. 305. The Sunday street cars were authorized in 1906.

<sup>21</sup> MFP, May 7, 1921. The Lord's Day Act in effect in Manitoba in 1921 was the Dominion Lord's Day Act of 1906, which stated that it shall not be lawful for any person on the Lord's Day, except as provided by a Provincial Act or law now or hereafter in force, to run, conduct or convey by any mode of conveyance any excursion on which passengers are conveyed by hire; and having for its principal or only object the carriage on that day of such passengers for amusement or pleasure.

The motion was lost by a vote of 20 to 16.<sup>22</sup> In the session of 1922 Winnipeg Socialist Member George Armstrong introduced a bill similar to that introduced by Queen in 1921. This bill passed second reading by the overwhelming vote of 40 to 10,<sup>23</sup> but was in Law Amendments Committee when the Norris Government was defeated on March 14, and it was never reported out of committee.<sup>24</sup> The bill for Sunday excursion trains finally succeeded in the legislature in March of 1923, but the legislation as finally passed provided for reference to the courts for a decision as to whether the act was ultra vires. The final decision on the constitutionality of the act, contested all the way to the Privy Council by the Dominion Lord's Day Alliance, was not made until December of 1924, but Sunday excursion trains were running to and from the beaches by June of 1923, as Attorney General Craig allowed the act to go into effect once the provincial appeal court had decided in its favor.<sup>25</sup>

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It also said that

nothing herein shall prevent the operation on the Lord's Day for passenger traffic of any railway subject to the legislative authority of any province unless such railway is prohibited by provincial authority from so operating.

Statutes of Canada, (1906), c. 27, s. 6, 13.

<sup>22</sup> MFP, May 7, 1921.

<sup>23</sup> Journal of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Manitoba, 1922, p. 194.

<sup>24</sup> MFP, March 11, 1922; Tribune, March 22, 1922.

<sup>25</sup> MFP, Feb. 10, 1923.

It was the non-conformist religious groups that supported prohibition and strict Sunday observance. John Thompson points out that the most ardent prohibitionists were of Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian persuasion,<sup>26</sup> and it would seem that the same was true for Sabbatarianism. Efforts by the Dominion Lord's Day Alliance and the Ministerial Association of Winnipeg to maintain the sanctity of the Sabbath were consistently upheld by the Manitoba prohibition organ, the Manitoba Messenger, and its successor, the Prohibition Watchward.<sup>27</sup> Mr. J. Kensington Downes, elected to the Provincial Legislature on an anti-prohibition platform in 1922, stated that the same people who "took away beer did not allow parents to take their children to the beaches on Sunday".<sup>28</sup> One citizen said that the majority who are raising the cry of Sunday desecration are members of the non-conformist churches. It is the same old story over again.<sup>29</sup>

Members of the Anglican Church were less devoted to prohibition and strict Sunday observance than were non-conformist Anglo-Saxons.<sup>30</sup> But despite the irresolution on the part of the Church of England, to the non-conformists prohibition and strict observance seemed to be essential maxims of genuine British Christianity. They perceived themselves as

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<sup>26</sup> Thompson, op. cit., pp. 11-20.

<sup>27</sup> See Manitoba Messenger, "Presidents' Message", Nov., 1923; Mrs. Annie Angus to editor, Dec. 1923; Jan. 1924, p. 10; Prohibition Watchward, Jan., 1925, p. 8.

<sup>28</sup> Tribune, July 12, 1922, p. 5.

<sup>29</sup> "Anglican" to Tribune, Feb. 18, 1922.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., Thompson, op. cit., p. 20.

combatants in a

fight to keep the Godly ideals upon which the British nation was founded,<sup>31</sup>

and two of these Godly ideals were prohibition and strict observance of the Sabbath. Every good prohibitionist was familiar with the statement made by Lloyd George during the war:

You have three enemies--Germany, Austria and Drink; and Drink is the worst of the three.<sup>32</sup>

Rev. George Laughton of Central Congregational Church said that Canada had been called by God to

lead the Empire out of the degradation of drunkenness up to the sunlit heights of righteousness, sobriety and truth.<sup>33</sup>

Strict Sunday observance was viewed in a similar manner. "The core of civilization" was what the Winnipeg Ministerial Association called the Sunday day of rest.<sup>34</sup> One commentator said that the British constitution was based on the Bible, and if one of the Biblical standards of right and wrong were cast aside, the whole constitution would crumble:

. . . if Canada annuls the Fourth command to please the Sabbath breaker, she will in all fairness have to make void the remainder to please the house-breaker, the liar, the murderer, the libertine, and so we may have that glorious liberty (?) which contempt for all authority brings and be as Russia is today.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>31</sup>"President's Monthly Watchward", Prohibition Watchward, Oct., 1924, p. 2.

<sup>32</sup>Quoted in Rev. Moffitt's address, Manitoba Messenger, Dec., 1923, p. 4.

<sup>33</sup>MFP, May 22, 1923.

<sup>34</sup>MFP, April 22, 1920, p. 4.

<sup>35</sup>"Law and Order", to MFP, Feb. 18, 1922.

Those non anglo-saxon Protestant culture groups who were the primary targets of nativistic sentiment in the early twenties were not devoted to strict Sunday observance nor to prohibition. As for prohibition, the French, the Mennonites, and Central and South-Eastern European groups consistently opposed it, except in 1916 when it was associated with patriotism.<sup>36</sup> Although prohibitionists desired to halt drinking on the part of all people, they had always given special attention to the "New Canadians", for here seemed an element that was obviously in need of moral uplifting. The "foreigner" had been stereotyped as "inherently addicted to alcohol",<sup>37</sup> and as one who, having access to liquor, automatically became a "demon of license and passion".<sup>38</sup> In the early twenties Manitoba school children learned to spell by writing, "the foreigner is very often addicted to alcohol".<sup>39</sup>

Thompson argues that, although assimilation of the immigrant had once been "a strong motivation in the demand for prohibition", by the 1920's "naked xenophobia" curtailed effective prohibition work among ethnic minorities.<sup>40</sup> The interpretation would seem to be an erroneous one.

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<sup>36</sup> Thompson, op. cit., pp. 25-30, p. 74.

<sup>37</sup> J.S. Woodsworth, op. cit., p. 125; see also Ralph Connor, op. cit., pp. 87-90.

<sup>38</sup> Manitoba Messenger, edit., Nov. 1923.

<sup>39</sup> Quote from a public school speller by MLA, A.E. Kristjanson, MFP, March 3, 1921.

<sup>40</sup> Thompson, op. cit., p. 99.



Although it is true that the W.C.T.U.'s Department for Work Among Foreigners was discontinued in 1920, there is no reason to conclude that the decision to do so was motivated by fear.<sup>41</sup> Thompson cites the following statement by Mrs. A.E. Cook as evidence of the xenophobic-mentality of prohibitionists in the 1920's:

. . . as yet we have not even established a point of contact with thousands of our New Canadians. . . .<sup>42</sup>

But this is the statement of one exhorting an unenthusiastic, rather than a frightened group of followers. Prohibitionists were still motivated to Canadianize the immigrant. In the very next sentence to that quoted above, Mrs. Cook said:

One of the first tasks in the continued fight against alcohol will be to educate these people who we have invited to become a part of our National life to a knowledge of the evils and dangers of the use of alcohol as a beverage. . . .<sup>43</sup>

A 1923 Manitoba Messenger editorial said that we must patiently teach the foreigner "our moral viewpoints . . . from the ground up".<sup>44</sup> Even as late as 1927, when prohibition strength had subsided considerably, the Winnipeg District W.C.T.U. acknowledged that part of its mission was "to make these misfits into worthwhile Christian citizens".<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> See W.C.T.U. Winnipeg District Minutes, entry for May 12, 1920.

<sup>42</sup> Manitoba Messenger, edit., Oct., 1923.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Manitoba Messenger, edit., Nov., 1923.

<sup>45</sup> W.C.T.U. Winnipeg District Minute Book, entry for April 14, 1927.

Prohibitionists, then, were not rendered helpless by xenophobia in the 1920's. But prohibition was, as Thompson says, "on the defensive and in retreat".<sup>46</sup> With veterans groups and much of the upper class establishment opposed to them, prohibitionists in the twenties had a difficult task successfully equating loyalty with prohibition, as they had done in 1916. "Let Dr. Grant or any other prohibitionist define their position as loyal Canadians and then talk prohibition", said one irate gentleman.<sup>47</sup> By the twenties prohibition had been replaced by moderation as the "truly British" principle.<sup>48</sup>

England, Scotland and Ireland have been drinking countries for years, yet they are the backbone of civilization.<sup>49</sup>

Prohibitionist numbers dwindled rapidly in the 1920's.<sup>50</sup> By this time, they had come to be regarded, even among their own culture group, as religious fanatics who were trying to "make men moral by repressive legislative measures".<sup>51</sup>

Opposition to strict Sunday observance came from the "same elements" that opposed prohibition.<sup>52</sup> "I remember seeing a Catholic priest playing tennis on Sunday" writes J.W. Chafe, "and wondering where

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<sup>46</sup> Thompson, op. cit., Ch. IV.

<sup>47</sup> James Gillespie to Tribune, April 15, 1921.

<sup>48</sup> Thompson, p. 90; see speech by Mrs. Jessie Kirk of the Moderation League, Tribune, June 15, 1923, p. 6.

<sup>49</sup> J.B. Spence to Tribune, March 7, 1923.

<sup>50</sup> Thompson, op. cit., pp. 95-98.

<sup>51</sup> WLN, Dec. 8, 1922; see also David L. Johnston to MFP, Oct. 12, 1920.

<sup>52</sup> Prohibition Watchward, Jan., 1925, p. 8.

he would go when he died".<sup>53</sup> Sabbatarians were concerned, of course, with all who broke the fourth commandment. "Humanity", they felt,

has not changed much. . . . God knew man needed one day in Seven for rest and meditation, and so he gave the gift. . . . Moses came from the mount bearing God's beneficent laws, and rebellious humanity was down below worshipping a golden calf. Today--Pleasure.<sup>54</sup>

But they too exhibited a special concern for minority culture groups who were not strict Sabbatarians. It was these minority groups to whom, as members of the lower classes, the Sunday excursion trains bill appealed. It was designed to accommodate those who worked every day but Sunday and who did not, as did more affluent citizens, own an automobile in which to travel to and from the beaches.<sup>55</sup> Dr. W. Rochester, Secretary of the Dominion Lord's Day Alliance, explained that those who believed in strict observance of the Sabbath Day were every bit as opposed to "escape from the church" by car as by train, but felt that "if the rich desecrated the Sabbath, the poor should not be called upon to emulate their folly".<sup>56</sup> Rev. George Laughton protested against Sunday excursion trains on the grounds that the element to which they would cater, which had so recently proven to be anarchistic, "needed the preaching of the word and the opportunity for public worship".<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> An Apple for the Teacher, p. 59.

<sup>54</sup> Prohibition Watchward, Jan., 1925, p. 8.

<sup>55</sup> Tribune, edits., Feb. 13, 1922, Jan. 24, 1923; MFP, edit., Feb. 21, 1922; "A Business Woman" to MFP, March 9, 1922; "Liberty" to MFP, March 15, 1922; S. Townsend to Tribune, Feb. 16, 1923.

<sup>56</sup> Tribune, Feb. 8, 1923, p. 1.

<sup>57</sup> Tribune, March 13, 1922.

But by the 1920's the majority of Anglo-Saxon Protestants regarded Sabbatarianism in much the same manner as they viewed prohibitionism. Those who insisted on strict Sunday observance were deemed "narrow minded" and "unreasonable" religious zealots.<sup>58</sup> The Tribune said that the Lord's Day Alliance had lost the respect of the community;<sup>59</sup> the Free Press observed that Winnipeg did not want to be

turned into a hermetically sealed place of gloom to suit the old fashioned view of Puritanical Sabbatarians.<sup>60</sup>

"Many find it difficult", it said,

to see how the opportunity before the public to spend Sunday in the open air by travelling fifty miles from the city is going to send the race on its way to ruin.<sup>61</sup>

In sum, although prohibitionists and Sabbatarians viewed themselves as staunch defenders of the moral values of British-Canadianism against the immoral elements of the population, the vast majority of the established culture group did not consider these two principles sufficiently important aspects of the culture to impose them upon those who were not devoted to them. This serves to illustrate the importance of an observation made by anthropologist Ralph Linton. Nativistic movements, he says,

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<sup>58</sup> Statement by Mr. J. Stanbridge, MLA, reported MFP, March 3, 1922; Rabbi Herbert Samuel to MFP, March 11, 1922.

<sup>59</sup> Tribune, edit., Sept. 8, 1923.

<sup>60</sup> MFP, edit., April 17, 1920.

<sup>61</sup> MFP, edit., June 8, 1923. For other expressions of the same ideas see MFP, edits., April 17, 1920, Jan. 8, 1921, Feb. 28, 1922, May 29, 1923. Tribune, edits., Jan. 28, 1922, March 23, 27, 30, 1922, Sept. 8, 1923; column by "Libertas", WLN, Feb. 3, 1921; report of address by Rev. William Hay, MFP, March 13, 1922, p. 7; C.L. Paddock to Tribune, March 29, 1922.

concern themselves with particular elements of culture, never with cultures as wholes. . . . Certain current or remembered elements of culture are selected for emphasis and given symbolic value.<sup>62</sup>

To a certain hard-core group of non-conformist Anglo-Saxons, prohibition and strict observance of the Sabbath Day were symbolic elements of true British Christianity.<sup>63</sup> More prominent and more significant were those who emphasized the culture's capitalistic-democratic economic, political and social ideals. But in the years following World War One, by far the most emphasized and most symbolic elements of British-Canadian culture were the English language and the Canadian public school. In order to be tolerated by the majority culture group, minority groups had to indicate their willingness to acquire the English tongue and to send their children to Canadian schools. Failure on the part of a mininority group to do either or both of these things was sufficient to convince the Anglo-Saxon Protestant majority of inability and unwillingness to become Canadianized.

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<sup>62</sup>Ralph Lenton, op. cit., pp. 230-231.

<sup>63</sup>See footnotes 31-35.

## CONCLUSION

Nativistic behaviour in Winnipeg was not completely terminated in the mid-1920's. It became prominent in the 1930's and it could re-emerge at any time, as was revealed in the ludicrous memorial cenotaph issue which bears relation here.

In 1924, the City of Winnipeg decided that a permanent memorial, "a symbol of Winnipeg's mindfulfulness of the glorious dead,"<sup>1</sup> should be built on the Mall just to the north of the legislative buildings. A War Memorial committee was commissioned to solicit designs for the memorial, which were to be examined for artistic quality by a panel of judges who would then submit their choice to the committee. The winner of the competition was Mr. Emanuel Hahn, a sculptor from Toronto. Mr. Hahn's award was withdrawn by the committee when it was discovered that the sculptor, although a resident since the age of two years, had been born in Germany. The competition was opened again, and this time the judges chose as winner Miss Elizabeth Wood, "a young girl of Canadian birth and of Canadian Parentage."<sup>2</sup> However, it was soon learned, that although Miss Wood worked under her maiden name, she was the wife of none other than Emanuel Hahn. So the War Memorial committee declined

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<sup>1</sup>MFP, June 14, 1924.

<sup>2</sup>Tribune, Nov. 12, 1927.

to use Miss Wood's design, on the grounds that Winnipeg was "not looking for fine statues... (but) for something that will touch the hearts of the people."<sup>3</sup> There is no question, however, that the fact that Miss Wood was the wife of Emanuel Hahn was an important factor in the rejection of the design.<sup>4</sup> Eventually, the design accepted for the cenotaph was that of Mr. Gilbert Parfitt of Winnipeg, an Englishman "born in the Midlands in 1886,"<sup>5</sup> a choice that met with great approval from local veterans' groups.<sup>6</sup>

However, in the mid-twenties, such occurrences were very much the exception rather than the rule. Although the ethnocentrism and unconscious assumptions from which renewed nativism could arise remained, overt nativistic behaviour had all but abated. "Foreigners" were still less desirable as immigrants than were those of British stock. They were "dirty", "ignorant", "garlic-smelling", "demoralizing",<sup>7</sup> and were still regarded as slightly more apt to "listen to the wild vaporings of socialists and communists" than were those of British origin,<sup>8</sup> but it was believed that they could and would be assimilated. They were still viewed as more susceptible to alcohol and more likely

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<sup>3</sup> Statement by Mr. R.D. Waugh, chairman of the War Memorial Committee and former Mayor of Winnipeg, reported MFP, Dec. 3, 1927.

<sup>4</sup> See statement by Major D.M. Duncan, member of the War Memorial Committee, reported MFP, Dec. 3, 1927.

<sup>5</sup> MFP, Dec. 7, 1927.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Open letter from Bishop Lloyd of Saskatchewan to Ministers of Protestant Churches of the Western Provinces, quoted MFP, July 18, 1928.

<sup>8</sup> The North-Ender, edit. September 22, 1927. In this editorial the North-Ender pointed out that it should not be forgotten that there were "a number of English-speaking adherents" of communistic ideologies.

to break the Sabbath Day commandment than British-Canadians; few deemed them undesirable on that account alone. "Priest-ridden" religious groups were still considered more apt to threaten the public schools than those of a more "British" religious persuasion; they did not seem to be threatening them now. The conviction that the "foreigner" represented a threat to a British-Canadian culture and a British-Canadian way of life seemed less apparent.

The experiences of the war and the strike made Winnipeg's established culture group defensively nationalistic. The members of that group perceived a "Hun-Russian propaganda campaign [to destroy] the civilization of Anglo-Saxonsim the world over."<sup>9</sup> Consequently, they lashed out violently at perceived "foreign" ethnic, revolutionary and, to an extent religious threats to Canadian solidarity and a British-Canadian way of life. But by the mid-twenties the "foreign" peril seemed remote. Winnipeggers no longer felt threatened by an influx of aliens blabbering in foreign tongues and unwilling to learn English; no longer threatened by foreign followers of foreign economic social and political philosophies; no longer threatened by the clerical leaders of alien groups who wanted to destroy the public schools. The symbolic elements of British-Canadian culture seemed safe from foreign menaces.

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<sup>9</sup> Tribune, edit., Jan. 5, 1920.



Appendix I - Table 1  
Origins of the People - City of Winnipeg  
1881 - 1921<sup>1</sup>

Origins	1881		1891		1901		1911		1921	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Total										
British	6,679	83.6			31,230	73.8	84,552	62.2	120,087	67.1
English	2,332	29.2			14,559	34.5	42,408	31.2	58,321	32.6
Irish	1,864	23.4			7,324	17.3	15,432	11.4	23,315	13.0
Scotch	2,470	30.9			9,190	21.7	25,789	19.0	37,069	20.7
Other British	13	.2			157	.4	923	.7	1,864	1.0
French	450	5.6			1,379	3.3	2,695	2.0	3,944	2.2
German	186	2.3			2,283	5.4	8,912	6.6	4,762	2.7
Austro-Hungarian	---	---			1,147	2.7	6,072	4.5	6,785	3.8
Chinese-Japanese	2	.1			121	.3	586	.4	849	.5
Dutch	5	.1			92	.2	535	.4	1,236	.7
Indian-Metis	9	.1			142	.3	30	.1	44	.1
Italian	26	.3			147	.4	769	.6	1,311	.7
Jewish	4	.1			1,156	2.7	9,023	6.6	14,449	8.1
Negro	4	.1			44	.1	165	.1	424	.2
Russian	6	.1			624	1.5	1,558	1.1	3,791	2.1
Polish	---	---			---	---	4,743	3.5	5,696	3.2
Ukranian	---	---			---	---	900	.7	6,381	3.6
Scandinavian										
Icelandic	409	5.1			3,322	7.9	4,956	3.6	6,217	3.5
Swiss	3	.1			35	.1	114	.1	278	.2
Various	13	.2			139	.3	1,607	1.1	1,585	.9
Unspecified	189	2.4			479	1.1	8,818	6.5	422	.2
Totals	7,985	100%	25,639		42,340	100%	136,035	100%	179,087	100%

<sup>1</sup> Statistics compiled by Alan F.J. Artibise, "A Social History of Urban Growth; City of Winnipeg, 1871-1921: A Preliminary Study" (unpublished essay, U.B.C., 1969), p. 24. Compilations from Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Censuses of Canada, 1881, 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921. For years 1881, 1891, 1901, Ukrainians are included in Austria-Hungary category.

## Appendix I - Table II

Birthplace of Winnipeg's  
Native Born Population1881-1921<sup>2</sup>

Birthplace	1881		1891		1901		1911		1921	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Prince Ed. Island	42	.5	83		139	.3	471	.4	515	.3
Nova Scotia	206	2.6	371		446	1.1	1,505	1.1	1,622	.9
New Brunswick	106	1.3	279		303	.7	799	.6	938	.5
Quebec	567	7.1	1,146		1,365	3.2	2,799	2.1	3,083	1.7
Ontario	3,395	42.5	7,242		10,419	24.6	20,564	15.1	21,402	11.9
MANITOBA	1,032	12.9	5,510		13,322	31.5	31,849	23.4	62,961	35.2
Edmonton	---	---	---	---	---	---	587	.4	1,969	1.1
Alberta	---	---	---	---	---	---	221	.2	618	.3
British Columbia	8	.1	25		32	.1	175	.1	450	.3
Yukon and Territories	31	.4	57		325	.8	52	.1	20	.1
Not Stated	---	---	---	---	---	---	945	.7	276	.2
Total Canadian born	5,387	67.5	14,713		26,351	62.2	59,967	44.1	93,854	52.4
Total population	7,985	100%	25,639	100%	42,340	100%	136,035	100%	179,087	100%

<sup>2</sup>Statistics compiled by Artibise, op. cit., p. 25.

Appendix I - Table III  
Birthplace of Winnipeg's  
Foreign Born Population

1881 - 1921<sup>3</sup>

Birthplace	1881		1891		1901		1911		1921	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Ireland	879	11.0	4,316		5,223	12.3	23,747	17.5	28,546	15.9
Ireland	359	4.5	1,225		1,218	2.9	4,655	3.4	5,584	3.2
Ireland	453	5.7	1,563		1,671	4.0	10,949	8.1	14,580	8.1
Ireland	---	---	---	---	76	.2	513	.4	814	.5
Australia	---	---	---	---	22	.1	80	.1	97	.1
India	---	---	---	---	47	.1	108	.1	130	.1
Newfoundland	6	.1	19		46	.1	120	.1	145	.1
Austria	---	---	---	---	1,343	3.1	9,449	6.9	5,105	2.8
Hungary	---	---	---	---	50	.1	155	.1	182	.1
Belgium	---	---	---	---	87	.2	323	.2	336	.2
France	18	.2	40		699	1.7	1,866	1.3	641	.4
Germany	37	.5	339		99	.2	517	.4	689	.4
Italy	10	.1	13		2,199	5.2	3,669	2.7	2,893	1.6
Scandinavia	32	.4	1,193		1,398	3.3	8,577	6.3	11,477	6.4
Sweden	6	.1	500		---	---	647	.5	4,623	2.6
Finland	---	---	---	---	164	.4	757	.6	919	.5
United States	365	4.6	877		1,405	3.3	5,798	4.3	7,052	3.9
Others	433	5.4	1,792		242	.6	4,138	3.1	1,200	.7
Total Foreign Born	2,598	32.5	10,926		15,989	37.8	76,068	55.9	85,233	47.6
Total Population	7,985	100%	25,639	100%	42,340	100%	136,035	100%	179,087	100%

<sup>3</sup> Statistics compiled by Artibise, op. cit., p. 26.

## Appendix I - Table IV

## Religions of the People: City of Winnipeg,

1881 - 1921<sup>4</sup>

Religious Denomination	1881		1891		1901		1911		1921	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Anglican	2,737	29.7	6,854		10,175	24.0	31,338	23.0	44,359	24.8
Baptist	349	4.4	1,046		2,055	4.9	5,062	3.7	5,092	2.8
Congrega- tionalist	111	1.4	1,050		1,300	3.1	2,086	1.5	1,660	.9
Methodist	1,380	17.3	4,310		6,741	15.9	15,387	11.3	17,668	9.9
Presbyterian	2,365	29.6	5,952		10,172	24.0	30,367	22.3	44,533	24.9
Lutheran	292	3.7	2,291		4,253	10.1	11,151	8.2	9,931	5.5
Protestant	---	---	15		117	.3	3,158	2.3	995	.6
Roman Catholic	1,020	12.7	2,470		5,143	12.1	19,729	14.5	24,118	13.5
Greek Church	---	---			230	.5	3,411	2.5	9,195	5.1
Jews	21	.3	645		1,145	2.7	8,934	6.6	14,390	8.0
Salvation Army	---	---	99		196	.5	500	.4	825	.5
Non- Christian	---	---	—	—	---	---	152	.1	494	.3
No Religion	---	---	—	—	6	.1	1,163	.9	757	.4
Various Sects	15	.2	234		524	1.2	1,883	1.4	4,786	2.7
Unspecified	69	.9	673		283	.7	1,714	1.3	284	.2
Totals	7,985	100%	25,632	100%	42,240	100%	136,035	100%	179,087	100%

<sup>4</sup>Statistics compiled by Artibise, op. cit., p. 27.

Appendix I - Table V  
 Enrollment By Racial Origin of  
 Selected Schools In Winnipeg's  
 North End; 1905, 1915, and 1935<sup>5</sup>

Aberdeen and Strathcona Schools, Grades I to VIII	1905	1915	1935
Total Enrollment	916	2495	1598
English	96.5%	12.5%	2.5%
Slavic	---	15.0%	46.0%
Jewish	---	54.5%	36.5%
German	---	13.0%	11.0%
Others	3.5%	5.0%	4.0%

<sup>5</sup> Statistics compiled by Artibise, op. cit., p. 43, from W.J. Sisler, Peaceful Invasion, (Winnipeg, Ketchen Printing Co., 1944).

## APPENDIX I

Table VI

The Report on Housing Survey of Certain Selected Areas, made March and April 1921. (City of Winnipeg Health Department, P.A.M.) revealed the following:

In a ward five district bounded on the south by Selkirk Ave., on the north by Alfred Ave., on the east by Salter Street and on the west by McKenzie Street:

<u>Nationalities of Heads of Families</u>			<u>Occupations of Heads of Families</u>	
Russian	695		Labourers, Teamsters	282
Austrian, Hungarian	46		Clerks, Storekeepers	92
Roumanian	33	86%	Merchants	69
German	22		Building Trades	68
Italian	1		Railway Employees	52
Scandinavian	8		Tailors	42
Negro and Chinese	3		Plumbers, Steamfitters	33
French	1		Mechanics	27
British	77		Painters & Decorators	24
Canadian	39	13.2%	Clerks, Accountants	22
U.S.A.	7		Professionals	23
	<u>932</u>		Brokers and Agents	21
			Shoemakers	19
			Retired	18
			Bakers, Cooks	17
			Manufacturers	13
			Postmen, Policemen,	
			Firemen	12
			Printers & bookbinders	11
			Barbers	9
			Travellers	8
			Caretakers	6
			Laundrymen	4
			Soldiers	3
				<u>895</u>

Women

Housekeeper	29
Clerks & Stereotypes	4
Charwomen	3
Dressmakers	1
Sales Clerks	<u>1</u>
	38

In a ward two district bounded in the north by Notre Dame Ave., on the south by Ellice Ave., on the west by Sherbrooke St., and on the East by Balmoral St.:

Nationalities of Heads of Families

British	717	
Canadian	559	92.9%
American	54	
Scandinavian	23	
French and Belgian	18	
Italian	18	
Negroes and Chinese	9	
Russian	7	
German	6	
Roumanian	2	
Austrian	1	
not given	<u>17</u>	
	1431	

Occupations of Heads of Families

Clerks & Storekeepers	208
Office Workers,	
Accountants	194
Mechanics, Engineers,	
etc.	103
Labourers & Teamsters	89
Railway Employees	76
Building Trades	75
Retired	59
Professional Men	49
Brokers & Agents	47
Caretakers, Watchmen	44
Travellers	36
Plumbers, Steamfitters,	
Blacksmiths	23
Bakers, Cooks	21
Postmen, Policemen,	
Firemen	19
Tailors	15
Printers & bookbinders	27
Soldiers	10
Laundrymen	7
Shoemakers & Leather-	
workers	5
not given	<u>52</u>
	1170

Women

Housekeepers	136
Clerks & Stenographers	59
Dressmakers	20
Storekeepers & Store Help	14
Nurses	10
Charwomen	7
Professional	6
Farm Owners	<u>1</u>
	253

The report made May to December 1918 gave the following figures for a ward six district bounded on the north by College Ave., on the south by Oxford Ave., on the east by Salter Street and on the west by McKenzie Street:

Nationalities

Russian	222	33.4%
Austro-Hungarian	152	53 %
German	125	18.8%
Polish	80	12.1%
Other Foreign		
Nationalities	20	3.1%
	<u>600</u>	<u>90.4%</u>
Canadian & British	64	9.6%
	<u>664</u>	<u>100 %</u>

Occupations

Labourers	240
Merchants	82
Building Trades	66
Chauffeurs, Statesmen,	
Teamsters	51
Mechanics, Iron Workers	41
Tailors & Shoemakers	31
Clerks & Salesmen in	
Stores	29
Soldiers	18
Doctors, Dentists, etc.	12
Policemen, Firemen,	
Postmen	10
Plumbers, Steamfitters,	
Blacksmiths	8
Farmers	5
Printers	4
Hotel Keepers, Chefs,	
etc.	4
Railway Employees	3
Street Railway	
Employees	3
Total	<u>607</u>



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