

COLLECTIVE MEMORY AND THE DEFINITION OF PLACE:
A MONUMENT FOR THE WINNIPEG GENERAL STRIKE OF 1919

BY

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A Practicum
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
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for the Degree of

MASTER OF LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE

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University of Manitoba
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Abstract

In acknowledging and incorporating significant episodes of the past into the present landscape, monuments can provide the inhabitants of a place with an interactive heritage: a heritage based on the fusion of past and present, deepening a sense of place by providing the means to possess a common identity, that is to belong to a fellowship of place.

The intent of this practicum was the development of a contextually based monument which relies on an integration of elements and contextual relationships to convey its meaning. With this goal in mind, the evolution of the monument was studied in order to gain a better understanding of it as a theoretical concept and valid functional element. The intent of this study was the development of programmatic guidelines for a contextually based monument.

The Winnipeg General Strike of 1919 provided the perfect subject for the design of a commemorative monument which would be based on an application of the developed program. Site selection for this specific commemorative monument was based on the applicability to historical criteria and thematic issue derived from a study of the Winnipeg General Strike.

In addressing and defining each of the requirements, the design has achieved its purpose in illustrating the practical application of a theoretical concept, the contextual monument.

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Prologue

Cities are the visual collections, amalgams, of their pasts. As expressed in articulate built environments they impart meaning and reference, allowing the recollections of people and events distanced by time to be incorporated and shared by the collective unconsciousness of their inhabitants.

By relating the past to a continuum of collective memories, monuments locate the remembered past in the present landscape. As signs of the collective culture, they offer themselves as fixed points, both spatially and temporally, in the urban dynamic. Their function is not to preserve the past but to recall, honour, and / or celebrate it. By offering the inhabitants the ability to recognize themselves in the achievements of earlier generations, they endow the past with present day value.

In acknowledging and incorporating significant episodes of the past into the present landscape, monuments can provide the inhabitants of a place with an interactive heritage: a heritage based on the fusion of past and present which can only strengthen the collective identity of a people with their place.

The monument has traditionally been treated as an architectural element, relying primarily on the artifact to convey meaning. As a means of expression landscape architecture differs from architecture, relying on contextual relationships and an integration of elements to achieve a similar goal. It is the intent of this practicum to examine the evolution of the monument in order to gain a better understanding of it as a theoretical concept and a valid functional expression. The main issue addressed by this practicum is the development of a monument as a social artifact that relies on an integration of elements and contextual relationships to convey its meaning.

Goals and Objectives

The goal of this practicum is the development and application of program guidelines for the design of a commemorative monument.

Specific objectives are:

- to study historical awareness in an attempt to understand how and why we use the past,
- to study the evolution of the monument, the architectural and landscape architectural precedents with the intent of developing program guidelines,
- to examine site selection precedents to aid in site selection for the monument,
- to study the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919 in order to identify an issue that is of value to present day inhabitants of Winnipeg,
- the application of the program to this aspect of history.

Process

The methodology this study followed can be divided into three phases: a research phase , an analysis phase, and a design phase.

The research phase focused on a review of historical and contemporary literature pertaining to monuments, their place in the city, and their role in terms of the collective memory of a place. In addition this phase focused on a review of the written and photographic record of the Winnipeg General Strike, including historical and contemporary interpretations of the event. In order to supplement this research a

number of interviews were conducted. As well, observations of the 75th anniversary of the 1919 Winnipeg General Strike were included in this phase.

The next phase involved analysis and synthesis of the information collected in order to develop program guidelines for the design of a commemorative monument. Analysis and interpretation of the Winnipeg General Strike and the identification of a thematic issue, not only provided conceptual focus during the design phase, but also focused the process of site selection. When combined with additional site selection criteria the most appropriate site(s) for this monument were identified. Included in this phase was an analysis of the chosen site and context from both an historical and contemporary point of view.

Finally the design phase involved the application of the program guidelines and thematic issue (which became the conceptual basis for the design) to the design of a monument commemorating the Winnipeg General Strike. Each of the programmatic requirements was addressed and further defined in order to both clarify the design and the designer's intention.

Introduction: Justification for a Genuine Past

The past has always exerted a strong influence on the present. Since time immemorial people have paid homage to the memories and deeds of their ancestors, linking themselves with their forebears through myth, tradition, and history. The need for a past implies a belief in a future. In anticipation of that future, people require a past with points of reference with which a dialogue with prosperity can be developed.

“Our ancestors may not like what we offer,
they will undoubtedly interpret it differently,
but in reacting, they will at least have something
on which to exercise that most idiosyncratic asset
of ‘Homo Sapiens’, the human mind.”

(Lowenthal, 1981, pp.68)

The tangible past then becomes a matrix for a people, a society, to achieve a greater understanding of themselves and their place in a historical context.

The benefits to be gained from an awareness of the past have been identified by David Lowenthal as: (i) recognition and familiarity, (ii) individual and group identity, (iii) validation and reaffirmation, (iv) guidance, and (v) enrichment. Perhaps the most pervasive is to render the present familiar. The identity of events, scenes, and objects are made known, stemming as they do from a history of involvement. Objects which lack any familiar elements or composition remain unknown. The past is recalled not only in what we see but in what we create. In new creations, old precedents are evoked enhancing a sense of security and continuity, lending the new familiarity. However the past we depend upon to make sense of the present is historically recent, stemming from individual memory and experience. The further back we go, the less traces remain, the more they have altered, and the less they anchor us to contemporary reality. (Lowenthal, 1985.)

The sureness of 'I was' is a necessary prerequisite to the sureness of 'I am', making awareness of the past essential to our sense of individual and collective identity. Our present existence is given meaning and purpose through our ability to recall the past. The attachment to particular places and locals is an alternative route by which people maintain contact with their pasts.

"Many symbolic and historical locations in a city are rarely visited by its inhabitants but the survival of these unvisited, hearsay settings conveys a sense of security and continuity." (Lynch, 1980, pp.40)

Conversely, historical awareness would strengthen the definition of these places through individual and collective memory. Keepsakes, photographs, and portable emblems, all symbolic substitutes for abandoned homes and landscapes, provide a sense of continuity when transferred to new places.

"The past validates present attitudes and actions by affirming their resemblance's to former ones. Previous usage seals with approval what is now done."
(Lowenthal, 1985, pp.40)

The past would validate the present in two ways. Through preservation it would perpetuate tradition - practices that would date from millennia. In the continuance of tradition and / or artifact we reassure and reaffirm ourselves in the present of our progress. Secondly, in restoring values lost through the passage of time by adopting traditions and values from another period of history we fortify and legitimize the present.

The past as guide is adopted for the lessons it teaches. Up until the 19th century, the past was perceived to be an absolute model for the present. Mankind was presumed

to be the same at all times and historical awareness would therefore reveal eternal truths. The growing awareness of the diversity of the past and its dissimilarity with the present, has tempered its authority. Even when history ceased to provide explicit examples, it is still of value in telling us not what we should do but what we might do.

"The past's objective truth is created by inquiry in the present. In this way, history can be a way of opening up the present, of seeing multiple possibilities by exploring the 'roads not taken'".
(Lipsitz, 1990, pp.141)

Finally, the ability to recognize ourselves in the achievements of earlier generations enriches and deepens the present.

"The past lengthens life's reach by linking us with events and people prior to ourselves."
(Lowenthal, 1985, pp.48)

To project the past backwards is to evoke the past and make it our own.

The past is appreciated because it is over, completed, possessing both a stability and a permanence that the present lacks. Completion makes the past comprehensible and we see more clearly the consequences that have emerged. (Lowenthal, 1985) Unfortunately, the provisional nature of history would deny us this stable ordered past. History and memory highlight selected scenes and what survives as today's past is an accumulation of pasts, seen through our own particular perspectives. Our continually changing present demands new interpretations of what has taken place.

The choice faced by the present generation, by every present generation, is not so much which past to selectively highlight, the remote or the more recent past, but between a genuine past and a contrived past. When our recognizable past falls short

of our historic ideals, we tend to remold it and reinterpret it, altering our genuine past. When the past is so rearranged, it reinforces the segregation of the past from the present, and the past we are left with speaks more about ourselves and our values than of any genuine experience.

"When a past we depend upon for heritage and continuity turns out to be a complex of original and altered remains, enlarged by subsequent thoughts and deeds, if not outright sham, we lose faith in our own perspective."

(Lowenthal, 1985, pp.411)

By revising the past we would alter ourselves as well. If memory as the basis for identity is founded on alteration, then so too is our identity altered. Our sense of self and our relationship to place is diminished with every revision. It would seem obvious then that a heritage based on a genuine past, however monstrous or controversial, is better than one based on falsehood and myth. In bringing to consciousness long concealed events and feelings we would dispel a dependence on a past whose silence would forever burden the present.

In the reality of this post - modern age, history has become an unfinished dialogue which would fuse past with present providing inhabitants with a continually interactive heritage. When we recognize that to inherit is a process of adaptive transformation; that today's insight add to the meaning of the past rather than subverting it, the past has acquired present - day value. The permanence of the past is maintained through its ability to transform and adapt. Rather than consigning the past to a foreign place removed in time and space from the present,

"it is assimilated in ourselves, and resurrected into an ever-changing present." (Lowenthal, 1985, pp.412)

Some aspects of history loom so heavily over the present that people find it easier to forget than to take on the burdens and responsibilities of remembering. (Lipsitz, 1990) Such is the case with the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919, an event so divisive and controversial that it has ensured its silence for the past seventy - five years. The Strike represents a significant event in the development, not only of this city, but of this country. What arose from the local issues of the workers' right to collective bargaining and to earn a living wage, quickly spread to affect a nation and its political and economic structure. At no other time has an issue so clearly and decisively split a city's population into two opposing groups. The Strike had far reaching results, and its legacy is still felt in Winnipeg today.

As controversial as it may still be, its importance to the city cannot be questioned. The Strike is a part of the cultural history and identity of Winnipeg. Its hold on the present is a reflection of its significance to this place. To date there is little reference outside of written documentation that the Strike ever occurred. To relegate it to archival memory is to deny the inhabitants of Winnipeg its existence as part of their living history, thereby reducing their capacity to engage with what they have inherited. To omit such a significant event is tantamount to a reconstruction or alteration of the historical record of this place and all that implies.

What is required rather is the acknowledgment and incorporation of this event into the memory of this place, providing the inhabitants of this city with a heritage with which they can continually interact. A heritage that would fuse past with present, deepening a sense of place by providing the means to possess a common identity, that is, to belong to a fellowship of place.

Chapter 1 : Monuments: A Collective Past

Monuments: As Routes to the Past

Memory, history, and relic are the means by which we might know the past. Memory and history are processes of insight whereas relics are products of that insight. In their man-made form, relics become artifacts.

Artifacts as products are the tangible traces left by our ancestors. In their resemblance to current form and the evidence of decay we discern the passage of historical time. Many of these artifacts have since become what Reigl termed 'unintentional monuments'. Recalling moments, or a complex of moments from the past, they are historical traces representing phase(s) of human development that has passed, their value being defined by contemporary culture. (Reigl, 1957) Although leaving testimony of both artistic and cultural life, it was not their original intention when built. They stand as testimony of mankind's progression and continuous development, their significance lies in their historicism, their pastiness.

Memory and history, as processes of insight, differ from one another, not only in how the knowledge of the past is acquired, but in how it is



Transcona Shopworks, 1915
(Bumstead, 1994)

At 11 a.m. on May 15, the largest labour withdrawal in Canadian history, in excess of 27,000 workers, as many non - union as union workers walked off their jobs.

transmitted, preserved and altered.
(Lowenthal, 1985) History, is by its nature collective, perpetuating collective self-awareness. As an extension of memory, it elaborates memory through interpretation and synthesis. However communal and verifiable, it is nonetheless subjective, based on the bias of the interpreter / narrator and audience. As a collective medium it extends the life span of the past through its social organizations. Individual memory on the other hand, as a form of self-awareness is entirely personal, which ultimately condemns it to extinction. It functions not to preserve the past but rather to use it to enrich, explain, and manipulate the present.

Occupying the twilight zone between these two, between the past as a general record, open to dispassionate inspection, and the past as background or part of one's own life, collective memory finds its place along the continuum of time. Being less than history and more than memory, collective memory involves the individual within the collective, and the interrelationship between the two. As a process of insight, it is reconstructive by nature. Memory and the act of remembrance is a

"process of imaginative reconstruction
by which we integrate specific images

*"In less than 2 hours the
whole productive
industry of a whole city
was tied up, as men,
women, boys, and
girls, came trooping
out of shop and store
and factory, not a wheel
was turning in the big
plants, not a street car
was visible, and on the
face of
every worker was the
cheerful optimistic smile
of confidence in the
justice of their cause,
and their firm
determination to
organize in any manner,
for any lawful purpose,
which would better their
condition and assure to
all a living wage."*

(Reilly, 1984, pp. 1)

*So began the Winnipeg
General Strike.*

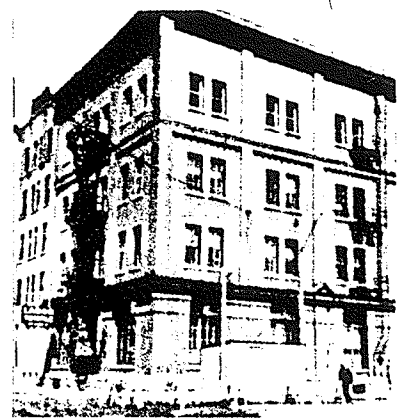
formulated in the present into particular context identified with the past."

(Hutton, 1993, pp.101)

As artifacts are the manmade extension of relics, so commemorative monuments are the formalized physical expressions of the collective memory of a group. Built with the specific intention of preserving a moment of the past, through the commemoration of humans and their deeds, in the consciousness of future generations.... to remain alive and present in perpetuity. Thus they stand as echoes of the past, a past still partly being experienced in the present. It is the memory of the collective which sustains their meaning and value and thus the experience.

In remembering we locate images of the past in specific places. The images themselves have no coherent meaning until they are displaced or projected into concrete places.

"The images recollected are not evocations of a real past but only representations of it. In that sense, they give expression to a present minded imagination of what the past was like. The contexts in turn contribute to the shaping of



**James Ave. Labour Temple,
headquarters of the Strike
Committee.**

(Provincial Archives of
Manitoba)

*The general strike,
traditionally a political
instrument, was used in
Winnipeg to achieve the
economic goals of
collective bargaining and a
living wage, but the strong
ties binding economic and
social issues faced by the
striker could only ensure
the broadening of the
strike beyond their
economic goals.*

these representations by highlighting the habits of mind of the social group with which they are associated.

(Hutton, 1993, pp.102)

These located places of remembrance are points of convergence where individual memories are reconstructed in light of their relationship to a framework of collective memory. In these places of convergence where we validate personal memory against the collective, we simultaneously convert the collective into the personal and make it our own. Thus in sharing and validating memory we give it endurance.

"In the process of knitting our own discontinuous recollections into narratives, we revise personal components to fit the collectively remembered past, and gradually cease to distinguish between them."

(Lowenthal, 1985, pp.196)

The association of memory with specific objects and places, commemorative monuments, is derived from the Greek art of memory. The method of recall was based on the principle of displacement, utilizing the dual vehicles of image and place. The idea that

Although the first week of the strike passed uneventfully, each of the antagonists had made their opening moves, giving direction to the course of events that were to follow. By its very nature the General Strike saw the complete shut-down and cessation of services. The Strike Committee, by having to assume partial administrative responsibility of essential services, became trapped by their inexperience and lack of planning in appearing to create a revolutionary situation, which was never their intent. The use of placards 'By Authority of the Strike Committee', necessary for the continuance of essential services, was perceived as signifying 'the erosion of State authority' and became symbols of the striker's underlying political intent.

was to be recalled was attached or embedded within an object which was then placed within an imaginary framework which served as paths for the Greek narrative's walk through the past. (Hutton, 1993)

The meaning of these monuments derives from the idea embedded within their structure. In their communication they impel us to contemplate imaginatively the idea(s) they embody and prod us to think through the implications of these ideas against our reality. In the sensing of the idea is the realization that the consequences may only come to pass through our actions. Thus they confront us with the task of reassessing our values by providing the means for doing so. (Glazer and Lilla, 1987)

The value of these monuments is twofold. Being intimately linked with the formation of the city they represent the relationship of the collective to place. The continuous interaction and adjustment between a people and their context is an accumulation of experiences and the definition of place. Collective memory is the embodiment of that interaction. It is by means of memory and what that memory embodies that individuals as a collective organization derive their identity, an identity based on place.

The second value of monuments is in their embodiment of idea(s) and subsequent call for

In 1919, Winnipeg was a post-war city in the throes of the 'Big Red Scare'. In a climate endemic with panic and hysteria, the establishment exhibited a particularly strong form of 'nativism'.

action, they express Rossi's concept of 'propelling agents of change'. The city as a social construct is a city in formation, continuously evolving. Commemorative monuments as symbols of the city, the relationship of a people and a place, can instigate further development and growth. As an urban focus, linking past with present, its permanence as a functioning social element is dictated by its capacity for change. (Rossi, 1982)

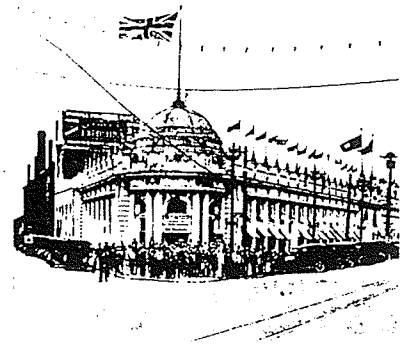
*"In the eyes of many,
Canada's enemies
could be defined not just
by nationality or ethnic
group loyalty but by
political
ideology: socialism was
another facet of the Hun
conspiracy."
(Friesen, 1984, pp. 284)*

Monuments: As Social Artifacts

Commemorative monuments as social artifacts, whose form and function have continuously evolved, continue to exist and be used as meaningful elements within the urban collective. Their ability to create a reflective and respectful mood lies in the fact that their forms have remained relatively unchanged for centuries but through their consistency of use. Through the association of form and function they have become a global language, an architectural type.

According to J.B. Jackson, the traditional commemorative monument is an object which is supposed to remind us. It is a great public declaration, a contract, which the public has pledged itself to honour. This type of monument is common to a country which is relatively young, concerned with its beginnings, and where the inhabitants share a strong sense of their political past. They stand as testimony to a nation's past and inspire those who view them to live up to their ideals. They are an assurance of worth of an emerging collective identity, of a people and a place.

In the politics of memory, monuments have come to reflect the representational will of those in power, from sovereign rulers to the democratic ideals of the populace. As symbols of the collective, interpreted and



Headquarters of the Citizen's Committee of One Thousand, Winnipeg Board of Trade Building.

(Provincial Archives of Manitoba)

So upon the announcement of the General Strike, the Committee of 100 responded by reactivating and reforming to become the Citizen's Committee of 1000, who drew membership from the Winnipeg Board of Trade, Manufacturers Association, the Bar Association, and the like. Although their mandate was the maintenance of essential services, they came to represent the 'unofficial' opposition to the Strike.

expressed through form, the prototype of the traditional monument described by J.B. Jackson originated during the Italian Renaissance, with the appropriation of the Medieval period's sanctified heroes. (Rothberg, 1988) Rulers, military heroes, and men of virtue were the subject of commemoration. Through human greatness they achieved immortality. The 'place de emulation' represents the climax of this 'cult of the personality', where humans were the object and subject of commemoration. (Lipsitz, 1990) During this period, monuments took on the role of social educators through the belief in the potency of images to influence and educate the citizenry.

"The cult of the personality, in turn, flowed into the more general commemoration of major historical events, as memorial imagery lent definition to official conception of the significance of the emerging nation- states. (Hutton, 1993, pp.44)

The French Revolution and the declaration of popular sovereignty saw the depersonalization of the monument through the expression of abstract principles. Humans and abstract symbols (vertical structures) were the dominant form in the representation and

The State, composed of three levels of government, became the official opposition to the Strike. Although initially sympathetic to the striker's cause, the Federal government, in the person of Gideon Robertson, came to believe the Strike was called to officiate and support the birth of the One Big Union (OBU)

CARD OF MEMBERSHIP

ONE BIG UNION

NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL UNION OF THE DOMINION OF CANADA

"Money is the Root of All Evil,"
saith the Lord.

I, the undersigned, do hereby declare that, by the help of God, I will STRIKE against the use of money at any time I may be called upon.

Name

Address

Witness

"Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest," saith the Lord.

(To be Returned to Head Office)

**A membership card for the
OBU.**

(Provincial Archives of
Manitoba)

the expression of the social ideals.

The material of these conventional monuments was normally chosen to withstand the ravages of time, in the belief that the permanency of form would ensure everlasting life to the idea embedded within its structure.

Art, in the guise of symbol, metaphor, and allegory was the tools in forming historical consciousness and the communication of ideas. The traditional commemorative monument has come to represent the expression of the social ideal. Appealing to the intellect rather than the emotions, it seeks to influence the collective through the communication of its moral lesson.

Representing a history defined by the notable and the unique, it reflects a perception of history as fixed and certain.

The German word for monument is 'Denkmal', meaning think - time, which expresses the contemplative pause associated with monuments. By defining the place of the past, both spatially and temporally, the association of sacredness and reverence is thus reflected in the monument's form. Historically the religious association of monuments was quite strong, bestowing those so honoured with similar God / Christ qualities. Consequently these monuments tended to be highly symbolic in form, and are what I refer to as **Symbolic Monuments**. Typologically they can be grouped into one of three categories:

*".....it was the specter of
revolution in the
structure and ideologies
of trade unions that
haunted the
cabinet more than any
other factor."
(Bercuson, 1990, pp. 136)*

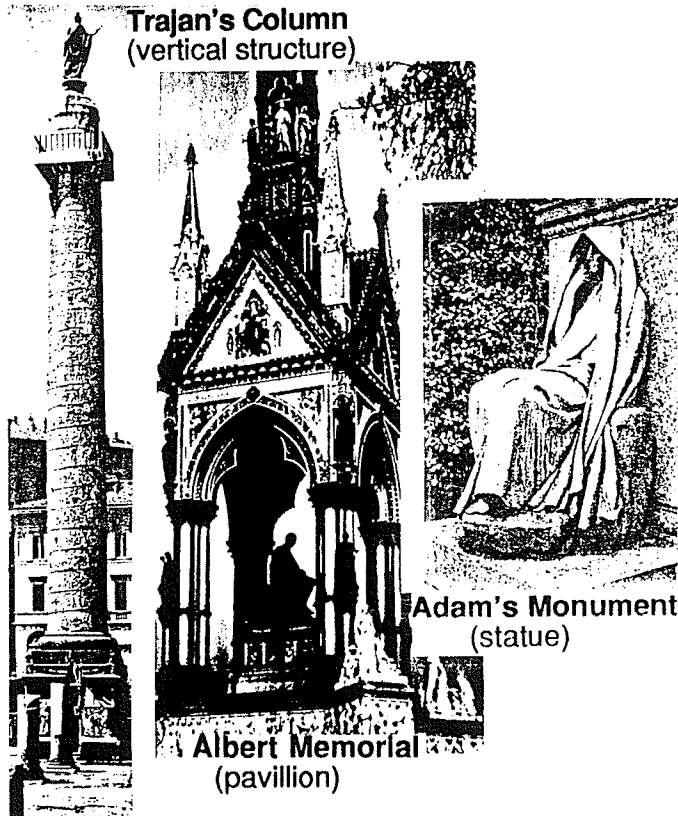
(i) **Statues**

(ii) **Vertical Structures / Abstract Symbols**

(obelisk, cenotaph, column, menhir)

(iii) **Architectural Structures**

(temples, pavilions)



Trajan's Column
(vertical structure)

Adam's Monument
(statue)

Albert Memorial
(pavillion)

Monuments are the gestures by which a society bestows nobility, signs of heirarchicalization, and the attribution of value. (Mattenklott, 1993) Yet in the rise of democratic ideals, the social leveling that occurred would negate this heirarchicalization by bestowing greatness to all. Thus the common man, his struggles and experiences

According to J. Bumstead, the only conclusion to be drawn from the state's opposition to the Strike was 'on the whole clumsy and malicious'. It is apparent that it was only gradually that the three levels of government worked themselves into a

position of total opposition, but they never became completely co-ordinated. Each level appeared concerned only by what affected them, each waiting for the other to assume a leadership role. Illustrative of this position is the issue of collective bargaining, to which each perceived to be the responsibility of the other.

STRIKERS, BEWARE!

Every issue of the dailies at this time tries to make it evident that large numbers of the workers have returned to the jobs, and there is dissention among the strikers, etc. Three inch headlines say that settlements are possible. They try to make believe that business is going on as usual.

If it were they would not need to use so many pretences and excuses to deceive.

NO, the workers are not GOING BACK. THEY ARE GOING FORWARD—and MORE ARE COMING OUT EVERY DAY.

**Excerpts from the Strike
Bulletin, 1919.**
(Provincial Archives of
Manitoba)

became the subject of commemoration. Like the rulers and generals before him, he too was raised to heroic levels, bestowed with similar qualities.

Gert Mattenklott would contend that with the expansion and deepening of democratic self-awareness there is a subsequent decline in the monument as functioning element. When monuments as elements in the city become taboo through their association with dominance and power, the aesthetic focus shifted to the audience as art. This shift occurred in the West around 1914, when formal statuary was replaced by empty urban spaces in which massed crowds provided the aesthetic impact. (North, 1992)

Perpetuating the metaphor of citizens as the building blocks of the social order, has had autocratic implication and was used very successfully in Germany during the period of Nazism. In its ancient form it signified voluntary association of individuals based on agreement and commonalty. In its liberal form, introduced at the end of the 18th century, it signified a space where difference of opinion could meet and contend based on commonly accepted rules. (North, 1992)

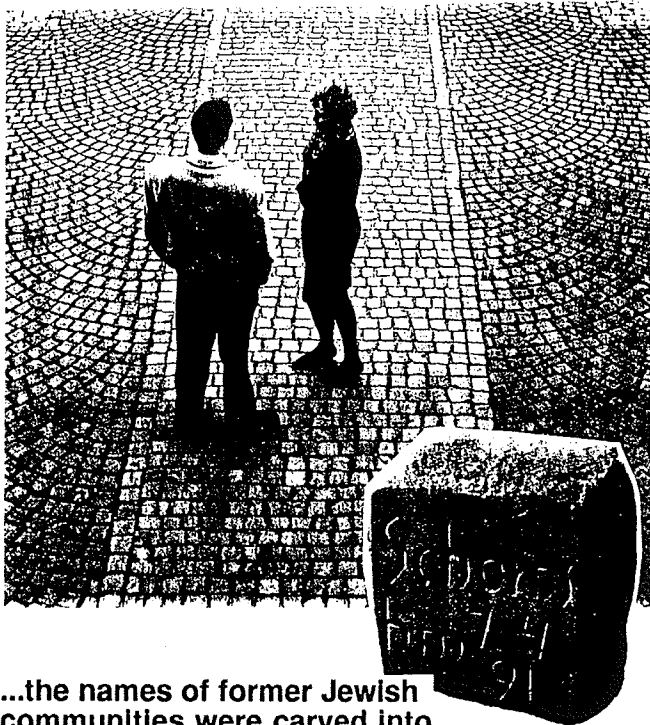
In an extension of this idea, this shift saw the development of the **Living or Practical Monument**. A compromise between function

In the campaign of words in which the General Strike was fought, the first casualty were the independent newspapers, which were initially banned in what Bercuson describes as 'a deliberate attempt to control the news fed to the public'. In the words of Reverend Ivens, the daily newspapers spoke half truths, misrepresented the cause of the striker, and suppressed the facts. To fill the vacuum with truth, both the Strike Committee and the Citizen's Committee began publishing their own newspapers, the Western Labour News and the Winnipeg Citizen respectively, each carrying the activities of its parent body and spreading their ideological message to the world. Words then became the language of protest, further defining, identifying, and subsequently polarizing each of the groups.

and art, it was dedicated to serving an ongoing function in society. Typologically, they can be grouped into one of three categories:

- (i) **Open Spaces**
(parks, plazas)
- (ii) **Buildings**
(hospitals, schools, airports)
- (iii) **Boulevards**

Monument Against Racism



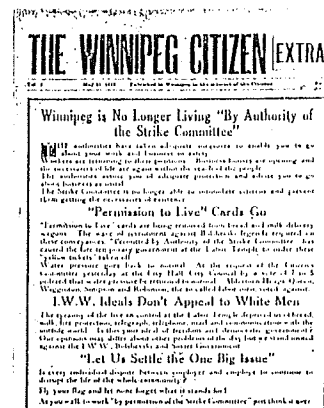
...the names of former Jewish communities were carved into the paving stones.

The logical and inevitable progression in the memorialization of the common man was the commemoration of a vernacular past as the chronicle of every day existence. Referring to

The Citizen's Committee, through their mouthpiece the Winnipeg Citizen, argued in the face of massive evidence that the issue of the Strike was not collective bargaining but rather,

"a deliberate, criminal, and fantastic attempt to make a revolution, engineered by aliens and British renegades who were a disgrace to the race."

(Bercuson, 1990, pp. 118)



The Winnipeg Citizen is Your Paper and is Issued Free of Charge

Excerpts from the Winnipeg Citizen, 1919.
(Provincial Archives of Manitoba)

a history as described by Reigl as encompassing 'development value' where the smallest part in the developmental chain of history is invested with importance. Reflecting a perception of history as an interwoven narrative composed of events and life stories, it portrayed a more intimate and collective reality. Reflective of their loss as ideal social communicators, the formal expression of these monuments tended towards non - representational abstract art, as an attempt to express the essential truth. Yet their very means of communication has in many cases made them mute by being unable to convert their images into traditional allegory.

Writing about war memorials and the monuments loss of meaning and effect, Eckhard Gruber discusses how the changes in media have affected the perception of the traditional monument. The conclusion seems to be that the visibility of a monument is dependent on the unity between its formal expression and current modes of perception. Media, by influencing the 'individuals organization of perception', effectively alters the receptive behaviour towards other forms of communication, specifically art.

In the search for the monument's redefinition, a definition more compatible with the values of this post - modern age, two divergent but somewhat contiguous avenues of development have become apparent. They are not

THE ALIEN IS ON HIS WAY!

- ¶ With the formation of the Returned Soldiers' Loyalist Association yesterday, began the movement which will speedily clear Canada of the undesirable alien and land him back in the billgewater of European Civilization from whence he sprung and to which he properly belongs.
- ¶ The men who are back of this task have devoted one to four of the best years of their lives to "making the world safe for democracy."
- ¶ Now they have a new job "making Canada safe for Canadians." And Canada can bank on their carrying on to a finish.
- ¶ These are the men who were characterized by undesirable alien Duncan as ignoramuses presumably because they refused to follow the lead of men like Ivens, Dixon, etc., who took advantage of every public appearance to urge that we at home desert our soldiers at the front and leave them to perish miserably alone and unsupported.
- ¶ Thanks to these "ignoramuses," the people of Winnipeg, for the first time since the strike began, can go about their affairs with the reasonable assurance that they will not be molested or annoyed.
- ¶ MR. EMPLOYER, these men are officially pledging themselves to preserve law and order and to protect your life and property. Do not fail in turn to do your part without stint or limit. There are sufficient positions vacated by striking aliens to provide immediate employment for our returned men. If there is unemployment in our midst, it must be the undesirable alien and not our own returned soldiers who walk the streets.

*Choose Between the
Soldiers Who Are Protecting You
and the
Aliens Who Have Threatened You*

CITIZENS' COMMITTEE OF ONE THOUSAND

**Excerpts from the Winnipeg
Telegram, 1919.**

(Provincial Archives of
Manitoba)

*Equating strikers and
aliens, the Citizen
Committee employed
racial and loyalty criteria
embedded in the national
ideology to justify their
position. (Reimer, 1993)
The Western Labour News
argued it was class not
race that was the issue.*

diametrically opposed. Rather they represent graduations in the continuous evolution of a social artifact. I refer to these as **Spatial Monuments**.

The first avenue is put forward by Brown in his article 'Memorials not Monuments' in which he argues that monuments as we know them are dead, to be replaced by the gentler memorial. I would contend that this is not the case but rather represents an evolution of type. Integral to this evolution has been a shift in the aesthetic focus from audience as art to experience as art. The involvement of the viewer through interaction ensures emotional rather than intellectual integration of the monument's communication. It is the latter which is responsible for the transference of memory from artifact to viewer.

"The gap between audience and art is closed by bringing the audience into art, by making spatial experience the very subject of the art" (North, 1992, pp.92)

The strength of these monuments lies in their ability to gather the collective in place, providing a place of convergence where realities collide. The success of these spatial monuments arises in part from their exposure of spatial relationships that are historic, geographical, and political, and in part by

"During the peak of the Winnipeg General Strike, both strikers and antistrikers were engaged on the contested terrain of nationalism, of defining the postwar nation, and the right of citizenship to it."

(Reimer, 1993, pp.233)

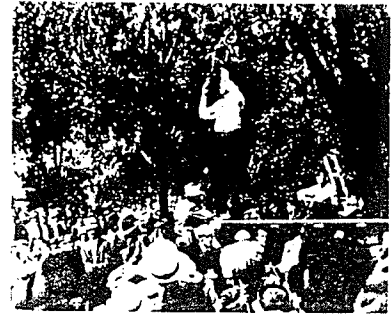
So continued the dialogue for six weeks.

tackling subjects that are 'politically complex'. Resonating with debate rather than public consensus, they work to liberate the present from the silence of the past.



Vietnam War Memorial
(Maya Lin)

The second avenue is represented by the German Counter monuments which would negate the formal and theoretical definition of the traditional monument. More than fifty years ago Lewis Mumford declared the death of the monument in the modern age. Where modern architecture invites the perpetuation of life itself through rejuvenation, renewal, and change, the monument would defy this with it's illusion of permanence. Contingent with the permanence of form was the ever - lasting life of the idea embedded within it's structure.



Victoria Park Meeting, 1919.
(Provincial Archives of
Manitoba)

To supplement the printed word, public open air meetings were the common means to convey current events and plans, particularly among those sympathetic with the strike and its cause. Victoria Park was the site of many of these larger meetings, with smaller impromptu meetings and speakers frequenting Market Square.

Mumford would content that the monuments spatial fixedness would be its death over time, for meaning dragged from one time to another would presume an eternal truth.

"a fixed image created in one time, and carried over into a new time suddenly appears archaic, strange, or irrelevant altogether. For in its linear progression time drags old meaning into new contexts, estranging a monument's memory from both past and present, holding past truths up to ridicule in present moments."

(Young, 1992, pp.118)

Collaborating this view, Reigl, in investigating the nature of monuments and their changing role in culture found that

"the very idea of monuments proved to be at once historically determined and relative to the values of every time."

(Forrester, 1981, pp.6)

There is no one objective past constant over time,

"but only a refraction of the absent in

Into this foray marched the returned soldiers, initially of little consequence, they came to directly shape the course of events.

Although initially participating without particular identification with either group, both sides began the attempt to win them over. According to C. Reimer, the strikers, through their mouthpiece the Western Labour News, began using the language of war in an attempt to win the support of the veterans, to equate their current struggle, the Strike, with the ideals so recently fought for by the veterans.



Mayor Gray addressing the anti Strike Loyalist Veterans' Association, June 4, 1919.

(Burnstead, 1994)

the memory of the present".

(Forrester, 1981, pp.15)

If we accept the basis of the contemporary monument as the Greek 'places of memory' which are 'created by a play of memory and history', then time may be the crucible for this interaction. (Young, 1992)

"If we accept that the most fundamental purpose of the lieu de memoire is to stop time, to block the work of forgetting, to establish a state of things, to immortalize death, to materialize the immaterial....all of this in order to capture a maximum of meaning in the fewest of signs, it is also clear that the lieu de memoire only exists because of their capacity for metamorphosis, an endless recycling of their meaning and an unpredictable proliferation of their ramifications"

(Nora, 1984, pp.120)

If we take this as the point of departure, then permanency is perceived to be only relative and memory and meaning are sustained, not denied by human temporality. Based on these suppositions, the monument has come to be redefined. In mimicking time rather than

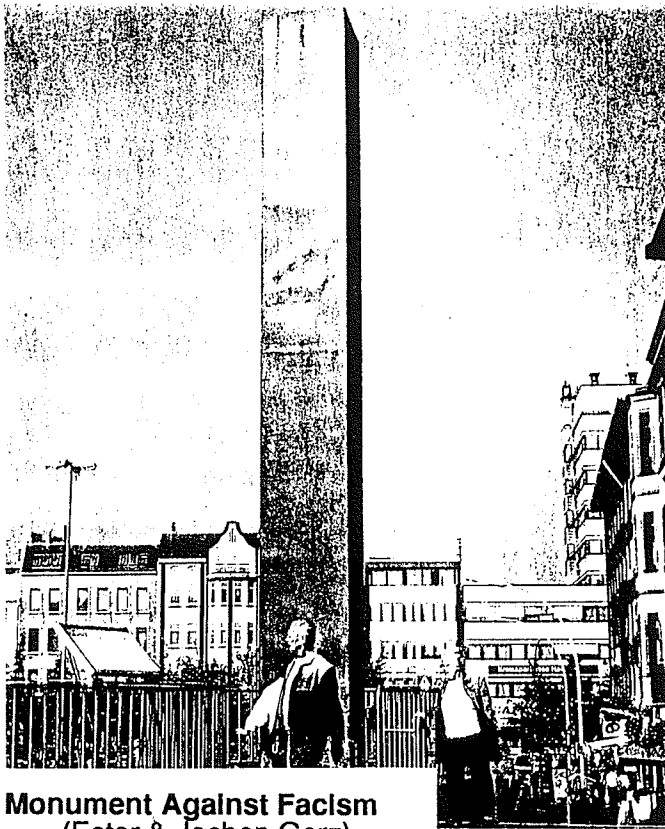
On the whole the veterans tended to support the group which represented his background prior to the war. A volatile group, used to action and a tendency for extremes, they made public their support and beliefs, through open air meetings and organized parades. Their identification with Victoria Park resulted in its nickname 'Soldier's Parliament'.



**Great War Veteran's Parade,
June 4, 1919.**

(Provincial Archives of
Manitoba)

history, monuments would disperse memory rather than gather and concentrate it. In this way the burden of memory is transferred to an actively participating viewer. In rejecting the certainty of history in the traditional monument's expression of permanence, these counter monuments seek to celebrate change through their impermanence and their capacity for growth and development.



Monument Against Facism
(Ester & Jochen Gerz)

Together these spatial monuments, for I include the temporal counter monument as a subset of it, have come to reflect the collective reality. In their emotional appeal they invite the involvement of the viewer. Confronting the viewer rather than consoling, they would pose questions rather than answers. Instead of

With the outbreak of war, in a climate heavily laden with fear and anxiety, the new immigrants were persecuted and contained, their political rights were removed and they were openly subjected to abuse, in terms of employment discrimination and general harassment. By May of 1919, they too were ready to participate in a crusade for reform. Equating ethnic origin with political ideology, they became intimately linked with the Strike's 'political' intent.

expressing a single point of view they invite a convergence of many. Representing history defined by an interweaving of events and lives, they reflect a perception of history as fluid and dynamic.

Their role in the course of events, although still somewhat shrouded in mystery, does not appear from the evidence, to warrant their label 'enemy aliens', whose intent was revolutionary. As in any event described by extremes, scapegoats are necessary.

Monuments: A Few Conclusions

Monuments, as formalized expressions of the collective memory of a place, represent processes of insight whose significance and meaning is relative to their place in time. The permanency of these social artifacts, as constructs of collective value, lies in their capacity for change and in their ability to absorb new meaning. As both spatial and temporal points of convergence there is a simultaneous interaction between the individual and the collective and the collective and place. Their value lies in this interaction, by propelling further awareness and growth.

I believe a monument that is expressive and responsive to our place in time is one that is a compromise between the three types; the symbolic, the practical, and the spatial; each contributing to form a synergistic whole. Each type has aspects of importance that I feel are necessary if monuments are to remain vital functioning elements.

Symbolic: symbol and allegory

I believe our society still requires the richness offered by this form of communication. To rely solely on literal means robs us not only of our imagination, but inhibits our ability to grasp our immaterial past.



**Volunteer constables,
'Special', armed with clubs
clear Portage Ave., June 10,
1919.**

(Provincial Archives of
Manitoba)

*The police force,
sympathetic to the Strike,
remained on the job at the
behest of the Strike
Committee until June 9th,
when they were replaced
by 1800 'Specials',
recruited for the specific
purpose of maintaining an
'unbiased' law and order.
Ironically the Strike was
marked by its peaceful
and generally non - violent
nature. The dismissal of a
neutral or at the very least
sympathetic police force,
to be replaced by one
openly hostile would have
a great affect on the
fortunes of the Strike.*

Practical: functional

The aesthetic expression of people as art which forms the basis of this type, when combined with the other two, effects a transformation of the visitor from witness to actor. No longer emotionally removed from events of the past, they experience 'presentic' time, where the differentiation between past and present no longer exists.

Spatial: contextual

By relying on contextual relationships and therefore an integration of elements to express its meaning, it exposes itself as a contextually based monument.

It is apparent in the evolution of this form that the monument has evolved from a strictly artifactually based expression to one more closely approximating a contextually based expression. That is not to say however that one form of expression is any more correct than any of the others, only that there has been a shift in the means of expression. As this is written I know that it is only a matter of time before the next type - the temporal monument - is formally recognized. What is apparent to me, is that the monument as a formalized expression of collective value, strengthening the collective identity of a people with their place, is still a vital and

Winnipeg's geographical location and importance to the national economy meant the Strike could possibly disrupt the country's economy and undermine the established order, giving credence for the need for its rapid and complete suppression.

(Mitchell, 1993) By mid - June the urgency of a final mediation effort was apparent if the Running Trades were to be prevented from walking out in sympathy, thereby disrupting the entire country. The Federal government, attempting to secure a negotiated settlement based on a policy of union recognition and a form of collective bargaining similar to the Running Trades, was supported by the employers of the Contract shops but rejected publicly by the Strike Committee on June 17th..

necessary component of society. How it is to remain a vital and necessary component of the architectural landscape however remains to be seen.

The final events of the Strike appear to be an openly orchestrated alliance between the three levels of Government and business, unofficially represented by the Citizen's Committee. The need for the Strike's suppression had become evidently apparent.

Chapter 2:

Site: A Place in the City

The Context of Monuments

Monuments are a union of artifact and context which define one another. Their power comes from their place or location in the city in the architectural landscape; suggesting that the site of a monument is then a synthesis of context and place.

Halbwach would contend that collective memory turns on the problem of localization. Through displacement, images formulated in the present are integrated into particular contexts associated with the past. It is the concrete settings which reinforce the meaning of the image, providing reality to the immaterial. A shift in context will alter the meaning of a monument. As an object it invites quite different interpretations depending on the context in which it is encountered. (Endlicht, 1993) According to Kevin Lynch, the environment or context in which a thing is learned also becomes a part of what is learned. In this way people are able to possess a larger more abstract environment more meaningfully.

Contingent upon this premise of historical contextual association is the notion of the spatial and temporal continuity of place. This can be expressed as site memory.

*"The decision to
imprison the Strike
leaders was not made
without a good deal
of planning, amongst
the various groups in
opposition, and was
timed to coincide with
the climax of the
mediation efforts."
(Bercuson, 1990, pp. 163)*

"....the various markings and layers of a single record allow one to recollect earlier stages in the history of a 'site' and the human life and events associated with it. (Mostafavi and Leatherbarrow, 1993, pp.84)

Historical criteria therefore seem to form one of the bases in the selection of monument sites.

Monuments as objects in our perceptual field create their own space. By embodying meaning and value, space is given definition and becomes place. As symbols of value, monuments bestow status on the surrounding space, elevating and detaching it from the surrounding context, creating a spatial tension or hierarchy. It is through this structural hierarchy of spaces that people orient themselves both spatially and temporally. Monuments and the act of commemoration are a contrived structuring of time and space that acts to strengthen the natural tendency of the collective memory to select only a limited number of events and places. That is why it appears to form its imagery around spatial foci that emerge prominently from the surrounding context of perception.

In preparation for such an event the Federal government had revised and amended three legislative acts which effectively increased their power of suppression. The act immediately invoked was the Amendment to the Immigration Act, passed June 6th., allowing for the deportation of any person who 'by word or act sought the violent overthrow of constituted authority in Canada'. This amendment was purposely broadened to include British born subjects, previously immune, thus allowing for the expulsion of the Strike leaders.



Protesting arrest of Strike leaders.

(Provincial Archives of Manitoba)

"For Halbwach, the problem of memory is also one of social power, for what we remember depends upon the context in which we find ourselves and the groups to which we happen to relate." (Hutton, 1992, pp.104)

Rather than an abstract collective, it has come to be the 'political' representation of the collective which determines that which is worthy of recall and commemoration. Historically, the place of monuments within the city reflects the conceptual and spatial evolution of the city 'as an idea in itself, and an idea shaped by reality.' (Rossi, 1982) Thus the place of monuments would reveal spatial relationships that are at once both historic and political. The public significance of these social icons is reflected in their prominent location within cities and towns. Their place in the city has additionally been influenced by the continual evolution of aesthetic perception. (Reigl, 1957)

The square and the street have been the dominant means by which the spatial structure of the city is organized. The monument, functionally related to space, did not become linked with the square until the Renaissance when it became an architectural element in its own right. Used as organizing elements, they

On the night of June 16th / 17th, six Strike leaders, Heaps, Queen, Armstrong, Russell, Ivens, and Bray, along with four 'token' enemy aliens, were arrested and incarcerated at Stoney Mountain Penitentiary. In their urgency, the legality of the arrests was later questioned. Released on bail June 21st. on condition they take no further part in the strike, the Government believed it had effectively removed the striker's leadership and direction. Coinciding with the arrests was the completion of military build-up which had been ongoing since the commencement of the Strike.

provided orientation and spatial focus to the square. In turn the unity of square and monument provided definition and focus to the discrete parts of the city, which conceptually reflected this spatial fragmentation.

At the height of the monument's development as an architectural element, it was used as the link between an idea and actuality. Sixtus V planned for Rome to connect the various parts of the city into one spatially and conceptually unified whole, with monuments being the social and physical points of focus about which the city would crystallize. Becoming 'centres of experience', they were embedded within the architecture of the city, achieving their fullest expression of landmark and place. As vertical points in space, monuments were sited to both direct and arrest motion, corresponding to the evolution from haptic to optic modes of perception where sculptural elements in the distance were perceived in terms of rhythmic and spatial relationships.

By the 19th century the street had replaced the square as the dominant spatial organizing device. The location of monuments reflected this shift, coming to decorate the city's main streets and boulevards. With the development of cities in North America, the idea of the city had reached its climax. The city as a symbol of the social and political order had contracted to be defined by a central space. As the

The combined effect of the arrests and the publication of mediation recommendations appeared to plant the seeds of doubt in the minds of many of the workers. Emotions ran high immediately following the arrests with no apparent single course of action readily apparent. The resumption of streetcar service on June 17th. helped push the General Strike to its climax on June 21st. Now it was the Veterans who directed the final course of events, with their planned 'Silent Parade' in open defiance of the city's ban.

SOLDIERS' RESOLUTION

That our meeting tomorrow night shall be held in Market Square.

That strong condemnation of the Russian methods adopted by the present government in arresting the labor leaders be voiced.

The denial of free speech (as understood in the British Empire) to be pointed out to the government.

And further, that we as men who have fought for this principle are ready and willing to fight again against any body of men, no matter who that body may be, who would seek to deny us this principle

Excerpts from the Western

Labour News, 1919.

(Provincial Archives of
Manitoba)

repository for the 'National Shrine of Remembrance', the historical ideals on which the society were founded were made visible.

The place of the monument in the contemporary city bears little resemblance to its historical predecessor, which may provide clues to the monument's loss of meaning and significance, to its loss of self - conception. The link between the city as an idea and the monument still exists, reflecting the former's conceptual evolution. In the functional reduction of the city to an economic enterprise, monuments have become urban investments, and history the commodity. The dynamic interaction both spatially and temporally which existed when monuments were both physical and social foci, no longer seems to occur. The monument's loss of voice in the architectural landscape is reflected in their spatial and temporal isolation.

The term eclecticism perhaps best describes the current state of affairs regarding the location of monuments, which is visibly evident in Winnipeg today. With three agencies dictating their location based on historical and 'personal' criteria, the result is a three dimensional graffiti on the landscape.. Recording and interpreting the past of place, the monument and its place in the city has been reduced to an historical element.

As crowds gathered outside City Hall in anticipation of the parade, the sight of a street car in service became the catalyst, igniting the crowds. In attempting to subdue the crowd and restore order, the riot known as 'Bloody Saturday' ensued, and effectively ended the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919.



Streetcar is overturned on Main St. In front of City Hall during Bloody Saturday
(Provincial Archives of Manitoba)

Site Selection for an Historical Event

According to Parks Canada, events are designated historic based on their significant

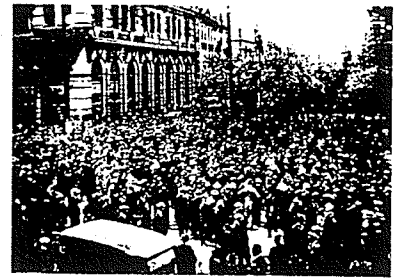
"importance in or influence on history"

(Parks Canada, 1993, pp.70)

Meant to deepen a sense of place by providing tangible and irreplaceable links to what defines us as a people.

Monuments which do not reflect the relationship between specific events and specific locations are in danger of political misrepresentation. (Endlicht, 1993) For events lacking a definitive local, Heritage Canada would contend that the location of the event's defining moment' is the optimum site. The 'defining moment' for the Winnipeg General Strike, for example, according to Heritage Canada was 'Bloody Saturday', which was focused about old City Hall. Therefore the optimum site for their monument or plaque (they chose the latter) would be City Hall or a location proximal to it.

According to both Heritage Canada and Historic Resources for the province of Manitoba, which are responsible for national and provincial commemorative designation respectively, historical criteria are the dominant means by which sites are selected.



Crowds gather at William and Main St., June 21, 1919.

(Provincial Archives of Manitoba)



Second and third charge disperse crowds.

(Provincial Archives of Manitoba)

The images of conflict captured during the riot have come to dominate the public memory, compressing and epitomizing the events of six weeks of struggle.

These criteria are compatible with Halbwach's historical contextual association.

The following are the **Historical Criteria** for the selection of sites for an historical event, listed in order of importance:

- (i) **Historical Association**, defined as the association or significance to an event.
- (ii) **Historic Value**, defined as the representativeness in typifying an important aspect of history.
- (iii) **Symbolic Value**
- (iv) **Integrity**, defined as the health and / or wholeness of a site, where resources that symbolize or represent it's importance are not impaired or threatened.

As physical and social landmarks, monuments fulfill the function of orientation and identification. Historical evidence would suggest that for a monument to be a functional element of place it is important that it compliment or strengthen the visual structure of an area.

For a complete background of the events of the Strike and its chronology, refer to the Appendix.



Troops maintain quiet on Main St. after Bloody Saturday.

(Provincial Archives of Manitoba)

Chapter 3: The Design of a Monument

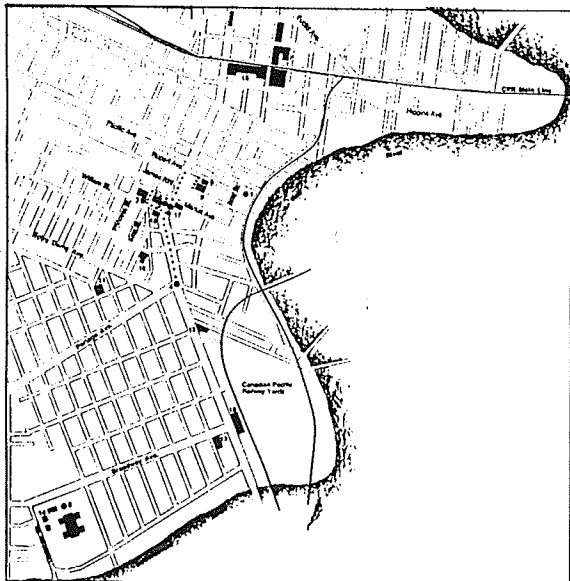
Site Selection

The Strike's inherently controversial nature has provided ample fuel for countless arguments concerning its historical interpretation. Yet little record of public recognition exists, other than four plaques and two buildings dedicated as reminders of this historic event. The one notable exception is Nolan Reilly and Gerry Berkowski's '1919 The Winnipeg General Strike A Driving and Walking Tour', which has elected to use the context of the city as a 'theatre of experience'. The tour directs the public through the events of the Strike by way of a written pamphlet to places and sites associated with key components of the Strike.

It has been the intention from the onset to compliment any existing program in place which commemorates the Strike. In this case I feel only the Driving / Walking Tour applies, and so therefore site selection will focus only on single sites.

Potential sites have been selected based on the thematic issue of protest and debate. As a public issue, the Strike is recalled via images as being enacted in the city's public spaces; its streets, parks, and squares. From the Events and Sites Map it is possible to identify these sites of public activity, which are listed below:

Site and Events Map



Sites of Public Activity

1. Victoria Park
2. Market Sq.
3. Portage Ave. & Main St.
4. City Hall Sq.
5. Legislative Grounds
6. Main St.

Points of Reference

7. Vulcan Iron Works
8. James Ave. Labour Temple
9. Central Police Station
10. Telegram Building
11. Walker Theatre
12. Board of Trade Building
13. Manitoba Club
14. Fort Osborne Barracks
15. CPR Station
16. Union Bank Building
17. Manitoba Hotel
18. Union Station

1. Victoria Park

The location for many of the largest labour meetings and demonstrations, many of which proved to be critical to the events of the General Strike.

2. Market Sq.

Functioning as a 'speaker's corners', the market was the site for numerous impromptu meetings and speeches, the most notable being the Pro Strike Veteran's meeting of June 20th where the decision to hold the Silent Parade was made.

3. Portage Ave. and Main St.

The site of the striker's demonstration where confrontation with the 'special's and potential riot is closely averted.

4. City Hall Sq.

The site of numerous demonstrations and speeches, the most notable being Mayor Gray's reading of the Riot Act during the events of Bloody Saturday.

5. Legislative Grounds

The site of numerous pro and anti strike demonstrations and speeches.

6. Main St.

The climactic events of the Strike known as Bloody Saturday occurred along Main St. in the vicinity of City Hall.

These 6 sites will then be qualitatively rated / ranked based on the applicability of the following site selection criteria, which are listed below in order of importance:

1. **Issue:**
protest and debate
2. **Historical Criteria:**
refer to definitions pp. 37

The sites are rated from 1 (least applicable) to 3 (most applicable).

Site Selection Matrix

Criteria	Sites					
	Victoria Park	Market Sq.	Portage / Main	City Hall	Leg.	Main St.
THEMATIC ISSUE						
• Protest / Debate	3	2	2	2	1	3
HISTORICAL CRITERIA						
• Historical Ass.	3	2	2	2	1	3
• Historic Value	3	2	1	2	1	3
• Symbolic Value	2	1	2	2	1	2
• Integrity	N/A	N/A	1	N/A	1	1
Total	11	7	8	8	5	12

NOTE: N/A = Not Applicable

Based on a preliminary overview of the criteria, it is apparent that only two stand out as potential sites , Victoria Park and Main St.. Programs could be developed for either site. However, Victoria Park was chosen as it seemed to offer a greater potential for design intervention.

Site

The Victoria Park site is located within an area identified as the Alexander Waterfront District. It is strategically located between Chinatown, the Exchange District, the Disreali Freeway, and the Red River. The area is characterized by,

“large turn - of - century warehouse structures interspersed with a number of newer cultural facilities and several broad tracts of surface parking.” (Planning Dept., 1991, pp.4)

The area is rich in terms of function and cultural diversity. Its physical and social history link it directly to its immediate surroundings. It's slow growth has until recently resulted in a relative decline of the area. But recent revitalization efforts has tempered this decline. The area offers the potential opportunity for design intervention.

The site of Victoria Park itself is bounded by Pacific Ave., James Ave., Amy St., and two riverbank developments, Stephen Juba Park, and the Alexander Docks. The site is presently occupied by the Amy Street Steam Plant and adjoining substation and the James Ave. Pumping Station.

Alexander Waterfront District

The proposed site is indicated by the shaded area



The Amy Street Steam Plant was built in 1926 and has been closed since the summer of 1990. Although a dominant feature of the Alexander Waterfront district, the building itself has no intrinsic historic or heritage value. It is presently scheduled for demolition in early 1995. Its associated substation is to remain operational for an indeterminate amount of time, and as a consequence the front portion of the Steam Plant is to remain for the continued operation of the substation. The James Ave. Pumping Station will also remain, designated as of 1982 a grade II* heritage building. A number of development proposals have been put forward for the adaptive reuse of this building.

Between 1895 - 1926, this site was occupied by Victoria Park. Purchased by the city in 1893 for \$11,016.19, (J.H. Blackwood, 1922)

“the park was developed in a formal style with shady walkways, sectioning flower beds from open spaces, rustic wooden benches tucked into secluded places, and a bandstand for summer concerts.”

(D. Murray, 1990, pp.15)

Situated within what was then a residential area of Winnipeg, Victoria Park was probably one of Winnipeg's finest parks. Located just east of the James St. Labour Temple, the park became synonymous with the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919, being the location for many of the labour demonstrations and labour church meetings.

It has been suggested that the destruction of Victoria Park in 1926 was due as much to the natural processes of urban evolution as to the desire by city officials to obliterate and erase any and all evidence which would recall or prove to be a reminder of the Winnipeg General Strike.



Victoria Park, 1919

(Provincial Archives of Manitoba)

For the purposes of this practicum, the findings of the Alexander Docks District Concept Plan (ADDCP), in conjunction with the Red River Corridor Study (RRCS), have been used to provide a context and to establish a rationale for my proposed design intervention.

The boundaries of the ADDCP study area correspond to those of the Alexander Waterfront District, while those of the RRCS encompass a much larger area, being bound by Main St., the Red River, the Forks, and Kildonan Park.

Commissioned by the Riverbank Enhancement Program, the ADDCP was designed to be a guide in the development of the area and is based on five main objectives:

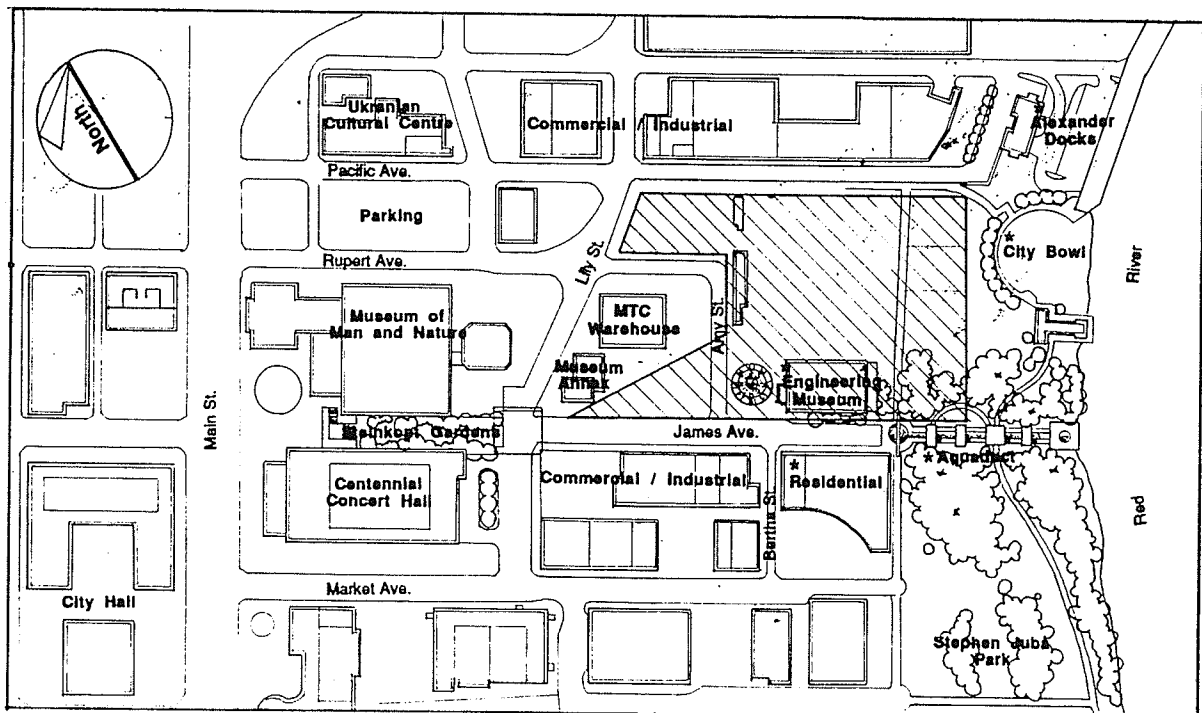
- (i) bring the area into the mainstream of public consciousness as a part of downtown Winnipeg;
- (ii) improve links with the river;
- (iii) enhance public use of and access to riverbank lands;
- (iv) improve the quality of the physical environment generally through the area;
- (v) and to encourage a variety of mixed uses, whether through public or private incentive, to thrive in the area. (Llewellyn & Simon, 1989, pp.3)

According to Jim Paterson, project member of the RRCS, the conclusion and summarization's of this report have been adopted by the RRCS and provide the basis for its development and design recommendations for this area. Components of this development strategy, which has provided a context for my design intervention, include:

1. Cultural Linkages: development of cultural linkages and circulation throughout the area, particularly those which link the cultural venues to each other and to the river.
 - expansion of the Ukrainian Cultural Centre;
 - expansion of the Museum of Man and Nature;
 - development of James Ave. as a pedestrian / vehicular axis between Steinkopt Gardens and the Red River;
 - development of Bertha St. as a pedestrian link with Theatre Way and the Exchange District;
 - enhancement of Liliy Sy as primary north - south vehicular route with specific intersection enhancements;
 - the creation of an industrial - archeological park / plaza on the site of the Amy St. Steam Plant;
 - the adaptive reuse of the James Ave. Pumping Station. The development of an Engineering Museum / Interpretive Centre which would celebrate the Pumping Station's history and role within the city. In conjunction with the Museum / Centre is a terraced water feature (aqueduct) on axis with James Ave.
2. River Park Development: the development of a river park with public use areas occurring throughout the area, with links to parks and green spaces within the urban context.
 - Aqueduct, the development of a terraced water feature with riverside pool where 12m jet of water can be seen from Museum of Man and Nature;
 - City Bowl, the adaptive reuse of the Water Intake building for commercial purposes;
 - Alexander Docks, the redevelopment of Alexander Docks as a riverboat docking facility.

3. Residential Development: residential development has been proposed for a site at the foot of James Ave.. Similar residential development which compliments the existing building context, should be encouraged within this area.
- selected buildings which strengthen the historic integrity and identity of this area should remain, with their development following the principles of adaptive reuse.

Site Context



Note: Facilities denoted by a * indicate proposed developments.
All others are existing.

It is the design of the Amy St. Steam Plant, not as either study recommends - an Industrial - Archeological Park / Plaza or the redevelopment of Victoria Park - but as part of a monument commemorating the Winnipeg General Strike. Although my design proposal does not strictly follow the recommendations of either study for this site, I believe my design proposal to be compatible not only with the objectives of these studies but the development of this area.

Programmatic Requirements

The following are the programmatic requirements for the design of a monument commemorating the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919. The requirements have been broken down into three categories of applicability: the monument, defined as artifact; the site, defined as the synthesis of context and place; and design parameters, which are defined as any and all existing conditions which limit or restrict the design of the monument and / or site.

1. Monument

Function:

- **Embody an idea(s)** that is an expression of value, relevant to its place in time.
- **Communication** of historical knowledge (memory) both emotionally and intellectually.
 - be both specific and general in its communication
 - method of communication should exhibit aspects of both permanency and change.

Form:

- **Type:** spatial, although may exhibit characteristics of other types.
- **Material:** permanent and durable.
- **Ensure Use,** through (i) perceptive visibility, and (ii) interaction
- **Clarity of Form** through either, (i) singularity, (ii) uniqueness, coupled with richness of detail to sustain attention.
- **Spatial Prominence,** through either, (i) visibility from many locations, (ii) contrast with background, or (iii) verticality.

- **Formal Expression**, exhibit aspects of both, (i) representational, and (ii) non representational abstract art.

2. Site

Site Interpretation

- either written or visual interpretation regarding site's history, relevance to monument, be included.

Site Design

- **Context**, should promote and enhance monuments expression of meaning.
 - should reveal site's historical relationships.
 - should relate to both historical past and present day.
 - should relate to both present - day urban and park context
 - should be accessible.
 - may extend beyond boundary of site, only if extension remains on publicly owned land.
- **Place**, should reveal site's political relationships.
- **Use**, should provide areas which facilitate and promote distinct functional uses. Specific use - areas include:
 - area which facilitates undirected quiet contemplation and relaxation.
 - area which facilitates public gathering for events associated with the Strike.
 - area which facilitates directed contemplation of the monument and the site and their role in this city's history.
 - should promote linkages between the River Park system, the Alexander Waterfront District, the Exchange District, and Downtown,.

3. Design Parameters

- front part of Steam Plant to remain.
- substation to remain.
- James Ave. Pumping Station to remain.
- overhead hydro wires to be buried.

Issue and Conceptual Direction

The Winnipeg General Strike of 1919 was an important event in the recordings of Canadian history. Occurring during a period of intense social and industrial unrest, the Strike arose from the local issues of the workers' rights to collective bargaining and to earn a living wage. Recorded as the largest labour withdrawal in Canadian history, the Strike represented the culmination of labour's genuine and legitimate grievances. Affecting tens of thousands of people and three levels of government, its most direct effect and ramifications were felt in the city of Winnipeg.

For such a singular event the Winnipeg General Strike has come to represent over the course of seventy - five years many things to many people. For an emerging labour movement, the Strike was an event that framed its genesis. It represents today a moment of unity and determination in their struggle to achieve economic and industrial reform. The worker's stand of solidarity and belief in collective action has been described by Bercuson as a crusade, ill - conceived and ill - planned, destined to failure. Without question the Strike failed to achieve its stated goals, yet it ultimately directed the course of labour into political avenues, allowing for its effective modern development.

At a more abstract level, the Strike represents a 'coming of age', both for a city and a country. During the Strike's peak, both groups were engaged in the contested terrain of nationalism, of defining the post - war nation, and the right of citizenship in it. The definition of national maturity put forth by the strike leaders involved social change, not for national grandeur, but for social democracy. (Reimer, 1993) Within this context, the Strike marked a period of intense debate and questioning within a society regarding its values and beliefs.

The Strike, as a social movement, divided the city on perceptions of issue and intent. In one moment it crystallized the basic polarization that had been developing within Winnipeg. A result of physical and social segregation, the Strike assumed the character of a class conflict, pitting one group against another. Tolerance, respect and dignity were replaced by fear, suspicion, and labels, with communication disintegrating as differing realities emerged.

For the working classes, the Strike was the means to challenge the system, for the years leading up to 1919 had proved the fallibility of the 19th century order of things.

For the establishment it was perceived as a further threat to an already threatened system.

The issue of **inequality and the need for reform** therefore lie at the heart of the Strike, providing the basis for the event.

The Strikers sought a transformation of the existing system: a reform of economic inequalities through the introduction of industrial unionism. By achieving a greater industrial voice, they would gain a measure of control and power in the decision making process.

The unity of economic wealth and political power in Winnipeg in 1919 ensured that economic goals would be perceived as political goals. Reform was another word for revolution, the intent of which was the overthrow of political order.

" If by revolution is meant violence, forcible taking over of property, the killing or maiming of men, surely no group of workers dreamed of such action. But if by revolution is meant that a

Great Change is coming over
the face of the world, which will
transform our method of carrying
on industry then we do believe
in such a Great Change and
the our General Strike was
one very definite step towards
it" (Penner, 1975, pp.89)

The intent of any general strike is to publicize private grievances and force a settlement by means of labour and service withdrawal. From the beginning, the Striker's issues became public issue by affecting the very nature of the city as a socially maintained construct.

The inclusive nature of the Strike ensured social participation and responsibility. It represented a social and moral critique of the dominant values of the community, forcing the establishment to publicly acknowledge and examine the validity of those beliefs.

Embedded in this issue is the notion of social democracy and the need for recognition and respect within our socially and culturally diverse cities.

Industrialization, having transformed our cities from one of common place and common experience to one defined by a matrix of isolated places, full of barriers both physical and immaterial, denies that people with different social identifies, defined by class or ethnic characteristics dwell within the same city. (Walker, 1990) Periods of extremes social inequality reinforce perception and polarization of groups.

The Strike's immediate effect was the heightened awareness of class consciousness within the city, and the legacy of suspicion and mistrust it evoked. According to J. Rea, this basic polarization continues to exist, flourishing in the arena of civic politics where respective ideologies have become institutionalized and entrenched, thereby

ensuring that the struggles of 1919 are continuously refought on issues of civic importance.

"Even now 75 years later, echoes of the old struggle may still be seen in the disciplined votes on traditional decisive issues.

Partisan civic politics, often bitter and almost always ideological are an enduring legacy of the General Strike. (J. Rea, 1994, pp.16)

The legacy of debate which still surrounds the Strike would suggest its present emotional and intellectual unresolvability. Any design of a monument which attempts 'closure', (the presentation of a stable historic interpretation) would be, at best, premature. What is required, rather, is a monument which elicits debate and self - examination. In confronting the riddle of 1919, we confront the riddle of today.

The Strike was at once both a protest and a debate. What began as a protest of social and economic inequalities, became a debate of ideas and values. The monument in recognizing the idea on which the event was founded, the reform of inequalities within society, serves to provide a forum for their contemporary expression. For it is only in their expression that debate and dialogue begins, and with dialogue comes the chance for change and reform.

In the **social protest** that was the Winnipeg General Strike, there were apparent two themes of expression,

words, which defined the issue of protest and provided identity to the communicants, and

work, which defined the means of protest.

Waged in a campaign of words, the Strike occurred during the era of print, where the written and spoken word were the accepted means of social expression. The public nature of the event was in large part a result of this medium of communication. In 1919, the working classes existed below the surface of expression where today

graffiti is the contemporary social expression of the protest.

Work, or the cessation of work during the Strike, provided the means of protest. Implying both the unity and determination of the working classes and the subsequent evolution of the labour movement. It also implies the action required of an idea if a goal is to be achieved. Finally it implies the work that is still and will always be required.

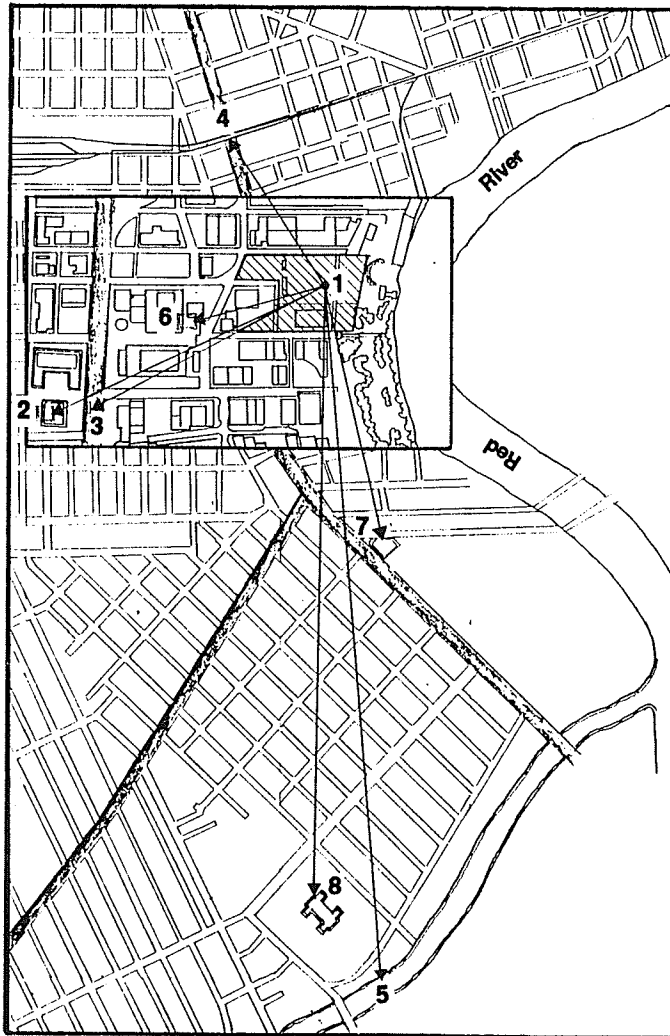
In the juxtaposition of historic and contemporary issues, we are confronted with the spatial and temporal continuity of place. In recognizing the contribution of the past to the present, we invite an interaction with our heritage, an interaction that is based on dialogue. So the monument represents a dialogue; a dialogue between the past and the present, between the individual and the collective, and between the collective and place.

Conceptual Analysis

The conceptual analysis for the monument and site has effectively become the design process. Consisting of two parts, it began with the conceptual context for the monument, as artifact, followed by a superimposition or layering of site elements to produce the site's overall design.

The monument's position and orientation has been defined by eight historical points of reference from the Winnipeg General Strike.

Historical Reference



1. Victoria Park Bandstand

- is the focal point for the democratic debate of ideas and values.

2. City Hall (old & new)

- represents one component of the Strike's opposition and defines the civic nature of the event.

3. Burning Streetcar

- symbolizes the violent and confrontational climax of the Strike.

4. & 5. CPR Mainline &

Assiniboine River

- represents the physical and social barriers which existed in 1919, which only served to strengthen the segregation of groups and further divide the city.

6. James Ave. Labour Temple

- headquarters and focus of the Striker's.

7. Board of Trade Building

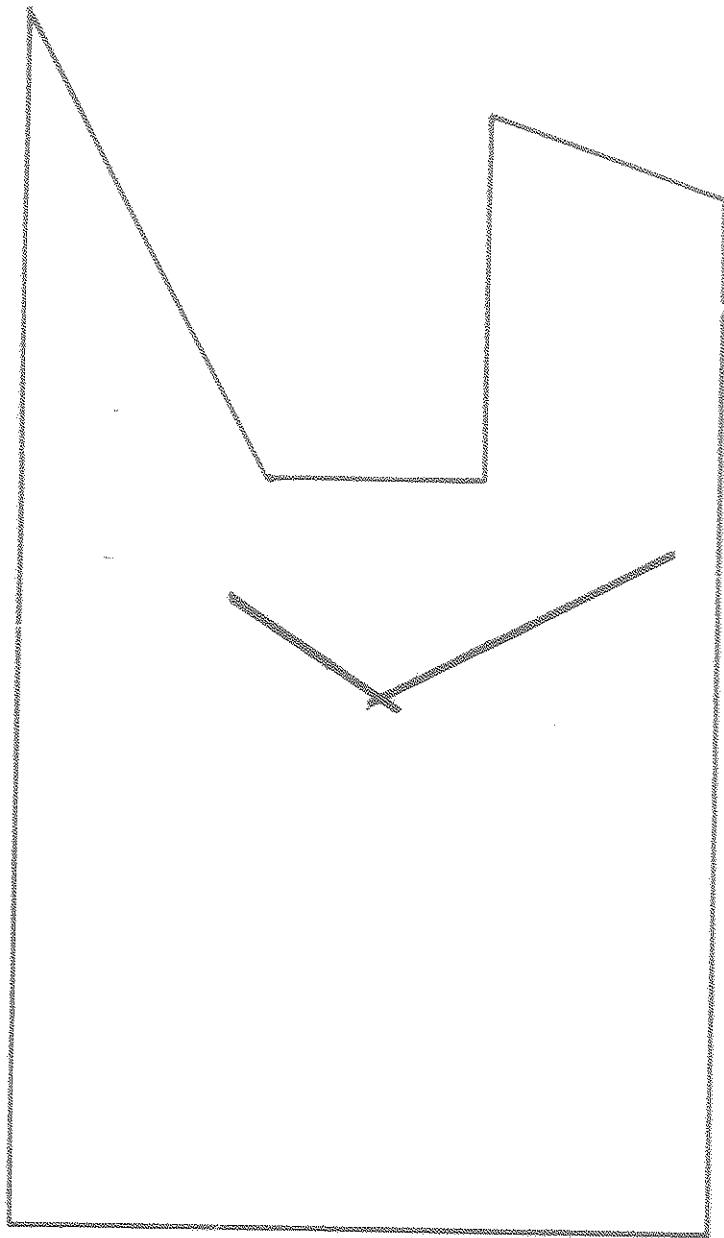
- headquarters and focus of the Citizen's Committee, the Strike's unofficial opposition.

8. Provincial Legislature

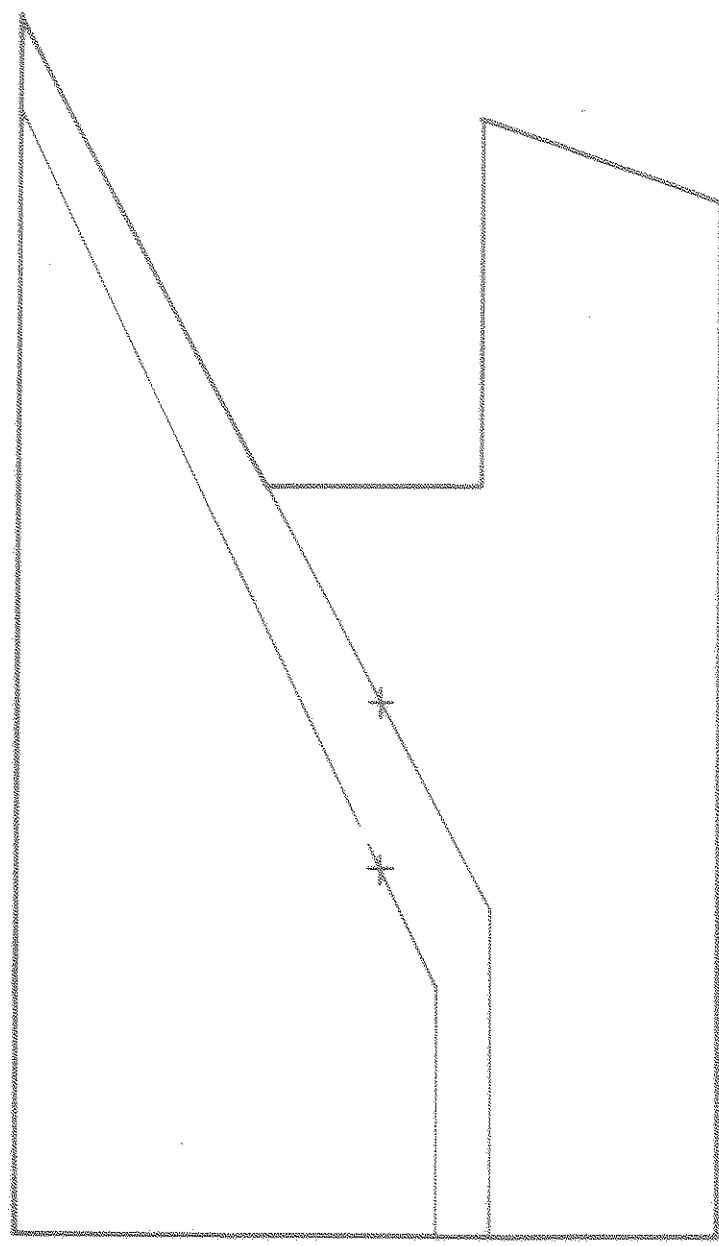
- represents one component of the Strike's official opposition.

The **Monument, as artifact**, has been defined by eight historical points of reference from the Winnipeg General Strike. The **Historical Context** refers to the site's memory, the physical traces, fragments, and layers which remain as records into the present which attest to the site's earlier life. The historical context is represented by plans of ***Victoria Park, 1919*** and the ***Amy St. Steam Plant, 1994***. The **Political Context** refers to the site's location or place within the city and its relationship within the civic realm. The political context is represented here by the ***Primary Pedestrian Access*** to the site.

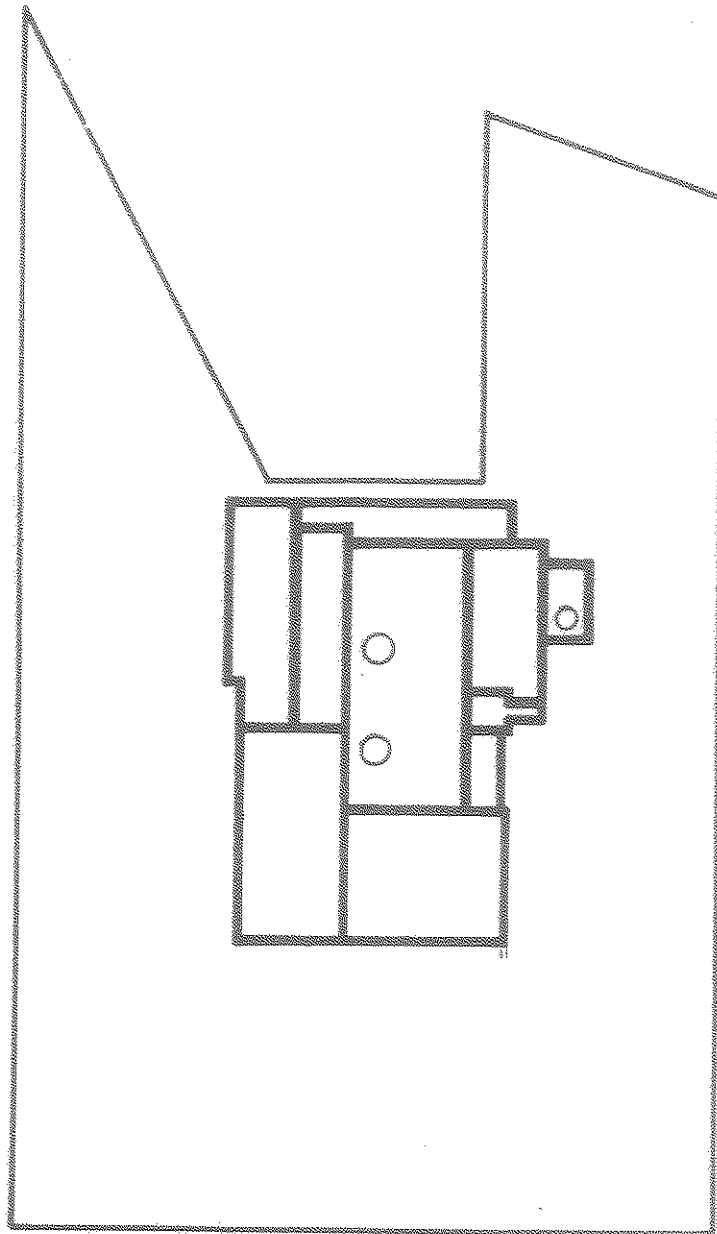
. **Superimposed Site Elements**



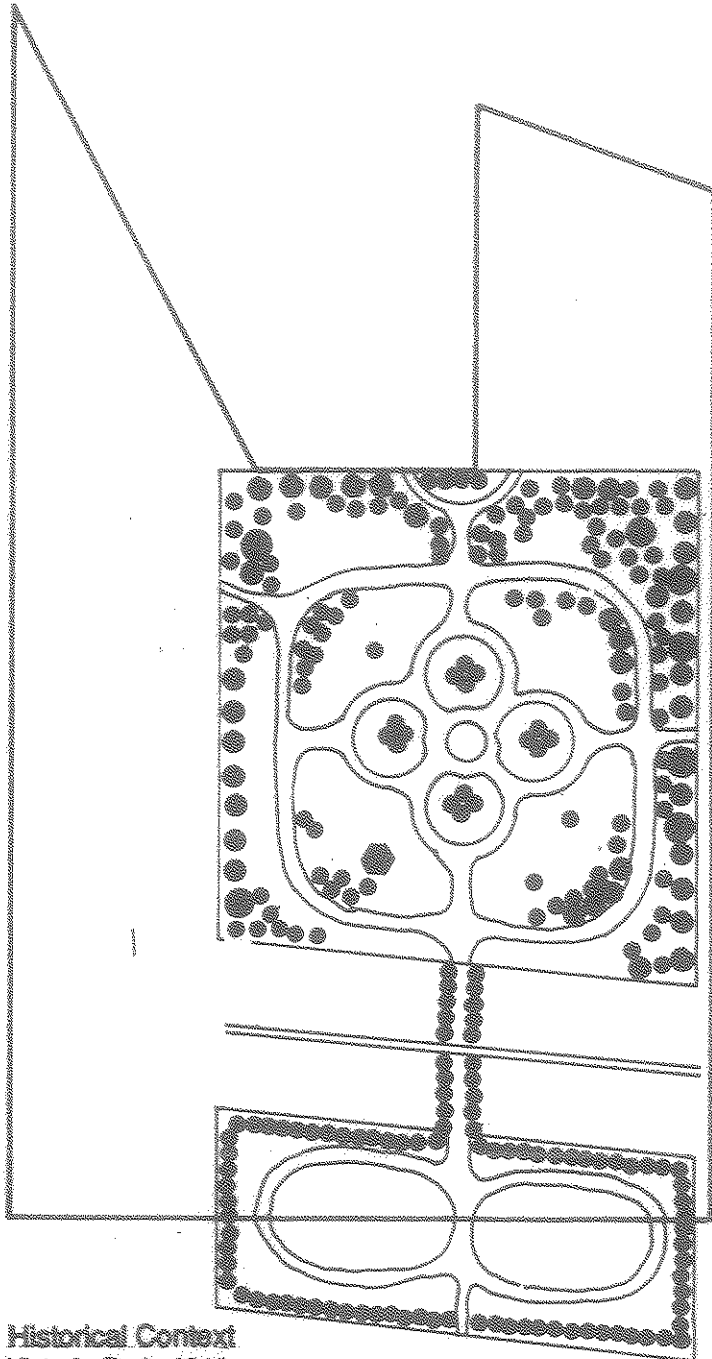
Monument



Political Context

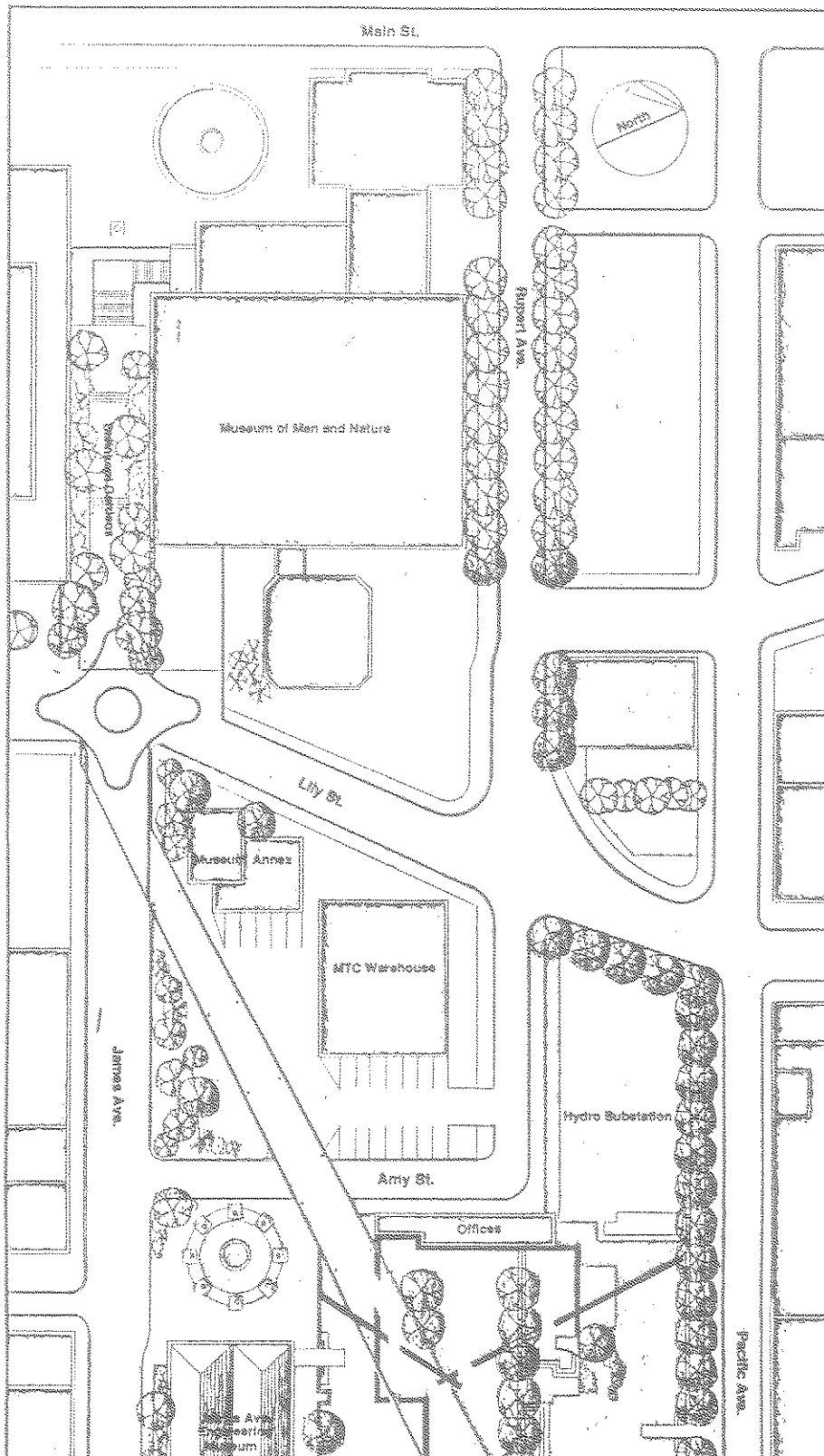


Historical Context
Amy St. Steam Plant, 1994



Historical Context
Victoria Park, 1919

A Monument for the Winnipeg General Strike



Conceptual Design

The following is a tour of the design, defining and addressing each of the programmatic requirements in a sequence which will best clarify the design and the design intentions.

EMBODY AN IDEA

The conceptual basis for the design of the monument and site forms the basis for the **Idea** the monument is to **Embody**.

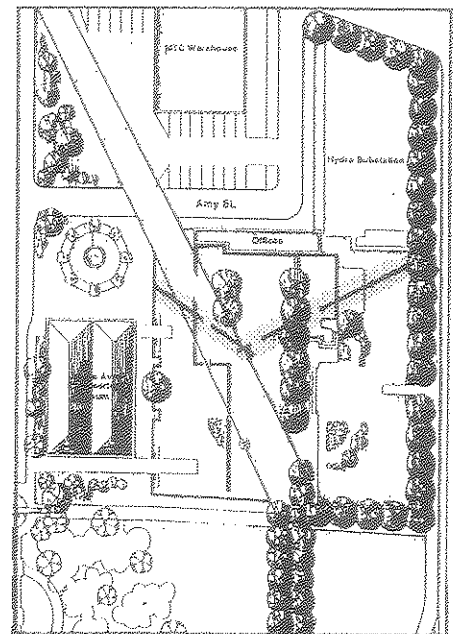
The Strike was at once both a protest and a debate. What began as a protest of social and economic inequalities, became a debate of ideas and values. The monument in recognizing the idea on which the event was founded, the reform of inequalities within society, seeks to provide a forum for their contemporary expression. For it is only in their expression that debate and dialogue begins, and with dialogue comes the chance for change and reform.

The monument is to **Embody** the **Ideas** of,

- reform of inequalities, through
- debate and dialogue.

SPATIAL MONUMENT

As a type by exposing relationships



Monument as Artifact

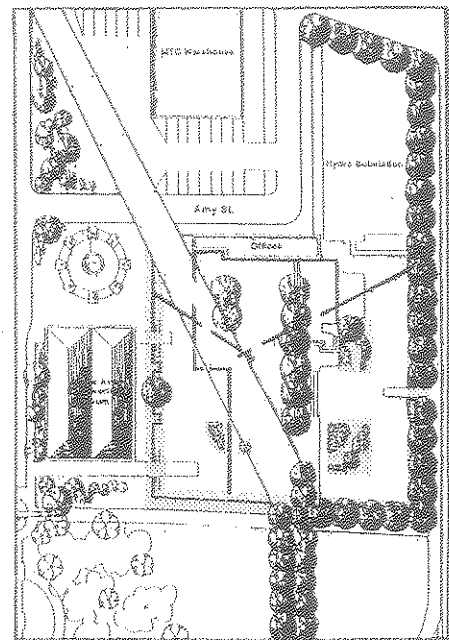
that are at once both political and historical, reveals its reliance on an integration of elements and contextual relationships for the complete expression of its meaning.

There are three components that need to be addressed under this requirement: the monument, as artifact, the site as historical context, and the political context of place.

The **Monument**, as artifact, is represented by a wall, symbolically referring to the barriers to communication which existed in 1919, those which continue to exist, and those we impose. The two wings of the monument proper refer to the polarization of Winnipeg expressed during the Strike, and the subsequent collision of these two divergent points of view. The angle refers to the Strike's inclusive nature, and points to the two existing physical and social barriers. (CPR Mainline and Assiniboine River)

The **Historical Context** of the site consists of its historical layers, Victoria Park and the Amy St. Steam Plant.

- **Victoria Park**, was central to the dissemination of information regarding events of the day, and was so well used it has become synonymous with the Strike.
- **Amy St. Steam Plant**, built in 1926, it forever obliterated all physical traces of the park, but more importantly psychically from the consciousness of Winnipeggers.



Historical layer of Victoria Park

Elements which refer to Victoria Park's occupation of the site include: ornamental plantings of late Spring and early Summer flowering trees and shrubs, meant as a reminder as to the time of year the Strike occurred; colonnade of Schubert Chokecherry reminiscent of plantings of that era; formal seating is provided under an arbor in the proximal location of the Park's bandstand; and perimeter paving indicating the Park's boundary.

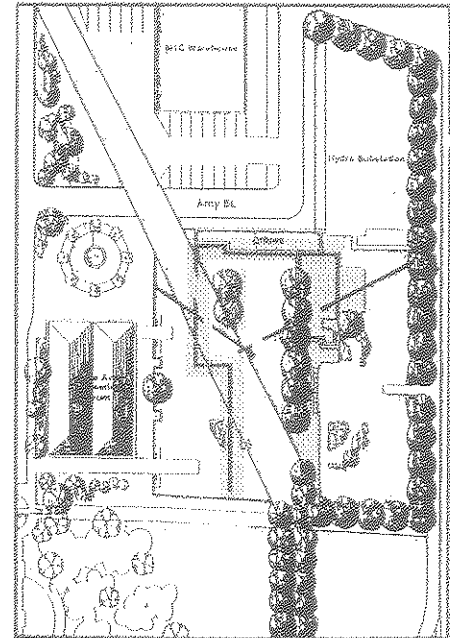
The spatial juxtaposition of these partially revealed historical layers translates to a temporal dialogue, a dialogue which occurs as a collision or a meshing of their expressions.

The changes in elevation between the path, the paved areas, and the grassed areas is meant as a temporal cue to remind visitors of the site's sequence of occupation. The path is at grade with the surrounding context; the paved areas, referring to the Steam plant's occupation is 1'-0" below grade, and; the grassed areas, referring to Victoria Parks occupation is 2'-0" below grade.

Reference to the larger **Political Context** is made via the main pedestrian access to the site. Oriented to bisect City Hall (both old and new), the intersection of the monument, and the proximal location of the bandstand, its direction is meant to remind the visitor of the civic nature of the Strike. The path extends beyond the defined boundaries of the site, just as the Strike extended beyond its defined issues to affect the very fabric of the city. Approximately 12m from the apex of the Monument on either side, the path slopes down 5% to facilitate wheelchair accessibility to the site.

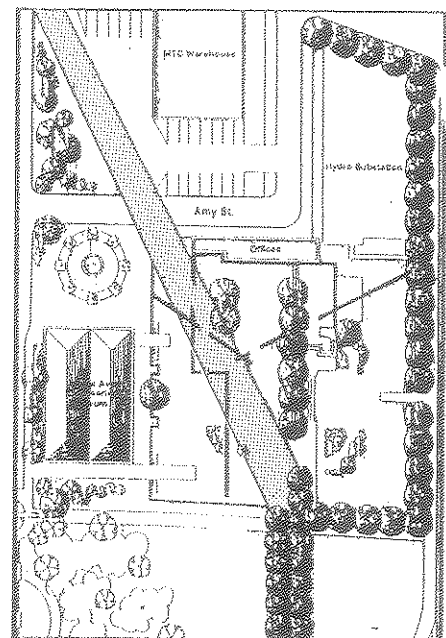
FORMAL EXPRESSION and **COMMUNICATION** will be dealt with together as they are interrelated.

Formal Expression, refers to the form of



Historical Layer of Amy St. Steam Plant

Elements which refer to the Steam Plant's occupation of the site include: remaining walls (supported by I beams, connected, and cross braced with tension wires; paved areas refer to the rooms of the Plant; and interior tree planting refer to proximal column locations.



Main pedestrian access to site
Paving stone used for this path and lighting which lines it are complimentary to that used in the Exchange District.

aesthetic expression, used in the **Communication** of historical knowledge / memory and ideas embodied within the monument.

As I've indicated both representational and nonrepresentational forms are required.

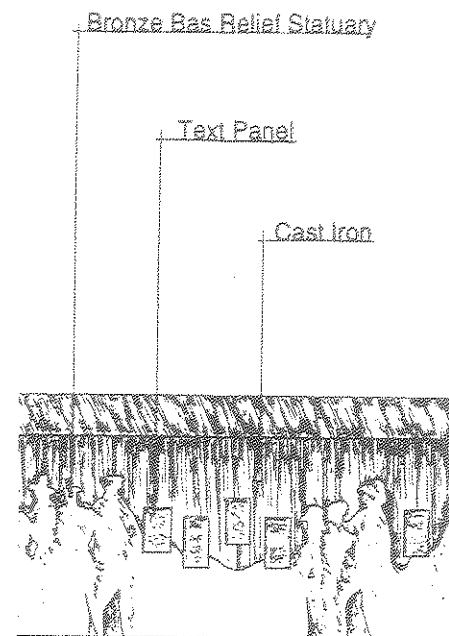
Representational art equates the art experience with the human experience, presenting a graspable message that fits intellectually and emotionally within patterns of human experience. By underscoring the realism of depiction, it projects a 'feeling of ourselves in their place'. (Glazer & Liila, 1987)

Nonrepresentational art attempts to communicate the 'essential truth', through the projection of abstract principles, appealing to our emotions more than our intellect.

The two themes of Work and Words and Footprints form the **Representational Component** of the monument.

Work, or the cessation of work, provided the means of protest. Implying both the unity and determination of the working classes and the subsequent evolution of the labour movement. It also implies the action required of an idea if a goal is to be achieved. Finally it implies the work that is still and will always be required.

The theme of Work is represented by the bas relief statuary mounted on the western side of the wall of the monument. Cast in bronze they appear in places to step off. The uniform



The theme of Work is represented by the bas relief bronze statuary mounted on the western side of the wall of the monument.

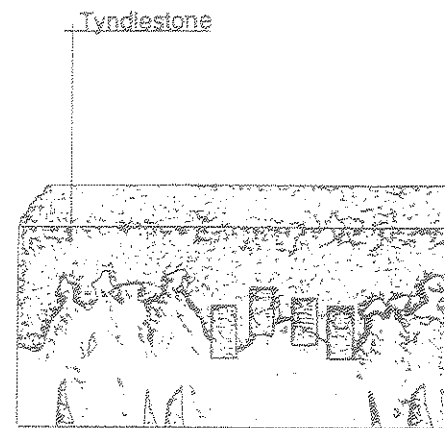
treatment of the statuary does not distinguish between the pro and anti strikers but rather the material surface of the wall suggests the difference in ideology which existed.

Waged in a campaign of words, the Strike, occurred during the era of print, where the written and spoken word was the accepted means of social expression. The public nature of the event was in large part a result of this medium of communication.

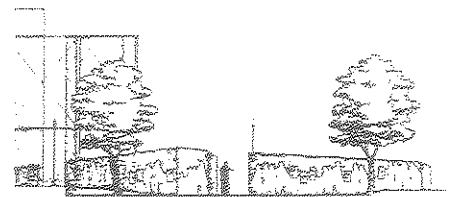
The theme of Words is represented on the western side of the wall of the monument by panels of text, upon which are printed excerpts from the various papers published during the Strike. This method of **Communication** is in reference to the practice of newspaper publishers to post the day's paper outside their offices.

Embedded within the path are Footprints cast in bronze. Being of the same material as the statuary, they are meant to effect a transformation of the visitor from witness to actor, reminding them that it was people such as themselves who took part in and were affected by the Strike. The Footprints dissipate as you move away from the site, finally ending at the corner of Main St. and Market Ave., on the same diagonal as the path, just opposite City Hall and the approximate location of the burning streetcar.

The **Abstract or Nonrepresentational Component** of the monument consists of the



The theme of Words is represented on the western side of the monument by panels of text, also cast in bronze, upon which are printed excerpts from the various papers published during the Strike.



West Elevation



Footprints cast in bronze line the path

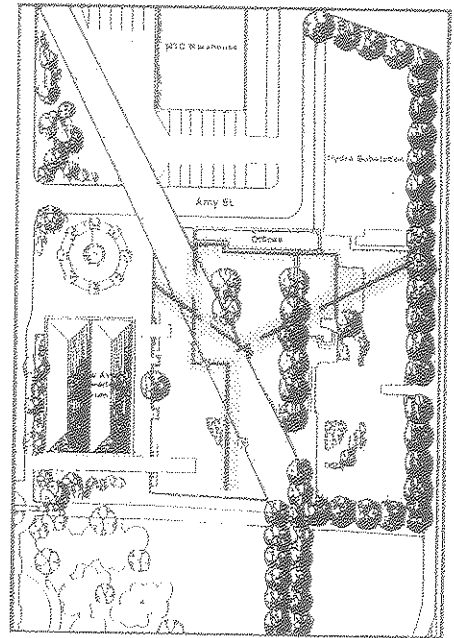
wall of the monument itself, which I've already spoken about, and the wall of the Amy St. Steam Plant. The south wall of the Steam Plant was retained specifically so that remnants of Victoria Park and the monument would be forever in its shadow, reminding the visitor that the building of the Steam Plant effectively erased all memory of the park but more importantly of the events associated with it.

The next requirement is **USE**, and under that, **INTERACTION** and **PERCEPTIVE VISIBILITY**.

*Ensure Use, through use / function -
interaction brings the past into the present
....an invitation for Use, rescues 'the idea
embedded within the monument from neglect
and decay.*

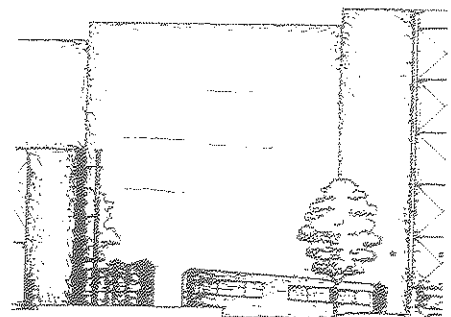
The monument in recognizing the idea on which the event was founded, the reform of inequalities within society, seeks to provide a forum for their contemporary expression. So the western side of the monument deals with the Strike and issues of concern in 1919, and the eastern side of the monument deals with contemporary issues.

In 1919, the working classes existed below the surface of expression where today graffiti is the contemporary social expression of the protest. To facilitate expression, panels of slate on which chalked messages may be



Abstract component of the monument

The western side of the monument deals with the Strike and issues of concern then, and the eastern side of the monument deals with contemporary issues.



East Elevation

Panels of slate mounted on the eastern side of the wall on which chalked messages may be written

written, are mounted on the eastern side of the monument. Some form of informational plaque will be mounted on this side giving visitors an indication of its purpose.

The monument exhibits two forms of **Interaction**: active and passive.

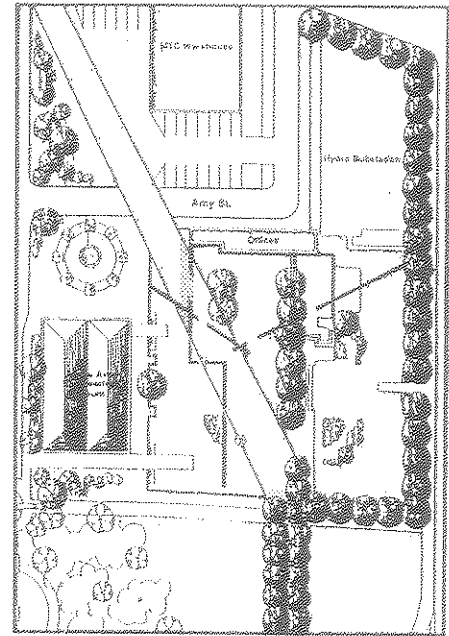
Active Interaction, occurs by writing on the Graffiti wall.

Passive Interaction, occurs as a result of visitors entering the site and activating a slideshow. In two key places where people enter the site they pass through photo electric sensors, which activate on a timed sequence a slide show originating from the monument, which projects images and text from the Strike onto the remaining east wall of the Steam Plant.

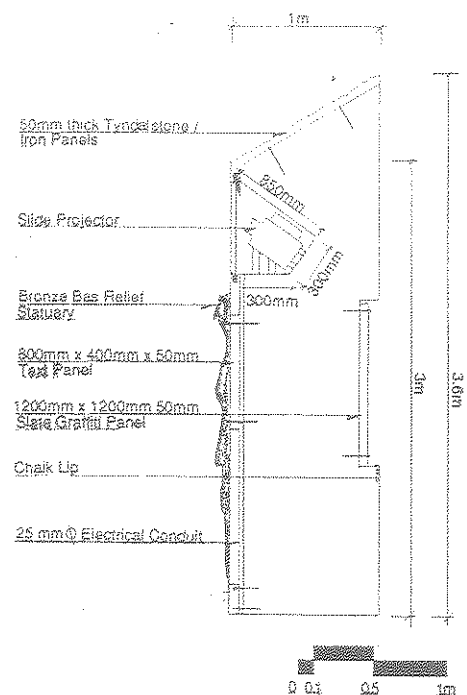
It is my intent that over the course of time, relevant messages from the graffiti wall be incorporated into the slideshow, so that not only is there an historic and contemporary juxtaposition of issues, but the permanency of the monument is ensured through its ability to adapt and change.

Perceptive Visibility, refers to the compatibility between modes of perception and aesthetic expression. Is there in fact communication between artifact and viewer.

In the Age of Noise and Motion, which is also



Two photo electric sensor sites



Monument section

the age of the novel....of the media of film, illustrated press and radio, communication has taken on a distracted receptive attitude where light, colour, and motion vie for our attention. (Gruber, 1993) In the consumable communication of this post - modern age, these three form the basis for communication and therefore aesthetic expression.

In response to this condition, I incorporated as part of the monument's aesthetic expression, the slideshow and graffiti wall as contemporary forms of communication.

SPATIAL PROMINENCE

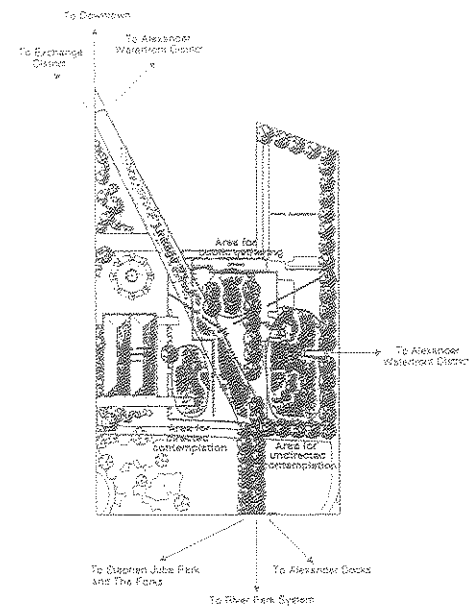
I chose **Visibility From Many Locations** as the form of **Spatial Prominence** most suitable for this monument. Partial disclosure of the monument allows the process of imaginative reconstruction to occur, implying a creative interaction between the viewer and the artifact. Partial disclosure, many views, implies a number of possibilities, a number of interpretations.

SITE USE

The Site Requirements which deal with Context and Place have been addressed in the definition and clarification of the preceeding requirements. The final requirement which is to be addressed is **Site Use**.

The spatial configuration of the site has provided 3 functional Use - Areas which are sufficiently distinct so that conflict of use is minimized.

- **Public Gathering:** The area bounded by the wings of the monument and the Steam Plant's north wall provide a natural forum for public gathering, for such events as May Works.
- **Undirected Contemplation:** The planted area to the north east which is enclosed along two of its edges, provides an area for unfocused contemplation and quiet enjoyment.
- **Directed Contemplation:** The paved area between the Steam Plant's south wall and the James Ave. Pumping Station is an area designated for a more directed contemplation. To facilitate such action the site's history and role within the city is interpreted here.
- **Linkages:** The main pedestrian access to the site, not only facilitates circulation between the river park system and the various districts and downtown, but also strengthens their connection.



Functional Diagram

Epilogue

One of the objectives of this practicum was to study the monument as a theoretical concept and as a functional element in the architectural landscape. It has become apparent during the course of this practicum that the monument, as a formalized expression of collective value, is still a vital and necessary component of society. From its inception to its present form, the monument's expression has shifted from an artifactually based expression to one more closely approximating a contextually based expression. However the continual evolution of the monument's form jeopardizes its place in the architectural landscape. The Temporal monument, as typified by the AIDS Quilt, is a monument which lacks permanent substance within the architectural landscape, existing solely as a monument of the mind.

It would seem in Canada that the government agencies responsible for the designation and location of significant episodes of history appears to have sanctioned the further reduction of the monument from artifact to what I refer to as architectural post-it notes, the historical plaque, which only further reduces our links with the past.

Part of the monument's value is its symbolic expression. As a true symbol, it performs a catalytic function, enabling a reaction to occur between a person and an object, without being changed itself. By bringing the conscious mind into contact with a hidden idea, the liberation of emotion is a by-product of this exchange. The literal interpretation of these historic plaques can only convey the intellectual significance of the past and we continue to remain emotionally distanced from it.

The main issue that was to be addressed by this practicum was the development of a monument as a social artifact, that relies on an integration of elements and contextual relationships to convey its meaning. I hope that the tour of the design has made it apparent that the monument as designed is truly a union of artifact and context, which relies on their integration to convey its meaning. The design has achieved its purpose as an example which illustrates the practical application of a theoretical concept, a contextually based monument.

The Winnipeg General Strike of 1919 provided the perfect subject for the development of a commemorative monument. As a significant episode in the history of this city, the Strike is a part of the collective identity of this place and of its inhabitants. Despite its significance, little reference outside of archival records exists which would attest to its occurrence.

During the course of this practicum it has become evidently apparent that the City of Winnipeg continues to be emotionally and politically unready to acknowledge fully the General Strike. In the summer of 1994, during events celebration the Strike's 75th anniversary, I witnessed the protracted negotiations which were required for the provincial sanctioned dedication of a plaque, which only became a reality when threatened with public embarrassment.

To date both the federal and provincial governments have formally acknowledged the Winnipeg General Strike with plaques. However the City of Winnipeg itself remains mute on the subject. As this is written, I do not hold out any great hope that present circumstances will alter significantly in the foreseeable future.

Perhaps it is possible to amend this rather bleak future. If this practicum is used as a basis for the next step in the developmental process which would involve the joint efforts of both the public and politicians, with implementation as its ultimate goal, then perhaps there is hope that this significant episode of this city's history will not be lost forever.

Appendix

The Winnipeg General Strike of 1919

Chronology of Events

- Early April-** Failing to draw up a new wage schedule for the 1919 - 20 calendar year, the Manitoba Fair wage Board adjourns, passing the responsibility of determining a new pay rate to parties perennially unable to reach a mutually satisfactory settlement.
- April 24** • Metal and Building Trades Councils', presenting wage demands to their respective employers meet with failure on the issues of wages and union recognition.
- May 1** • Strike called by Building Trades Council for all it's affiliated unions.
- May 2** • Strike called by Metal Trade Council of all workers at three main shops. (Vulcan Iron works, Dominion Bridge Company, and Manitoba Bridge and Iron Works)
- May 6** • Building and Metal Trade Councils' inform Winnipeg Trade and Labour Council of employers refusal to bargain. The Trade and Labour Council agree to poll affiliated unions on question of general sympathy strike.
- May 13** • Trade and Labour Council report unanimous support of general strike, with 8,667 votes for, and 645 against. General Strike Committee of three hundred set up, composed of three delegates from each union.
- May 15** • At 11a.m. the Winnipeg General Strike officially begins.
- May 16** • Winnipeg Citizen's Committee of One Thousand is organized, announcing it's aim 'to maintain essential services, and to bring about a just and reasonable settlement of the dispute from which this strike originated'.
- May 17** • Meeting of Strike Committee and City Council regarding continuance of essential services, results in the issuance of authorization cards, "Permitted By The Authority Of The Strike Committee".
- May 21** • Acting Minister of Justice, A. Meighen, and Minister of Labour, G. Robertson, arrive in Winnipeg in the company of several Citizen's Committee representatives, who inform the Ministers of the Strikes revolutionary intent, and immediate need for action. Meeting with various officials, the Strike Committee is ignored.
- May 23 - 24**• Federal Government in person of G. Robertson, issues postal workers ultimatum, to return to work immediately and sever all connection with the Winnipeg Trade and Labour Council. Followed in kind by

Provincial and Civic authorities issuing similar ultimatums to public servants, with the provincial order being focused primarily on the telephone operators.

- May 25** • Mass meeting at Victoria Park by 5000 strikers reject all ultimatums.
- May 30** • City police issued ultimatum prohibiting membership in any unions other than their own and banning all participation in any sympathetic strikes. Police refuse but pledge to maintain law and order.
- May 31** • Pro Strike Veteran's parade, 10,000 strong, march to the Provincial Legislative building and then to City Hall with their requests for the respective governments.
- June 3** • Delivery of bread and milk suspended in attempt to pressure government to intervene on behalf of strikers.
- June 4** • Loyal Veteran's parade.
- June 5** • Pro Strike Veteran's parade, show of strength and solidarity.
- June 6** • Mayoral proclamation banning all future parades, as potential for conflict between pro and anti strike veteran's poses too great a risk of violence.
- June 9** • Regular police force of 240 men fired for refusal to sign loyalty oaths. Responsibility of maintenance of law and order relegated to 1800 Specials whose recruitment began June 5th. in anticipation of such a crisis.
- June 10** • Striker's demonstration at vicinity of Portage Ave. and Main St. results in confrontation between Strikers and Specials, potential riot avoided in contest of wills.
- June 12** • Ladies Day at Victoria Park.
- June 11 - 15** • Attempt by Federal Government to secure mutually agreeable settlement between Metal Trades and employers in attempt to prevent Running Trades going out in sympathy and disrupting entire country.
- June 16** • Publication of compromise proposal as accepted by Contract shop employers.
- June 16 - 17** • In the early morning of May 17th, ten strikers were arrested, six of whom are strike leaders, followed by raids on Labour Temple and various halls to confiscate incriminating evidence. Timing of arrests designed to coincide with mediation efforts in attempt to strike strategic blow at Strike. Arrests viewed as state aligning itself with business in attempt to openly crush labour.
- June 17** • Streetcar service reestablished.

- June 18** • Arrested Strike leaders refused bail, held at Stoney Mountain Penitentiary for deportation.
- June 20** • Mass meeting of pro Strike Veteran's at Market Square / City Hall. Decision to hold Silent Parade in protest of Strikers arrest.
- June 21** • Bail reconsidered amidst national protest and granted for Strike leaders.
• Crowds gather outside City Hall in anticipation of Silent Parade by pro Strike Veterans. Sight of streetcar in service provokes crowd, with car being upset and lit on fire. Specials and RNWMP called in to subdue crowds. Riot known as Bloody Saturday follows with two dead and hundreds injured. Hell's Alley is scene of bloodiest confrontation between fleeing crowds and Specials.
- June 23** • Publication of Western Labour News banned, with editor Woodsworth arrested.
- June 25** • Acting editor of Western Labour News arrested.
• Strike Committee announces end of Strike.
- June 26** • At 11a.m. the Winnipeg General Strike is officially over.

Sites and Events

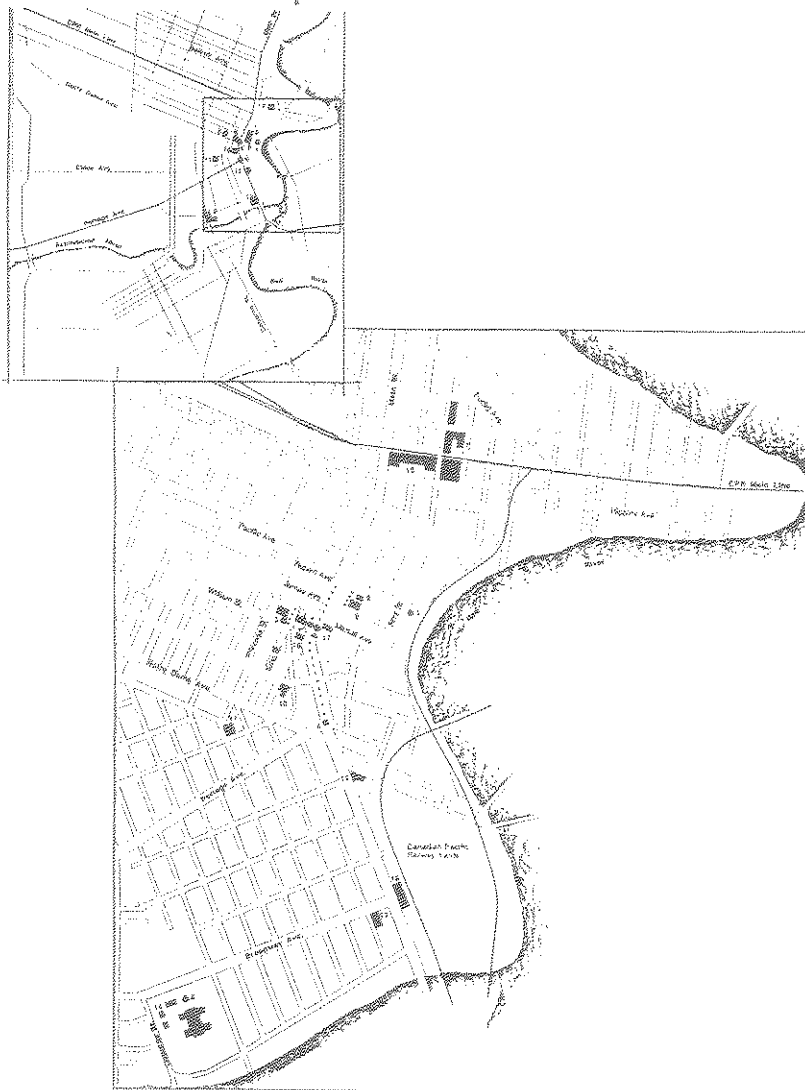
The intent of any general strike is to make public, private grievances and force a settlement by means of labour and service withdrawal. From the beginning the Striker's issues became public issues by affecting the very nature of the city as a socially maintained construct.

The Winnipeg General Strike of 1919, as a social movement, divided the city regarding perceptions of issue and intent. In one moment it crystallized the basic polarization that had been developing within the city. A result of physical and social segregation, the Strike assumed the character of a class conflict, pitting one group against the other.

The association of groups with geographical area was facilitated by the presence of physical barriers; the CPR Mainline to the north, and the Assiniboine River to the south. These barriers helped then to define the area of protest, the central core of Winnipeg, which became contested terrain in 1919.

This relatively small geographical area contained the majority of places and points of reference that have come to be identified with the Strike.

Sites and Events Map



Site of Public Activity

1. Victoria Park

Meetings critical to the events of the General Strike took place in this park. The scene of the largest Labour Church meetings, it's capacity to hold large crowds ensured it's frequent use to convey to the worker's the events of the day. The park was nicknamed the 'Soldier's Parliament' after the lively debates held there by the Pro Strike Veterans.

2. City Hall Square

Site of numerous demonstrations and speeches, most notable being Mayor Gray's reading of the Riot Act during the events of Bloody Saturday.

3. Market Square

Functioning as a 'speaker's corners', the market was the site of numerous impromptu meetings and speeches. The most notable of these being the Pro Strike Veterans meeting where the decision to hold the Silent Parade was made.

4. Portage Ave and Main St.

The site of Striker's demonstration where confrontation with the 'Specials' and potential riot is closely averted. Also site of worker's protest of Strike leaders trial.

5. Legislative Grounds

Site of many pro and anti Strike demonstrations and speeches.

6. Main St.

Site of the events known as Bloody Saturday occurred in the vicinity of City Hall.

By noon Saturday crowds had gathered outside City Hall in anticipation of Silent Parade. Mayor Gray unable to prevent parade sends for RNWMP.

At approximately 2:30 p.m., 54 patrol on horseback and 36 in trucks arrive at Portage and Main from Fort Osborne Barracks.

A streetcar driven by a Committee of One Thousand member south along Main St. provokes crowds, resulting in car being overturned and set on fire.

The RNWMP three times rode north on Main St through the gathering crowds. The sight of a number of them still wearing their soldier's uniform enrage the Pro Strike Veterans who begin jeering them. On their second ride through they were pelted with bricks and stones, forcing Mayor Gray to read the Riot Act. On the third and final ride, the RNWMP openly display their weapons. Circling City Hall, they begin firing at the corner of William Ave. and Main St., killing one man by the Union Bank Building and wounding others. Returning along Main St a second man is killed by the Manitoba Hotel as he stoops to pickup a brick.

By 3:15 p.m. the 'Special' have arrived and cordoned off Main St to prevent those fleeing from returning.

Hell's Alley, was one of the bloodiest scenes of conflict during the events of Bloody Saturday. Approximately 200 people fled into this alley from Main St after the final

RNWMP charge. Boxed in at either end by 'Special', 27 people lay injured in under ten minutes.

Specials, militia, and RNWMP occupy the streets around Main St until well into the night.

Points of Reference

7. Vulcan Ironworks

A catalyst for the General Strike, the employees discontent resulted in strike action on May 1st over the issue of union recognition. Workers at Dominion Bridge Company and Manitoba Bridge and Ironworks quickly struck in sympathy, as did the remaining members of the Metal Trade Council.

8. James St Labour Temple

Headquarters of the Strike Committee and heart of the city's labour movement.

9. Central Police Station

It was here that 'Specials' began gathering on the morning of June 21st in anticipation of conflict during Silent Parade.

10. Telegram Building

The daily newspaper, The Telegram, like The Tribune, and The Free Press, condemned and denounced the Strike, referring to it as a 'deliberate criminal, and fantastic attempt to make revolution.' Daily crowds gathered outside to read the latest news.

11. Walker Theater

The theater's large audience capacity prompted it's use by numerous labour and political organizations. At the December 1918 meeting both the Trades and Labour Council and the Socialist Party of Canada shared the stage to denounce the federal government. Both sought changes that would reform social inequalities.

12. Board of Trade Building

Headquarters of the Committee of One Thousand and it's newspaper The Citizen.

13. Manitoba Club

An all male social club which was a frequent meeting place for Committee of One Thousand members, where strategies for dealing with the Strike were discussed.

14. Fort Osborne Barracks

15. CPR Station

16. Union Bank Building

17. Manitoba Hotel

18. Union Station

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